

**"Out of Sight, Out of Mind": An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of
Young People's Experience of Isolation Rooms/Booths in UK Mainstream
Secondary Schools.**

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Summary

This document contains three sections: a review of the literature relating to the subject area, an empirical review and a critically reflective account. First, a review of the extant literature, legislative and academic, on teacher beliefs about discipline and approaches to behaviour management offers a contextualisation of the phenomenon of isolation rooms/booths. Secondly, the empirical review comprises a qualitative study carried out with a sample of five young people. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis has been used to explore the young people's repeated experiences of isolation rooms/booth in UK mainstream secondary schools following in-depth unstructured interviews. The section concludes with recommendations and future directions for research. Finally, the critically reflexive account provides a personal reflection of the research experience. It takes a phenomenological approach to exploring the journey from identifying a research question through to analysing and interpreting the young people's experiences. Consideration is also given to the subjective implications for educational psychology practice as a result of undertaking an inductive research study.

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Contents

List of Tables	7
List of Figures	7
Glossary of Terms	7
1. Literature Review	10
Introduction	10
The Legislative Context.....	15
The Constructs of Classroom Management, Behaviour Management and Discipline	19
Teacher Beliefs About Discipline	22
Non-Interventionist, Interactionalist and Interventionist Discipline Beliefs	24
Non-Interventionist	24
Interactionalist	28
Interventionist	32
The Phenomenon of Time-Out and Isolation	43
Conclusion	50
2. Empirical Paper.....	52
Abstract.....	52
Introduction.....	53
Aims of the Study	60
Methodology	60
Design.....	60
Participants	61
Data Collection	63

Ethics	65
Analysis.....	66
Findings	69
'The Process'	73
'A Restrictive Process'	74
'The Punishment'	79
'A Process that Separates'.....	85
'More than the Process'	90
'Impact on Learning'	91
'Relationships – Negative Perceptions of Others'	98
'Relationships – Positive Relationships'	103
'Uniqueness'	106
Discussion	109
'The Process' ('A Restrictive Process', 'The Punishment', 'A Process that Separates')	111
'More than the Process' ('Impact on Learning', 'Relationships' and 'Uniqueness').....	116
Conclusion.....	122
Limitations.....	123
Recommendations.....	124
Future Research Directions	125
3. Research-Practitioner: A Critically Reflexive Account	128
Introduction	128
Positionality – Situating Myself	129
Search for a Research Question.....	131

Participant Recruitment: The Struggle.....	133
Comfortable Conversations.....	135
A Profound Impact.....	137
Disengagement with the Data.....	139
Implications for Practice	141
Conclusion	142
4. References	143
5. Appendices.....	206
Appendix A	206
Appendix B	207
Appendix C	209
Appendix D	222
Appendix E	225

List of Tables

Table 1: Information Relating to Participating YP	63
Table 2: Superordinate Themes and Related Subordinate Themes	70
Table 3: Subordinate Themes Represented by Superordinate Theme 1	73
Table 4: Subordinate Themes Represented by Superordinate Theme 2	90

List of Figures

Figure 1: Teacher – Student Control Continuum	22
Figure 2: Stages of Analysis	67
Figure 3: Shared Themes Amongst YP	68
Figure 4: Superordinate Themes for the Group	69
Figure 5: An Overview of the Theme 'A Restrictive Process'	74
Figure 6: An Overview of the Theme 'The Punishment'	79
Figure 7: An Overview of the Theme 'A Process that Separates'	85
Figure 8: An Overview of the Theme 'Impact on Learning'	91
Figure 9: An Overview of the Theme 'Negative Perceptions of Others'	98
Figure 10: An Overview of the Theme 'Positive Relationships'	103
Figure 11: An Overview of the Theme 'Uniqueness'	106

Glossary of Terms

ABA:	Applied Behaviour Analysis
AD	Assertive Discipline
AEP:	Association of Educational Psychologists
BAME:	Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic

BPS:	British Psychological Society
DfE:	Department for Education
DoH:	Department of Health
EP:	Educational Psychologist
FOI:	Freedom of Information
FoMO:	Fear of Missing Out
FSM	Free School Meals
GDPR:	General Data Protection Regulation
HCPC:	Health and Care Professions Council
IPA:	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
IRB:	Isolation Rooms/Booths
IU:	Isolation Units
LA:	Local Authority
NASUWT:	National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (Teachers Union)
NEU:	National Education Union
PRU:	Pupil Referral Unit
SDT	Self-Determination Theory
SEMH:	Social, Emotional and Mental Health
SEN:	Special Educational Need
SWPBS:	School-Wide Positive Behavioural Support
TEP:	Trainee Educational Psychologist
TET:	Teacher Effectiveness Training
TUC:	Trades Union Congress
UEA:	University of East Anglia

UNCRC: United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

YP: Young Person/Young People

Literature Review

Introduction

The prevailing direction of behaviour management being steered by the current UK government assisted by advisors such as Tom Bennett, is one of 'firm action' that includes the use of exclusionary discipline practices such as IRBs (Middleton, 2021). These designated spaces are used for punishment and often include partitioned desks where students face the wall and work in silence. However, Controversies reported via the media in the UK, US and Australia surrounding restrictive behaviour management techniques such as seclusion have led to the use of IRBs being questioned by a range of individuals, charities and organisations. Campaigns like Paul Dix's 'Ban the Booths' in the UK and Dr Greene's work through Lives in the Balance in the USA (Greene, 2011; 2018) have highlighted alternative approaches to managing behaviour in schools. A report from the Centre for Mental Health (2020) along with concern voiced by the charity Mind have emphasised the negative impact of IRBs on YPs mental health. Detrimental wellbeing and impact on mental health has directly led to individual legal challenges by parents as reported by Mind (2019), BBC (2018) and The Guardian (Perraudin, 2019) over the legitimacy of IRBs particularly for YP with SEN. Accompanying legal challenges from litigators were calls for a judicial review following ongoing failures by the government to assess advice for headteachers and school staff on behaviour and discipline in schools (Simpson Miller, 2019). The Timpson Review (2019) recommended the DfE should update guidance on behaviour management making it clear, accessible and consistent in its messaging to help schools create positive behaviour cultures and make reasonable adjustments under the Equality Act (2010). In a speech to congress at the TUC conference in 2019 the AEP General Secretary

Kate Fallon called for an urgent government review of isolation within schools (K. Fallon, personal communication, September 26, 2019). This speech served as a platform to gain support from other UK trade unions resulting in the passing of a composite motion by the AEP, NASUWT and NEU expressing concern over investment in punishment-based IUs to keep YP separated for the entire school day and preventing them from participating in usual school life (TUC, 2019). The motion asked for a government guarantee that none of a £10 million fund made available for a network to help schools manage behaviour would be spent on setting up or running IUs (TUC, 2019).

Concerns relating to IUs can be situated within the wider cultural context of punitive behaviour management made visible by the increasingly popular 'zero-tolerance' or 'no-excuses' systems adopted in schools across the UK (House of Commons Education Committee, 2018). As such this debate could be seen through the lens of power and control. Within this framing discipline means punishment and sanctions are used as a deterrent against disobedience. Viewed within the construct of power it becomes clearer to see how the argument about discipline has polarised along a continuum of control with 'zero-tolerance' at one end of the spectrum and humanistic person-centredness at the other. According to research conducted by Williams (2018) for the centre-right think tank Policy Exchange support has been growing for 'zero-tolerance' behaviour policies amongst teachers, parents and pupils. This viewpoint highlights the powerful influence of research institutes in offering unchallenged advice that potentially guides the direction of national policy. Williams' (2018) report stated that in recent years schools have begun to move away from child-centred pedagogy towards more rigid approaches to managing behaviour. This drive, endorsed by central government, their advisors, Ofsted and a number of high-

profile academies, towards firmer approaches has led to stricter discipline embracing zero-tolerance philosophies whilst reasserting a belief in the importance of direct classroom instruction and compliance. Consistently the prevailing message has focused around getting ‘tough on bad behaviour’ (Williams, 2018, p. 15). Thus, establishing a clear status quo grounded in traditional theoretically evidenced behaviourist beliefs that outward behaviours are a more obvious lever to address than internal mental states (Bennett, 2017). Therefore, the language of exclusions has become embedded in behaviour management with Secretary of State Gavin Williamson backing measures that enable enforcement of ‘proper and full discipline’ (TES, 2019). However, to date little empirical research has directly assessed the impact of such approaches or conclusively presented evidence of their effectiveness. Pertinently, Gillies (2016) noted that little mention in policy and academic literature of practices that segregate suggests it has been ‘normalised into invisibility’ (p.6). Whilst vocal proponents of tough approaches continue to offer ambiguous commentary clear national guidance on the use of punishments such as IRBs remains elusive. According to Williams’ (2018) research, teachers and parents are increasingly looking towards headteachers rather than Ofsted or DfE guidance to establish school cultures that assert expected behaviour standards. This is concerning, not least because it appears to endorse further inconsistency and provide scope for the misapplication of exclusionary practices like IRBs.

The sparse evidence-base relating to punitive behaviour management systems associated with ‘zero-tolerance’ and the use of IRBs, along with concerns over disproportionate usage has prompted the AEP to commission research (AEP, 2018). The commission calls for TEPs to look at YP’s, parents’ and staff’s experiences relating to the use of restrictive practices in schools. Therefore, within

the setting of this commission, the aim of this literature review is to present a contextual assessment of the landscape within which IRBs are situated through an outline of current legislation along with an overview of relevant literature and psychological theory. The reviewed literature is organised within the teacher – student control continuum framework (Glickman & Tamashiro, 1980). This enables a theoretical framing of the literature through the lens of control and provides a clear structure for critically analysing existing evidence from the perspective of teacher beliefs about discipline which is central to behaviour management. Through a holistic contextual understanding of behaviour management in schools the overall aim of the review is to highlight gaps in the evidence-base enabling the formulation of an appropriate research question to enhance the literature and contribute to more informed debate on the subject of IRBs.

Extensive literature searches carried out between September 2019 and January 2021 initially focused on Google Scholar then encompassed several academic databases (ERIC, Scopus, Taylor & Francis, JSTOR, PsycINFO, BEI, ScienceDirect) which informed this review. Various search term combinations were utilised based upon the key words “classroom management”, “behaviour management”, “zero tolerance”, “restrictive behaviour management”, “discipline”, “sanction”, “interventionist”, “non-interventionist”, “interactionalist”, “democratic behaviour management”, “seclusion”, “isolation”, “isolation rooms/booths”, “time-out” and “internal exclusion”. In the interests of obtaining a rich picture of the contextual and evidential landscape of IRBs as a punitive sanction this review includes both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. Whilst, from a personal epistemological perspective, there is a curiosity towards understanding the scope of studies ‘giving voice’ through the exploration of individual experience they are

balanced with quantitative research to enhance the analysis and enable evaluation. The review is primarily concerned with exploring literature relevant to the UK context although that preference has not precluded the inclusion of studies deriving from other education systems using restrictive disciplinary practices such as North American and Australasia. Restrictive behaviour management approaches such as 'zero-tolerance' originated in the USA where most contextual research has been undertaken. Therefore, its inclusion in this review was caveated by critically questioning its relevance to UK settings. Research published and peer reviewed recently, within the last 10 years, was preferred however the sparse literature resulted in the inclusion of some older studies that still provided interesting perspectives.

Before introducing a review of literature organised around teacher's beliefs of discipline situated along Glickman and Tamashiro's (1980) control continuum, it is prudent to consider the definitional constructs of classroom management, behaviour management and discipline. This helps situate the debate within the context of power and control as perceived by those implementing behaviour policies within schools. Through a review of non-interventionist, interactionist and interventionist positions it will become clear how theory and literature based upon high levels of institutional control have informed the creation of behaviour management policies entrenched in punishment, isolation and exclusion. To begin with, an outline of current statutory and non-statutory legislation along with government guidance is presented to frame the significance of teacher beliefs when interpreting the law and developing school behaviour policies.

The Legislative Context

All schools in England and Wales must, according to statutory guidance, have a written behaviour policy that promotes 'good' behaviour (DfE, 2016; School Standards and Framework Act, 1998). In maintained schools the governing bodies' statement of behaviour principles (DfE, 2012) must inform the headteacher's decisions regarding standards of behaviour expected of pupils and disciplinary penalties for rule breaking. In Academies, that are state funded but independent of local authority control, the proprietor is responsible for ensuring a policy is drawn up and implemented. Government guidance (DfE, 2016) suggests headteachers should reflect on ten key aspects that contribute to improving the quality of pupil behaviour including consistent approaches to behaviour management, classroom management, behaviour strategies as well as rewards and sanctions. As non-statutory advice such guidance is left to be interpreted through the perceptual, experiential, cultural values of proprietors, governors and headteachers. As such school policies reflect individual beliefs about the desired degree of control over students and the procedures available. Therefore, it seems more likely that where a high degree of control is desired sanctions include seclusion or isolation.

Advice for headteachers and school staff on behaviour and discipline in schools, states that 'schools can adopt a policy which allows disruptive pupils to be placed in an area away from other pupils for a limited period, in what are often referred to as seclusion or isolation rooms' (DfE, 2016, p. 12). The advice states that the use of such practices should be made clear in behaviour policies and must demonstrate schools have acted reasonably in compliance with the law. According to the Education and Inspections Act (2006) the penalty applied as punishment must be reasonable in all the circumstances and account must be taken of the pupil's age,

any SEN and religious requirements affecting them so as not to contravene the Equality Act (2010). Maintained schools must, in line with the Education Act (2002), ensure their functions are carried out with a view to safeguarding and promoting the welfare of children. Academies have similar duties under the Education (Independent School Standards) (England) Regulations (2010). This highlights the importance of schools remaining mindful that government guidance permitting the use of IRBs does not negate all other legal obligations. However, much of the legislation remains inadequate and at times contradictory in supporting safeguarding with respect to restrictive practices in schools. This is, in part, due to the subjective nature of some aspects of the guidance including the term 'reasonable' which is currently open to considerable interpretation.

IRBs fall within the broad category of restraint and restrictive intervention which is defined as 'planned or reactive acts that restrict an individual's movement, liberty and/or freedom to act independently' (HMG, 2019, p. 9). Specifically, IRBs may be categorised as seclusion which involves the 'supervised confinement and isolation of a child or YP, away from others, in an area from which they are prevented from leaving' (HMG, 2019, p. 9). These definitions appear in government non-statutory guidance on reducing the need for restraint and restrictive intervention in special education, health and care settings. The guidance does not, however, apply to mainstream education settings including free schools and academies or alternative provision providers (PRUs). Those facilities are all subject to separate guidance which states schools can use seclusion or isolation rooms appropriately as a disciplinary penalty without it constituting a form of restraint or restrictive intervention (HMG, 2019).

The behaviour and discipline guidance determine that using isolation (preventing a child from leaving a room of their own free will) should only be considered in “exceptional circumstances” (DfE, 2016, p. 12). According to a report by The Centre for the Advancement of Positive Behaviour Support (CAPBS, 2015) it is not clear what exceptional circumstances are because the context of isolation in schools is discipline rather than safety. Where it is deemed necessary to use isolation in line with the behaviour management policy the school is left to decide the length of time a pupil should be subject to the punishment and what they do during that period as long as it is constructive and lasts no longer than necessary.

However, a FOI request by the BBC showed that in 2017, despite the guidance around “exceptional circumstances” (DfE, 2016, p. 12) over 200 students had been in isolation continuously for a week (Busby, 2018; Perraudin, 2018; Titheradge, 2018) leading to legitimate questions over excessive use. Within the current unregulated environment, schools are not required to report their use of isolation leaving the quantification of necessary time open to interpretation. Therefore, it can be argued this leads to inconsistencies and disagreements regarding proportionality. This has implications when viewed from a rights-based perspective in terms of legal duties incumbent upon the school with respect to the Education Act (2002), Children and Families Act (2014), Equality Act (2010) and Human Rights Act (1998; Article 5) particularly regarding pupils with SEN (Lyons, 2015).

A report by Schools Week stated 52% of the 47 largest academy trusts responding to their request for information said students in isolation did not get work identical to their classmates (Staufenberg, 2018) and time was spent copying out of textbooks (Titheradge, 2018). This potentially challenges interpretations over the constructive use of time (DfE, 2016) in IRBs and has implications for longer-term

academic achievement, bringing into question some school's regard for a YP's right to education (UNCRC, 1989; article 28). These legitimate concerns over the interpretation of statutory and non-statutory guidance contributing to variations in administration may be behind Ofsted's request for inspectors to question and understand restrictions on children's lives, including the use of isolation/seclusion in schools (Ofsted, 2018). Interestingly, guidelines for inspectors on physical intervention and restrictions of liberty explicitly ask whether school leaders have taken into account the views of children (Ofsted, 2018). Whilst it is not unusual for Ofsted to elicit pupils views this guidance on Positive Environments where Children can Flourish (Ofsted, 2018) signals a shift towards heavily emphasising YP's voice and their experiences.

Given the lack of clarity that results in subjective interpretation, the guidance provided for schools on the use of IRBs is currently inadequate. The guidance fails to substantively draw upon any published studies into the use of restrictive practice, seclusion or IRBs in its advice and does not take account of how YP actually experience the process, with no reference to their views. There is also a lack of definitional clarity over terms such as classroom management, behaviour management and discipline in guidance to schools. This is confused further by a conflation of these terms within the academic literature (Stevenson et al., 2020). Thus, leaving them open to interpretation, with their application dependent upon the lens, relative to control, through which they are viewed. As such it is important to clarify the constructs and how their interpretation can lead to the use of restrictive penalties like isolation.

The Constructs of Classroom Management, Behaviour Management and Discipline

The academic literature shows the constructs of classroom management, behaviour management and discipline have been used interchangeably however, nuanced differences mean they are not synonymous. Within much of the literature classroom management is defined as a broad, umbrella term describing all teacher efforts to oversee classroom activities including learning, social interaction and behaviour (e.g., Reupert & Woodcock, 2010; Rimm-Kaufman & Sawyer, 2004; Shih et al., 2015). It is widely recognised that for effective classroom management to occur teachers must understand the interconnectedness of learning, social interaction and behaviour (du Plessis et al., 2016; Korpershoek et al., 2016; Mitchell et al., 2017; Sebastian et al., 2019). Therefore, classroom management includes but is not limited to behaviour management and discipline. Behaviour management is similar to, yet different from, discipline in that it includes pre-planned efforts to prevent deviations from expected behaviour as well as teacher's responses. It is characterised by prevention, specifically including rule establishment, forming a reward structure and establishing opportunities for student input, as well as reactive strategies (e.g., Browne, 2013; Gage, Scott et al., 2018; Parsonson, 2012; Payne, 2015; Rogers, 1998; Thornberg, 2008). Within the literature on 'zero-tolerance' systems, prevention appears to revolve around sanctions to control behaviour through threatened penalties for disobeying established rules that use fear to deter offending (e.g., Bleakley & Bleakley, 2018; Evans & Lester, 2012; James & Freeze, 2006; Karanxha, 2017; White & Young, 2020). Such systems are designed autocratically from the top down, rely heavily on enforcement and have little or no input from students. In contrast Evertson and Weinstein (2006) suggest that

encouraging student input is useful for maintaining desired behaviour. In this framing, behaviour management becomes a positive process of establishing environments where students enjoy their rights, dignity and self-esteem (Grundy & Blandford, 1999; Hayes et al., 2011; Kyriacou, 2018). The terminology relating to positive behaviour management suggests school success is achieved without causing pain, embarrassment or endangering the safety of students (Scott, 2007; Osler 2000). However, in her book reviewing the major theories of behaviour management, Porter (2014) contends that the practice has become more narrowly associated with the use of reward and punishment to induce behaviour modification. According to Piquero et al. (2011) this is largely due to society's long tradition with controlling forms of discipline. Philosophically and historically writing within the context of schools, hospitals and prisons Foucault (1975) referred to discipline as the practice of institutional social control highlighting the relations of power associated with externally imposed behavioural expectations. Central to Foucault's (1975) conceptualisation of control is nonobservance which highlights failure to reach required standards. Therefore, the primary function of disciplinary systems becomes correction of deviant behaviour in line with standardised norms.

The word discipline comes from the Latin *disciplina* meaning instruction and training. It is derived from the Latin *discere* meaning *to learn*. In the education literature there appear to be different conceptions of the meaning of discipline. For Martin and Yin (1999) discipline refers to the rules and structures describing students expected behaviour along with efforts to ensure compliance through external motivation. According to Wiseman and Hunt (2013) discipline is distinct from punishment and underpinned by student ownership with options for problem solving that leave dignity intact. This view moves towards the belief that discipline as a

function of motivation is internally located rather than externally imposed, a framing identified by Krskova et al. (2019) in their exploration of university student perceptions of discipline. Thus, in these understandings of discipline, school interventions involving YP in problem solving and decision making represent crucial opportunities for students to exercise some autonomy and feel either included or disregarded. For example, a national survey of behaviour undertaken by Munn et al. (2009) using surveys and focus groups to gather data on the views of YP in eight Scottish mainstream secondary schools, found that no mechanisms were reported for addressing the efficacy of behaviour management systems. Yeager et al.'s (2018) case study review of interventions promoting motivation and behaviour suggested school responses not accounting for student perspectives and experiences could produce feelings of alienation and disconnection in YP.

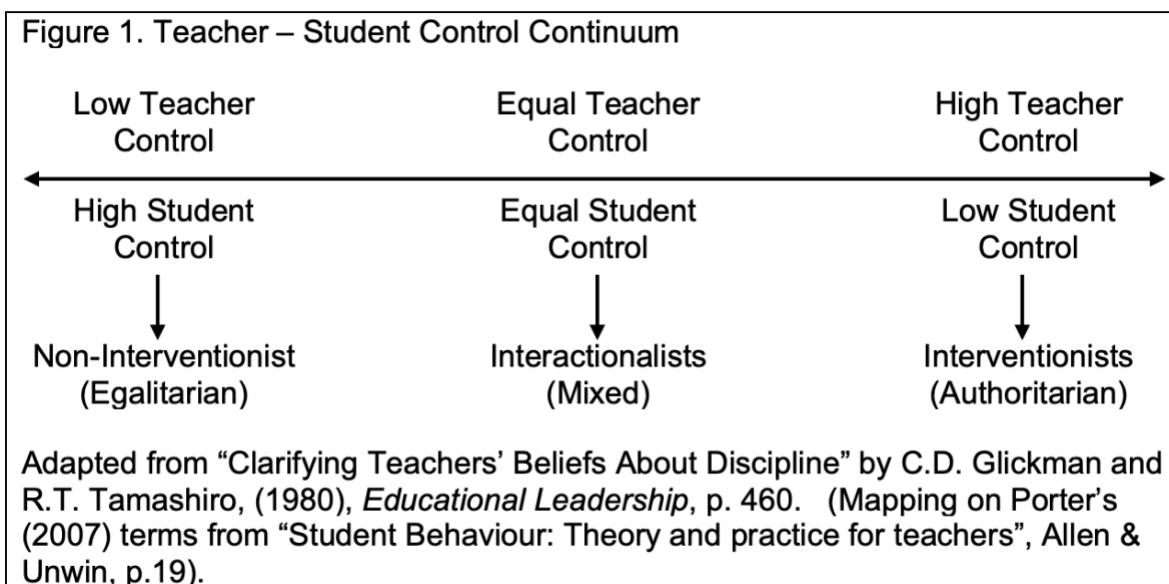
As can be seen from this review classroom management, behaviour management and discipline may be interpreted in different ways depending upon the lens through which they are viewed. One lens articulated in the literature on discipline in education is that of teacher beliefs about power and the desire to exercise control over students. This provides a useful structure for reviewing the literature in order to understand the context within which IRBs are situated. The discipline literature can be placed on a continuum, at one end, reflecting low levels of control and the view that pro-social awareness is facilitated through strong, consistent relationships at school. At the other end, a corpus represents high levels of control with the use of punitive methods to obtain compliance through restrictive penalties such as isolation.

Teacher Beliefs About Discipline

A body of literature has investigated teacher's beliefs about discipline (e.g., Atiles et al., 2017; Chiu, 2006; Erdena & Wolfgang, 2004; Fang, 1996; Glickman & Tamashiro, 1980; Hannigan & Hannigan, 2019; Kaya et al., 2010; Kennedy et al., 2017; Polat et al., 2013). Notably, using a combination of psychological interpretations, Glickman and Tamashiro (1980) and Wolfgang and Glickman (1986) conceptualised a framework for beliefs about discipline spanning along a power continuum reflecting teacher's desire to exercise control over students (Figure. 1). They illustrated three approaches to classroom interaction termed non-interventionist, interactionalist and interventionist. Aligning with this framework is Porter's (2007) more recent conceptualisation of discipline across a continuum that spans from authoritative through mixed to egalitarian although the focus is on power distribution rather than control.

Figure 1

Teacher – Student Control Continuum



Glickman and Tamashiro's (1980) framework provides a structure to explore the literature surrounding approaches to behaviour management and discipline. The current direction of government and education providers, specifically secondary schools, appears to be towards increasingly punitive and extreme interventionist measures of discipline despite little supportive evidence within the literature.

According to Critcher (2008) policymakers in the UK periodically respond to moral panics about behaviour rather than giving careful, research-informed consideration to effective and ethical practice (Armstrong & Hallett, 2012). This all too often leads commercially minded individuals offering personal experience and views to become the primary anchor for recommending effective behaviour management strategies to schools (Armstrong et al., 2015). Their advice reflects a personal position on Glickman and Tamashiro's (1980) continuum relating to individual beliefs about discipline and desires over exercising control.

Teacher beliefs viewed along a continuum of control help contextualise discipline and the various approaches taken within individual classrooms as well as systemically. The variance in beliefs sitting along the control continuum may align with methodological differences seen in the research process. It is possible that non-interventionist beliefs would be more likely evidenced through qualitative methods seeking rich description of individual experience. In contrast, interventionist discipline beliefs may be driven by quantitative statistical forms of data collection providing thinner description at an individual level, more akin to behaviourist epistemologies grounded in positivism (Howe, 1988).

Non-Interventionist, Interactionalist and Interventionist Discipline Beliefs***Non-Interventionist***

Non-interventionists or egalitarians are positioned in the literature as having an enduring faith in the rational capacity of learners to solve their own problems (Caner & Tertemiz, 2015; Glickman and Tamashiro, 1980; Kaur & Ranu, 2017; Martin et al., 2003; Martin et al., 1998; Ritter & Hancock, 2007). As such the teacher becomes responsible for providing a supportive, facilitative environment allowing learners to use their innate abilities (Glickman & Wolfgang, 1978). Proponents of this belief included Axline (1947) a pioneer in play therapy, Moustakas (1972) a humanist and phenomenologist, Rogers (1969) a humanist who developed person-centred approaches and Raths and Harmin (1966) whose work on values placed emphasis on process over outcome. Non-interventionist strategies with person-centred foundations in humanism and influenced by the ideas of Rogers (1969) move away from compliance towards the development of morally sophisticated individuals capable of self-thought and care for others (Kohn, 1996). Research has found that in non-interventionist school cultures the voice of the YP was encouraged and valued allowing the possibility for authentic negotiation and collaborative problem solving as part of disciplinary practices (Millei, 2007; Mouffe, 2000). Pyhalto et al.'s (2010) qualitative six case-school study of 518 pupils in Finland found that YP's self-report survey responses showed they positively perceived teachers use of collaborative problem-solving methods as well as strategies that promoted their active agency and belonging within the class and school community. In contrast the study reported YP feelings of anxiety and anger when teachers displayed authoritarian behaviour that undermined their agency. This highlighted the active role of YP in socio-constructivist theories of educational psychology that promote

autonomy and participation (Bruner, 1996; Vygotsky, 1978). These are also important components of self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000a; Ryan & Deci, 2002).

SDT is a macro-theory of motivation that suggests individuals are driven to grow and change through the fulfilment of three psychological needs, competence, connectedness and autonomy. The theory proposes that intrinsic and extrinsic motivation lie on a continuum of self-determination. SDT, unlike other perspectives, proposes that extrinsic motivation greatly varies in its relative autonomy (Ryan & Connell, 1989). For Ryan and Deci (2000b) extrinsic motivation refers to performing a task or adopting a behaviour to achieve a separate outcome which contrasts with intrinsic motivation which occurs through the inherent satisfaction of the activity/behaviour itself. According to SDT different motivations represent the degrees to which the value and regulation of requested activities/behaviours have been internalised and integrated (Ryan & Deci, 2000b). Internalisation means 'taking in' a value or regulation whilst integration requires further transformation, so they begin to emanate from the individual's sense of self. Ryan and Deci (2000b) suggest that as regulations are internalised and assimilated to the self, individuals experience greater autonomy. Equally, experiencing autonomy facilitates internalisation and integration. Therefore, autonomy supportive environments allowing YP to feel competent, related and autonomous enable them to transform values into their own. Early research in education by Ryan and Connell (1989) found that externally regulated students showed less interest, value and effort in achievement and they tended to disown negative outcomes and blame others. Deci et al. (1994) reported controlling contexts led to less internalisation suggesting school environments with punitive behaviour management approaches threaten to

undermine the development of integrated extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. By failing to support competence, relatedness and autonomy schools contribute to alienation and ill-being (Ryan & Deci, 2000b). To date the majority of research on SDT has focused on the effects of autonomy supportive environments, however such a unidimensional approach according to Standage et al. (2005), may have led to overlooking environmental factors that contribute to competence and relatedness.

In line with non-interactionist beliefs and based upon humanistic psychology Gordon (1972) developed a model for training teachers in social interaction skills enabling them to use strong reciprocal exchanges to support YP's learning, self-efficacy and autonomy. Gordon (1972) stated that respecting the needs of both participants in an interaction helps develop and maintain a healthy relationship where both can strive to become what they are capable of being. In Gordon's Teacher Effectiveness Training exertion of control is replaced with methods of conflict resolution and active listening. In a mixed methods study looking at Finnish teachers social and emotional learning following TET Talvio et al. (2013) found post-test results suggested an increase in autonomy supportive behaviour. Other quantitative (Talvio, Berg et al., 2015) and qualitative (Talvio, Lonka et al., 2015) studies support their results regarding autonomy supportive behaviour. Talvio et al. (2013) also found signs of decreased controlling behaviour amongst Finnish teachers, differing from Tessier et al.'s (2008) experimental study of PE teachers. Talvio et al. (2013) suggested it may be difficult for teachers to give up controlling behaviours and concluded not all control was harmful. For example, Brekelmans et al.'s (2011) large scale quantitative research using an existing database of more than 18,000 Dutch secondary school pupils found students simultaneously perceiving teacher control and affiliation, defined as warmth and care, showed

stronger engagement. However, according to Talvio et al. (2013) controlling students often involved low levels of affiliation with a focus on correcting and punishing. This appears to be characteristic of UK schools where researchers have argued that conservative values favour strict almost military-like discipline enforced through punishment (Gleason, 2001; Kennedy et al., 2017; Lertchoosakul, 2021; Middleton, 2008; Sellers & Arrigo, 2018) where the teacher's authority is supported by prevailing cultural values placing emphasis on legitimacy of hierarchical social relations (Wouters, 2007). This contrasts with research carried out in more egalitarian societies such as Finland where beliefs about discipline and exertion of control have evolved into a dominant view that teachers should not force students into compliance instead winning their cooperation and loyalty in ways deemed respectful of individuality (e.g., Carlgren et al., 2006; Korthagen, 2004). As such, non-interventionist approaches like TET have been embraced and legitimised because of the prevailing societal culture embedded within the education system. This provides greater scope for researchers to build an evidence base around non-interventionist approaches and may help explain why much of the scant literature originates from Scandinavia. It must be noted, O'Neil and Stephenson (2014) contend that the effectiveness of non-interventionist approaches like TET are yet to be proven due to poor research designs which are not empirically robust. Despite Scandinavian egalitarianism YPs voices remain underrepresented and most research focuses on evaluating success from the perspective of educators. Little or no focus is given to YPs experiences of being taught by teachers having undergone TET or applying a non-interventionist approach. This may reflect the continued dominance of statistically driven methods for evaluating effectiveness even within

theoretical perspectives naturally favouring person-centredness and aligning with exploring student's experiences.

The literature surrounding non-interventionist approaches remains in short supply with a particular gap representing a UK perspective. Significantly, despite the student-centred humanistic aspect of non-interventionist approaches YPs voices are largely missing, leaving a hole in the evidence base.

Interactionalist

According to the literature interactionalist or democratic teachers, believe YP need a dynamic relationship with adults where the teacher uses strategies to assist students in having greater responsibility for their actions (e.g., Basu & Barton, 2010; Collins et al., 2019; Egeberg et al., 2020; Glickman & Wolfgang, 1978; Graham, 2018; Kubat & Dedebarli, 2018; Pohan, 2003; Schultz, 2018). Lewis (2009) suggests this involves teachers seeking to understand the causes and goals of behaviour whilst emphasising choice. Interactionalists look to the work of developmental and social psychologists such as Adler, Dreikurs and Glasser believing student's behaviour stems from their environment, interactions and social relationships. Dreikurs' (1968) Goal Centred Model and Glasser's (1988) Choice Theory are categorised within the literature as psycho-educational and both contend that human behaviours attempt to fulfil needs. For Dreikurs (1968) the social human's innate need for belonging and acceptance is paramount. As such, teachers are encouraged to understand how inappropriate behaviours link to mistaken goals such as power/attention seeking, revenge or inadequacy so they can support students in choosing more appropriate actions that still meet their needs. Thus, for

interactionists discipline moves away from conduct towards understanding student's interactional motivation and intentions.

According to Dreikurs (1968) a democratic classroom environment is established through order, limits, firmness, kindness, assertiveness, teacher leadership and student involvement in establishing rules with logical consequences relating to rights and responsibilities. The term 'logical consequences' is preferred by Dreikurs over 'consequences' which is often interpreted within behaviourist approaches as punishment. As such logical consequences should relate proportionately to the inappropriate behaviour and be related, reasonable, respectful, reliably enforced and revealed (Albert, 1996) whilst emphasising choice. Malmgren et al. (2005) provide an example of a logical consequence for what they term classroom disruption in the form of isolation from the group until there is agreement for re-joining without disruption. Whilst that might emphasise a degree of forced choice it does not necessarily align with Dreikurs original intention for teachers to understand behaviour particularly through the lens of psychology. Afterall, proponents of attachment theory and trauma informed practice would argue that isolating an individual disrupts the lasting psychological connectedness between human beings (Bowlby, 1969). Such disruptions may create feelings of rejection and undermine the benefits of strong, trusting, supportive adult relationships identified within relational frameworks (Bergin & Bergin, 2009; Cozolino, 2013; Riley, 2011). The development of positive relationships is also integral to Dreikurs' preventative model so students feel accepted. Although logical consequences can be used in the classroom, research on its effectiveness appears predominantly to focus on parenting studies (Leijten et al., 2019; Mageau et al., 2018; Robichaud et al., 2019). One such study by Robichaud et al. (2020) used an experimental vignette

methodology with 214 adolescents to compare the effects of logical consequences with classical authority exertion strategies (mild punishment, reasoning and no authority exertion). Their results showed adolescents held favourable perceptions of logical consequences rating it as most acceptable and in line with mild punishment for eliciting future compliance. The younger adolescents in their study anticipated they would comply with logical consequences for more internalised reasons meaning they personally found the rule to be important and responded for autonomous reasons. It is notable that studies have predominantly focused upon parenting because Dreikurs' psychotherapeutic model was first introduced in an era where psychology was being applied to understanding and improving the parent-child relationship at home (Tauber, 2007). The model has been adapted for school settings, as a result its implementation may be seen as problematic and lacking practices to stop aggressive, defiant or disruptive behaviours quickly (Charles & Senter, 2005). Brophy (1988) contended such psychotherapeutic models might be too complicated to put into practice within schools.

Soheili et al.'s (2015) quasi-experimental research with 30 teachers and 745 students conducted within a school context using Adler-Dreikurs techniques for democratic classrooms showed, post-test, positive effects on student's satisfaction with the environment and relationships with teachers (Soheili et al., 2015). Although the study assessed student's perspectives and represented their phenomenological impressions it was undertaken within an Iranian cultural context which differs from the UK. Findings from an Australian quantitative study by Burnett (2002) aligns with Soheili et al. (2015) supporting the assertion that students learn the qualities of cooperation, responsibility and democracy from their teachers (Alizadeh & Sajjadi, 2010). When students see teachers engaging in trusting and respectful behaviour

they will reciprocate in kind (Miller & Pedro, 2006). Studies also showed students were more involved, responsible and participatory within democratic classroom environments (Adeyemo, 2012; Djigic & Stojiljkovic, 2011; Wang et al., 1993). Osler's (2000) UK based qualitative study focused on YPs voices exploring their perceptions of behaviour policies. Student's questionnaire responses indicated they saw school discipline as closely related to teacher-pupil relationships and school structures that permitted their participation. This supports the common belief between non-interventionists and interactionalists that relationships are central to successful behaviour management.

The research suggests that democratic classrooms offer students opportunities for power and influence which Glasser (1988) cited as a basic human need, remaining consistent with his belief in freedom and choice. Glasser explained that if these needs were not met by teachers, discipline problems would emerge. However, Tauber (2007) highlighted the difficulty for some adults to acknowledge and accommodate such thinking, particularly those used to the stimulus/response, behaviour modification tradition favoured by 'zero-tolerance' systems. Despite resistance to Glasser's approach, where it has been implemented preliminary research indicates improvements in academic achievement and lower disciplinary problems. School interventions designed to enhance relationships by providing firm, fair, friendly environments impacted student achievement and behaviour positively (Wubbolding, 2007). Hinton et al.'s (2011) large scale quantitative study in the USA indicated that implementation of Glasser's Choice Theory decreased discipline problems as measured by referrals to the principal for disrespect/disruption/vulgarity. Notably Wubbolding (2000) reflected that members of the William Glasser Institute debated the merits of using responsibility rooms or time-out centres for temporary

supervised separation. The faculty concluded that improved student behaviour was due to the safe and need satisfying school atmosphere, not just the responsibility room (Wubbolding, 2000). As Hinton et al.'s (2011) research was conducted in the USA questions remain over its generalisability into a UK context given the inherent differences of educational provision and culture within and across both countries. To date there have been no equivalent large-scale studies exploring Glasser's approach in a UK context. Interestingly the views of students, specifically explorations of their experiences remain markedly absent from this area of study.

The literature exploring Adler-Dreikurs techniques for democratic classrooms underpinning interactionalists' approaches, more explicitly elicit YPs views. However, their views appear to be obtained predominantly through quantitative methods of data collection such as standardised questionnaires. This highlights a continued scarcity in the use of qualitative methods offering rich description of individual experience. There appears to be scant up-to-date research originating in the UK which may reflect the change in focus away from interactionalist philosophies towards more conservative interventionist perspectives heralded by the incumbent coalition government following the 2010 general election.

Interventionist

According to the literature interventionists believe appropriate behaviour is learned through the teacher setting standards for YP and systematically teaching them to function efficiently with others (e.g., Djigic & Stojiljkovic, 2011; Glickman & Wolfgang, 1978; Millei, 2007, 2011; Sunday-Piaroi, 2018; Tshibangu & Mulei, 2018; Unal & Unal, 2012; Witcher et al., 2008). The positioning of teacher control emphasises the outer environment shaping behaviour through immediate correction.

As such schools turn into easy to oversee spaces where constant surveillance is ensured (Millei, 2005) and self-discipline becomes a behavioural accommodation to external rules (Millei, 2007). Interventionist strategies stem from behaviourism and use consequences to reinforce or punish behaviour according to the theory of operant conditioning (Skinner, 1968). Principles of learning theory and traditional behaviour modification provide the theoretical foundation underpinning the interventionist school of thought which led to the development of ABA (Landrum & Kauffman, 2006). Early research in the area often occurred in special education settings and tended to focus on managing the behaviour of an individual (Egeberg et al., 2016). Later models such as the Canters' Assertive Discipline (Canter & Canter, 1976) emphasised obedience, teacher authority and control through the use of rewards and punishments directly applicable to wider classroom practice (Egeberg et al., 2016). Canter's AD is amongst the most popular disciplinary models used in schools across the world (Ahmed, 2020; Chambers & Rost, 2020; Correia, 2019; Cowley, 2019).

AD (Canter & Canter, 1976) grew out of studying how effective teachers dealt with student behaviour and identifying that master practitioners established clear classroom rules, communicated them and taught students how they should be followed (Canter, 1989). Those teachers used positive reinforcement along with firm, consistent negative consequences that Bear (2011) referred to as primarily punitive and included the more extreme exclusionary time-out advocated by Axelrod (1977). Presumably in response to a general move towards positive behaviour management later versions of AD (Canter, 2010) showed modifications emphasising the use of positive reinforcers. However, as with other variants of the approach such as The Positive Discipline Model (Jones, 2007; Jones & Jones, 1998), Positive

Discipline (Nelson et al., 2000) and SWPBS (Sugai & Horner, 2009) it remains unclear what is meant by the term positive other than being the opposite of negative (Bear, 2011). Whether the emphasis is on positive or negative reinforcement the goal of obtaining obedience with its foundation in control continues to be paramount. This emphasis is reflected in the research where effectiveness is often measured quantitatively through outcomes such as decreased office disciplinary referrals and suspensions that represent increased student compliance (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Gage et al., 2018; Lassen et al., 2006). However, the improvement recorded is regularly reported by teachers and may simply reflect how students have learnt to avoid punishment rather than developed self-discipline. Reported less frequently are student's perceptions of school climate particularly those relating to student-teacher relations, liking school and fairness of rules (Bear, 2011). Osler's (2000) research presented an exception, offering UK secondary school pupil's perceptions following experience of the assertive discipline model. Whilst the study reported teacher's enthusiasm about assertive discipline and its ability to provide a consistent system to reward 'good' behaviour many students remained critical of its implementation. In particular pupils reported rewards were like collecting tokens and the system did nothing to make them feel good about school. Osler (2000) suggested some students learned to play the system and overall, it contributed to relationships feeling superficial. Despite assertive discipline's historical popularity more recent reviews have concluded that the evidence for its use has been misleading, reported selectively or altogether absent providing no support for its efficacy (Maag, 2012; Render et al., 1989; Robinson & Maines, 1994).

Highlighted throughout all editions of the Canter's work is the need for a systematic, well communicated and equally applied discipline plan as advocated by

'zero-tolerance' approaches. According to Canter (1989), an equally applied discipline plan reduced the inconsistencies of teachers responding differently to students from socioeconomic, ethnic or racial backgrounds. However, despite highly structured behaviour systems BAME, pupil premium/FSM and students with SEN appear to be over-represented in exclusion data (Achilles et al., 2007; Bowman-Perrott et al., 2013; Boyd, 2019; Deakin & Kupchik, 2018; Demie, 2019; DfE, 2019; Mac an Ghaill & Haywood, 2017; Malcom, 2018; Parsons, 2018; Stanforth & Rose, 2018; Sullivan et al., 2014). According to Jones et al. (2018) this raises questions about implicit biases in exclusionary discipline especially as a significant proportion are the result of subjective interpretations of student behaviour. Several empirical studies from the US have found disparities in discipline outcomes partially driven by racial stereotypes that influence teacher perceptions and interpretations of specific student behaviour (Kunesh & Noltemeyer, 2019; Okonofua & Eberhardt, 2015; Todd et al., 2016). The research pertaining to implicit bias and school-based disciplinary inequalities is more abundant in the USA than UK which indicates a gap within the literature. This also appears to be the case more generally for research on restrictive practices such as isolation and exclusionary discipline like 'zero-tolerance' approaches.

Originally responding to growing concerns about school-based violent crime 'zero-tolerance' reflected the belief that punishment would promote compliance and lead to productive learning environments (Kang-Brown et al., 2013; Skiba & Knesting, 2001). Throughout the late eighties and early nineties 'zero-tolerance' became widely adopted in US schools. This led to a body of published literature emerging at the beginning of the noughties casting doubt on the efficacy of 'zero-tolerance' approaches in schools (e.g., Curwin & Mendler, 1999; Dunbar & Villarruel,

2002; Essex, 2000; Graham, 2000; Henault, 2001; Peden, 2000; Skiba & Peterson, 1999a, 1999b, 2000; Sughrue, 2003; Tebo, 2000; Vail, 1995). Although, notably no large-scale research was conducted. In 1994 the Guns Free School Act in the USA mandated the removal of students for being in possession of a firearm in school legislatively solidifying the position of exclusionary discipline and elevating the status of 'zero-tolerance'. Controversially 'zero-tolerance' has widened from an initial response towards violent crime into sanctions against smoking and general school disruption (Skiba & Knesting, 2001). The broad span of such discipline approaches is highlighted by Skiba and Peterson (1999a) who referred to 'zero-tolerance' as punishing all offences severely, no matter how minor. They assert that it is primarily a method for sending a message that certain behaviour will not be tolerated thus providing a clear discipline plan with swift and certain consequences, traditionally suspension and exclusion. The justification for this comes from the suggestion that treating major and minor incidents with severity sets an example. However, there is considerable scope for interpretation of what is deemed intolerable behaviour. Afterall data indicated that truly dangerous behaviour in schools was relatively uncommon and the most frequent disciplinary events related to tardiness, absence, disrespect, verbal abuse, persistent disruptive behaviour and non-compliance (Barker et al., 2010; Losen et al., 2014; Skiba, 2010; Skiba et al., 1997; Ryan et al., 2007). The House of Commons Education Select Committee (2018) suggested school cultures intolerant of minor policy infractions on haircuts or uniform would create environments where pupils were punished needlessly. However, for proponents of the approach consequences provide a valuable deterrent making students think carefully before engaging in aggression, disruption or non-compliance (Skiba & Knesting, 2001). Although, several authors cast doubt on the effectiveness

of exclusionary techniques including suspension as a deterrent, citing high levels of repeat offending post punishment and suggesting the message of 'zero-tolerance' is not reinforced (American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008; Green et al., 2018; Mowen et al., 2019; Raffaele Mendez, 2003; Skiba, 2010; Skiba & Knesting, 2001). Despite its incarnation as a response to country specific contextual factors within the USA 'zero-tolerance' philosophies have increasingly been endorsed and legitimised throughout the UK. This must lead to challenges and calls for substantive evidence not least because 'zero-tolerance' emerged in response to escalating gun crime in a society that stoically defends the constitutional right of citizens to bear arms. This is not the case in the UK where strict laws control and prohibit the sale of guns. Although parallels may be drawn with knife crime, there are nuances that make it difficult, not least according to Eades et al. (2007) a lack of useful, reliable research on the nature, extent and motivations of knife carrying. Harding (2020) notes an over reliance on aging tropes of youth motivations in knife crime that require a reframing of narratives to enable greater insight. Notably, an Ofsted blog (Sheridan, 2018) drew attention to the possibility gangs may exploit rigid 'zero-tolerance' rules to build their empires. Such contentions should become the focus for further research on the impact of 'zero-tolerance', restrictive punishments and exclusionary policies on child criminal exploitation in the UK. Particularly given research conducted by the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies (Silvestri et al., 2009) concluded that 'zero-tolerance' proved ineffective in reducing violence amongst YP and could also increase it.

There is little evidence for the effectiveness of 'zero-tolerance' approaches (American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008; Skiba & Knesting, 2001). In fact, multivariate and longitudinal studies have demonstrated

that exclusionary discipline is a risk factor for academic disengagement, depressed academic achievement, school dropout and increased involvement in the juvenile justice system (Hwang, 2018; Noltmeyer et al., 2015; Skiba et al., 2014). Bacher-Hicks et al.'s (2019) quantitative investigation from the USA found evidence indicating a clear correlation between high suspension schools, achievement and incarceration. Within a UK context, the House of Commons Education Select Committee (2018) acknowledged that 'zero-tolerance' behaviour policies contributed to a rise in exclusions and pupils attending PRUs. As such, Perera (2020) adopts the term 'PRU to prison' pipeline to describe a system in the UK that disproportionately takes young black children from mainstream education to PRUs to youth detention centres and on to prison. Alarmingly, an annual report for the HM Chief Inspector of Prisons for England and Wales 2017-18 (Ministry of Justice, 2018) found that 89% of detained YP have reported being excluded from school. Perera (2020) noted concern that the most recent report failed to update figures or provide further comment regarding the link between school exclusion and imprisonment. What appears clear is the governments continued commitment to ensuring a police presence within schools which Gillies (2016) warns will result in the criminalisation of mundane misdemeanours and disproportionately impact BAME students thus calling into question the impact of systemic racism within education. In the USA researchers have continued to argue that exclusionary approaches are associated with a 'school to prison' pipeline that forces some YP out of education and into the justice system (Cuellar & Markowitz, 2015; Jaggers et al., 2016; Mowen & Brent, 2016; Skiba et al., 2014; Wald & Losen, 2003). Exclusionary 'zero-tolerance' philosophies are grounded in deterrence ideals with sufficiently severe punishments that discourage antisocial behaviour (Mongan & Walker, 2012). However, according

to Elliott et al.'s (1979) integrated theoretical perspective exclusionary discipline has the potential to increase undesirable behaviour through severed school bonds and decreased school commitment. This leads to negative labelling, institutional failings and social isolation thus fuelling the 'school to prison' pipeline, criminalising YP and further perpetuating systemic discrimination. Cameron and Sheppard (2006) further proposed that oppressive school discipline policies such as 'zero-tolerance' led to suppressed negative emotions, stigmatisation, negative self-image, social rejection and disruption to relationships. Sekayi's (2001) phenomenological study sought to understand the perspectives of all involved including students and concluded internal exclusion resulted in YP feeling ostracised.

Ostracisation involves being ignored and excluded often through the common dyadic tactic of 'silent treatment' (Williams, 2007; 2009a, p.275). This compromises the fundamental human need to socially connect with others. According to the Temporal Needs Threat Model (Williams, 2009a) ostracism is a painful experience that threatens the four fundamental needs of belongingness, control, meaningful existence and self-esteem which may cause emotional, cognitive and psychological harm. Numerous lab studies (e.g., Carter-Sowell et al., 2008; Kassner et al., 2012; Lakin et al., 2008; Williams, 2007; Williams et al., 2002; Zadro et al., 2005) have presented evidence that ostracism results in lower belonging, self-esteem and control as well as a sense of meaninglessness and invisibility. William's (2009a) model presents a sequence of events following the act of ostracism. The reflexive stage involves an immediate detection and response to ostracism such as pain, negative affect and threatened psychological need. Research has shown through self-report measures (Chen et al., 2008) and fMRI (Eisenberger et al., 2003) the feelings that imitate physical pain proceeding experiences of ostracism. In most

cases Williams (2009a) contends reactions to pain increase negative affect including anxiety, sadness and anger whilst decreasing positive affect. However, there is some evidence to suggest affective numbness may occur in some circumstances instead of increased negative affect (Twenge et al., 2003). A small corpus of research has looked at the impact of ostracism when shared with other members of an out-group. Whilst Zadro et al. (2005) saw evidence that co-targets formed bonds by talking and commiserating with each other Carter-Sowell et al. (2008) reported no immediate diffusion of negative affect or need threat. In the reflective stage of Williams' (2009a) model individuals try to make sense of the ostracism event and recover from it through need-fortification. According to Wesselmann et al. (2015) this is motivation-focused with individuals adopting the cognitive and behavioural processes necessary for recovery. Whilst experimental data suggests recovery can begin swiftly after ostracism Williams (2009a) acknowledges that in many instances, such as IRBs where the intention is punitive, it becomes more difficult to recover quickly. Research on behavioural strategies concluded ostracised individuals show pro and antisocial behaviours to facilitate needs recovery (Williams, 2009a). More recently Riva et al. (2016) suggested that ostracised individuals may also remove themselves from painful interactions and seek solitude. Williams (2009a) theorizes that prosocial behaviours tend to be linked to the fortification of inclusionary needs (belonging and self-esteem) in an attempt at re-inclusion. In contrast, antisocial behaviours are more likely to strengthen power needs (control and meaningfulness) by provoking acknowledgment from the ostracisers. According to Williams and Wesselmann (2011) focusing on power needs through antisocial behaviour is easier for ostracised individuals who are unlikely to be reincorporated. This has significant implications for behaviour management approaches ultimately entrenched in

exclusion, particularly as one well documented negative consequence of ostracism may be aggression (e.g., Chow et al., 2008; Gaertner et al., 2008; Leary et al., 2003; Sommer et al., 2014; Warburton et al., 2006). Afterall, Tedeschi (2001) argued that aggression may be a way of re-establishing power. Chow et al. (2008) found that anger linked ostracism and antisocial behaviour. For example, individuals feeling angry at being excluded were more likely to engage in antisocial behaviours. Chow et al.'s (2008) findings led them to propose a potential vicious cycle where social rejection created angry feelings that were responded to antisocially leading to more exclusion. Findings from a range of studies (e.g., Craighead et al., 1979; Dittes, 1959; Jackson & Saltzstein, 1957; Geller et al, 1974; Snoek, 1962) that illustrated how unpleasant experiences of being rejected caused ostracised individuals to dislike the ostraciser potentially add an additional layer of conflict to the need for belonging or what SDT refers to as relatedness. The final stage of William's (2009a) model is resignation which occurs if experiences of ostracism persist over time. At this stage individuals may feel alienated, depressed, helpless and worthless (e.g., Ren et al., 2016; Williams, 2009b).

In the UK the term suspension has been replaced with that of fixed-term exclusion which occurs out of school. In line with The School Discipline (Pupil Exclusions Reviews) (England) Regulations (2012) underpinned by the Education Act (2002; 2006) and Education and Inspections Act (2006) headteachers must inform the LA when a student's exclusion totals more than five days in a term. Fixed-term exclusions of less than five days are collated nationally by the DfE through the school census with data obtained from state funded education providers. However, Power and Taylor (2018) argue that in contexts where exclusions are actively discouraged alternatives such as internal exclusion may be adopted. Such

alternatives are not under the same rigorous external monitoring as permanent and external fixed-term exclusions leaving schools with a high degree of discretion over their use. Gillies (2016) noted the absence of statistics collected and lack of independent analysis on the number of YP involved, their demographic characteristics including SEN and the length of internal exclusion.

Recommendations from a report by the Children and YPs Commissioner for Scotland (2018) called for all local authorities to record incidents of seclusion on a standardised national form. However, that would not include incidents of internal exclusion or isolation that do not meet the legal definition for seclusion. As such Power and Taylor (2018) suggested a broadening of the official definition of exclusion to include practices where students are decisively removed from the mainstream classroom but remain within the school building.

Internal exclusion is an inherent part of an interventionist approach and characterised by high level control accompanied by a belief that authoritative measures are necessary to obtain compliance. As such these approaches are founded in behaviourism and the Skinnerian theory of operant conditioning. They have arisen from American 'zero-tolerance' punitive behaviour management, traversing continents to become embedded within UK secondary school culture. Despite the high prevalence of strict 'zero-tolerance' approaches within UK secondary schools the evidence to support their efficacy is scant (Allen et al., 2020; Moore et al., 2019). No UK studies have looked at the effect of 'zero-tolerance' cultures from YPs perspectives and few have explored the implications for attainment or wellbeing. Much behaviour management research remains quantitative using clear benchmarks such as behaviour incidents, referrals or sanctions for measurement. Often the systems are considered and analysed from

the perspective of those implementing them rather than those experiencing them. Therefore, there remains a significant gap in the literature exploring YPs experiences and perspectives of interventionist beliefs and the use of punitive behaviour management systems such as internal exclusion or IRBs.

The Phenomenon of Time-Out and Isolation

The interventionist's behaviourist term time-out was coined by Staats (1971) as an abbreviation to the construct of time-out from positive reinforcement (Kazdin, 2001). Time-out is often misunderstood and incorrectly defined which may be due to changes in its conceptualisation over time (Harris, 1985). As such caution must be employed when considering the evidence for such interventions. In many cases time-out refers to the removal of a student from the reinforcing situation and not from the room. Therefore, studies that have evaluated the intervention and concluded its effectiveness (Lucas, 2000; Reitman & Drabman, 1996; Whittington & Moran, 1990) must not be misconstrued as representing the most severe end of the restrictive spectrum. The most restrictive punishments include isolation or seclusion which involve student removal from the classroom to sit in a barren environment for a specified time (Wolf et al., 2006). Characteristically the student is in an involuntary confinement room where they are prohibited and physically prevented from leaving until the time-out period is complete (Busch & Shore, 2000). According to Wolf et al. (2006) the rationale underpinning time-out is that of punishment based on the assumption it will be experienced aversively. It must be noted that for time-out to have any impact the student should want to participate in ongoing classroom activities. The implication of time-out is that the time-in environment was reinforcing meaning students would prefer to remain in the setting (Ryan et al., 2007).

However, too often the time-in classroom environment is not sufficiently reinforcing and may be viewed as more aversive than rewarding (Plummer et al., 1977). Ordinarily, time-out is anticipated to decrease the likelihood of future negative behaviours (Noltemeyer et al., 2015). However, Betz (1994) emphasised how time-out failed to teach desirable behaviour and Chin et al. (2012) suggested such exclusion may result in counterproductive outcomes rather than students learning from their actions. Afterall, time-out was only ever intended as a temporary disciplinary measure and Wolf et al. (2006) argued it quickly became ineffective, even physically and psychologically unsafe when children were placed in small, enclosed places for long periods.

There is speculation that time-out could be hurtful as a disciplinary measure as it relies on shame and blame to modify behaviour with the resulting humiliation reducing the value of adult follow-up (Gartrell, 2001). Although referring especially to toddlers Gartrell (2001) suggested time-out could diminish the child's self-worth and self-confidence causing others to view them as troublemakers. Readdick and Chapman's (2000) study used interviews to obtain the perceptions of young children to less restrictive time-out procedures. They found the sanction made them feel alone, disliked by teachers and ignored by peers. According to Readdick and Chapman (2000) this may lead to an internalisation of the negative label and reactions in accordance with them. Where time-out was perceived as punishment the authors highlighted possibilities of serious side effects including increased challenging behaviour and withdrawal from adults seen as punishers.

Whilst there has been some qualitative research of time-out, (Miller, 1986; Regan, 1997) the efficacy of seclusion has been investigated sparsely. Miller's (1986) study of isolation time-out within a special educational context concluded the

process was seldom ever therapeutic and perceived by the children as punishment emphasised by the use of threat. Conclusions from Regan's (1997) unpublished thesis differ from Miller (1986) in that many of the students perceived time-out as non-threatening, acceptable, fair and necessary. Early research by Drabman and Spitalnik (1973) concluded that contingent social isolation for disruptive behaviour by YP with SEMH needs was an effective and relatively specific punisher in school. Adding support to the use of seclusion Webster's (1976) historical single student case study showed decreased aggressive behaviour in a public school for a student with SEMH needs. However, a larger study by Smith (1981) found seclusion time-out had no effect on maladaptive behaviour in his sample of children with autism and learning difficulties. More recently Gilmore's (2013) mixed methods study investigated the perspectives of Year 8 and 9 students through in-depth interviews on participation in a secondary school disciplinary inclusion room. The information obtained through face-to-face interviews was triangulated with a document analysis reflecting the critical realist positioning of this researcher and their desire to find an external truth. The research was situated within an educational ethos valuing student retention in school to accommodate reductions in the amount of external fixed-term exclusions. The paper identifies the context of disciplinary policy in England between 2005 and 2010 as framed by social strategy to reduce student exclusion through the use of internal approaches. This was a direct response to historically high exclusion rates throughout the early-mid 1990's during the Conservative government's tenure. Interestingly David Blunket then Labour Minister for Education suggested the removal of students to 'sin bins' and pledged money to provide practical help for disruption (Rafferty & Barnard, 1998, as cited in Gillies, 2016, p. 4) echoing current government plans to allocate £10 million to curb 'unruly'

'behaviour' and prevent disruption in the classroom through behaviour networks to improve discipline. In her research Gilmore (2013) referred to a paradox of excluding students from contact with peers whilst simultaneously sending a message of social inclusion. However, it seems incompatible with the conceptualisations of true inclusion to consider that isolating students represents a method for reducing exclusionary processes (Ainscow et al., 2006) as per the definition chosen by Gilmour (2013). Afterall the disciplinary inclusion room's description of uninviting and unattractive with students sitting silently in individualised booths with little stimulus other than the rooms rules suggests, aside from semantics, it fits the definition for seclusion time-out. Gilmore's (2013) research looked at the extent to which students considered the disciplinary inclusion room to be about an educational learning experience and explored whether the room enhanced or hindered their education. Gilmore (2013) found the disciplinary inclusion room enabled YP to continue their learning. Although, she did highlight the dilemma of expectations for learning without teacher assistance and the implications for the quality of student's educational experience. Barker et al.'s (2010) mixed methods research involving in-depth interviews as well as focus groups also found consensus among staff and students that they worked harder and achieved more in seclusion than in class. All five of Gilmore's (2013) participants felt the reasons they received time in the disciplinary inclusion room were proportionate and generally fair. Although perceptions of fairness appear to have been related to negotiations with staff prior to the inclusion room rather than the experience itself. The disciplinary inclusion room seemed to serve different purposes for each student including thinking about their learning, considering how learning was better in the classroom and acting as a deterrent to returning. All participants viewed the disciplinary inclusion room as a

punishment, with one reflecting it was worse than punishment, although they felt it was more useful to stay in school than be sent home. Gilmore (2013) recorded one participant as noting the disciplinary inclusion room made them feel stupid. It would be interesting to explore this from the perspective of Readdick and Chapman's (2000) internalisation of negative labels as opposed to Gilmore's (2013) focus on attribution as a social deterrent.

In contrast to Gilmore's (2013) findings, possibly reflecting the evolution of disciplinary inclusion rooms into isolation spaces, Martin-Denham (2020) uncovered student's perceptions of feeling unsupported and their learning needs remaining unmet. Older secondary students reported learning nothing whilst in isolation creating implications for later life chances, directly contradicting the wider political and economic desire to increase societal inclusion. Martin-Denham's (2020) qualitative study commissioned by Together for Children investigated the perceived enablers and barriers to mainstream schooling through the voices of children excluded from school, their caregivers and professionals in Sunderland, UK. According to the author the report aimed to provide a thorough detailed examination of personal lived experience by adopting an IPA style methodology, like Gilmore (2013) reflecting a critical realist position yet implemented using a different method and researcher stance. Overall, 174 participants were interviewed including 55 children in KS1-4. A combination of semi-structured one-to-one and group interviews were conducted with a conversational style adopted for children. The research team employed summative content analysis followed by interpretative analysis to capture underlying content. The author's interpretation was applied through the lens of SEN, leaving scope for further research viewed from a more psychological perspective. This report provided the largest piece of primary

research to date in the UK specifically including children's views of isolation. A total of 27 children predominantly in KS4 responded with their views on the use of isolation booths in mainstream schooling. The report identified six themes relating to isolation booths including the length of time spent in one, why YP were sent along with the impact on learning, mental health, physical health and behaviour. Although, the author does not go on to discuss the impact on behaviour beyond identifying it as a theme. Martin-Denham's (2020) findings regarding the impact of isolation booths on mental health align with other literature suggesting isolation is associated with depressive symptoms, low self-esteem, anxiety and poorer mental health (Hall-Lande et al., 2007; Matthews et al., 2015; Rubin et al., 2009). A briefing report from the Centre for Mental Health (2020) claims every year thousands of YP in England are subject to some form of restrictive intervention for challenging behaviour, such as isolation. It is their belief such interventions have a negative impact on mental health irrespective of previous exposure to trauma. However, in cases where YP have past experiences of trauma, the Centre for Mental Health (2020) suggests they are especially at risk of experiencing psychological harm from restrictive interventions (e.g., Mohr et al., 1998). The Centre suggests exclusion and seclusion can echo relational trauma and risk causing re-traumatisation which in turn may drive further challenging behaviour. Although they are clear this assertion is theoretically based and not empirically evidenced and call for further research on the topic.

Some may argue that internal exclusions have the benefit of keeping students in the routine of attending school which is a necessary condition for securing future positive outcomes (Munn et al., 2000). However, Sanders et al.'s (2016) mixed methods New Zealand study involving 605 vulnerable secondary aged student's experiences, found staying in school was a major factor in keeping them on-track in

the longer term only when they remained in mainstream classrooms. Thus, it may be concluded that an individualised perspective in a context where there is a highly inclusive approach might create better outcomes (Gazeley et al., 2015). Despite such evidence UK schools continue to pursue a policy of exclusion based upon physical segregation and the use of designated rooms fitted with individual isolation booths. According to Philo and Parr (2000) the physical layout of seclusion rooms is clearly associated with punishment, mirroring the partitioning of cells within prisons. Whilst separation is a frequently used spatial tactic associated with punishment seclusion is distinct from other punitive practices due to its lengthiness (Barker et al., 2010). According to Barker et al. (2010) what remains striking is how the fabric of school culture and spatial design have changed to enable exclusion to occur within school. Aside from arguments surrounding the benefits of keeping students in school it could be said that internal exclusion does nothing to promote inclusive practice or engender a sense of belonging. Quite the contrary, it removes agency, restricts space and limits movement rendering students powerless to the punitive consequences. Through their social status and institutional power adults are able to legitimise the control and containment of YP in ways that would be unacceptable for many other sections of the population (Barker et al., 2010).

Despite its wide use within schools, isolation remains controversial because of misunderstanding, ineffective use and ethical considerations. Wolf et al. (2006) suggest that the controversy must be addressed by researchers and call for careful documentation of time-out procedures along with the positive and negative results of its use. If looking at the positives and negatives of isolationary time-out are to be successful it is important evaluations consider multiple perspectives including researchers, practitioners, parents and students. Whilst some research from the

USA has looked at the phenomenon of time-out it has predominantly sought the perspectives of adults rather than students. In contrast, studies in the UK have included YPs experiences of isolation within the scope of wider remits. Therefore, opportunities exist for further research illuminating the practice of isolation within UK secondary schools to enable YPs perspectives to be fully represented within the literature.

Conclusion

This literature review provided a legal, social, cultural and educational context to the practice of IRBs used in schools. Glickman and Tamashiro's (1980) teacher-student control continuum provided a helpful structure for reviewing the literature. It offered a useful contextual framing for understanding teacher's beliefs about discipline and interventionist preferences for exclusionary punishments such as IRBs. Notwithstanding the many variants by which it is known including 'seclusion', 'isolation', 'time-out', 'internal exclusion', 'removal' and euphemistically 'inclusion' the practice of IRBs epitomises exclusionary behaviour management. Its roots lie in 'zero-tolerance' culture and are based upon behaviourist theories favouring punitive discipline. IRBs are ultimately about control. As a sanction they are situated at the extreme interventionist end of Glickman and Tamashiro's (1980) continuum of control and provide a consequence designed to inflict punishment for non-compliance without considering what lies behind the behaviour.

Much available research on 'zero-tolerance' originates in the USA suggesting a clear and unequivocal gap in UK literature on the subject. In particular, there are a dearth of studies exploring YPs experiences of the restrictive consequences favoured by secondary schools as punishment for rule infringement. Intense media

coverage of IRBs has anecdotally reported YPs perspectives, yet little academic research has been undertaken. Individuals, organisations and charities have begun to vociferously challenge the practice of IRBs from a rights perspective. As they call for research there appears to be increased interest from academic institutions for investigating and building a valid evidence base.

Therefore, a review of the available literature on behaviour management and disciplinary processes has provided evidence to support further research into the restrictive practice of seclusion commonly implemented as IRBs in schools. There appears to be a large scope of possibilities to collect quantitative and qualitative data whilst exploring the subject from various perspectives. Most notably missing are the experiences of students viewed through the lens of educational psychology which would offer a distinct contribution to the literature. Educational psychologists are uniquely placed to offer interpretations that straddle disciplines and help illuminate a deeper understanding of individuals meaning making as a cognitive and emotional process. They are well situated, as practitioner researchers to engage with YP, thus facilitating them to have a voice within the academic literature. This broadening of the available evidence-base to rightly encompass the views and experiences of YP offers opportunities for more socially just considerations in the formulation of policy and practice.

Empirical Paper

Abstract

This study explored how young people made meaning of their lived experiences of isolation rooms/booths in UK mainstream secondary schools. Unstructured interviews were conducted with five participants aged between 11-18 with repeated experiences of spending time in isolation rooms/booths. Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), two superordinate themes containing six subordinate themes were identified representing the YP's lived experiences: The Process (A restrictive process, the punishment, a process that separates) and More than the Process (Impact on learning, relationships, uniqueness). The findings highlighted that YP's experiences of isolation rooms/booths went beyond the immediate physical process itself and impacted on aspects of wider school life. This study adds to the evidence-base for further understanding isolation rooms/booths, whilst questioning their appropriateness as a legitimate sanction in secondary schools given the potential negative impact on wellbeing brought about through ostracisation. These findings add support to the use of approaches that develop positive relationships, strengthening a sense of belonging and school connectedness.

Keywords: Qualitative research, young people's experience, Isolation rooms, isolation booths, Interpretative phenomenological analysis, secondary schools, restrictive practice, sanctions, relationships.

Introduction

A review of the literature confirms there is further scope for research into the use of restrictive isolationary practices in UK schools. It is also clear that within the sphere of discipline and control, interventionists largely disregard the voice of YP in contributing to school behaviour management systems. This is counter to Gordon's (2001) appeal for more attention to solutions offered by students, who provide alternative perspectives and potential resolutions. Afterall, inclusive education research should challenge the limited development of student participation in disciplinary systems (Ainscow et al., 2006). Willis (2004) claimed decisions about inclusive practice should be made from a values position involving students as part of the narrative. As such, a strong argument exists for research considering student 'rights' that examines the experiences of key informants (Daniels & Hedegaard, 2011). Therefore, gaps in existing literature highlight opportunities for further exploring YPs experiences of IRBs in schools thus adding to the evidence base available to decision makers.

According to dictionary definitions the term isolation denotes the action of isolating and is described as detachment from others that is often involuntary (Merriam-Webster, 2021). Further definitions describe the condition of being alone accompanied by a feeling of unhappiness and separation with a disconnect from others (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021). Definitions provide a useful starting point from which to begin understanding a phenomenon, however they are limited if considered without relevant context. Therefore, a brief overview of the topic may help provide background within which the use of isolation may be understood.

IRBs fall within the broad category of restraint and restrictive intervention which is defined as a planned or reactive act to restrict an individual's movement,

liberty and/or freedom to act independently. Specifically, they may be categorised as seclusion which is supervised confinement and isolation away from others in an area where leaving is prevented (HMG, 2019). Both definitions appear in government non-statutory guidance on reducing the need for restraint and restrictive intervention in special education, health and care settings. The guidance does not, however, apply to mainstream education settings including academies. Those institutions are all subject to separate guidance that states schools can use seclusion or isolation rooms appropriately as a disciplinary penalty without it constituting a form of restraint or restrictive intervention (HMG, 2019).

The phenomenon of institutional exclusion is not new although the emergence of punishment spaces specifically designed to geographically separate YP is a relatively recent addition to schools (Barker et al., 2010). Over the past decade some schools have established specific spaces often filled with individual cubicles where YP sit facing the wall whilst observed by a supervisor. The partitioned desks according to Barker et al. (2010) mirror the cells of penal institutions. Isolated YP become the subjects of surveillance and control by a school system that has excluded them from everyday spaces and routines (Barker et al., 2010). A wide range of terms has been used to describe IRBs including 'seclusion', 'internal exclusion', 'time-out', 'removal', 'consequence booths', 'calm rooms', 'reflection' and more euphemistically 'inclusion'. Quantifying the prevalence of IRBs in UK schools is difficult because their use is largely unregulated. According to a BBC investigation more than 200 YP in England spent at least five straight days in isolation and over 5,000 YP with SEN attended isolation during 2017 (Titheradge, 2018). A report by Schools Week found over two-thirds of the country's largest academy trusts using some form of isolation (Staufenberg, 2018) and IFF Research for the DfE discovered

half of secondary schools used internal inclusion rooms (Mills & Thomson, 2018). An approach they found more likely in mainstream schools, particularly academies. Traditionally the practice is most associated with criminal justice in prisons (Ahalt et al., 2017; Haney, 2018; Haney, 2020; Strong et al., 2020) and mental health systems in secure hospitals (Al-Marairi & Hayajneh, 2018; Goulet et al., 2017; Muir-Cochrane et al., 2018; Zheng et al., 2020). Recently the term has become well established in educational vocabularies as the practice infiltrated schools throughout the UK. Within the context of prisons Smith (2006) described the practice of isolation as a way of maintaining order through disciplinary punishment echoing recent UK government guidance to schools. Their advice says state schools can use isolation rooms as a disciplinary penalty without constituting a form of restraint or restrictive intervention (HMG, 2019). This has created the basis for what has become an increasingly polarised debate between those who support isolation as an effective disciplinary measure and those who oppose its use within education because of implications for mental health and wellbeing (Centre for Mental Health, 2020).

Despite the intensity of debate eliciting passions that reflect different beliefs relating to power and control there is remarkably little academic research on the phenomenon of isolation in schools. Research on isolation time-out originating in the USA appears largely historical, relating to young children or individual case studies within SEN. Most US research seems to adopt a positivist epistemology providing details relating to who and for what the technique has been successfully or unsuccessfully employed (Drabman & Spitalnik, 1973; Harris, 1984; Kazdin et al., 1981; Marlow et al., 1997; Olmi et al., 1997; Sachs, 1973; Webster, 1976). Some exceptions exist however they remain largely outdated or unpublished. A thesis

authored by Regan (1997) considered staff and student perceptions of the time-out/seclusion booth in an alternative day school for students with emotional and behavioural difficulties. The medicalised deficit language of the thesis title reflected the historical context of the study. The author conducted structured interviews with four staff and eight students aged 7-18 with questions specifically aimed at eliciting feelings, thoughts and behaviours before, during and after time-out. Regan's (1997) research was designed to address an identified gap within the minimal literature exploring YPs views of time-out by trying to understand their individual experiences. Her epistemological and methodological positions certainly sit within the scope of phenomenology and maybe suggest an early nod to the IPA style. However, analysis of the data lacks the depth of interpretation necessary for IPA which has its roots in hermeneutical phenomenology. Regan's (1997) thesis built upon research conducted by Miller (1985, 1986) who investigated exclusionary time-out with forty children aged 5-13 who were asked to draw pictures of the seclusion room and describe how they perceived isolation time-out. This study focused on the perceptions of children through an interpretative methodology and captured their voices using art as the catalyst for description. Prosser and Loxley (2008) suggested participant-generated graphics were central to facilitating communication and emphasized participative modes of enquiry that give voice to those who are typically silenced (Clark & Morriss, 2017). Whilst Miller (1985, 1986) lacked detailed explanation of his image analysis methods, several visual scholars argued that language-based approaches like content analysis could be applied to image-based research too (Banks & Zeitlyn, 2015; Banks, 2018). However, images are ambiguous with many meanings and multiple interpretations (Reavey, 2011). As such visual methods tend towards being exploratory rather than confirmatory and

researcher's reflexivity becomes central to the communication of findings (Banks, 2018). Miller's (1985, 1986) decision to accompany images with descriptions may in part speak to the criticisms of multiple interpretations and offer an attempt at remaining true to the children's individual meaning making of their experience. It is worth noting that both studies were situated within SEN provisions therefore, not reflective of mainstream school settings. Also, the incarnation of isolation time-out in these studies differs from the phenomenon of IRBs prevalent in UK schools today. The time-out referred to in these studies appears to be a short-term period of isolation lasting no more than a couple of hours. IRBs, in contrast, entail at least a day of isolation and in some instances more than a week (Busby, 2018; Martin-Denham, 2020; Perraudin, 2018; Titheradge, 2018). This variation in the interpretation of government guidance which states isolation should last "for a limited period" (DfE, 2016, p. 12) highlights the DfE's lack of clarity and ethical delegation of responsibility to individual schools (Martin-Denham, 2020).

Miller (1985, 1986) and Regan's (1997) studies were undertaken over thirty years ago yet little substantial qualitative research on the topic has been completed since. Recent intense media scrutiny along with individual, organisational and charitable pressures for a review of restrictive practices in education has prompted several research commissions, reflecting growing interest in developing an evidence base. A notable commission from Together for Children resulted in a qualitative study into the perceived enablers and barriers to mainstream schooling through the voices of children excluded from school, their caregivers and professionals in Sunderland (Martin-Denham, 2020). The outcomes of this study identified experiences in isolation booths as a perceived barrier to mainstream schooling for excluded children. Notably the author identified that isolation booths were

predominantly used in KS3/4 therefore, largely the domain of secondary schools. This highlighted the need for further exploration in secondary settings. Martin-Denham's (2020) IPA research used a combination of semi-structured one-to-one and group interviews in a conversational style with 55 children in KS1-4. The research team used content analysis, a systematic method involving coding and identification of themes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Krippendorff, 2018). They followed a seven-step process beginning with a summative content analysis as outlined by Hsieh and Shannon (2005) that involved counting and comparing key themes before interpreting the underlying content. According to Sandelowski and Barroso (2003) content analysis employs a relatively low level of interpretation in comparison to hermeneutic phenomenology which requires greater interpretative complexity. That may explain why the analysis of this research is presented more descriptively and does not reach the detailed level of interpretation desired for IPA (Smith et al., 2009). Whilst content analysis allows a closeness to the text as well as statistical analysis of coded themes it can be inherently reductive (Collins et al., 2017). As such analytical output does not always reach the rich depth demanded by IPA.

Martin-Denham's (2020) report commissioned by Together for Children would be categorised within the domain of educational research viewed from the position of SEN but not psychology. As a result, there are opportunities for the phenomenon of isolation as experienced by YP to be explored through a more psychological lens with the adoption of an analytical process develop within the discipline. The most pertinent method for exploring and understanding individual experience whilst enabling interpretation from a psychological perspective would be IPA (Smith et al., 2009). This gives rise to a significant theoretical divergence away from the purely descriptive phenomenology of Husserl towards the hermeneutics of Heidegger whilst

ideographically showing a commitment to understanding at an individual level. Although each individual is viewed uniquely, shared patterns of experience are identified through cautious examination of similarities and differences across case studies (Smith et al., 2009). Alternatives such as Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 2017), Discourse Analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) or Narrative approaches (Shaw et al., 2018) presented different ways of approaching the topic and would result in distinctive research questions. However, IPA offered the opportunity to learn from the insights of experts, the research participants themselves (Reid et al., 2005) which aligned with person-centred principles. In IPA, understanding comes from the researcher trying to make sense of the participant trying to make sense of the phenomenon which is, in essence the double hermeneutic. As such the researcher becomes an integral part of the process and not an objective bystander thus IPA acknowledges the inherent difficulties of suspending personal assumptions or bracketing. As pre-understanding cannot be eliminated (Koch, 1995) the researcher is encouraged to keep a reflexive diary recording details of the nature and origin of emergent interpretations (Biggerstaff & Thompson, 2008). Martin-Denham (2020) used 'bracketing' by acknowledging preconceptions to minimise the influence on interpretations. The study's inductive approach enabled themes to emerge from the data and analysis retained descriptions as true to participants' as possible.

In addition to Together for Children's commission the AEP called for TEPs to look at children's, parents' and school staff's experiences of physical restraint/restrictive practices in schools. This followed the passing of a composite motion (AEP, NASUWT, NEU) at the 2019 TUC conference expressing concern over investment in punishment-based isolation units to keep YP separated for the entire

school day and preventing them from participating in usual school life (TUC, 2019). Therefore, this research is a response to the AEP's commission and aims to explore YP's experiences of the restrictive practice of isolation in secondary schools.

Aims of the Study

The aim of the current study is to explore how YP make meaning of their lived experiences of IRBs using a qualitative approach. The primary intention is to gain an insight into YPs thoughts, feelings, perceptions and reflections of their subjective experiences whilst also considering any shared essence arising within the participant group. The secondary objective is to add to the sparse evidence base available to assist with informed debate on the topic. After all, qualitative outcomes can offer an opportunity to gain a more complete understanding of a phenomena that may help inform policy and practice (Campbell et al., 2011; Green & Britten, 1998). Of greatest significance is the potential to give voice to those who are often voiceless thus highlighting the value of YPs perspectives in shaping effective behaviour management practice and policy.

The study is guided by the following research question:

How do YP make sense of their experience of IRBs in mainstream secondary settings?

Methodology

Design

Ontologically and epistemologically this research aligns with the beliefs of a critical realist position. It accepts there are stable and enduring features of reality existing independently of human conceptualisation not directly accessible whilst

acknowledging that individuals, including the researcher, perceive and experience phenomena differently depending upon personal beliefs and expectations (Bhaskar, 1978; Bunge, 1993; Finlay, 2006; Willig, 2013).

Given the study's aim of deeply understanding YP's experience of IRBs it is appropriate to adopt a qualitative rather than quantitative approach because of a focus on the quality and texture of experience rather than identification of cause-and-effect relationships (Willig, 2013). Therefore, to explore YP's experiences of IRBs Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was chosen. According to Smith et al. (2009) IPA is committed to clarifying and interpreting phenomenon as lived by an embodied socio-historically situated individual. IPA is informed by three key philosophical areas, phenomenology, hermeneutics and ideography (Smith, 2011). Thus, enabling in-depth exploration and interpretation of the subjective meanings of phenomena and participant's experience (Finlay, 2006) which is consistent with a critical realist epistemology (Reid et al., 2005; Finlay, 2006). To illuminate YPs subjective sense making the study followed an inductive approach with participants driving the findings rather than existing research.

Participants

In line with IPA purposive sampling was used to recruit YP aged 11-18 with repeated experience of IRBs in UK secondary schools making them experienced in and knowledgeable about the phenomenon (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). As a potentially harder-to-reach population homogeneity was achieved by selecting a group who shared and offered insight into secondary school IRBs (Langridge, 2007). Repeated exposure was defined as three or more separate incidences of spending

time in an IRB. Participants were required to be able and willing to talk in detail about their experiences.

Participants were recruited through the social media accounts of special educational needs organisations, parent/carer groups and children's charities. After accounting for inclusion criteria and receipt of signed consent forms five YP remained, all of whom were interviewed. This small sample allowed for in-depth analysis on a case-by-case basis of individual experiences in line with IPAs idiographic commitment. The concern was with offering detailed, nuanced analysis of particular instances of YP's lived experience within a particular context. Participants were selected on the basis they could provide access to a particular perspective on IRBs. The small sample size echoed research by Anglim et al. (2018), Beligatamulla et al. (2019), Buckley et al. (2021), Haegele and Kirk (2018) and Wagner and Bunn (2020) whose participant selections ranged from three to six and. Coffey et al. (2020), Hunt et al. (2020) and Weidberg (2017) had a sample size of five.

In the spirit of person-centredness each YP was given a pseudonym of positive psychologists influential to the researcher.

Table 1

Information Relating to Participating YP

	Marti	Barbara	Carol	Marc	Alex
Attending a Mainstream School	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
School Year (at time of interview)	7	12	12	8	12
Sex	Male	Female	Female	Male	Male
Sibling (of a participant)	✓	✓			
Parent/Carer present during conversation	✓	Partially		✓	
Geographical Location	South of England	South of England	West of England	Wales	East of England
Interview Date	28/07/2020	28/07/2020	30/07/2020	20/08/2020	10/09/2020

Data Collection

As IPA is best suited to data collection methods inviting the YP to offer detailed, rich, first-person accounts of their experience whilst eliciting stories, thoughts and feelings about the phenomenon (Smith et al., 2009) unstructured interviews were used. This enabled understanding of the YP's world view so follow-up questions were taken from their lead (Mathers et al., 1998). Smith et al. (2009) noted unstructured approaches could mitigate the potential limitation of analysis simply reflecting key topics identified in the interview schedule.

A single opening question was introduced at the beginning of each conversation: "can you tell me about being in an isolation room or booth". This was considered concrete enough to be accessible for all of YP whilst providing a platform for deeper exploration. The question remained true to a principle of inductive

research by starting with the particular and facilitating movement to the more general.

Interviews took place during Summer 2020 following a period of considerable uncertainty brought about by the Covid-19 global pandemic which resulted in a period of national lockdown. Therefore, all communication was undertaken remotely using Microsoft Teams accessed through parent/carer email addresses. YP were given the option to have their parent/carer present during the interview.

Parent/carers remained present for the duration of 2 interviews and partially present for 1 interview. Parents/carers were asked to be in a neighbouring room and at hand should they be required during all five interviews due to the remote aspect of communication. The length of conversations varied between 48 minutes and 70 minutes. All conversations were video-recorded through Microsoft Teams and audio-recorded as a backup which was made clear to the YP before, during and after recording. Each conversation was transcribed verbatim and anonymised immediately following the interview after which video recordings were destroyed. Audio recordings have been stored on an encrypted password protected USB locked in a secure filing cabinet and will be destroyed upon completion of the doctoral process. Generally prosodic aspects do not need to be transcribed because IPA's focus is the conversation's content (Smith et al., 2009). However, significant pauses and utterances such as laughing were recorded to assist interpretation.

The sibling participants were interviewed separately and asked not to be present in the same part of the home whilst each interview took place. This was to ensure each had the opportunity to present their own experience.

Ethics

This research was given ethical approval by the UEA's Ethics Committee (Appendix A) and was conducted in accordance with the Code of Human Research Ethics (BPS, 2014). The research process was built upon the premise of respect and trust with particular regard given to ensuring informed consent, confidentiality and the reduction of potential harm. Before engaging in any virtual video communication all participants and parents/carers received a written information sheet (Appendix B) outlining the study giving them time to process and reflect before agreeing to an initial meeting. During virtual introductory meetings through Microsoft Teams with prospective participants and a parent/carer the research was outlined verbally with consent forms discussed to allow questioning by the YP. The YP's right to anonymity and withdrawal from the study were reinforced. Following initial conversations, the consent forms (Appendix C) were emailed to parents/carers having gained agreement from the YP. Written consent was obtained from both parents/carers and YP prior to conducting interviews. In addition, clarification of consent particularly relating to the video/audio-recording of interviews was gained verbally at the start of each interview.

The data collected was handled in line with requirements of the Data Protection Act (2018) and the principles of GDPR. Audio-recordings would be stored securely on an encrypted password protected USB locked in a secure filing cabinet and destroyed at the end of the doctoral process. All participants were referred to by number during anonymised transcription and identifiable personal information relating to schools removed. According to participant wishes certain sections of conversation were omitted from the transcripts.

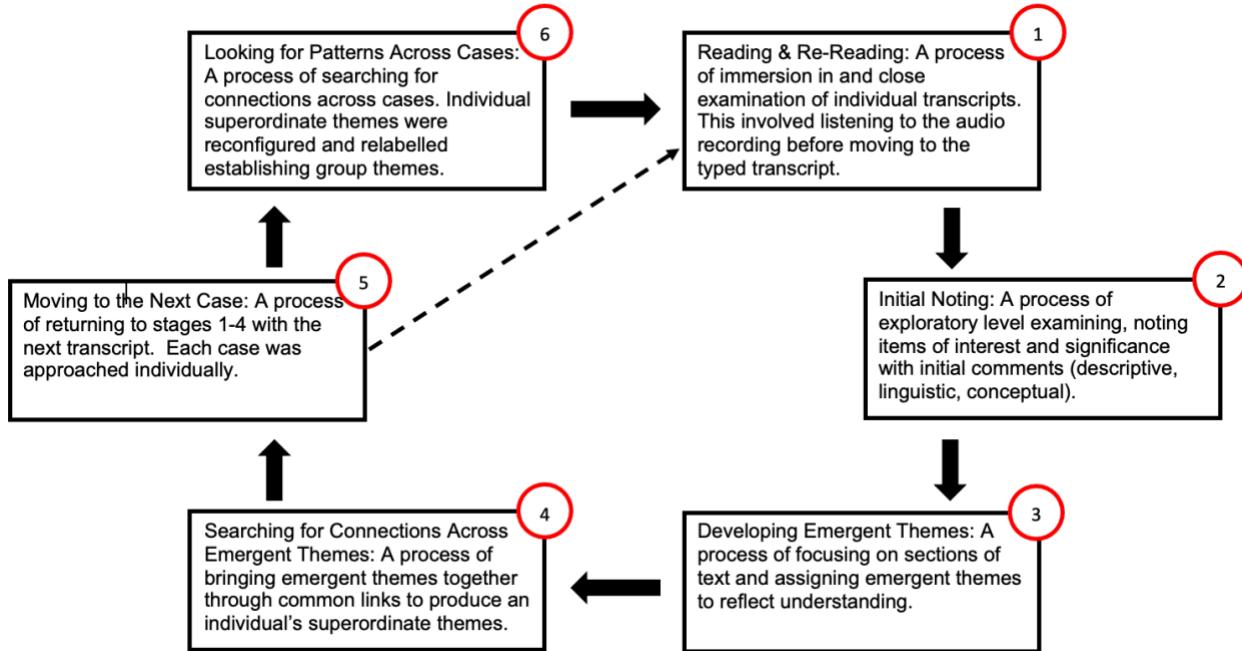
Careful consideration was given to the potential for psychological harm, distress or discomfort that could arise during interviews. In an attempt to minimise some of the potential, participants were told in advance the likely length of conversations although it was made clear they would last as long as the YP wished. Whilst the unstructured nature of interviews left potential for wandering into uncomfortable territory it did provide YP with a high degree of control as to the direction of discussion. The YPs were reassured if they felt uncomfortable or did not wish to answer follow-up questions it was their right and came with no obligation. The main risks were identified as relating to uncovering traumatic feelings triggered by memories of IRBs or the emergence of new emotions following reflection on the experience. In addition, there may have been a child protection disclosure triggering necessary procedures. In light of conducting virtual interviews parents/carers were asked to be available and within close proximity for the duration in case they were required to provide support. Details of national and local charities offering telephone support for YP were compiled ahead of interviews for use if necessary.

Analysis

IPA offers a clear yet flexible framework for data analysis with six stages to support the process (Smith et al., 2009). The suggested process of analysis is more helpfully viewed cyclically rather than linearly with fluid movement through several iterative stages (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Stages of Analysis (Adapted from Smith et al., 2009)



The starting point for each cycle is immersion in the individual's account

before moving towards a shared understanding that goes beyond the descriptive into the interpretive. According to Elliott et al. (1999) qualitative research should attempt to achieve understanding represented with coherence and integration whilst preserving nuances. By reading and re-reading individual transcripts adding initial noting in the right margin, points of interest and significance were identified before becoming emergent themes. As suggested by Smith et al. (2009) comments were categorised as descriptive, linguistic or conceptual although at times they became merged as an interpretation developed (Appendix D). Emergent themes were clustered together according to their similarities using the techniques of abstraction, subsumption, polarisation, contextualisation, numeration and function (Smith et al., 2009) to create superordinate themes for each YP individually (Appendix E). To

preserve the nuances of individuality each YP was analysed separately with a break between each in an attempt to gain some separation and 'bracket' ideas emerging from previous analysis. Despite deliberate attempts to create distance it was impossible for subsequent analyses not to be influenced by what had already been interpreted. Thus, highlighting the interplay of the hermeneutic circle where understanding the whole is based on analysis of each individual part and how it refers to the whole. As the cyclical process of individual analysis concluded connections made across YP began to illuminate shared master themes for the group as a whole (Diagram 2.). The final themes are represented in Diagram 3 showing the nested subordinate themes.

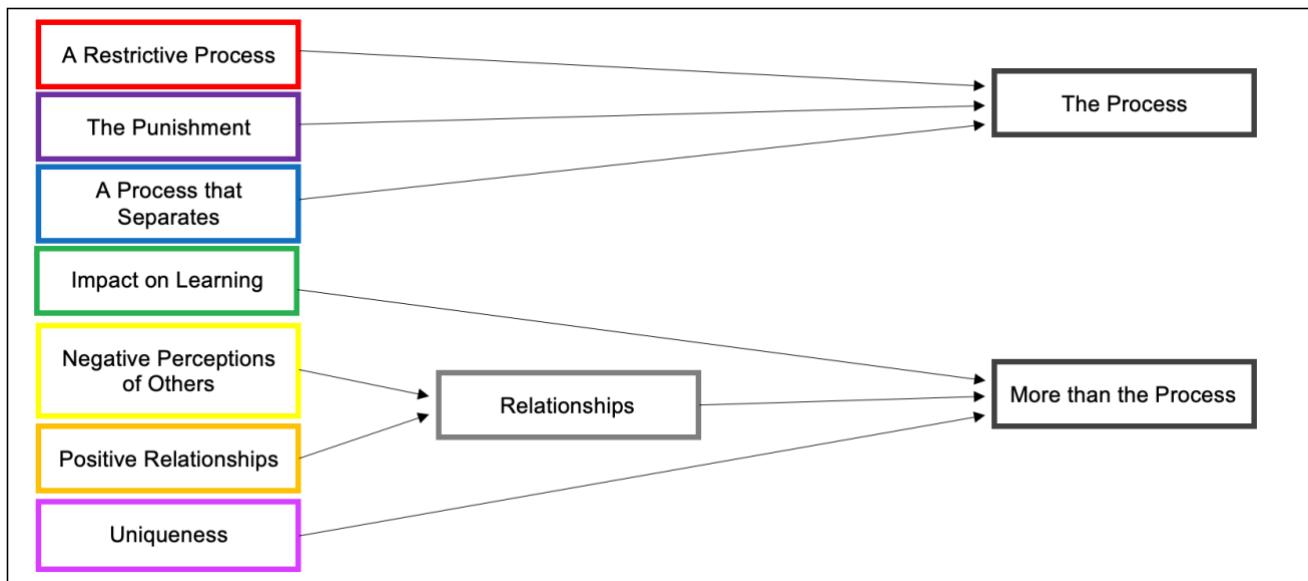
Figure 3

Shared Themes Amongst YP

Participant's Subordinate Themes				
Participant 1	Participant 2	Participant 3	Participant 4	Participant 5
Isolation really isn't fun	Punishment without a clear reason	Isolation as a process that separates	Isolation as a process that restricts	Isolation as a process that restricts
Isolation as a process that restricts	Through repetition comes normality	Isolation as a process that embarrasses	Impact on learning	Isolation separates
An unfair punishment	A restricted physical space	Isolation as more than the process	Walking out to escape isolation	Isolation as a punishment
Isolation as a process that separates	Isolation as a process that separates	Imposed expectations and living up to them	Ruptured relationships and broken bonds of trust	Being grouped and its impact on identity
The negative perceptions of others	Impact on Learning	The kudos of isolation	Positive relationships and trust	The negative perceptions of others
Positive interactions with teachers	The perceptions of others	Teacher perceptions	An unfair punishment	No fresh start or clean slate
No male staff in isolation	Positive relationships	Pointless punishment and forced compliance	One big game of avoidance	The confusion of betrayed trust and inauthenticity
Punishment and guilt	The wider impact of isolation	Impact on learning	Regulars	The distress of isolation and avoidance
Limiting learning		Good relationships feel nice		When teachers understand
				Impact on learning

Figure 4

Superordinate Themes for the Group



Analysis involves interpretation and Smith et al. (2009) suggest there are different levels. IPA encourages the hermeneutics of empathy through the adoption of an insider perspective enabling understanding of meaning and experience from the YPs view. Additionally, this study aspired to walk alongside the YP to understand their accounts from an alternative angle facilitating hermeneutic questioning. At this stage the research moved away from the participant's articulation towards a more interpretative stance (Larkin et al., 2006) whilst remaining close to the text at all times (Smith et al., 2009).

Findings

The aim of presenting these research findings is to offer a phenomenological and interpretative analysis of experiential accounts provided by five YP with repeated exposure to IRBs in secondary schools. Two overarching superordinate themes emerged through IPA. The themes are titled 'The Process' and 'More than the

Process'. Nested within the two overarching titles are six subordinate themes 'A Restrictive Process', 'The Punishment', 'A Process that Separates' (The Process) and 'Impact on Learning', 'Relationships' and 'Uniqueness' (More than the Process). Each subordinate theme was established by bringing together related superordinate themes from individual level analysis (Table 2).

Table 2

Superordinate Themes and Related Subordinate Themes

Superordinate Themes (Group)	Subordinate Themes (Group)	Superordinate Themes (Individual)
The Process	A Restrictive Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Isolation as a process that restricts. • A restricted physical space. • Walking out to escape isolation.
	The Punishment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An unfair punishment. • Punishment without a clear reason. • Pointless punishment & forced compliance. • Isolation as a punishment.

	A Process that Separates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Isolation as a process that separates. • Isolation separates.
	Impact on Learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limiting learning. • Impact on learning.
More than the Process	<p>Relationships (Negative Perceptions of Others) & (Positive Relationships)</p>	<p>Negative Perceptions of Others:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The negative perceptions of others • The perceptions of others • Teacher perceptions • No fresh start or clean slate.
		<p>Positive Relationships:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive interactions with teachers. • Positive relationships. • Good relationships feel nice.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive relationships and trust. • When teachers understand.
	Uniqueness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The wider impact of isolation. • Isolation as more than the process. • One big game of avoidance. • Being grouped and its impact on identity.

The superordinate and subordinate themes are discussed using verbatim extracts from the YPs transcripts as supporting evidence. Quotes have been sampled proportionately across all of the YP to ensure individual voices are heard and shared/distinct experiences capture convergence and divergence. Whilst themes have been separated it is important to appreciate their interconnectedness throughout the YP's narratives and how the individual ideas contribute to the whole experience as represented by the hermeneutic circle.

'The Process'

This superordinate theme captured the procedural aspects of spending time in an IRB. It reflected the immediacy of the process in terms of the physical experience involved with being in an IRB as it occurred. The theme represented elements of control and punishment delivered through organised systems of behaviour management. Each YP described a different procedural experience in the way IRBs were administered in their school. However, they shared commonalities in being restricted and separated by the process. They conveyed feelings of upset, depression, anger and described a need to escape. Table three shows the prevalence of subordinate themes for superordinate theme one across the YP.

Table 3

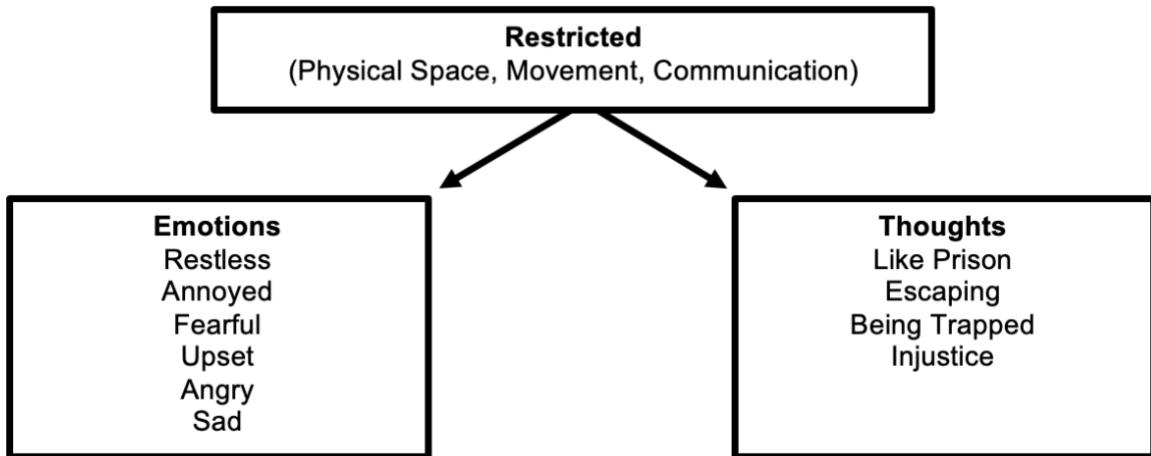
Subordinate Themes Represented by Superordinate Theme 1

'The Process'					
Subordinate Theme	Marti	Barbara	Carol	Marc	Alex
A Restrictive Process	✓	✓		✓	✓
The Punishment	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
A Process that Separates	✓	✓	✓		✓

'A Restrictive Process'

Figure 5

An Overview of the Theme 'A Restrictive Process'



During the conversations four YP described and reflected on their experience as restricted with regards to physical space, movement and communication. Two referenced being prevented from leaving either physically or through threat of further punishment. In making meaning of their restrictions all four YP drew parallels between their school-based experience of isolation and prisons.

Marti: So, the with me it reminds me of solitary confinement because the walls are painted white, there are white lights, you're locked up in a booth with white um walls. (13/563-565)

Marti compared IRBs to solitary confinement a topic he was fascinated with. He talked about his internet searches to find out more information on solitary confinement and was able to talk factually about the subject. Marti highlighted the similarities between what he had read and his own experience. His comparisons

remained literal and physical similarities represented likeness. For Marti, the physical décor and confined space represented solitary confinement more than the restrictions to his freedom and movement.

Marc: *Um, I if I could like, they don't let you get up and stretch if you need to stretch. (2/71-72)*

In contrast it was restrictions to physical movement and being able to stretch that Marc found difficult because he “*can't sit down all the time for longer periods*” (3/94). Marc described his experience of being “crammed in one place” (Marc, 3/108) with “no space to move” (Marc, 3/109) as “claustrophobic” (Marc, 3/102; 104) and “really uncomfortable” (Marc, 3/98). Having his movement restricted was difficult for Marc and the constraints meant he was not “allowed to do anything” (Marc, 3/63-65) except the work provided, which felt “*a bit annoying because I like to do stuff*” (Marc, 2/68). Although Marc did not expand upon what “stuff” he liked doing, his narrative reflected a YP who felt restless and required movement to find learning enjoyable like in PE, Drama and Music which were “fun lessons” (Marc, 9/417).

Marc: *Um, like it's really like really like I don't know how to explain it but it's like it makes you clench your fists. (4/146-147)*

Marc: *Um, [pause] um I just feel a bit angry. (4/169)*

Marc: *And like it builds up and builds up and then you just lose it. (5/189)*

Marc reflected on the sensations in his body created by the restricted space and constrained movement. He did not know how to explain his emotions but by focusing on the physical feeling of clenching his fists was able to make an association with anger. For Marc the emotional energy accumulated until it reached a point where he was unable to contain it any longer. Although he acknowledged feeling angry and described the urges provoked by the emotion to "kick um or punch um" (Marc, 6/255-256), Marc had not "yet" (Marc, 6/256) acted upon them. He emphatically repeated "that's good" (Marc, 6/257) three times validating his restrained behavioural response. This potentially provided an insight into how proud Marc was of mediating his reactions in spite of the difficulties presented by a triggered threat response. Marc had adaptively learnt to employ 'flight' based reactions like "move round them" and "sidestep" (Marc, 6/257-258) school staff who "herd" (Marc, 6/245) him away from the door, enforcing his detention. Marc had, therefore, found ways to escape the restrictions imposed by the isolation room/booth that "feel better" (Marc, 5/230) and "a bit of a relief" (Marc, 5/232). By walking out "because it's too much", Marc was able to reduce the sense of overwhelm presented by the movement restrictions that triggered a 'flight-based' threat response.

Barbera: *It felt trapped, you know like there is nothing you can do. You get in more trouble for leaving the room without permission. (2/79-81)*

Barbera: *So, you just felt trapped, what can you do in that situation. (2/83)*

Unlike Marc the restrictions preventing Barbara from leaving the room were not physical. There was no one standing at the door 'herding' her away from

escaping, in fact she was often left alone without adult supervision. Instead, her restrictions were less tangible, rooted in the potential “trouble” of further exclusionary punishment. Barbera was “trapped” and felt as though there was nothing, she could do to change the situation. After all she “didn’t want to feel like I was being bad” (Barbera, 6/240). Barbera’s lengthy periods of isolation compounded by the persistence of her punishment over many years “it’s almost repetitive” (Barbera, 9/392) “I was always in them since Year 7” (Barbera, 1/17) had a significant psychological impact which she described as “psychological trauma” (Barbera, 6/257).

Despite shared comparisons with the penal system, for Barbara the statement that “it just felt like a prison” signified something more than the physical space noted by Marc and the movement restrictions felt by Marti.

Alex: *Um, I mean the first time I had one it just felt awful like I remember just being sat there like I honestly, like it felt like you were going crazy because like you’re just sat in this little box all day . . . (3/135-138)*

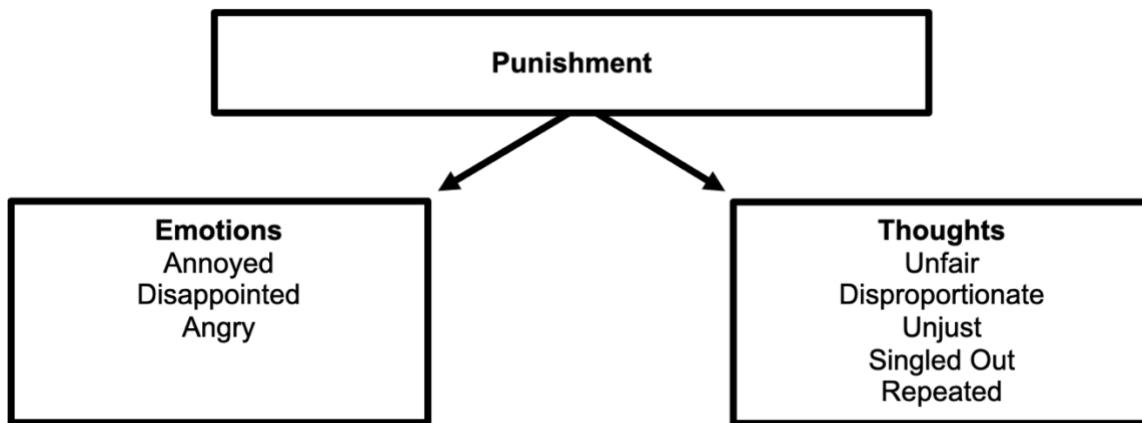
Alex: *Um, like on the basis of what a prison is, you are being taken away from, you know, your socialising. You’re being put in a box as your punishment . . . (4/152-154)*

Alex: *Let’s put an 11-year-old in a box for 6 hours in silence like I just can’t, I that’s what used to make me upset and like angry. What, why would they think of that as like a punishment for children? (5/196-199)*

Alex referenced prison to describe his experience. His understanding of prison as a punishment involving restricted space and removal from social interaction provided a comparison with school isolation booths. Alex's memory of IRBs was palpably unpleasant as was his dismay at the school's implementation of something so representative of criminal justice. His sensation of "going crazy" literally related to the restrictions of space in a similar way to Marc. However, taken more broadly Alex's inference of craziness reflected his own beliefs about the inappropriateness of isolation as a punishment for children. He genuinely questioned how "they" the school system could consider such a restrictive punishment appropriate for children. Alex was upset and angry because he believed it was "quite harsh to lock kids up in a room for the day" (Alex, 11/492-493). His anger reflected the injustice of such a disproportionate consequence for things like "missing a detention" (Alex, 1/41). With reference to his emotional reaction of upset and anger Alex explained "it just wasn't good for me really" (Alex, 4/178-179). This uncovered his concern at being exposed to less pleasant feelings that impacted his "depressed" (Alex, 10/435; 22/984) mood and wellbeing. It also helped explain why he "wouldn't say they're like fond memories" (Alex, 1/10) of isolation rooms/booths.

'The Punishment'**Figure 6**

An Overview of the Theme 'The Punishment'



All five YP referenced the punitive aspect of isolation rooms/booths. They shared a sense of unfairness at the retributive nature and disproportionality of the punishment. As Alex proposed isolation rooms/booths are a 'catch all' for a spectrum of misdemeanours ranging from "punching someone" to "missing a detention" (Alex, 1/26). He described them as "a really negative way of punishing someone" (Alex, 1/23-24). Three of the YP questioned the benefits of IRBs as punishment because they did not lead to behavioural change.

Alex: *It's just like it is, I don't think the teachers understood how much weight that the inclusion room carries. (9/403-405)*

Alex: *So, I don't know it's almost like it just it really made me annoyed that they didn't have any experience of what it was like in there. (11/469-471)*

Alex's thoughts about the punishment continued to reflect his strong values and sense of fairness. He suggested time in the isolation room/booth had become a frequently used yet relatively misunderstood punishment noting "one teacher gave me an inclusion and didn't even know what it was" (Alex, 10/439-440). Alex perceived isolation to be a weighty "harsh" (Alex, 11/492) punishment. For him, teachers did not have any understanding of what being shut in a "box" (Alex, 5/196) in silence with restricted freedom and constant surveillance for punishment felt like. Alex's annoyance reflected a sense of unfairness at the teacher's lack of experience in IRBs.

Marc: So, then I get like a C1 off that because I'm talking to someone and then like and then if I don't speak to someone then I get a C1 because I don't do such good work . . . (8/368-371)

Whilst Alex's sense of unfairness was subtly displayed, Marc transparently repeated "it's not fair like it's not fair", "again I say it's not fair" in relation to consequences issued by his teacher. This highlighted the quandary Marc found himself in where he couldn't do right for doing wrong. He described the feeling of unfairness as "quite disappointing, um it doesn't feel that good really" (Marc, 9/376-377). In trying to identify the underlying emotion Marc described a physical action of "flipping the table" (Marc, 9/381) to represent the feeling which he later labelled as "really annoyed" (Marc, 9/387). For Marc the process of labelling emotions was integrally tied to the physical sensation or behavioural reactions they represented.

Marc: ... they punish you for doing a bad thing and then you're not learning from anything because they are doing the same thing to you. (14/646-648)

Marc highlighted his belief that the retributive nature of IRBs as a punishment meant he learnt nothing from the experience. He believed the school were getting back at him because of his actions. He referred to the sanction as a "stupid idea" (Marc, 7/314) and "pointless" (Marc, 14/641) suggesting the punishment from the school was "an even worse thing" (Marc, 8/331) than his actions to gain the consequences.

Marti: . . . when you generally like know it's been unfair that you've been put in there that's when you feel angry. (8/327-329)

Marti: Like being in there I don't think it changes anything. It's just taking you out of a class cos they are just trying to move you out of the way so because they don't feel that you're doing the right thing at the right time . . . (16/708-711)

Like Marc, Marti's sense of unfairness was underpinned by emotion. In situations where Marti believed the punishment was unfair, he felt angry. Marti seemed to have his own criteria for what he deemed "isolationworthy" (Marti, 16/721). This led to a sense of unfairness when placed in the isolation room for what he considered "accidents" (7/286) which were not intended to cause harm. According to Marti on all but one occasion his actions did not warrant isolation. After reflecting on what he had done Marti concluded that isolation as a punishment would not change anything because he did not normally do things that were

"isolationworthy". For Marti, the punishment was more about being moved out of the way because of not doing what the school perceived to be the right thing at the right time. This engendered a sense of unfairness and anger that did not "feel too good" (Marti, 16/739).

Carol: Um, I don't really think it was beneficial like at all because like say you were put in for not doing, like not understanding the work and asking questions about it then like when I was put in it's like, what, I'm put in for asking for help. (16/738-742)

Marti's belief that the punishment would not enable change was shared by Carol although for different reasons. Carol believed the process of isolation made little sense and had no clear purpose describing it repeatedly as "pointless" (Carol, 10/449). For her, the use of isolation rooms demonstrated less effort by the school who would "just put you in isolation because it's the easy option". (Carol, 3/120-121). As was often the case with Carol she noted others response to isolation first, "It just didn't stop them, so there was no point" (Carol, 7/324-325), later saying it did not work for her either. This offered an insight into Carol's uncomfortable alignment with "them", the "naughty" group. Afterall, the underlying reasons for her punishment stemmed from difficulties accessing learning rather than her behaviour and the inherent naughtiness of being a "problem child" (Carol, 16/715). Carol did not think isolation was beneficial. It punished her for not understanding the work and asking for help rather than for doing something wrong or against the school rules.

Carol: Yeah, you just kind of, there was no point trying to argue with it because you're just going to get punished even more. So, you just kind of complied with them and just went. (19/847-850)

Despite the unfairness of a punishment that penalised her for not doing something right rather than doing something wrong Carol could see no point in arguing against the sanction. She did not want further punishment so compliantly went to the IRB. Carol saw no gains from non-compliance, instead implying there might be losses as the situation “just gets worse, so there's no point” (Carol, 19/868).

Barbera: . . . I would get sent into isolation and I wouldn't know why, and it got to a point where I just stopped questioning it. Like isolation was a second home to me I just went without thinking about why I was going. (5/206-209)

Barbera, like Carol, was worn down by the repetitiveness of spending time in the isolation room. The punishment was used so often it became ‘normal’ for Barbera and questioning the reason was superfluous. She stopped thinking and compliantly attended.

Barbera: It felt, it just felt like low do you know what I mean. I didn't feel happy, I didn't feel positive, I was just always down because I was always in isolation or detention or excluded or something without a proper reason. (5/229-232)

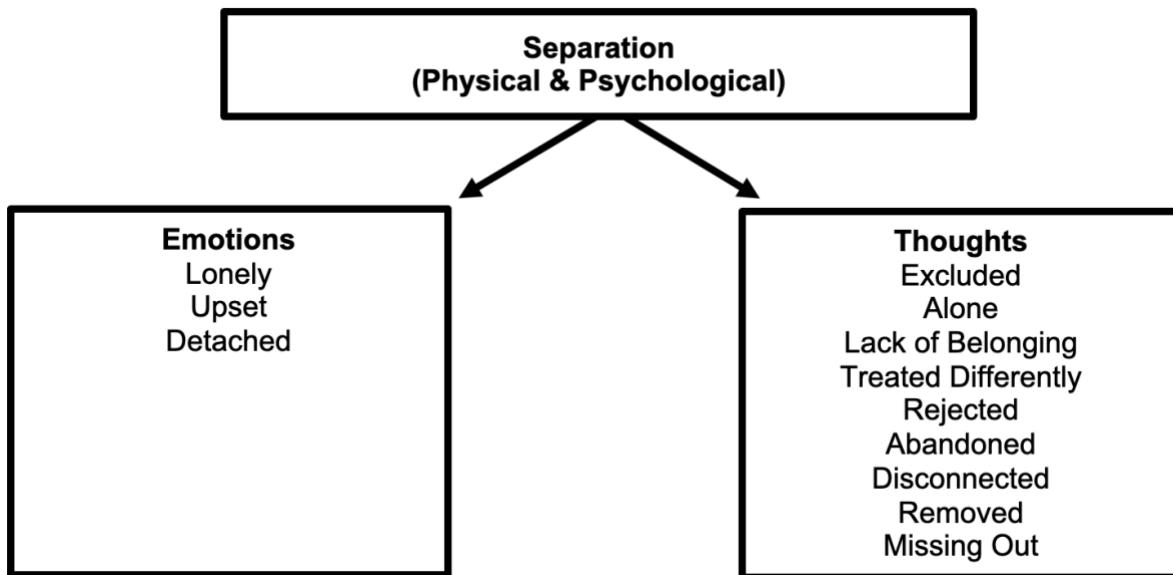
The recurrent nature of Barbera's experiences in isolation represented more than the single incident emotional trigger described by Marti and Marc. Like Alex, the repeated punishment impacted Barbera's mood leaving her feeling "down" and lacking positivity. Barbera perceived she was sent to the IRB without appropriate justification. She recalled how on occasion everyone in the class would be talking yet she "felt singled out" (Barbera, 4/163) for punishment and "just felt bullied" (Carol, 4/174). From her perspective the school's repetitive targeting when she "didn't know why" (Carol, 1/18) felt like systemic bullying and highlighted a power imbalance.

Barbera: . . . so, I just separated myself so I can be in a bad mood in peace, do you know what I mean? Like just be solemn by myself and then go back and pretend to be happy again. (11/477-480)

Such intense and prolonged feelings had impacted Barbera's sense of self and wellbeing. She described herself in the past tense as "I was a very friendly person" (Barbera, 5/219). Now Barbera hid behind a social façade where her feelings were masked by the pretence of happiness. Barbera's emotions were becoming compartmentalised enabling her to fit in with social groups and hide her feelings of solemnness. Barbera was using her own self-imposed physical separation to spend time alone when she was not cheerful or able to smile. This meant she would not be interrupted and need to wear her emotional mask.

'A Process that Separates'**Figure 7**

An Overview of the Theme 'A Process that Separates'



This theme relates to the exclusionary process of physical separation created by removing the YP from their regular school routines and timetabled activities. At times the theme reflects a sense of psychological separation defined by being made to seem "different" (Barbera, 7/312). This theme was present in conversations with four of the YP who uncovered a sense of missing out, being "pushed off" (Alex, 4/184) and feeling "alone" (Barbera, 7/301; 309).

Barbera: . . . like ignoring, not ignoring me but not treating me how they are treating other people, I feel isolated, alone by myself even in a group of people. Even teachers I feel the same way because that room. (7/307-310)

For Barbera the feeling of isolation and separation permeated many aspects of her experience often moving beyond the immediate confines of the isolation room although always traced back to the physical space itself. The process of physically separating Barbera had created a sense of psychological distance and loneliness. Even with other people she felt alone suggesting Barbera's sense of belonging was eroded by the process of physical and psychological separation. She described the exclusion by teachers continuing outside the isolation room. This highlighted feelings of psychological separation and lack of belonging because of being treated differently. Barbera believed "that room" (Barbera, 7/310) created a sense of separation beyond the physical geography of the space by making her "seem different to other people" (Barbera, 7/312) because she was "always in trouble" (Barbera, 7/312-313).

Alex: . . . I'd sit down and I'd find some people wouldn't speak to me because they thought I would be a bad influence . . . (16/731-733)

Alex: . . . they'd they'd blank me and if anything, that used to make me feel really upset as well because like at this point, I'm not even being given a chance. (16/744-746).

Like Barbera, Alex alluded to being treated differently because of his reputation. As a result, he was ignored by peers in top set Physics. Alex's strong sense of social justice and fairness was evident and reflected the importance he placed on being given a chance. For Alex the reputation imposed and compounded by isolation created psychological separation through peer rejection which he found

upsetting. Despite attempts to connect with his peers by asking for “help with this question” (Alex, 16/743), Alex seemed unable to move from being a member of the ‘out group’.

Alex: *It's like, I dunno, I almost just felt like the school had given up on you type thing, like you are just being pushed off into this little space you are out of sight, you're out of mind, you know you're in silence . . . (4/182-185)*

Alex’s sense of rejection and ‘out group’ status was further reinforced by the school system. For Alex, his physical removal to the IRB was like the school telling him to go away so they could not see him and did not have to think about him. It made Alex, temporarily invisible to those outside the IRB. Alex felt the school had abandoned him because he was no longer visible to them having been separated through isolation. The silence of the IRB prohibited Alex from speaking which removed his voice, further setting him aside from others. Without a voice Alex was unable to express himself because “I just felt like the teacher’s just wouldn’t listen” (Alex, 13/584-585) adding another dimension to his temporary invisibility. Alex outlined that separation for him was multifaceted, encompassing psychological division, physical removal and communicative disconnection.

Carol: *Um, well you're obviously isolated so it wasn't like a nice feeling because you couldn't talk to anyone. (1/23-24)*

Carol: *. . . you can't talk to anyone else like you can't see your friends, you can't be with your friends in the day . . . (7/302-304)*

Carol: . . . it wasn't a nice feeling being in there, cos like what's the point in coming to school if you're not gonna be in school. (7/309-311)

For Carol, the physical separation of being in an isolation room represented disconnection from communicating with others. Talking by virtue of enabling access to a group was valued by Carol as a means of belonging. She repeatedly referenced the connection between being in isolation and not being able to talk. Friends were an integral part of school life for Carol. Her separation from them and the disconnection of not being able to communicate was unpleasant potentially generating some feelings of detachment and a fear of missing out. Without access to her friends Carol's school experience was diminished leading her to question the point of attending. Carol highlighted the unpleasant feeling of physical separation because of its impact on her sense of belonging within the school community. Her meaning of "school" went beyond buildings and included friendships, social interactions, fitting in with the group and kinship. As a process that separated, isolation removed the essence of "school" for Carol making her feel detached with no point physically being present without access to the holistic experience.

Marti: . . . they want you to be able to see all the other people having fun and you're not. (4/151-152)

Marti: . . . in the isolation room you see how much like you notice how like the little fun you had when you're in there. You notice how little it is cos it's very different from like when you're actually with people . . . (4/162-165)

Marti, like Carol was detached because of the physical separation from his peers. For him it was literally missing out on having fun which he was forced to observe from a distance through the window. For Marti the window was a deliberate means of visibly reinforcing separation and the fun he was missing outside. It provided a clear comparison with his experience inside the isolation room and enabled Marti to see that physically being with people was an element of him having fun.

Barbera: Um, it's just when everyone's having fun and stuff and you can see that they are having fun, you can see and can't do anything about it. You can't walk around to go see what everyone else is doing. You can't have a little 2-minute chat with your friends you like. When you're in isolation it makes you miss going to your lessons that you fail at already . . . (3/95-100)

Barbera had a similar experience to Marti of observing others having fun from a distance. Like Marti she was powerless to join in because of the enforced separation which created a sense of missing out. She could not access her friends to see what they were doing or talk to them. Barbera had a sense of longing to be back in regular school routines with a wistful nod towards times outside the isolation room that she missed. She nostalgically compared current memories of feeling detached by the isolation room with past recollections of going to lessons where she was failing. This signified missing out on learning making "everything harder to understand" (Barbera, 3/103).

'More than the Process'

This superordinate theme captures aspects beyond the immediate procedural impacts of spending time in an isolation room/booth. It reflects the wider implications of exposure to a restrictive, punitive environment separated from the school community and regular learning routines. For the YP this theme exposes potential longer-term implications for their learning, relationships, wellbeing, mental health, self-esteem and identity. As such, they conveyed feelings of embarrassment, fear, annoyance, anger and sadness. Whilst there are shared facets to the YP's experiences, it is evident each individual encountered element's unique to themselves. Table four shows the prevalence of subordinate themes for superordinate theme two across the YP.

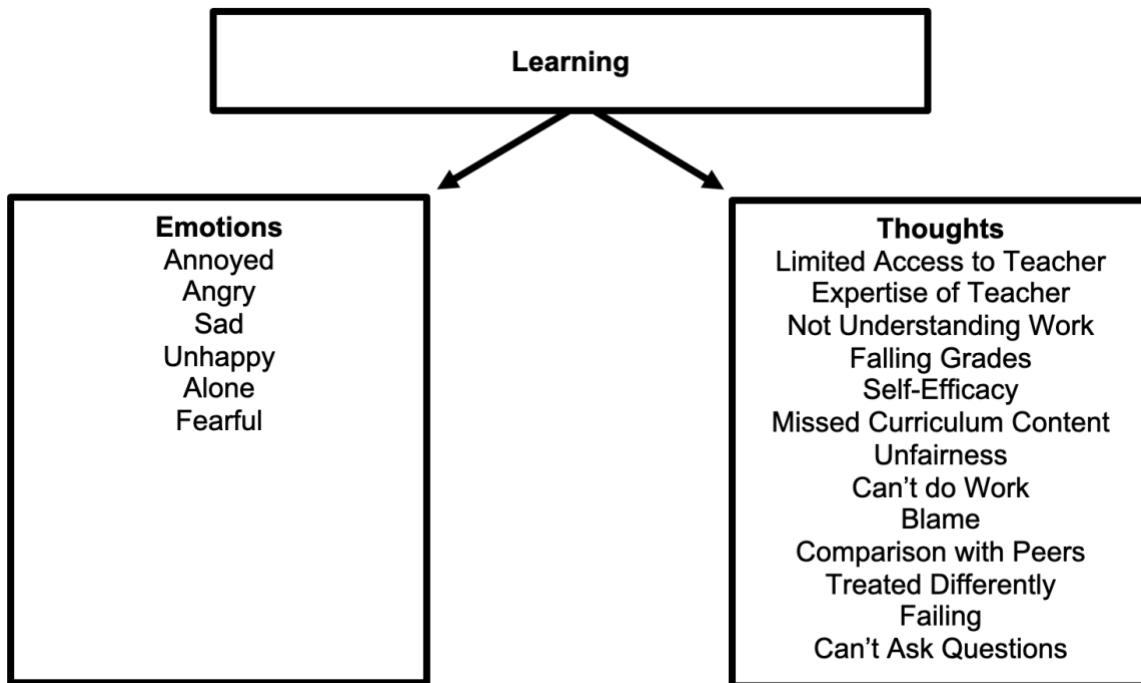
Table 4

Subordinate Themes Represented by Superordinate Theme 2

'More than the Process'					
Subordinate Theme		Marti	Barbara	Carol	Marc
Impact on Learning		✓	✓	✓	✓
Relationships	Negative Perceptions of Others	✓	✓	✓	
	Positive Relationships	✓	✓	✓	✓
Uniqueness			✓	✓	✓

'Impact on Learning'**Figure 8**

An Overview of the Theme 'Impact on Learning'



All five YP talked about how spending time in isolation impacted their learning.

This was done through reflections of their immediate learning experience in the isolation room as well as the detrimental impacts on wider attainment. For two, it extended into reflections on their sense of self as a learner and levels of self-efficacy illuminating the wider impacts on learning. For Marti and Marc, the two youngest, reflections related to the impact on immediate learning whilst separated from the teacher.

Marti: . . . it just limits my learning because I just can't ask the person in there about the question because they're not my teacher. (20/897-899)

Marti believed that learning was integrally linked with the expertise of specific teachers and without them his learning was limited. He did not see the value of the adults supervising isolation as facilitators of learning because for him their context outside the classroom or domain of expertise rendered them unable to answer his questions.

Marc: *Well, it's harder because it's harder to like get something if it's not like been shown to you how to do it, make sense. (3/124-125)*

Marc: *Um a bit annoying. (3/144)*

For Marc it was a more practical difficulty where the work did not make sense. Marc suggested his preferred method for understanding task completion was through adult modelling with the steps demonstrated. Without being shown he found it harder to understand what to do. Marc checked-in to see if what he said made sense as if it might not. Marc did not like finding his work harder so he could not "do much" (Marc, 3/129) because adults "haven't explained it to you that well" (Marc, 3/129-130) hence his annoyance.

Alex: *. . . it's another thing that used to annoy me it was just well I don't know why my punishment is my grades now going down. (18/812-814)*

Alex: *. . . It was honestly isolation that dropped my grades . . . (18/823-824)*

Like Marc, Alex felt annoyed, however, he referred to much wider impacts on his learning. He disliked his falling grades becoming the punishment. Alex was unsure about why the punishment had evolved into reducing his attainment. He was clear about the link between isolation and his falling grades assigning clear causation. By using the term "honestly" Alex implied a strong belief in his isolation/grade's correlation theory coupled with a need to prove he was telling the truth. This possibly illuminated the power imbalance Alex typically experienced with adults at school where he was not often believed.

Alex: . . . it wasn't like I wasn't smart It's just I was missing so many lessons and just being given just worksheets that I wasn't because you can't learn anything new off a worksheet. (18/794-800)

Alex's isolation/grades theory suggested time out of lessons and missed content resulted in him dropping from top set Maths and not his lack of ability. Alex separated his own ability from the environmental factors he saw as outside his control. He showed a degree of self-efficacy by believing he was smart implying an ability to achieve. However, his smartness was not enough to overcome missing new learning and the limitations of worksheets.

Alex: And it was just like arrgghhhh but I I can't do your work and then I'd get an inclusion for not doing my work in that lesson and then I'd miss even more and it's just like. I think there was one lesson I could actually feel myself becoming stupid. Like in that lesson where I was just so far behind and not

learnt anything for an entire year, I was just I was like I genuinely cannot do this. (19/861-867)

Being removed from lessons had a cumulative effect, as Alex missed increasing amounts of classwork and fell further behind. Returning to the class he was unable to access lessons, prompting anger because of the perceived unfairness. Despite previous belief in his own ability, the compounded effect of missing content and falling behand led to diminishing self-efficacy for Alex. The sensation of feeling himself becoming stupid starkly underscored a change in how he saw himself. It potentially signified a catalytic moment where Alex realised, he could not do the work.

Alex: *I honestly, I'd get like really angry cos I'd look at work and I'd be like I used to be good at this . . . (19/880-881)*

Alex: *I'd feel angry at myself and at the school and I I used to feel sad I I used to have tears in my eyes quite a lot where I'd look at work and be like I should be able to do this. (20/894-897)*

Alex referred to being good at the work in the past tense, further signifying his change of perspective. There was a sense of unfairness conveyed by his anger which was directed at the school and himself. This showed Alex assumed some of the responsibility for no longer being good at the work, in part, blaming himself. Alex emphasised “should” possibly linking back to his original self-efficacy which related to aspirations of an ideal self. There was a discrepancy between Alex’s perceived

self and ideal self which led to incongruence and unpleasant feelings. Alex's unhappiness was underscored by the emotional response of crying and a diminishing sense of achievement being within his control. This increasingly demonstrated an external locus of control accompanied by lack of faith in the school system. Alex "felt even more like giving up, like they could see my grades dropping as well and there was just nothing being done about it" (Alex, 20/926-928). With his attainment dropping and not being addressed Alex was losing the motivation to carry on. He did not believe the school was helping to change his trajectory of attainment despite the downturn being obvious.

Barbera: *Um it felt like singled out because I'm the only one that has to do it by myself and then I'll get marked and my marks aren't as great as everyone else, but nobody takes into consideration that I was by myself doing this work.*
(2/69-72)

Similarly, Barbera spoke about the impact on her marks although unlike Alex her comparison was with peers rather than grading criteria. Barbera expressed a sense of being alone, singled out and treated differently. She emphasised being the only one doing the work on her own which disadvantaged her because no adjustments were made to account for her isolated circumstances.

Barbera: *It just made me feel stupid, because like even people that are supposed to be in lower sets than me are doing the work and passing with flying colours and I'm the only one or one of the only people that is failing, why am I the only one that's failing? (12/551-555)*

Barbera's comparison with peers continued to highlight the disadvantage she experienced in the isolation room where she missed lessons and did not have access to "what the other students have" (Barbera, 2/62). In isolation Barbera was given tasks that had "nothing to do with what we are supposed to be learning in class" (Barbera, 12/537-538). As a result, she would fail tests because she "never covered that topic" (Barbera, 12/535/536). Barbera felt "stupid" when peers in lower sets passed really well and she did not. By posing a rhetorical question Barbera made a statement to underscore being "singled out". Afterall, she knew the reason for her underachievement in comparison with peers was because they were "in the lesson and I wasn't" (Barbera, 13/564-565). Barbera felt "young" (Barbera, 13/572; 574) and viewed herself below age-related peers because of not working at their level. This made her feel "left out of what everybody else was doing in life because I was the only one behind" (13/587-589).

Barbera: *So, in the room I just feel isolated, alone. I've got nothing going for me in the room . . . (7/301-302)*

Barbera highlighted how feeling solitary created a sense of remoteness and lack of belonging. For her the room was unbeneficial and removed aspirations by restricting access to the effective learning opportunities available to her peers. It held her back like being on pause whilst the world outside "the room" and her peers moved forward leaving her behind.

Carol: ... obviously you'd rather be in the lesson because it's better to learn when you are in the lesson. Like you weren't really learning you were just doing the worksheets. (Carol, 2/51-54)

Like Barbera, Carol preferred to be in most of her lessons to learn. Despite the difficulties she experienced with teachers in Maths, Carol felt being in the lesson provided the opportunity to be taught. As opposed to the alternative option of self-study from worksheets on offer in the IRB which did not represent real learning to her. Often, Carol "didn't do the work, cos I didn't know what to do" (Carol, 2/72-73) and found the IRB staff were unable to help with her GCSE level work.

Carol: Um, well it was like not good because you were just sat there obviously in your head, you're weren't understanding the work but then you were like not scared to ask for help, but like you didn't want to get put in like isolation or something or be punished for it. It's like you'd just sit there and not understand the work. It wasn't good because obviously you want to understand it because you want to do well but then you don't want to like ask and then get into trouble for it. (17/767-775)

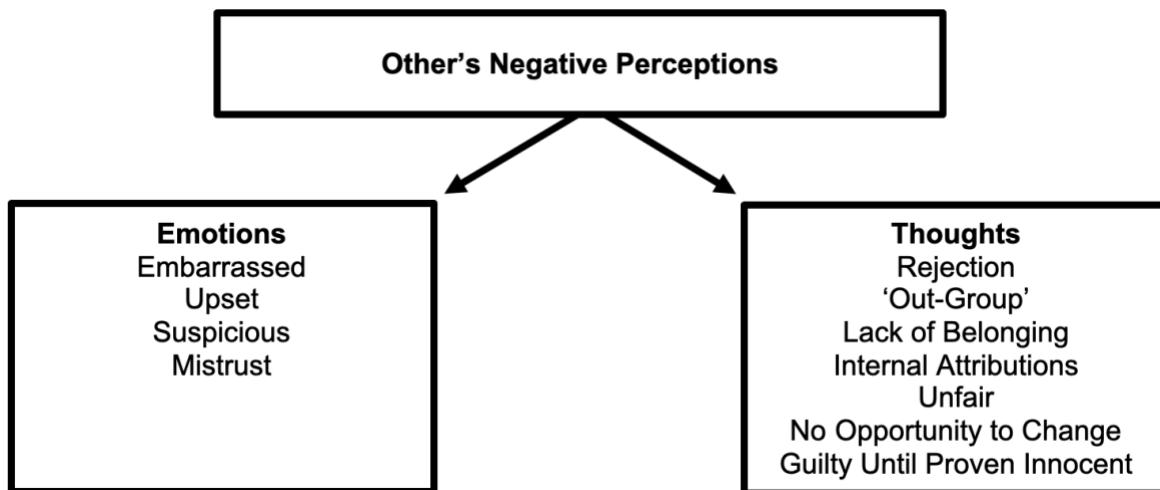
Unlike Barbera, Alex, Marc and Marti, it was the fear of being punished with isolation that impacted Carol's learning. Within her learning environment she felt prohibited from asking questions because of the consequences. Whilst unafraid of asking for help Carol was averse to the punitive response of doing so. Doing well mattered to Carol, which created a conundrum as it hinged on asking for help which potentially came at a high price and generated uncomfortable feelings. As a result,

Carol chose the path of least resistance, punitively forced into compliance. Despite being aware of the cost to her learning Carol opted to "keep quiet" (Carol, 17/761; 764) in lessons even when she didn't understand rather than get into trouble and risk further punishment or isolation.

'Relationships' – 'Negative Perceptions of Others'

Figure 9

An Overview of the Theme 'Negative Perceptions of Others'



Four YP talked about the wider implications of isolation and the negative perceptions of others. For three YP it relates to the attributions of others as a result of having spent time in isolation. For the other YP, negative perceptions acted as a catalyst for subsequent punishment. In all cases the internal attributions assigned to the YP by others created a sense of rejection and being positioned within the 'out group'.

Carol: Yes, it was, it is quite embarrassing being in the classroom with the teacher stood there like in front of the whole class telling you like 'oh you're stupid'. (6/277-279)

Carol: I just felt there was no point because like it's not going to gain anything because they already think that you're a stupid. (16/727-729)

Carol's story reflected a sense of rejection by some of her teachers who suggested she was not capable of achieving in their subjects. As a result, the teachers had "low expectations" (Carol, 15/696) and labelled Carol as "stupid". Having teachers project that onto Carol during lessons in front of peers made her feel uncomfortably self-conscious with embarrassment. The internal attribution was shame laden and Carol could see no purpose in trying to "disprove" (Carol, 16/721) the teacher's labelling because they had already formed a perception which would be difficult to change and "it wasn't really worth it" (Carol, 16/722-723). Carol was impacted by the negative perceptions of others, not least because the views of others mattered to her. She wanted "the teachers to think like good" (Carol, 15/689-690) of her but being "put in isolation you're not really going to have the best reputation with the teachers" (Carol, 14/615-617). Carol wanted to be seen positively but labelling and constant rejection drove her towards the 'out group' where she found a sense of belonging whilst joining in with her "naughty" (Carol, 15/693) friends. Carol knew what she was doing was "bad but because like they have low expectations anyway, there's no point like trying to do the right thing" (Carol, 15/696-698). The teacher's low expectations made Carol believe there was

no value in behaving differently so she might as well “have fun and then suffer whatever the consequences” (Carol, 15/698-699).

Alex: *And it like really used to upset me because it would all just spawn from a couple of people high up at school deciding I was naughty and it, I don't know, it just.* (22/1002-1004)

Like Carol, Alex found a sense of belonging in the ‘out group’ with whom he “ended up hanging out” (Alex, 1/32) because of “being forced to spend time together” (Alex, 1/33-34). Alex’s alliances developed out of the negative perceptions of senior school staff who grouped him based upon his disobedient behaviour. Alex was upset by their perception he was naughty. For Alex, it “felt like everyone hated me there, like the teachers” (Alex, 8/339-340). The sense they strongly disliked Alex and were against him impacted his relationships at school. Even when Alex turned his “behaviour around” (Alex, 8/342) the teachers “became even harder on me” (Alex, 8/344).

Alex: *. . . it just felt like a really hard system to get out of because people just think you're naughty, it's like.* (3/94-95)

Alex felt stuck in a system that was difficult to escape from. It felt “entirely” (Alex, 3/99) unfair to Alex that people perceived him as naughty which resulted in him gaining a “reputation and such just from being in this little room for the day” (Alex, 3/108-109). Alex believed his reputation came from spending time in the IRB and as such was “starting on the backfoot each time” (Alex, 3/113-114) he went into

school. This made it more difficult to breakout of the system he was trapped within and powerless to change.

Barbera: . . . *it just became a part of me because obviously that's how I was perceived, what could I do to change that if I'm not given the opportunity to change that.* (14/642-644)

Similarly, Barbera reflected on being powerless to change the perceptions of others. She was not offered the chance to alter how they regarded her so became resigned to identifying with the internal attributions of others. She was “known as a troublemaker” (14/637) and “bad girl” (Barbera, 14/641) which became part of who she was.

Barbera: *So, isolation has a big factor but it's the teachers and how they make me feel as a whole that is just all negative, it's not a positive feeling.*
(Barbera, 7/289-291)

The teacher’s unfavourable perceptions of Barbera contributed to a sense of negativity that felt unbeneficial. The lack of positive relationships with teachers made the whole school experience feel bleak for Barbera. Particularly as the teacher’s carried “on the same feelings from when I’m in that room” (Barbera, 7/297-298) when she was “out of the room” (Barbera, 7/297) which impacted her sense of belonging through feelings of isolation and being alone.

Marti: Um it doesn't feel like good because you just know you are in there because they don't trust you and you're just waiting for them to like pr[ove] show that you're wrong even when you're not wrong. (17/760-763)

Marti also described negative relationships, strained by mistrust leading him to show a lack of faith in the system. Consistent with Marti's comparisons to the penal system he suggested the school accusations were based upon the premise of guilty until proven innocent even though he believed he was not wrong. Marti thought the school did not trust him and had formed a judgement based upon perceptions of mistrust.

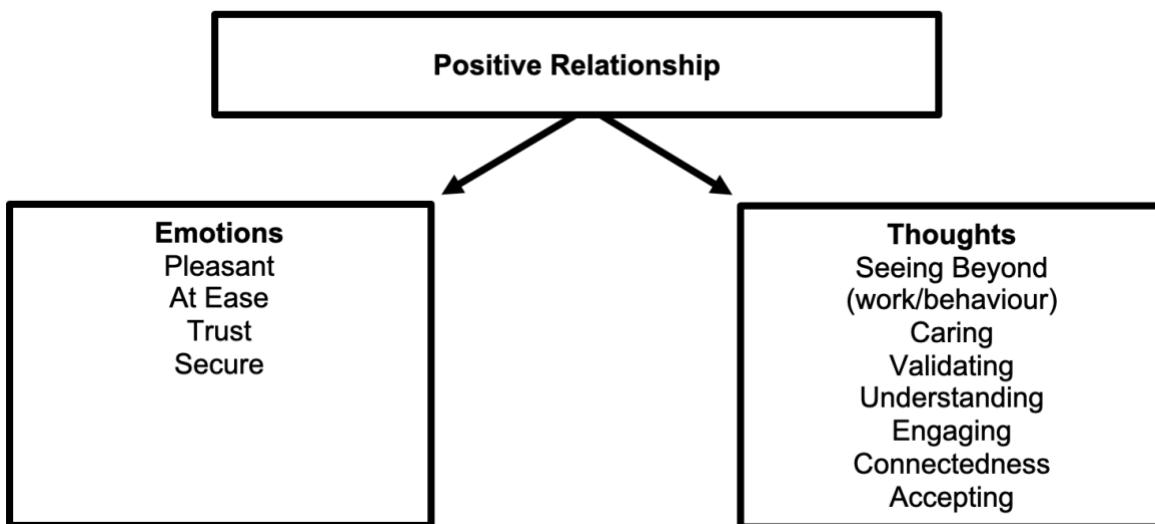
Marti: . . . they're never going to try and make sure you're right because you wouldn't be in there if they were on your side. (16-17/746-748)

For Marti, being placed in the IRB demonstrated the school's belief he was guilty. As such, he was suspicious about the fairness with which the school would prosecute his misdemeanour. He saw himself as an outsider to the system, part of the 'out group' with no supportive relationship to advocate for him. This was demonstrated by his 'them' and 'us' positioning.

***'Relationships'* – '*Positive Relationships*'**

Figure 10

An Overview of the Theme 'Positive Relationships'



This theme relates to positive relationships encountered by all five YP.

Having positive relationships felt good and created a sense of support for the YP through understanding, care and validation of their experience.

Carol: Well, that was bett[er], that was quite good because it kind of showed that they cared like about why you were there and it was like they also thought it was pointless. (18/806-808)

At Carol's school the isolation room was attached to the SEN department, a contextual factor she felt was significant. During the conversation Carol's thinking deepened to enable consideration of something she "never really thought about" (Carol, 17/794-795). A comparison between the viewpoint of teachers outside the

SEN department who were focused on YP doing “the work with no issues” (Carol, 18/797) and staff inside who could “see like beyond that” (Carol, 18/799/800). The SEN staff showed understanding and cared which felt pleasant to Carol. They also helped confirm Carol’s belief that isolation as a punishment served little purpose and was unbeneficial. This helped Carol because “it made you think that it wasn’t, you weren’t in there for something you did wrong. You were just in there for them to get rid of you” (Carol, 18/827-829). The SEN staff’s external validation strengthened her sense making and confirmed her belief in having done nothing wrong. Carol thought she was removed to isolation, so the teachers did not have to bother with her unwanted, “stupid” (Carol, 6/266) questions not because she had done something wrong. The SEN staff “agreed with what you were thinking” (Carol, 18/826) which, for Carol, showed understanding and felt “good”. Having positive interactions with SEN staff reframed the adult narrative of internal attributions from class teachers, confirmed Carol’s own beliefs and provided a sense of support.

Alex: *Instead of like thinking the entire school system is out for me it did make me feel like there is this this pocket that actually cares about how we feel as students. (11/504-506)*

Alex: *And like understand that we are people as well. (11/508)*

Like Carol, positive relationships offered Alex a sense of support to counter his own narrative, “everyone hated me” (Alex, 8/339). They provided evidence that a small group of the school system cared about his feelings. He recognised that some adults understood he was a person just like them, juxtaposing the almost inhumane

treatment by the school systems, Alex alluded to throughout. This demonstrated the integral importance of empathy and compassion for Alex, underscoring his deep desire for others to truly understand his experience.

Marc: . . . they we are the teachers understand therefore I talk to them and I can do better work because they notice it like straight away um, so they let me talk to people as long as I'm getting my work done. (10/422-425)

Having a sense that teachers understood him was also significant for Marc. He cited it as a factor in reducing his time in the isolation booths because those teachers engaged him in their lessons. Marc suggested understanding was part of what strengthened his relationships with teachers. It enabled a more open dialogue and classroom environment where Marc could be successful. The teachers “noticed” him for positive reasons. They worked with him, compromised and adapted to meet his needs through “same routine” (Marc, 16/709) enabling Marc to “kinda get to know them, well after a while, a bit better” (Marc, 16/710-711). This created a foundation of trust which was important for Marc.

Marc: . . . like I don't really trust anyone until I get to know them, it's like with like if an adult was there and they said like um you have to like do this or whatever then like kids would like listen and it's a bit stupid really cos you should trust them before and they just trust adults straight away. (16/723-729)

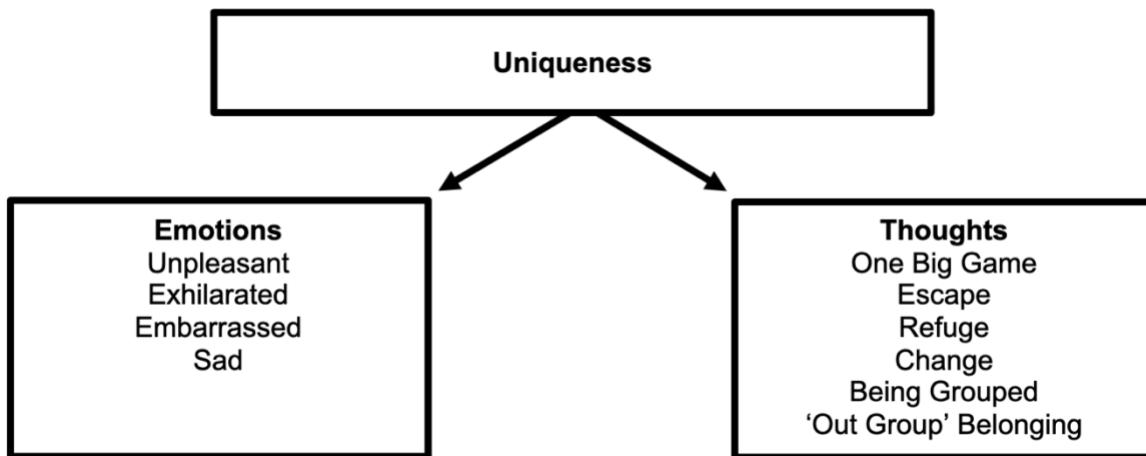
Marc emphasised the centrality of trust to his construction of relationships which he believed develop over time. For Marc, the idea that trust could be

immediately or inherently conferred by a hierarchical relationship seemed absurd. His scepticism of adults meant relationships took time but once developed offered the safety he required to follow adult instruction. Marc described the positive relationships as feeling “a bit uplifting” (Marc, 10/427), “like you are not alone” (Marc, 12/275) creating a sense of acceptance and connectedness from some staff.

'Uniqueness'

Figure 11

An Overview of the Theme ‘Uniqueness’



Whilst the YP have many shared aspects to their experiences, there is also a common uniqueness particular to each individual. This theme reflects eclectic features distinctively illuminating each YP's personal meaning making aside from aspects shared by the group. It represents convergence and divergence through uniqueness where the very essence of difference is what unites the YP.

For Marc his experience was uniquely defined as “like one big game” (Marc, 13/574) representing his attempts to escape the perceived threat of containment within an isolation booth. Marc painted a visual picture of his “cat and mouse” (Marc,

13/578) "hide and seek" (Marc, 13/578-579) which he described as "not very nice but exhilarating" (Marc, 12/553) presumably due to adrenaline secretion activated by his threat response. Marc viewed the pursuing staff "like bounty hunters" (Marc, 13/596) who had to "bring me in alive" (Marc, 13/599). When Marc completed the day without being caught thus avoiding time in the isolation booth "it kinda feels like I outplayed them to be honest" (Marc, 14/628). Marc's survival was linked to beating his threatening adversaries. However, despite his 'win' Marc remained a fugitive subject to exclusionary measures.

Underlying Carol's experience was also a sense of escape, however, for her the isolation room offered refuge from "being told that you are not good enough" (Carol, 13/598-599). Carol wanted to flee the classroom embarrassment instigated by the teacher's internal attribution of stupidity. She reflected "so, I knew that I was like smart" (Carol, 16/711) just not "getting the help that I needed" (Carol, 16/713). This showed that despite constantly being told she would fail Carol retained a belief in her own ability.

Barbera: *Um well I just became less bubbly, less excited, less upbeat um because I'm always known for making everybody laugh, having a giggle, doing all sorts of silly stuff to make other people happy and you just saw like my behaviour dip like it just changed completely and I felt like it was a gradual thing but to everyone else it was just so sudden. (10/454-459)*

Barbera's narrative was scattered with reflections on the impact of spending time in isolation, characterised by change and identity. She noted "I don't really know who I am" (Barbera, 11/492; 496) signalling uncertainty about her own identity.

Barbera saw herself changing and becoming less of what she used to be. Many of the characteristics she associated with sociability reduced and her behaviour lowered, becoming different from before. For Barbera the change felt gradual occurring over time, yet to those around her it happened quickly. This highlighted a difference in the perception of time subjectively experienced by Barbera as opposed to those who were not living her reality but merely observing. Afterall, Barbera's change was not defined by a single event or point in time but occurred through continuous, repeated exclusion from the school community.

Alex: . . . I found that I was able to then speak to this group about the fact that we were all grouped, and I ended up then ending up, I ended up being friends with the naughty kids and then you being even naughtier and I sort of lost my sense of identity as I'm not like these people and I ended up being, I AM [emphasised] one of these people. (14/606-619)

Alex's story also reflected change although for him it related to enforced grouping and shared experience. As a result of his time in isolation, Alex became friends with the "naughty kids" because he was able to talk to them about the shared reputational status they had been assigned by the school. This provided a commonality that bound them together as members of a group. This group membership signalled a change in Alex's behaviour as he became "naughtier". However, regardless of the circumstantial commonalities Alex suggested his forced friendships did not reflect his values or who he was, although they provided belonging. Becoming part of the group signified a loss of identity for Alex who felt he was "losing" (Alex, 22/999) himself because he was not like them. For Alex, he

"wasn't the same person" (Alex, 22/1011) as "that wasn't what I was ever like" (Alex, 22/1015). This showed that Alex believed he had changed and become different from how he was before being grouped with the "naughty kids". Alex's use of the term "these people" referenced an 'out group' from which he both distanced and affiliated himself. Afterall, he had become one of them.

These interpretative findings illustrate the shared themes that emerged during analysis. The YP revealed their experiences of spending time in IRBs through sense making of the phenomenon. In doing so their experiences were reflected through two superordinate themes 'The Process' and 'More than the Process'. These encapsulated elements of the process such as restrictions, punishment and separation as well as wider aspects representing more than the process including impact on learning, relationships and uniqueness of the individual's experience. Whilst the shared themes illuminate commonalities each individual offered a distinctive construction of their IRB experience.

Discussion

This study aimed to explore how a sample of students made sense of their experience of IRBs in mainstream secondary settings. This was achieved through the use of IPA to analyse the transcripts of five YP with repeated experience of spending time in an IRB. Two superordinate themes, 'The Process' and 'More than the Process' emerged to help facilitate understanding. This suggested that for the YP in this study the experience of isolation extended beyond the immediate physical process and impacted aspects of wider school life. By discussing these findings through the lens of psychology and within the context of existing literature potential recommendations and possible future research directions will be offered. This is the

first UK-based study intentionally looking at YPs experiences of isolation in mainstream schools. Its inductive nature means that when considering these findings, a diverse array of new literature will be drawn upon along with previously identified theories. Specific evaluation of each individual theme will follow a general theoretically grounded summary of how the YPs experiences point to potentially significant impacts on psychological wellbeing and mental health.

Broadly speaking, the YPs experiences provide evidence to suggest the use of IRBs as a tool for restricting, punishing and separating significantly impacted their sense of wellbeing. By excluding and ignoring the YP through methods that physically and psychologically kept them out of sight and out of mind the exclusionary practice of IRBs demonstrated institutionally sanctioned ostracism. As such this threat to the fundamental needs of belongingness, control, meaningful existence and self-esteem created psychological pain (Williams, 2009a). These findings show evidence that the YP experienced increased negative affect, with feelings of sadness and anger as well as detachment which may be interpreted as encompassing what Williams (2009a) refers to as the numbness of resignation following persistent ostracism. A substantial body of evidence (e.g., Abrams et al., 2011; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Filipkowski & Smyth, 2012; Lau et al., 2009; Legate et al., 2021; Ren et al., 2016; Williams, 2009b) shows that ostracism has a powerful negative effect on psychological wellbeing. It is worth noting that Legate et al. (2021) found psychological costs for the sources of ostracism too, due to thwarted autonomy and relatedness. This potentially raises questions around the impact of exclusionary policies upon school staff systemically expected to apply them. The YPs experiences present evidence that IRBs disregard the theoretical and empirical benefits presented by SDT (Williams, 2009a) through a frustration of the basic

psychological needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness. The YP in this study demonstrated that the stymieing of their intrinsic and internalised extrinsic motivation had a significant impact on feelings of separation and illbeing as proposed by Ryan and Deci (2000b). Afterall, they contend that for individuals to experience an ongoing sense of integrity and wellbeing the basic needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness must be met in a way that respects individual and sociocultural differences.

'The Process' ('A Restrictive Process', 'The Punishment', 'A Process that Separates')

The findings from this study identified that part of the YP's experience of IRBs related to the physical process involved with the event itself. This directly linked to the tangible aspects of spending time within a restricted environment, removed from regular school routines including contact with peers for the purposes of punishment. The YPs experience of the process has implications from a rights perspective as to the efficacy of IRBs as a punishment in UK mainstream secondary schools.

Reducing restrictive intervention in special education, health and care settings has received national attention and been addressed through non-statutory government guidance. However, the guidance does not apply to mainstream educational settings leaving them free to legitimately pursue seclusion/isolation as a disciplinary penalty without it constituting a form of restraint or restrictive practice (HMG, 2019). This guidance underpinned the restrictions on movement and freedom to act independently the YP in this study experienced through supervised confinement and isolation away from others in an area where leaving was physically and psychologically prevented. These findings highlight the YPs sense of being

trapped within an IRB, prevented from leaving by tangible blockades of the exit and intangible threats of further punishment. The YPs accounts outline these practices as both usual and frequent. This appears to contravene behaviour and discipline guidance (DfE, 2016) that states isolation preventing YP from leaving a room of their own free will should only be considered in exceptional circumstances. The YP clearly articulated repeatedly experiencing restrictions in physical space, movement and the freedom to participate in everyday school routines. Martin-Denham's (2020) research also described restricted movement although unlike this study her findings highlighted the impact of anxiety on mental health. This was not explicitly talked about by the YP in this study who instead identified accompanying negative affect emotions including sadness, upset, annoyance and anger. Thus, aligning with the ostracism literature. According to Brackett (2019) anger is a high energy emotion. Therefore, its elevated intensity is likely to make sitting still in a confined space challenging which may explain the practical need experienced by the YP in this study to escape from the perceived threat posed by restrictions to their freedom and movement. This aligns with Caraffa et al.'s, (1974) contention that the frustration inherent in exclusionary time-out may provoke running away. Given the reported link between feelings of anger and externalising behaviours (Hubbard et al., 2010; Kim & Deater-Deckard, 2011; Moore et al., 2019; Neumann et al., 2011; Oldehinkel et al., 2007; Rydell et al., 2003) consideration should be directed towards the extent to which IRBs provoke YPs reactions. This is pertinent in light of findings by Chow et al. (2008) that individuals who feel angry when ostracised are more likely to respond with antisocial behaviour.

The use of restrictive control led some YP in this study to draw comparisons with prisons, particularly solitary confinement. Thus, supporting Chamberlin's (1985)

view that interventions such as seclusion are comparable to solitary confinement in prison. For the YP in this study the stark décor, partitioned booths, containment within a room designated for the purposes of punishment, social isolation and removal from usual daily routines was like being in prison. Thus, aligning with findings by Barker et al. (2010) of student's saying their seclusion unit had a 'prison-like' reputation and Miller (1985, 1986) who reported the children in his study referencing jail. This is concerning given the potentially damaging effects of solitary confinement on wellbeing brought about through social and physical isolation (Shalev, 2017). Surely these findings along with others should cast doubt over IRBs legitimacy in accordance with human rights, particularly Article 28 (right to education) of the UNCRC (1989). Sadly, there appears to have been limited progress within UK mainstream educational settings to adopt less draconian measures particularly in light of the retrograde step many schools have taken investing in IRBs as a mainstay of behaviour management. This is particularly disturbing considering the part exclusionary approaches play in the 'PRU to prison' pipeline (Perera, 2020) that criminalises the behaviour of marginalised YP and disproportionately impacts black boys. Such institutional failings raise moral questions around IRBs appropriateness within educational settings, something queried by the YPs in this study. Reason-based morality plays down the role of fear and threats in obtaining compliance (Ayeni, 2012) which is at odds with the YPs experience of the prison like restrictions of IRBs. Thus, supporting the notion that punitive environments erode a school's moral authority producing alienation (Perry & Morris, 2014).

The use of punitive discipline and 'zero-tolerance' have been steadily increasing throughout the UK. In large part due to government rhetoric about discipline drives to curb unruly behaviour in schools (DfE, 2020). However, there

remains scant evidence to support the use of hard-line interventionist/behaviourist techniques such as isolation. This study directly contributes to the evidence base by offering a critical appraisal of IRBs underpinned by YPs unbeneficial encounters of the practice. These findings illuminate YPs experiences of retributive, disproportionate and unjust punishment in IRBs, a finding echoed by Sheffield and Morgan (2017) and Martin-Denham (2020). Behaviour and discipline guidance clearly states, 'a punishment must be proportionate' (DfE, 2016, p. 7) and fair. In deciding that, the Education and Inspections Act (2006) outlines that a penalty applied as punishment must be 'reasonable in all the circumstances' (s. 91(3)(b)). This is at odds with the findings from this study and others where YP perceive the use of IRBs as unfair and disproportionate, thus unreasonable. The YPs perception of unfairness created anger because they were often unsure why they received the punishment or disagreed with its proportionality. Their emotional response was predictable given that anger underpins injustice, which occurs when something unfair happens (Brackett, 2019). In contrast the YP in Gilmore's (2013) study saw their punishment in the 'inclusion' room as generally fair and concluded the sanction was proportionate presenting divergence from this study's findings. Regan's (1997) unpublished thesis also found students perceived time-out as non-threatening, acceptable, fair and necessary offering contrast to these findings.

As a result of their experiences the YP in this study challenged the effectiveness of isolation as a means of modifying their behaviour. They saw little benefit in the process because it just removed them from the classroom where they perceived themselves to be unwanted or bothersome. The YP did not think their time in IRBs facilitated change or the opportunity to learn from their transgressions. This corresponds with Readdick and Chapman's (2000) findings and Betz's (1994)

contentions that time-out fails to teach desirable behaviour. These findings also align with Martin-Denham's (2020) study outcomes showing YP did not think IRBs modified or improved behaviour.

By definition isolation creates a sense of separation and disconnection from others (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021). The punitive process of isolation involves supervised confinement away from others in a deliberate act of separation. These findings reflect the YPs experiences of physical and psychological separation and feelings of loneliness also present in Martin-Denham's (2020) study. The YP in this study experienced a sense of social disconnection having been removed and ostracised from the school community. This contributed to their feelings of being alone and anchored the emotion of loneliness aligning with Readdick and Chapman's (2000) findings that restrictive time-out creates loneliness. These findings are supported by a substantial body of literature that correlates loneliness with social disconnection (Ali & Gibson, 2019; Cacioppo et al., 2015; Cacioppo et al., 2006; Jahng & Kim, 2020; Matthews et al., 2016; Wu et al., 2020). The YP in this study experienced a sense of weakened ties with the school community including teachers and peers as a result of their ostracisation in the IRB. This aligned with Jacobson's (2020) theory of interpersonal exclusion. Like this study Jacobson (2020) found decreased friendliness towards sanctioned individuals. This potentially leads to the creation of 'ingroups and outgroups' as the sanctioned individuals are labelled and stereotyped (Lemert, 1967). These findings highlight experiences of perceived rejection, ostracisation and being treated differently that impacted the YPs sense of belonging and connectedness to the school community. They reflected on feeling upset, detached and lonely. This aligns with research that suggests when belonging is hindered by rejection or isolation there are a wide range of negative

psychological outcomes (Arslan, 2018; Williams & Nida, 2011) including loneliness and sadness (Carpiano & Hystad, 2011). Previous research has shown that social exclusion could negatively affect psychological health by threatening the fundamental need for belonging (Chotpitayasanondh & Douglas, 2018). The implications of this are stark particularly in light of suggestions from Resnick et al. (1997) that school connectedness is a strong protective factor.

The YP in this study shared feelings of missing out on life outside the IRB and at times, felt left behind. In some cases, what they were missing was highly visible and in others was more visualised. Their enforced separation in isolation created disconnection from friends and usual school routines including attending lessons. There was a sense that the world outside the IRB was inaccessible and as such the YP were unable to maintain connections despite a desire to do so. They conveyed a need for connection in line with the necessities laid out by SDT. However, their need for relatedness remained unsatisfied aligning with Casale & Flett's (2020) findings and potentially adding a new angle for research into Przybylski et al.'s (2013) theory of FoMO.

'More than the Process' ('Impact on Learning', 'Relationships' and 'Uniqueness')

The findings from this study identified that the YP's experience of IRBs went beyond the immediate physical process involved with the event itself. This reflected the wider implications of exposure to a restrictive, punitive environment that separates YP from the school community and regular learning routines. Including, the potential longer-term implications for their learning and relationships which correlate with existing literature about reduced wellbeing. The YP conveyed feelings

of embarrassment, fear, annoyance, anger and sadness. Whilst there were shared facets to the YP's experiences, it was evident each individual encountered element's unique to themselves. This highlighted the significance of understanding individual difference in the creation of systems designed to address distinct need.

An enduring myth of IRBs is their provision of a quite space for working, otherwise unobtainable in a mainstream classroom. In reality it could be argued the systemic barriers created by such exclusion reduce access to education and learning for those repeatedly spending time away from regular teaching. These findings highlight the perceived negative impact on learning from spending time in isolation where YP felt unsupported and unable to access the same resources as their peers. They experienced difficulties understanding the work and felt unable to learn from worksheets, findings echoed by Martin-Denham's (2020) research. There was a perception amongst the YP that IRB staff were unable to provide help with their learning which presented challenges because access to their teachers was geographically restricted often leaving them to learn alone. This fits with findings by the House of Commons Education Committee (2018) that some YP are left alone to teach themselves and appears to contradict behaviour and discipline guidance (DfE, 2016) stating that time spent in isolation should be used constructively. According to Gilmore (2013) this represents a dilemma inherent in IRBs where YP are expected to experience learning without teacher assistance despite the school's responsibility for classroom learning. As well as the immediate impacts on learning experienced during their time in the IRB the YP in this study emphasized the implications for their wider attainment. The examination age YP identified experiencing significant disadvantage and falling attainment due to missing vital curriculum content because of spending time out of lessons. Such blatant removal of equal educational

opportunity when viewed from a rights perspective (UNCRC, 1989) certainly demands scrutiny. Particularly given the findings of this study when coupled with the mounting evidence that such exclusionary discipline is linked with low achievement (Christie et al., 2004; Morris & Perry, 2016; Noltemeyer et al., 2015; Rausch & Skiba, 2005), poorer grades (Davis & Jordan, 1994) and reduced academic progress (Gregory et al., 2017). These findings combined certainly suggest YP repeatedly experiencing IRBs may be more at risk of academic underachievement. Therefore, it appears the punishment of isolation extends beyond temporary physical confinement and has potential implications for longer-term life chances due to disrupted educational attainment. Given that the governments statistics show exclusionary discipline disproportionately impacts BAME, FSM and SEN students', questions arise over the institutional perpetuation of social inequality inherent within these approaches to behaviour management.

The YP in this study identified feelings of annoyance and anger from lack of support and missed academic opportunities. This may, in part, be linked to their perceived diminishing capabilities and beliefs about the unattainability of desired learning goals. By removing YP from the classroom environment, their access to mastery experiences is likely to be reduced. For Bandura (1997), perceived academic self-efficacy was influenced by regular and repeated opportunities to develop mastery. Therefore, these findings add credence to the suggestion that classroom removal and lack of mastery opportunities may impact self-efficacy. However, Cohen et al., (2020) reported non-significant findings from their study looking at the impact of suspensions on self-efficacy. Although they suggested the topic warrants further examination given theirs was the first study to assess the impact.

The way schools respond to behaviour is an indicator of how staff view YP. Behaviours are categorised against an adult imposed framework of acceptability from which labels and stereotypes emerge to define non-compliance. The YP in this study experienced negative perceptions from others where they were assigned labels based upon their behaviour and academic performance. These reinforced stereotyped views of the YP because of their associations with IRBs. In some instances, the YPs perceived these categorisations led to them being treated differently by staff because of their reputations, showing some similarities to Martin-Denham's (2020) findings around stigmatisation of previous behaviour. According to labelling theory (Becker, 1963) teacher's negative perceptions form the basis of descriptors and influence punitive responses. Fundamental to the underlying process of labelling is attribution (Howard & Levinson, 1985), a practice where individuals look for the cause and meaning of behaviours. Therefore, teacher observers make causal judgments about the behaviour of YP as either internal (intention, ability, effort) or external (luck) (Heider, 1958). As such, the internal attributions assigned to the YP in this study positioned them within an 'out group' creating a perceived sense of rejection with feelings of upset, mistrust and embarrassment. This aligns with Foster and Hagan's (2015) suggestion that sanctions like isolation can lead to a sense of being 'pushed out' from the school community. The YP in this study experienced reduced connectedness within the wider school particularly amongst staff who showed a lack of acceptance. This suggests an undermining of the basic need to belong (Maslow, 1962). In order to meet these needs, some of the YP found a sense of belonging amongst the 'out group'. They were united through their defined behavioural and/or academic profiles as attributed by staff, replicating findings from Jacobson's (2020) research.

The YPs experiences in this study suggested teacher's negative perceptions stemming from internal attributions, labelling and stereotyping impacted their student-teacher relationships. Thus, correlating with conclusions from Nemer et al.'s (2019) systemic literature review. The negative perceptions of teachers felt unpleasant for the YP and at times unfair, in part, due to a sense of powerlessness to change the views of school staff whose internal attributions appeared unwavering. Therefore, understanding attributions becomes critical to improving relationships within school contexts and may hold the key to reducing punitive sanctions such as IRBs. Particularly in light of evidence suggesting positive teacher-student relationships are associated with belonging (Allen et al., 2018; Bjorklund & Daly, 2021; Ibrahim & El Zaatri, 2020; Uslu & Gizir, 2017). This is significant because research suggests those with a strong sense of belonging (Malone et al., 2012) and good social relationships (Diener & Seligman, 2002) tend to feel happier. In contrast it has been documented that a lack of belonging contributes to feelings of loneliness (Lim et al., 2021), negative emotions and psychological/mental ill-health (Ma, 2003).

These findings show that positive relationship did contribute to YP experiencing good feelings. Indeed, where the YP in this study encountered positive relationships, they underpinned emotions of security, trust and feeling at ease. According to Brackett (2019) these emotions are characterised by low energy and high pleasantness. The YP achieved these feelings through interactions that provided a sense of understanding and helped validate their experiences. In essence, they felt listened to by staff who offered caring acceptance and an ability to see beyond the behaviour and attributed labels. This offers a clear contrast to the difficulties posed by negative perceptions that present barriers to developing positive relationships and connectedness. Instead, this study presents experiences where

positive relationships promoted connectedness and belonging through a sense of acceptance corresponding with the findings of other studies (Craggs & Kelly, 2018; Fong Lam et al., 2015; Sancho & Cline, 2012). Therefore, furthering support for non-interventionist and interactionalist beliefs that relationships and the sense of belonging they enable are central to successful behaviour management. Not least because they contribute towards supporting relatedness which is integral to SDT. This has meaningful implications for the continued use of IRBs as a punitive behaviour management strategy because of the destructive impact they have on the development of strong positive relationships, belonging and the potential repercussions for wellbeing as documented by the ostracisation literature (Williams, 2009a, 2009b). Afterall, government guidance for educators on supporting wellbeing and behaviour suggests schools should facilitate development of belonging, identifying it as a protective factor associated with mental health outcomes (DfE, 2018).

IRBs have become a mainstay of “zero-tolerance” behaviour management systems which are characterised by a “one size fits all” approach built around predetermined consequences for undesirable actions. As such, all YP are homogenously subject to the same considerations regardless of circumstances or situational context. This study found that whilst there were shared aspects, each individual YP experienced the phenomenon of IRBs uniquely. Their behavioural responses, emotional reactions and meaning making all varied demonstrating how their individual experiences differed from one another. This aligns with theory on individual differences which states psychological traits convey a sense of personal distinctiveness (Carver & Scheier, 2012). Therefore, theoretically casting doubt on strategies of behaviour management that view YP homogenously, especially when

considered through the lens of differentiation. Afterall, a starting point for equity in a school context is an individualised response to heterogeneity (Bondie et al., 2019). This sits more comfortably with a commitment to inclusive education advocated by the United Nations (2007) whilst ensuring increased equality of opportunity regardless of personal characteristics. The findings from this study add support to recommendations from an Education Endowment Fund Report by Moore et al. (2019) for the use of behavioural interventions tailored to the needs of individuals rather than homogenised strategies.

Conclusion

This study offers an analysis of YP's experiences of IRBs in UK mainstream secondary schools. Thus, contributing the first study to specifically explore this phenomenon from the perspectives of YP using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis framed through the lens of educational psychology. As such these findings help to extend understanding of IRBs as a disciplinary sanction used as part of a school's behaviour management approach. Significantly, these findings raise important questions, especially from a rights perspective, regarding the legitimacy, efficacy and appropriateness of using isolation to punish YP in secondary schools. Particularly given the YPs experiences of disconnection and ostracisation brought about through IRBs and the impact on belonging, school connectedness and ultimately mental health and wellbeing. These findings provide support for approaches that focus on the development of positive relationships throughout the school community and encourage the creation of policies that recognise the uniqueness of individuals. It is hoped, the findings from this study will enable a more

informed discussion around the use of IRBs by representing the voices of a group of YP who have, to date, been largely missing from the conversation.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations to this study and its use of IPA. The small sample size and ideographic focus prohibit the generalisation of findings. However, there is scope for potential theoretical transferability as a result of situating findings within the claims made by existing literature (Smith et al., 2009). This may support the reader in judging applicability and possible implications for their own context as well as enrich current understanding through insight into meaning making. The homogeneity of the sample could be questioned due to the large age range of participants and variation in the type of isolation experienced. There are clearly significant differences in the conceptualisation of isolation between schools which could be better defined and articulated prior to identifying a potential participant sample so as to improve homogeneity. It is also important to recognise that self-selection sampling methods potentially resulted in bias towards YP with specific, potentially negative, views of isolation. Although from the perspective of IPA that is less significant because the purpose is not to generalise the findings of a representative sample. The use of interviews to capture YPs experiences was reliant upon their verbally articulation. Thus, naturally excluding YP with salient experiences who were unable to verbalise their narratives or uncomfortable doing so. This should be a consideration in future research about isolation within the context of restrictive behaviour management. A further prohibitive factor unrelated to IPA was constraints on in-person access to participants during the Covid-19 global pandemic. It may be contended that a key feature of the potential sample population

was negative experience with educational professionals resulting in significantly diminished trust. The benefits of in-person access may have facilitated rapport and trust building opportunities unobtainable through virtual methods (Rockliffe et al., 2018). Finally, IPA requires active participation from the researcher through interpretative analysis making 'bracketing' of all personal preconceptions impossible although many attempts were made to reduce the impact by adopting a reflective and reflexive approach whilst ensuring transparency throughout.

Recommendations

Although each YP had a unique experience of IRBs several key themes emerged that when considered in relation to the existing literature enable tentative suggestions for practice. This research suggests there is clear scope for EPs to play a role at the broader systems, organisational, group and individual levels. EPs offer a distinct perspective and are well placed to perform a facilitative function in the inclusion of all voices within conversations about behaviour management as well as contributing themselves. There are opportunities for the profession to play a greater part in policy development, review and evaluation particularly given the strong emphasis on EPs practitioner researcher role. This could be enhanced through the contribution of research to build an evidence base that challenges the status quo. At an organisational level, through consultation, support or training, EPs could offer practical alternatives to the rigid behaviourist approaches prevalent in many UK secondary schools. For example, restorative approaches that support relational development, strategies grounded in conflict management and problem solving like Dr Greene's Collaborative and Proactive Solutions model or hybrid/bespoke packages with foundations in social emotional learning that target staff before

cascading through the school. Either way, these findings tentatively suggest the need for behaviour management approaches cognisant of neuroscience and relational in nature. Given the impact of attribution on disrupting relationships, highlighted by this study and the literature, EPs could offer supervision support at a group or individual level to facilitate teacher awareness of biases and enable greater relational understanding (Thijs & Koomen, 2009). This may lead to reductions in the use of punitive discipline (Carter et al., 2014), and exclusionary practices like IRBs. Afterall, approaches should engender a sense of school community belonging through systemic acceptance and understanding rather than retribution, rejection, ostracisation and exclusion. EPs have a role to play in promoting school belonging and mitigating the potential associated risks (Craggs & Kelly, 2018).

Future Research Directions

This study aimed to increase understanding of YP's experiences of IRBs in UK secondary schools. It highlighted the importance of undertaking in-depth research with YP whose views have traditionally been neglected, as well as reinforce the need for further studies to add to the sparse evidence base on the use of isolation as a restrictive punishment. These findings specifically illuminated aspects of isolation as a restrictive practice that warrant further investigation. In relation to the process, it might be interesting to investigate the perceived unfairness of restrictive punishments such as isolation in relation to 'zero-tolerance' disproportionality. There may also be scope for considering YPs understanding of the reason for their punishment, how that links to perceived injustice, their responses and the underpinning emotions. The concept of FoMO might be explored in relation to IRBs and exclusionary discipline more widely. Beyond the immediate, physical

process there are opportunities to consider the impact of isolation on learning and possible openings for the collection of longitudinal data to understand the longer-term implications for attainment and employment. The theme of relationships in the context of restrictive punishments offers considerable scope with labelling and attribution theories as well as school belonging. Demographically, the current study focused on YPs from mainstream secondary schools leaving possibilities to explore alternatives such as primary settings, alternative provisions and special schools. These findings concentrated on YP with recent experience of isolation without considering the perspectives of school staff, parents or those without experience of IRBs. It would be useful to understand YPs perceptions around the threat of isolation as a restrictive punishment and their reactions/underpinning emotions. This may provide insight into the impact of forced compliance on sense of school belonging and/or prosocial behaviour. It would be interesting to explore YPs experiences from schools that have moved away from restrictive punishments and 'banned the booths' to see how they made sense of the changes.

Beyond the questions raised directly by these findings lie a plethora of significant enquiries relating to isolation as a restrictive punishment. It is necessary for understanding the phenomenon to have data relating to its prevalence across secondary schools as well as how the process differs between schools. From a legislative perspective it would be useful to have a clearer idea as to the length of time YP spend in isolation, how often the process is repeated and how that fits into the bigger picture of exclusionary discipline. For example, is there evidence that isolation acts as a precursor or holding pen for subsequent fixed and permanent exclusion. In the context of evidence reporting racial disparities in exclusion data disproportionately impacting BAME (DfE, 2019) student's further investigation would

be useful into the demographics of those spending time in isolation. This would be particularly pertinent given the illumination of attribution as a potential contributory factor in punishment decisions, warranting further investigation from the perspective of racial and gender bias. A report for Cheshire West and Chester Council (Social Finance, 2020) suggested girls were more likely to experience 'informal' exclusions. It would be interesting to see how this translates with regards to IRBs. Beyond that is a significant need for more research into the impacts of 'zero-tolerance' cultures in UK schools.

Research-Practitioner: A Critically Reflexive Account

Introduction

Undertaking a phenomenological study is multifaceted given its focus on making sense of lived experience. On one hand, as the researcher, I am aspiring to make sense of my participants meaning making, the double hermeneutic. Yet on the other, I am reflectively attempting to make sense of my own experience of the endeavour. Thus, adopting the stance of observing myself seeing (Jacobs, 2013). Phenomenologically speaking that involves introspection or activation of an 'inner gaze'. Afterall, by making myself the object of self-enquiry I become the subject of my own experience (Mortari, 2015). From a hermeneutic perspective critical reflection enables me to analyse my practice within the context of social justice.

Reflexivity is crucial in research (Karin et al., 2007) although largely the domain of qualitative disciplines. The BPS Code of Human Research Ethics (2014) requires researchers to be self-reflective. Through reflection and reflexivity, I am not only able to report findings but also question and explain how they were constructed. Therefore, endeavouring to address concerns around quality by enhancing process transparency. As a researcher my interpretations depend upon preunderstandings built-up through my interactions with the social, cultural and educational world. They, in turn, influence my process of inquiry. Therefore, I have an ethical obligation to make my process of inquiry transparent and offer accountability and validity (Mortari, 2015). Throughout this research I have attempted to scrutinise my decisions through self-reflexive practices and with the assistance of a critical-other during supervision allowing me to raise a thoughtful eye on myself (Mortari, 2015). This reflexive account presents an insight into my decision-making at each stage of the research process and deliberately offers an authentic and honest interpretive

commentary. I believe it is necessary to begin by situating myself within the context of restrictive practices and use of IRBs in schools to illuminate my position.

Positionality – Situating Myself

Throughout my time as a secondary school teacher, I passionately advocated a relational approach based upon authentic interaction, genuine interest, focus on strengths and aspirational outcomes for all within a nurturing environment. The glue that held that together was, in my view, mutual respect. Sceptics may consider my approach naive, principled but practically impossible. I refute that scepticism and offer fourteen years of successful experience as evidence that it not only can be successful but has the potential for mutual life-long impact. I recently used a social media platform to ask ex-students, ex-parents and former colleagues to make a comment about things they liked about me as a teacher. Their comments overwhelmingly identified aspects of my relational approach including rapport, respect, acceptance, approachability, availability, time to really listen, authenticity and humour. My approach was highly intangible with no scripts, reward systems or punitive sanctions just attuned interaction and a constant commitment to the relationship at the centre. I got to know my students, parents and colleagues on their good days and bad as they did with me. We worked together when things went well and also when they went wrong. At times it was a battle between the importance of maintaining a relationship versus the strength of my ego which often demanded supersonic levels of honest reflection and the help of a supportive network to assist me through the challenges.

It was my strong commitment to relational teaching rather than a dislike of sanctions per se that piqued my interest in the current debate over 'zero-tolerance'

behaviour management and the use of IRBs. At the heart of these punitive measures is, for me, a disregard for the value of strong and positive relationships possibly because of a desperation for control to achieve compliance. There appears to be an unwillingness to see behaviour as a form of communication that needs empathic decoding within the safety of a secure relationship. Therefore, in line with my commitment to relational approaches and value of individual voice I felt a compelling urge to understand what IRBs were like for those experiencing them. I didn't feel the need to test any existing theories, instead attempt to 'walk in their' shoes for a short time and understand what it was like from their perspective. Afterall, I was aware my world view may need adjusting in light of hearing the YPs experiences because they may challenge my values and beliefs. To do that I knew I had to adopt a methodology that could accommodate my desire to understand the YPs experiences whilst giving me the opportunity to interpret through the lens of education and psychology.

A Fear of Failure

My classroom practice and educational philosophy like many was heavily influenced by Carol Dweck's work on growth mindset. I realised early on in my teaching that Dweck's work was integral to my underlying classroom philosophy. In many respects it ran counter to the dominant with-in child narratives in education. It was, for me, a refreshing change from the construct of innate fixed intelligence. I embraced it, which enabled me to reconstruct the narrative around failure. For me and my classroom failure became nothing more than a learning opportunity. There was no high stakes accountability just supportive reflection and solution focused discussion. I worked hard to create a classroom that minimised the fear of failure.

However, the doctorate unforgivingly reawakened my own fear of failure uncomfortably diminishing all I held true from my time in the classroom. The fear of failure has remained a significant theme throughout this research and created an uncompromising combination with feelings of imposterism. It has played a significant part in my decision making and engagement which is why I include it within my reflections.

Search for a Research Question

Before starting the initial stages of my research process, I was aware my desire to understand YP experiences of IRBs would be most effectively achieved qualitatively. I had been actively following the debate unfolding through the media and via LinkedIn posts which provided anecdotal support for research exploring YPs experiences. However, I was largely unfamiliar with the academic literature. Therefore, embarking on a review of the literature became about contextualising the topic and identifying whether a genuine gap existed for pursuing the research. It was for that reason I decided against a systematic review in favour of a narrative approach. The aim was to structure the literature around the central theme that seemed pervasive throughout the research and writings on restrictive behaviour management, control. This sat within a landscape of oppressive practice with roots in power structures. Considering issues of power is a constituent part of the BPS Code of Ethics (2018; 3.1). As a strong advocate for egalitarianism, equity and fairness I felt a need to interrogate its effectiveness within school discipline systems. I was also clear from early on that I wanted to follow an inductive approach rather than be driven by existing theory and research. The scant amount of recent evidence surrounding the topic of restrictive behaviour management and IRBs or

time-out confirmed the opportunity for further investigation. Notably missing were studies exploring the views, perspectives and experiences of YP. By this stage I had a combination of anecdotal support and academic evidence to suggest my initial idea of exploring YP experiences of IRBs was viable. As such, the dilemma taking shape had little to do with opportunity, instead it related to personal interest over methodological effectiveness. I had become very interested in narrative approaches because the storytelling appealed to my creativity. This resulted in many months of uncomfortableness as I attempted to 'fit' my research around the methodology. The dissonance was unresolvable and yet I continued tacitly aware it wasn't aligning with my desire to understand the experiences of YP through the lens of education and psychology. This highlighted my inexperience as a researcher, something I was acutely aware of. I had a real sense of conscious incompetence (Curtiss & Warren, 1973) which was really uncomfortable particularly having been an extremely experienced professional in teaching. This was the first of several key moments I feel were defined by a fear of failure. During a lecture I can still hear when I close my eyes and drift back through my memories I struck upon an epiphany, IPA. That was what I had been looking for. It just 'fitted'. The combination of phenomenology, hermeneutics and ideography offered opportunities to explore personal sense making of their lived experiences whilst presenting a lens for interpretation ultimately enabling the creation of shared themes for the phenomenon of IRBs whilst remaining true to each individual. I think at that point I realised I had known my research question all along and that is why the narrative approach wasn't working. My introduction to IPA was catalytic for many reasons, it clarified my research questioned but also helped make sense of my general approach as a practitioner psychologist. My more natural inclination as a TEP to stray away from standardised

measures towards open dialogue endeavouring to understand how those I work alongside make sense of their experiences. I have been wrestling uncomfortably with a more inductive approach whilst feeling a sense of pressure to work more deductively. Almost highlighting the inherent conflict in not knowing what I didn't know until I knew what I didn't know.

Participant Recruitment: The Struggle

My decision to recruit participants via social media was based upon the premise of high visibility. I believed the larger the audience the more potential participants. I meticulously searched the internet to find charities/organisations with a link to parents/professionals particularly those with links to SEN. I contacted each charity by email to introduce my research and ask whether they would be willing to post my participant request. This was a huge learning curve because I had no idea before I started the number of charities/organisations unwilling to post my request. As a result, I ended up with far fewer posts than anticipated. Most notably tweets were placed by Social, Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties Association (SEBDA), Some individual county offices of MIND the mental health charity, Children England, Independent Provider of Special Education Advice (IPSEA), Netmums and Mumsnet. The social media posts generated some participants although the majority came through word of mouth from professionals who knew me personally. The posts appeared to generate some interest and led to parents making contact for further information although few converted into actual participants. The posts were all placed in May/June 2020 during national school Covid-19 shutdowns which I believe made participant recruitment more difficult. I had set myself the target of recruiting six participants in line with recommendations by Smith et al. (2009) and Larkin et al.

(2006) however that was proving to be very difficult. By July 2020 I had only secured three participants. The fear of failure was looming large and I was desperately trying to stave off panic. I had placed all my eggs in one basket and didn't have any alternative ideas. At no point had I felt so bereft of a plan. My research appeared to be hanging together with hope and a prayer which on this occasion, even for an idealist like me wearing my rose-tinted glasses didn't seem enough. Like Barbera, Carol and Alex I was feeling a sense of powerlessness and a loss of faith albeit in a completely different context. I regrouped and applied for an amendment to the ethics application allowing me to contact PRU headteachers. I contacted the headteacher of a PRU in the West Midlands who was a contact through LinkedIn. They circulated my participant request to YP which resulted in a number of parents making contact although none translated into final participants. Despite having real doubts, I secured a fourth participant in August who came from the original SEBDA post. I made the decision that four participants gave me the absolute minimum to continue. Not long after, following a Children England post I had five further possible participants. It really was like the old adage, 'when one bus comes along, they all do'. One participant created very mixed emotions for me as well as an ethical dilemma. I had been contacted by their foster parents to say the YP expressed an interest in participating. The foster carers did not have parental responsibility which remained with the YPs birth mother. After obtaining consent from the YP to contact their birth mother I was able to gain parental consent for participation. As well as being a necessary part of the research process, obtaining informed consent is integral to the BPS (2018; 3.1) and HCPC (2016; 1) ethical codes. However, I intuitively felt uncomfortable about pursuing the interview. Initial suggestions were for the interview to occur virtually in the YPs bedroom which I did not feel was

appropriate. Following some negotiation, it was agreed the interview would take place in a public part of the house where the YP could have a private conversation, yet foster carers would be close at hand if necessary. I still had a niggling uncomfortableness in my gut about pursuing the interview although no clear tangible reason why. I felt very tied between my ethical responsibility to enable the YP to have their voice and the potential safeguards to ensure suitable support given the virtual nature of interviews. Maintaining respect for the safeguarding of others is central to the BPS Code of Ethics (2018; 3.3) and the HCPC Standards of Conduct, Performance and Ethics (2016; 6, 7). Part of me was desperate to secure another participant whilst the other part felt resistant and uncomfortable. In the end the YP decided not to participate which felt a relief because they took the decision out of my hands. From the five possible participants one materialised into an actual interview. I had secured five participants in total which was enough for an IPA study although I couldn't shake away the disappointment of not getting that final participant to reach the original goal of six.

Comfortable Conversations

Conversations for me are about collaborative relationships. According to Shotter (1984) all living beings exist in joint action where interactions are mutually responsive. Our responses to interactions create the parameters and opportunities for the relationship (Anderson & Gehart, 2009) however temporary that may be. I deeply care about relationships and recognise the significance of conversations that engender belonging and co-ownership. Being a novice researcher creates uncertainty which leads to decisions that fundamentally create conflict. The IPA literature suggests inexperienced researchers avoid unstructured interviews, so I felt

a sense of pressure to follow the advice. The problem with this strategy was, once again, trying to make it 'fit' when actually it didn't. To have a successful semi-structured interview you need to be driven by the research which informs the creation of questions. However, I had been clear from the beginning I wanted my research to be inductive. This meant the questions I initially proposed were illogically scripted rather than thoughtfully produced. I was having difficulty defending their inclusion whilst wrestling with a deep sense that what I actually wanted was a fluid conversation driven by the YP. It was as if I needed permission to do what felt most comfortable. My research supervisor provided the reassurance I needed to pursue unstructured conversational interviews which allowed a far more open exploration of experience driven by YP. I had been a little concerned about entering a virtual conversation with YP 'cold' because it would not allow for the development of rapport, so we were all at ease. Therefore, I consciously decided to meet virtually with all YP and their parents prior to the main interview. The intention was twofold. Firstly, to enable a discussion about research participation and provide an opportunity for YP to ask questions so I felt confident of informed consent. Secondly, to build rapport so the YP would feel comfortable engaging in open unhindered dialogue about their experiences. It was important for me to explain my non-judgmental yet curious position which I hope transmitted authenticity and warmth. This decision was critical to facilitating lengthy, detailed conversations. In a further attempt to enable YP to feel comfortable to talk and with a mind on safeguarding remotely I decided to offer YP the choice to have their parent/carer present during the interview. I worried about this decision based upon the potential impact it might have on the YP's narratives. As such I very consciously explained to parents the interviews were about the YP and their story and asked them to

intervene only upon YP request. Two of the older YP chose not to have their parent/carer present during the interview. The two younger YP had parents/carers present for the duration. One older YP's parent/carer appeared to provide hovering support. In two cases the parent/carer offered a comment during the interview. At each point I directly addressed the YP and asked if they wanted me to retain the interruption in the verbatim transcript or omit it. On balance I believe having the parent/carer present was in the best interests of the YP from the perspective of ethics and safeguarding (BPS, 2018; HCPC, 2016).

A Profound Impact

I always feel exceptionally privileged when a YP feels able to share their experiences with me. I never underestimate the bravery they show in trusting me enough to have a conversation especially when traditionally adults may not have permitted or validated their voice. My belief in every child's right to an equal voice is a strongly embedded core value. It has guided me through my teaching career and often been met with confusion from those who believe age automatically confers superiority. I believe this core value has deepened every time I have advocated for a YPs voice and been shouted down by colleagues. The work of Carl Rogers has been influential and inspirational in my approach. The humanistic philosophy of meeting someone where they are through unconditional positive regard has carried through my teaching and into my TEP role. Central to Rogers's active listening is empathy. For him that meant perceiving the other person's internal frame of reference with emotion as if imagining walking in their shoes (Rogers, 1980). Empathy is also of central consideration in the BPS Code of Ethics (2018). As I became lost in the conversation with Alex his articulation of experience really did

resonate emotionally. I felt such empathy as he took me through his feelings of anger, anxiety and sadness. I felt it during the interview and days later. Alex's interview had a profound impact on me because I actively listened, as he permitted me a brief yet powerful glimpse into his world. Alex just wanted someone to give him a chance. Simple, uncomplicated sentiment that resonated so deeply with my values. It was as if Alex was, in his unique way, speaking on behalf of all YP who have been rejected by a system they can't fit into and yet sharing an intensely personal reflection. Alex inspired me and reminded me of the importance of listening from the heart so as to access the conversation from an emotional level creating connection. I have never experienced the punishment of an isolation room/booth so have no actual point of reference. I have, however felt community rejection and sadness. That is where Alex's narrative connected with me, on a visceral level through emotion. At that moment I wasn't an advocate or an outraged activist I was sad and felt his pain from rejection. For a moment I came close to really understanding Alex's experience before my own lens reappeared and the listening became a little more entwined with reflexive awareness. I am aware of some of my own social graces (Burnham, 2012) with regards to gender, age, race, appearance, education, socioeconomic status which all contribute to the lens through which I view situations and how others view me. Sandage et al. (2008) suggests we become aware of our prejudices through reflection. For Gadamer (1989), all interpretation is value laden. Through hermeneutical conversation the horizons of an author and an interpreter can intersect through participation in dialogue. My interview with Alex will have a lasting impact on me that reaches far beyond this piece of research and for that I am grateful.

Listening back to the interviews was frustrating because in hindsight I was able to see where my active listening drifted, and I didn't ask follow-up questions that may have led to further illumination. I suppose there will always be an element of that when conducting unstructured interviews as an inexperienced researcher. In some respects, I think I was too cautious and hyperaware of not influencing the direction of the conversation. When I listen back it is clear I missed opportunities to uncover deeper feelings and understand the YPs sense making through my determination to remain committed to the main opening question as a prompt for further discussion. I often returned to that question instead of sitting with a silence to see where it took us. There is certainly an added level of self-consciousness when having a conversation with such high stakes. The conflict between having a curious conversation and ensuring you have the data necessary for a doctoral thesis. The pressure definitely impacted my conversational fluidity.

Disengagement with the Data

At no point was the fear of failure so great as when I was due to start the data analysis. So much so it induced an uncomfortable work paralysis and disengagement from the data. Upon reflection I believe it was the heavy weight of responsibility I was placing on myself that created the difficulties. I was acutely aware of making sure I didn't let the YP down by not authentically interpreting the data to represent their voice. As a result, it took at least six weeks of procrastination before I could fully engage with the data for analysis and not simply listen to the interviews. Feeding the fear of failure was a difficulty making meaning of one of the transcripts because my frame of reference was emotional. This was uncovered during a supervision session where I had space to reflect on making sense of my

own meaning making. This highlighted a bias in my positioning of emotions as predominant in meaning making. According to Sandage et al. (2008) developmental dynamics and individual differences influence hermeneutical approaches to meaning making. People make meaning as a way of being in the world and yet, the ways of making meaning differ with human development. (Sandage et al., 2008)

The time actually helped place some distance between me and the data which in hindsight was a good thing. During my break from the data, I kept reflective notes as I had throughout the process. This led me to realise that despite my natural inclination to use electronic methods I felt more connected to my thinking when working with pencil and paper. This led me to follow Smith et al.'s (2009) recommendation to undertake analysis by hand. In line with their guidance, I undertook a first stage analysis in the right margin using three different coloured pens (blue: descriptive comments, green: linguistic comments, red: conceptual comments). I found it difficult at times to separate the comments particularly the linguistic and conceptual as I felt they intertwined. This process took several days per transcript spread over time. I followed the same routine before engaging with the data on each occasion which involved a brisk walk to awaken thoughts, followed by a two-minute brain dump (free writing to release my thinking) and then 5 minutes mindful quietness looking out into the garden. I read over the transcript and comments from my previous engagement to check my interpretations hadn't varied before starting the next section. After making initial comments I moved to initial thematic coding (black) in the left margin. I often found this mirrored the descriptive comments although sometimes encapsulated broader elements of the conceptual comments. After initial thematic coding I went back through the transcript to double check and clarify. After identifying initial themes, I listed them in chronological order

in a table, then condensed them based upon frequency of recurrence, grouped them together and named the master themes. I completed the entirety of the process with each transcript before moving to the next. I decided to analyse Alex's transcript last which is contrary to the advice provided by Smith et al. (2009). I did this because I didn't want my emotional affinity with his interview to impact my coding of the other transcripts.

Implications for Practice

The research process and findings will have implications for my practice as an EP moving forward post-qualification. I have found a method of enquiry that suits my developing EP style providing a philosophical/theoretical basis. This gives me confidence to approach my work inductively rather than feeling compelled to adopt deductive means. Working in this way I feel able to contextually explore experiences and meaning making so as to represent an individual's voice, which matters to me. I have realised my reference point for connection is emotional because it is my personal way to make meaning of someone else's meaning making. I find it much more difficult to understand their individual experiences through descriptions that do not involve emotional reference because they don't elicit empathy for me. Without emotion there is more scope for me to view the situation through my own lens by defaulting to how I imagine I would feel in the position. Using an inductive approach for me requires a highly reflexive stance highlighting the significance of good supervision that provides me with a safe space to interrogate my assumptions. It also requires regular check-in with those whose voices I am representing to reduce misinterpretation.

The findings will have an impact on my future practice with regards to the directions of my CPD. I am a committed life-long learner and will continue to pursue development opportunities in non-punitive behaviour management such as Dr Greene's CPS model. I intend to continue engaging with the evolving evidence-base on relational approaches and community belonging as well as pro-social skills and SEL. I would like to upskill myself further in offering supervision as well as looking at how it could systemically enhance behaviour management to move away from punitive models of discipline.

Conclusion

Schooling for me is about discovery, curiosity and inspiration all of which are prevented by restrictive punishment. Desire for conformity is the antithesis of difference. It denies the existence of individual uniqueness and the necessity to meet needs through differentiated approaches rather than 'zero-tolerance' uniformity. This research journey has affirmed my belief that relationships matter. Approaches enabling YP to feel seen, heard and valued reduce power inequalities through reduced teacher control. Some people refer to their doctoral thesis as 'my baby', I prefer to think of myself as a 'foster carer'. A temporary custodian working within a wider community who, I sincerely hope, have the momentum and developing evidence to facilitate change conversations and make a difference.

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Appendices

Appendix A

EDU ETHICS APPROVAL LETTER 2019-20

APPLICANT DETAILS	
Name:	Emma Condliffe
School:	School of Education and Lifelong Learning
Current Status:	EdPsyD student
UEA Email address:	e.condliffe@uea.ac.uk
EDU REC IDENTIFIER:	2020_2_EC_AH

Approval details	
Approval start date:	1.4.2020
Approval end date:	30.8.2021
Specific requirements of approval:	Given the current situation, if you're able to progress with your study interviews etc at this time, they should be conducted online.
<p>Please note that your project is only given ethical approval for the length of time identified above. Any extension to a project must obtain ethical approval by the EDU REC before continuing. Any amendments to your project in terms of design, sample, data collection, focus etc. should be notified to the EDU REC Chair as soon as possible to ensure ethical compliance. If the amendments are substantial a new application may be required.</p>	



EDU Chair, Research Ethics Committee

Appendix B

Emma Condliffe
Trainee Educational Psychologist
December 2019

Faculty of Social Sciences

School of Education and Lifelong Learning

University of East Anglia
Norwich Research Park
Norwich NR4 7TJ
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Email: e.condliffe@uea.ac.uk
Tel: +44 (0) 1603 59xxxx
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Call for Research Participants

Young People's Experience of Isolation Rooms/Booths in Mainstream Secondary Schools in England

I am looking for young people to help contribute to my research on isolation rooms/booths in English secondary schools.

Who am I?

My name is Emma Condliffe and I am a student on the Educational Psychology Doctorate at the University of East Anglia. I am carrying out research as part of my Doctoral studies as well as working on professional placement for Suffolk County Council as a Trainee Educational Psychologist.

My Research

I am exploring young people's experience of isolation rooms/booths in UK secondary schools. Isolation rooms/booths vary in design but may include partitioned desks where students face the wall and work in silence. Young people are often sent to these areas when they misbehave. The purpose of my research is to understand how young people experience isolation rooms/booths.

How You Can Help Me

I would like to speak to young people who have repeatedly spent time in an isolation room/booth. This means they have been in an isolation room/booth on more than three separate occasions. Therefore, I am looking for parents and carers whose children would be willing to talk to me about their experience of repeatedly spending time in an isolation room/booth.

I would ask questions to find out what the young person thought and how they felt about their experience.

Before having any conversations, I would make sure that the young person fully understood why I was talking to them. I would then ask for written consent from the young person to

show they were happy to help with the research by talking about their experiences. By taking part in the research young people will be able to make their voices heard.

How I Will Use the Young People's Information

I will use the information to write my doctoral thesis which is like a report. It will include quotes and stories from the young people I have talked to, but it will not use any identifiable features like their name. Therefore, no one reading my thesis will be able to know who made the comments. My research may also be written into a smaller report and shared publicly.

What I Need from You

If you would like to help me with my research, then please contact Emma Condliffe via email on e.condliffe@uea.ac.uk before 30/06/2020. Please include a contact number in your email so that I can reply in person.

Appendix C

Emma Condliffe
Trainee Educational Psychologist
December 2019

Faculty of Social Sciences

School of Education and Lifelong Learning

University of East Anglia
Norwich Research Park
Norwich NR4 7TJ
United Kingdom

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Young People's Experience of Isolation Rooms/Booths in Mainstream Secondary Schools in the UK

PARENTAL INFORMATION STATEMENT

(1) What is this study about?

Your child is invited to take part in a research study about their experiences of isolation room/booth in a mainstream secondary school. I am interested in how your child thinks and feels about their experience of isolation rooms/booths. Your child has been invited to participate in this study because they have had experience of spending time in an isolation room/booth whilst attending a mainstream secondary school in the UK. This Participant Information Statement tells you about the research study. Knowing what is involved will help you decide if you want to let your child take part in the research. Please read this sheet carefully and ask questions about anything that you don't understand or want to know more about. Participation in this research study is voluntary. By giving your consent you are telling me that you:

- ✓ Understand what you have read.
- ✓ Agree for your child to take part in the research study as outlined below.
- ✓ Agree to the use of your child's personal information as described.
- ✓ You have received a copy of this Parental Information Statement to keep.

(2) Who is running the study?

The study is being carried out by the following researchers:

Emma Condliffe, Trainee Educational Psychology Student, School of Education and Lifelong Learning, University of East Anglia.

Dr Andrea Honess, Research Supervisor, Course Director, School of Education and Lifelong Learning, University of East Anglia.

(3) What will the study involve?

Your child's participation in this study will involve them taking part in a 'virtual' one-to-one interview with me (Emma Condliffe). The interviews will take place via a secure online video communication platform such as Microsoft Teams or Skype. During the conversation I will ask your child about their experience of isolation rooms/booths in particular how it made them think and feel. With your permission I would like to record the conversation using the record function on the online video communication platform and use a digital audio recording device

as a backup. In addition, I may make hand-written notes throughout the conversation as a reminder.

(4)How much of my child's time will the study take?

It is anticipated that your child will take part in one interview lasting between 60-90 minutes. However, depending upon your child's level of comfort during the interview it might be necessary to split this into several shorter interviews held on different days totalling a maximum of 90 minutes. In addition, it may be necessary for your child to attend a further session to help me check my interpretation is true to their meaning and understanding of the experiences they have had. It is anticipated this would take around 30 minutes. Therefore, the maximum time commitment would be 2 hours over the course of a six-month period.

(5)Does my child have to be in the study? Can they withdraw from the study once they've started?

Being in this study is completely voluntary and your child does not have to take part. Your decision whether to let them participate will not affect your/their relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of East Anglia, The Association of Educational Psychologists, now or in the future. If you decide to let your child take part in the study and then change your mind later (or they no longer wish to take part), they are free to withdraw from the study at any time up until the point that we have analysed and written-up the results.

Your child is free to stop the interview at any time. Unless you say that you want us to keep them, any recordings will be erased and the information your child has provided will not be included in the study results. Your child may also refuse to answer any questions that they do not wish to answer during the interview. If you decide at a later time to withdraw your child from the study, their information will be removed from our records and will not be included in any results, up to the point we have analysed and written-up the results.

(6)Are there any risks or costs associated with being in the study?

Aside from your child giving up their time, we do not expect there will be any risks or costs associated with taking part in this study. Some children may find it difficult to talk about schooling if they have had a negative experience. I will be mindful of anything that might cause concern and no child will be required to speak if they don't feel like it. If anyone does get upset, I will stop the interview immediately. I will inform you of any difficulty or upset encountered during the interview. I will then provide details of organisations available in your area to help with your child's distress. In line with government legislation on safeguarding children if your child makes a disclosure that highlights a concern, I will report it to the local authority safeguarding team who will take charge. As a result, I may not be in a position to inform you as to the details of the safeguarding referral.

(7)Are there any benefits associated with being in the study?

I hope that your child will feel they have been listened to when talking about their experiences of isolation rooms/booths. I hope that what your child says about their experiences will add to wider discussions about behaviour management as well as highlight the importance of including child's voice in conversations.

(8) What will happen to information that is collected during the study?

By providing your consent, you are agreeing to me collecting personal information about your child for the purposes of this research study. Their information will only be used for the purposes outlined in this Participant Information Statement, unless you consent otherwise. Data management will follow the 2018 General Data Protection Regulation Act and the University of East Anglia Research Data Management Policy (2019). Your child's information will be stored securely and their identity/information will be kept strictly confidential, except as required by law. Study findings may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect your child's identity, there is a risk that they might be identifiable due to the nature of the study and/or results. In this instance, data will be stored for a period of 10 years and then destroyed.

(9) What if we would like further information about the study?

When you have read this information, Emma Condliffe will be available to discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage during the study, please feel free to contact Emma Condliffe, Trainee Educational Psychology student via email: e.condliffe@uea.ac.uk.

(10) Will I be told the results of the study?

You and your child have a right to receive feedback about the overall results of this study. You can tell us that you wish to receive feedback by ticking the relevant box on the accompanying consent form. This feedback will be in the form of a one-page written summary or verbal summary either in person or via telephone. You will receive this feedback after August 2021.

(11) What if we have a complaint or any concerns about the study?

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved under the regulations of the University of East Anglia's School of Education and Lifelong Learning Research Ethics Committee.

If there is a problem, please let me know. You can contact me via the University at the following address:

Emma Condliffe
School of Education and Lifelong Learning
University of East Anglia
NORWICH
NR4 7TJ
e.condliffe@uea.ac.uk

If you would like to speak to someone else you can contact my supervisor:

Dr Andrea Honess via email: a.honess@uea.ac.uk

If you (or your child) are concerned about the way this study is being conducted or you wish to make a complaint to someone independent from the study, please contact the interim Head of the School of Education and Lifelong Learning, Professor Nalini Boodhoo at N.Boodhoo@uea.ac.uk.

(12) OK, I'm happy for my child to take part – what do I do next?

You need to fill in one copy of the consent form and return it to Emma Condliffe using the stamped, addressed envelope provided. Please keep the letter, information sheet and the 2nd copy of the consent form for your information.

This information sheet is for you to keep

PARENT/CARER CONSENT FORM (1st Copy to Researcher)

I, [PRINT PARENT'S/CARER'S NAME],

consent to my child [PRINT CHILD'S NAME] participating in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what my child will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Information Statement and have been able to discuss my child's involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.
- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and my child does not have to take part. My decision whether to let them take part in the study will not affect our relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of East Anglia, The Association of Educational Psychologists now or in the future.
- ✓ I understand that my child can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that my child may stop the interview at any time if they do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that my child may refuse to answer any questions they don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about my child that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about my child will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect my identity, I may be identifiable in these publications due to the nature of the study or results.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording of my child** YES NO
- **Recording the video call made with my child** YES NO
- **Would you like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study?** YES NO

If 'YES' please select your preferred means for feedback:

Written Verbal (face-to-face) Verbal (telephone)

Address for written feedback:

Postal: _____

Email: _____

.....
Signature

.....
Date

.....
PRINT Name

PARENT/CARER CONSENT FORM (1st Copy to Researcher)

I, [PRINT PARENT'S/CARER'S NAME],

consent to my child [PRINT CHILD'S NAME] participating in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what my child will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Information Statement and have been able to discuss my child's involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.
- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and my child does not have to take part. My decision whether to let them take part in the study will not affect our relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of East Anglia, The Association of Educational Psychologists or now or in the future.
- ✓ I understand that my child can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that my child may stop the interview at any time if they do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that my child may refuse to answer any questions they don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about my child that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about my child will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect my identity, I may be identifiable in these publications due to the nature of the study or results.

I consent to:

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If 'YES' please select your preferred means for feedback:

Written Verbal (face-to-face) Verbal (telephone)

Address for written feedback:

Postal: _____

Email: _____

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Signature

.....
Date

.....
PRINT Name

Emma Condliffe
Trainee Educational Psychologist
December 2019

Faculty of Social Sciences

School of Education and Lifelong Learning

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Study Information Sheet: Young People's Experience of Isolation Rooms/Booths in Mainstream Secondary Schools in England



Hello. My name is Emma Condliffe

I am doing a research study to find out more about your experiences of isolation rooms/booths, particularly what you think and how you feel.

I am asking you to be in my study because you have been in an isolation room/booth more than once during your time at a secondary school.

You can decide if you want to take part in the study or not. You don't have to - it's up to you.

This sheet tells you what I will ask you to do if you decide to take part in the study. Please read it carefully so that you can make up your mind about whether you want to take part.

If you decide you want to be in the study and then you change your mind later, that's ok. All you need to do is tell me that you don't want to be in the study anymore.

If you have any questions, you can ask me or your family or someone else who looks after you. If you want to, you can email me at e.condliffe@uea.ac.uk.

What will happen if I say that I want to be in the study?

If you decide that you want to be in my study, I will ask you to do these things:

- Join an online 'virtual' meeting through Microsoft Teams or Skype where you and I will talk about your experiences of isolation rooms/booths. Depending how you feel we might need to have up to three short interviews (up to 30 minutes each), or we may be able to just have one that is longer (up to 90 minutes).
- I may ask you to meet with me again 'virtually' using Microsoft Teams or Skype so that I can check with you to make sure I have fully understood your experience in the way you want me to. During this 'virtual' meeting I would tell you how I have understood what you said. I would ask you to correct me if you think I have misunderstood you.

When I ask you questions, you can choose which ones you want to answer. If you don't want to talk about something, that's ok. You can stop talking to me at any time if you don't want to talk anymore.

If you say it's ok, I will record what you say with an audio recorder as well as record the 'virtual' meeting.

Will anyone else know what I say in the study?



I won't tell anyone else what you say to me, except if you talk about someone hurting you or about you hurting yourself or someone else. Then I might need to tell someone to keep you and other people safe.

All of the information that I have about you from the study will be stored in a safe place and I will look after it very carefully. I will write a report about the study and show it to other people, but I won't say your name in the report and no one will know that you were in the study.

How long will the study take?



The interview is likely to take no more than 90 minutes. If you prefer to split the interview we could 'virtually' meet twice for up to 45 minutes or three times for up to 30 minutes.

If we 'virtually' meet for me to check my understanding of what you said the meeting should last no more than 30 minutes.

Are there any good things about being in the study?



It will be a privilege for me to hear your experiences. This study will present your thoughts and feelings in a way that makes you heard. You won't get anything for being in the study, but you will be helping me do my research.

Are there any bad things about being in the study?

This study will take up some of your time, but I don't think it will be bad for you or cost you anything. If you find talking about your experiences upsetting, then we will stop the conversation. I will be able to help you to find someone to support you with the upsetting feelings.

Will you tell me what you learnt in the study at the end?

Yes, I will if you want me to. There is a question on the next page that asks you if you want me to tell you what I learnt in the study. If you circle Yes, when I finish the study, I will tell you what I learnt.

What if I am not happy with the study or the people doing the study?

If you are not happy with how I am doing the study or how I treat you, then you or the person who looks after you can:

- Call the university on 01603 592630
- Write an email to e.condliffe@uea.ac.uk

This sheet is for you to keep.

Study Information Sheet: Experiences of Isolation rooms/booths Consent Form 1 (this one is for me)

If you are happy to be in the study, please

- **write your name** in the space below
- **sign your name** at the bottom of the next page
- put the **date** at the bottom of the next page.

You should only say 'yes' to being in the study if you know what it is about and you want to be in it. If you don't want to be in the study, don't sign the form.

I,[PRINT NAME], am happy to be in this research study.

In saying yes to being in the study, I am saying that:

- ✓ I know what the study is about.
- ✓ I know what I will be asked to do.
- ✓ Someone has talked to me about the study.
- ✓ My questions have been answered.
- ✓ I know that I don't have to be in the study if I don't want to.
- ✓ I know that I can pull out of the study at any time if I don't want to do it anymore.
- ✓ I know that I don't have to answer any questions that I don't want to answer.
- ✓ I know that the researchers won't tell anyone what I say when we talk to each other, unless I talk about being hurt by someone or hurting myself or someone else.

**Now I am going to ask you if you are happy to do a few other things in the study.
Please circle 'Yes' or 'No' to tell me what you would like.**

Are you happy for me to **audio record** your voice? Yes No

Are you happy for me to **record** the online meeting? Yes No

Do you want me to tell you what we **learnt** in the study? Yes No

.....
Signature

.....
Date

Study Information Sheet: Experiences of Isolation rooms/booths Consent Form 2 (this one is for you)

If you are happy to be in the study, please

- **write your name** in the space below
- **sign your name** at the bottom of the next page
- put the **date** at the bottom of the next page.

You should only say 'yes' to being in the study if you know what it is about and you want to be in it. If you don't want to be in the study, don't sign the form.

I,[PRINT NAME], am happy to be in this research study.

In saying yes to being in the study, I am saying that:

- ✓ I know what the study is about.
- ✓ I know what I will be asked to do.
- ✓ Someone has talked to me about the study.
- ✓ My questions have been answered.
- ✓ I know that I don't have to be in the study if I don't want to.
- ✓ I know that I can pull out of the study at any time if I don't want to do it anymore.
- ✓ I know that I don't have to answer any questions that I don't want to answer.
- ✓ I know that the researchers won't tell anyone what I say when we talk to each other, unless I talk about being hurt by someone or hurting myself or someone else.

Now I am going to ask you if you are happy to do a few other things in the study.

Please circle 'Yes' or 'No' to tell me what you would like.

Are you happy for me to **audio record** your voice? Yes No

Are you happy for me to **record** the online meeting? Yes No

Do you want me to tell you what we **learnt** in the study? Yes No

.....
Signature

Appendix D

The following extracts provide an example of transcript coding. The extracts have all been taken from one transcript and show the initial noting in the right margin which was categorised as descriptive (blue pen), linguistic (green pen) or conceptual (red pen). Emergent themes can be seen in the left margin (black pen).

Full transcripts and coding are available upon request should they be required to aide transparency and assist further understanding this piece of research.

Extract 1: Transcript Page 1.

INITIAL CODING 27/10/20

Participant 3 – 30/07/2020 (9:00am) – Aged 17 Years (Year 12) Female 1

(Handwritten notes and codes)

1 Int: The question that I am going to be asking you is: 'can you tell me about being in an isolation room or booth'.
 Process
 Restricted P3:
 Space
 Being alone
 Separated from others
 Them & us
 Int:
 Being alone
 Process (Time)
 Compliance
 Teachers
 Sending work
 14
 15
 16
 17 Int:
 Process
 18 P3:
 (Time)
 19 Int:
 20 P3:
 Getting out of lesson
 21
 Boring
 22 Int:
 Boring
 23 P3:
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Extract 2: Transcript Page 7.

(avoiding).
297 Yeah, yeah. So so as a result you know this feeling of
298 being embarrassed in the classroom and then going to
299 isolation because it meant you didn't have to have the
300 embarrassment in the classroom. What did that, what
301 did isolation mean to you?
302 P3: Ur well, it was like a punishment like you didn't want to be
303 in there because obviously when you are sent there you
304 can't talk to anyone else like you can't see your friends,
Punishment
305 you can't be with your friends in the day, like you arrive at
306 school on the bus and go straight into the room and then
307 come out at 3:30 and then go on the bus and go home
308 Int: Uhuh
Separation
(Social).
(Friends)
309 P3: It like you can't communicate with anyone else so you
310 didn't really it wasn't a nice feeling being in there cos like
311 what's the point in coming to school if you're not gonna
312 be in school.
313 Int: Yeah.
314 P3: But like the lunchtime and breaktime ones they were like
Attendance
(No Point Coming
to School)
315 you didn't want to be in there either cos obviously there
316 the you are with your friends at lunchtimes and they made
317 you do pointless where you write pointless tasks that
318 literally wasted your time like you could be revising or
319 something but they made you write like um the chewing
gum one they made you write like 10 reasons why
chewing gum is bad and the ingredients and then once you
had finished you had to write it again.
320 Int: Uhuh.
321 P3: And it didn't really it didn't stop people from chewing gum
322 or doing what they did wrong it just it didn't stop them so
323 there was not point.
Punishment
(Ineffective)
324 Int:
325 P3: And what about you are using the word 'they' um your
326 kind of separating yourself from or are you are of the
327 'they' so when you talk about 'they' um....
328

verbal: sitting at front suggests nowhere to hide - "front line"
Preferring not to be in class to avoid embarrassment.
Uncomfortable feeling that reduced reputation & diminished sense of self?
Punishment
This meant removal from friends - Isolation from friends
Significance of friends and sense of belonging attached to friendship. Being one of a group. Isolation created otherness?
Can't communicate
Re: talking to friends?
No point coming to school if in isolation (not in school)
Sense that 'School' means more than coming to the physical space → it is the being part of, the social aspect, the inclusion.
Similar to the sense that Isolation means more than the physical space. It actually has multiple meanings!
Talking about self in 2nd person - detached.
Repetition of pointless & use of waste of time obviously - suggesting it is obvious.
lunchtimes with friends taken away.

NO point (repeated)
punishment didn't stop the crime or the rule breaking
Not restorative?

Extract 1: Transcript Page 16.

718	P3:	I could separate like what their views and what I actually was.	upon reflection? Detachment - she didn't feel she really was naughty
719		Yeah	sense she felt she was caught in the system, that was responsible for her behaviour.
720	Int:	But there was just no point trying to like disprove them because there were so many people and it wasn't really worth it.	No point disproving them - showing them something different. not worth it - had she just given up - hence repetition of pointless & not both it?
721	P3:	Pointless (Disproving)	Teachers perceptions
722	Int:	Uhhu, so it felt I don't know maybe I'm hearing a bit that it was that you were a bit helpless to change that situation?	Attribution
723	P3:	I just felt there was no point because like it's not going to gain anything because they already think that you're a stupid.	No point trying to change their perception Have fun & carry on failing
724	Int:	Uhhu	I feels as though she believes failure was inevitable so why bother? ↳ Resigned to failure
725	P3:	So, there's no point like you might as well have fun with your friends at that point than just carry on and fail.	Impacts the way you think about work & school
726	Int:	Uhhu, yep yeah. Um ok so is there anything else about your experience of isolation, either the short term, the lunchtimes and the breaktimes or the longer term days um that you think is significant um in terms of the room, the space, um what it meant to you how you felt.	Not beneficial - Sense of feeling punished for not understanding work or asking questions
727	P3:	Um I don't really think it was beneficial like at all because like say you were put in for not doing like not understanding the work and asking questions about it then like when I was put in it's like what I'm put in for asking for help it's not it's just not beneficial to your learning like or the way you think about the work or like the way you think about school so I didn't really think it was beneficial at all for anything.	Difficulty explaining how it impacted him/her at school It impacted him/her at school maybe a bigger concept because school means many things
728	Int:	You've just said it wasn't beneficial to the way you thought about school?	
729	P3:	Yeah because like [pause] oh I don't know how to explain um well because if you are put in like isolation it's not like	
730	Int:		
731			
732			
733	Int:		
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736			
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738	P3:	Punishment (Ineffective)	
739	Int:		
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746	Int:	You've just said it wasn't beneficial to the way you thought about school?	
747	P3:	Yeah because like [pause] oh I don't know how to explain um well because if you are put in like isolation it's not like	
748	Int:		
749			

Appendix E

After coding an individual participant's transcript, the emergent themes were entered into a table. This enabled the clustering of themes to create superordinate themes for each young person. This process acknowledged the frequency with which themes appeared in transcripts. This example extract of a theme table, like Appendix D, relates to Participant 3.

Table 1 (extract): Emerging Themes – Superordinate Themes

Emergent Themes (Chronological Order)	Emergent Themes (Frequency)	Initial Groupings	Subordinate Themes
Process (restricted space)	Process (restricted space) x 2	Process (restricted space) x 2	Isolation as a process that separates
Being alone	Being alone x 3	Process (time) x 6	
Separated from others	Separated from others x 4	Process (teachers sending work) x 1	Isolation as a process that embarrasses
Them & us	Them & us x 4	Process (type) x 2	
Being alone	Process (time) x 6	Process (routine) x 6	
Process (time)	Compliance x 1	Process (location) x 1	Isolation as more than the process
Compliance	Process (teachers sending work) x 1	Process (monitoring) x 2	
Process (teachers sending work)	Getting out of lesson x 3	Process (space) x 1	
Process (time)	Boring x 6	Communication (none) x 7	Imposed expectations and living up to them
Getting out of lesson	Not nice feeling x 1	Communication (removed) x 1	
Boring	Communication (none) x 7	Communication (reduced) x 1	The kudos of isolation
Not nice feeling	Punishment x 3	Communication (teachers not meant to) x 1	Teacher perceptions
Communication (none)	Communication (reduced) x 1	Being alone x 3	
Punishment	Teachers nice x 2	Separated from others x 4	Pointless punishment and forced compliance
Communication (reduced)	Communication (teachers not meant to) x 1	Separation (social, friends) x 1	
Boring	Teachers help when stuck x 1	Not nice feeling x 1	Impact on learning
Teachers nice	Better than lesson x 2	Isolation x 1	
Communication (teachers not meant to)	Better learning in classroom x 2	Them & us x 4	Good relationships feel nice
Teachers help when stuck	Not learning in isolation x 1	Not allowed in classroom x 1	
Better than lesson	Restricted learning x 1	Sent out x 3	
Better learning in classroom	Isolation x 1	On view to others x 4	
Not learning in isolation	Teachers limited help x 1	Process (embarrassing) x 2	
Restricted learning	Not allowed in classroom x 1		
Better learning in classroom	Teacher expectations (no work) x 1		
	Teachers don't care (work) x 2		

Once the superordinate themes were identified they provided a structure for selecting relevant quotes from the transcript. This example extract shows part of a table relating to the superordinate themes and transcript quotes for Participant 3.

Table 2 (extract): Superordinate Themes and Transcript Quotes

Impact on learning			
Better learning in classroom x 2	51		was kind of better but obviously you'd rather be in the
Not learning in isolation x 1	52		lesson because it's better to learn when you are in the
Restricted learning x 1	53		lesson, like you weren't really learning you were just doing
Teachers limited help x 1	54		the worksheets.
Learning (asking questions) x 1	62	P3:	If you needed help then the teachers in the support like
Attendance (no point coming to school) x 1	63		centre couldn't really help you with the like because I was
Pointless (work) x 1	64		doing GCSE Maths they couldn't like, they were like
Didn't do work x 6	65		teaching Year 7 Maths so they weren't as good as, they
Need help x 1	66		didn't really know what we were doing as much they were
School is for learning x 1	67		(pause)
	--		--
	71	P3:	Yeah, because you weren't allowed in the classroom, so it
	72		was most of the time I just sat there and didn't do the
	73		work cos I didn't know what to do.
	748	P3:	Yeah because like [pause] oh I don't know how to explain
	749		um well because if you are put in like isolation it's not like
	750		you think then that if you ask questions you are going to
	751		be put in like just sent out so the teacher doesn't have to
	752		deal with you for asking loads of questions so then if that
	753		happens in a lot of lessons then it's not beneficial to
	754		school like to school life because your just not going to ask
	755		questions.
	756	Int:	Ok
	757	P3:	Which isn't going to improve your learning.