

To Repeat or not to Repeat...

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GENERAL READING

Over the last 75 years a pool of research-based knowledge about the effects on students of repeating a year level has been accumulating. It now overwhelmingly indicates that there are neither academic nor social advantages for the majority of students who repeat a year of their schooling. There is probably no other educational issue on which the research evidence is so unequivocal. There is also no other educational issue where there is such a huge gap between what the research says and the practices that schools continue to adopt. Paradoxically this discrepancy between evidence and practice has never been more apparent than in recent times when evidence-based approaches are being strongly promoted by educational systems across Australia.

The practice of students repeating a year level is widely accepted in Australian schools but there are few statistics available on rates of repeating. Kenny (1991) has estimated that approximately 14% -18% of all Australian students repeat a year, especially in the first four years of schooling.

Reviews of research and three key statistical meta-analyses (Holmes, 1989; Holmes & Matthews, 1984; Jimerson, 2001; Shepard & Smith, 1990) have provided the most important information about the effects of year level repetition. The conclusions from nearly all of these studies are clear-cut and unanimous: repeating a year does not improve academic performance, social competency or general behaviour for students at either the primary or secondary level. On the contrary it creates low self-esteem and a negative attitude to school and places students at risk of further failure, increased anti-social behaviour and dropping out of school.

Jimerson (2004) and Owens and Magliaro (1998) have argued that there are significant risks for schools in continuing to follow the unsupported practice of repeating students in the face of such unambiguous research which directs otherwise and warn that such practice may constitute 'educational malpractice'.

'One indicator of a profession is that a body of research guides its practice. A body of research exists on the subject of retention, and it should guide our practice.

If we are to treat our 'patients' professionally, we need to stop punishing non-learners and instead provide opportunities for success.' (Owings & Magliaro, 1998, p.88)

Research conclusions about repeating

Earlier research on year level repetition mostly looked at students' academic progress during the year in which they repeated and the following year. More contemporary research has used a control group design in which students who have repeated are compared with other students with similar low levels of achievement and/or social difficulties who did not repeat and who were promoted to the next Year level with their same-age cohort. In some cases these longitudinal comparisons have been made over a period of 21 years (eg Jimerson, 1999). In summary, the following conclusions can be stated:

- Repeating does not improve academic outcomes
- Repeating contributes to poor mental health outcomes
- Repeating leads to poor long term social outcomes
- Repeating contributes to a negative attitude to school and learning
- Repeating results in students dropping out of school
- Repeating decreases the likelihood that a student will participate in post-secondary schooling
- Repeated students demonstrate higher rates of behavioural problems
- There is no advantage to students in delaying school entry for a year in order to increase 'school readiness'
- There are huge costs associated with students repeating a year of schooling.
- Some students are more likely to be recommended to repeat than others

Repeating does not improve academic outcomes

More often than not, students who repeat never catch up academically. Academic gains for students who repeat at any level of schooling are minimal and short-lived. Longitudinal comparisons have clearly identified

that although many repeated students do make some academic progress during the year in which they repeat, these improvements have disappeared within 2-3 years (Jimerson, 2001). At about the Year eight level, students who repeated a year at some stage of their earlier schooling are achieving at levels lower than or similar to those of matched students who did not repeat and are at that point a year ahead of them (Dawson, 1998; Jimerson, 2001; Shepard & Smith, 1987). One of the factors that may contribute to this overall deterioration is that repeating is a visible demonstration of 'failure' and may negatively influence many teachers' perceptions and expectations about the student for a long time (Nagin, Pagani, Tremblay & Vitaro, 2003).

Repeating contributes to poor mental health outcomes

Even when handled sensitively and confidentially, students who repeat are aware that they have 'failed' in some way and as a result are being removed from their same-age peers. This perception is also held by their peers. For most students this creates a sense of shame, stigma and loss of self esteem (Alexander, Entwisle, and Dauber, 1994; Shepard & Smith, 1990; Thomas, 1992). This loss of status and sense of shame increases if, as often occurs, many of the younger students in their new 'repeated' class out-perform them. Repeating a year is a major source of stress for most students. In one study (Anderson, Jimerson, & Whipple, 2002), students in Year 6 reported that they feared being repeated more than they feared losing a parent or going blind. Studies have also shown that students who repeat also experience stress from: an awareness of being taller, larger and more physically mature than their younger classmates; missing their friends who moved on to the next year level; insensitive and negative comments by family and community members; boredom from repeating similar tasks and assignments (Smith & Shepard, 1988, 1986).

Repeating leads to poor long term social outcomes

The social behaviour of students who repeat does not appear to improve any more than that of promoted peers with similar social difficulties (Jimerson, 2001). In many cases their social behaviour actually deteriorates. The social disruption that results from repeating appears to contribute to poor long-term social adjustment. Repeated students have to develop new social relationships almost as though they have been transferred to a new school. 'Having to repeat' also represents a loss of social status and some studies have suggested that many middle and upper primary students prefer to play with students who have not repeated (Shepard & Smith, 1990). Many repeated students also have social difficulties with their new younger peers (Byrnes, 1989; Shepard & Smith, 1990) and many are teased about having repeated (Smalls, 1997).

Repeating contributes to a negative attitude to school and learning

Repeating contributes to a negative attitude to school for many students and, in many cases, permanent disengagement from learning (Jimerson, 2001). Many repeated students associate school and learning with humiliation and threat.

Repeating results students dropping out of school

Students who repeat have a 20% to 50% higher likelihood of dropping out of secondary school compared to students with similar levels of achievement or behaviour who were promoted to the next year level with their same-age peers (Alexander, Entwisle, Dauber, and Kabbani 2004; Eide & Showalter, 2001; Jimerson, 1999, 2001; Temple, Reynolds, and Ou, 2004). A study by Rumberger (1995) identified repeating a year as the single most powerful predictor of dropping out. Studies suggest that the increased risk of dropping out for students who have repeated cannot be explained by their poor achievement and is directly attributable to their experience of repeating a year (Grissom and Shepard, 1989). Dropping out frequently leads to less successful occupational lives and lower incomes.

Repeating decreases the likelihood that a student will participate in post-secondary schooling

In one study, students who finished high school despite having repeated a year were 50 % less likely to enrol in post-secondary education of any kind than similar promoted peers (Fine & Davis, 2003; Jimerson, 1999, 2001). These odds were even worse for those students who had repeated between Years 5 and 10.

Repeated students demonstrate higher rates of behavioural problems

Compared to students with similar problems who were promoted, repeated students are more likely to have behaviour problems and poorer attendance in the long-term (Byrd, Weitzman, and Auinger, 1997; Jimerson, 2001). Nagin et al., (2003) found that the experience of repeating directly increased aggression and misbehaviour in all boys, but especially in those who were already showing early signs of anti-social behaviour. Agnew (2005) has argued that the frustration, disappointment and anger engendered by this kind of visible school failure contributes to students following criminal and antisocial pathways.

There is no advantage to students in delaying school entry for a year in order to increase 'school readiness'

Research also suggests that the practice of giving students a second year of preschool in order to delay school entry by one year is also ineffective. Graue & Diperna (2000) found that delaying school entry year leads to more

negative outcomes than positive ones. For example, students who repeated a preschool year (mostly boys with late birth dates) were significantly more likely to receive special education services further down the track and showed few academic or social gains in return for their lost year. Beck and Trimmer (1995) found that students with birthdays that occurred later in the year in which they were eligible to start school were more likely to have parents who delayed their entry to school by a year. However they had the same level of success in university applications in year 12 as did those students with late birthdays who entered school when eligible to do. They described the process of delaying school entry as developmentally inappropriate.

There are huge costs associated with students repeating a year of schooling.

- The practice of repeating students is not only ineffective, it is also very costly.
- The costs to students are the negative effects on their wellbeing, academic progress and futures.
- The costs to parents are those financial costs that relate to an extra year of schooling
- The cost to an educational system is mainly financial but often invisible. Typical accounting processes do not assess the cost of repeating students. Most educational systems identify the number of students at each year level but don't disaggregate this figure to identify how many years each student has spent at that year level.
- There is also a longer term cost to society because students who have developed patterns of aggression and/or drop out of school are at higher risk of becoming involved in crime, being unemployed and needing welfare support.

Some low achieving students are more likely to be recommended to repeat than others

The key reviews and meta-analytic studies (mentioned in the introduction) have analysed hundreds of research studies and have identified marked trends in the types of students who are more likely to be recommended to repeat than peers with similar low levels of achievement. Briefly, these trends are:

- Boys are twice as likely as girls to repeat
- Students in rural areas are more likely to repeat than students in urban areas (Kenny, 1991)
- Students who come from lower socio-economic backgrounds, have poorly educated parents and lower parental involvement in school are more likely to repeat
- Students who have an ESL background and/or are from

- minority groups are more likely to repeat
- Students who are physically smaller than their peers are more likely to repeat
- Students who are slightly younger than the rest of the grade are more likely to repeat (Beck & Trimmer, 1995)
- Students who are later diagnosed with have specific learning difficulties such as dyslexia are more likely to repeat
- Students who have mild intellectual disabilities are more likely to repeat
- Students who are later diagnosed with a specific behaviour syndrome such as Asperger's Syndrome or Attention Deficit Disorder are more likely to repeat
- Students who are described by teachers as under confident, not socially competent or socially immature are more likely to repeat
- Students who display more negative classroom behaviours are more likely to repeat

Why is repeating still a common practice in Australian Schools?

Most Australian schools continue to repeat students despite there being no supportive evidence of its efficacy and despite the damning evidence that confirms its negative effects.

Many possible explanations can be suggested for this trend and some of them probably interact. In summary, these explanations are:

- Repeating is a traditional practice
- Schools and educational systems are unaware of the research about repeating
- Parents and teachers over-focus on short term outcomes
- Parents and students are perceived as responsible for low achievement
- Small differences are exaggerated
- Teachers and parents underestimate students' reactions to repeating
- Parents and teachers make decisions on the basis of unjustified assumptions

Repeating is a traditional practice

Repeating has for many decades been accepted by most schools as an effective and caring solution to the problem of students who seem socially immature or who are not learning at the same rate as their peers. Many parents are also steeped in the tradition that says that repeating a grade is an answer to a child's difficulties and put a lot of pressure on the school to allow their child to repeat. Kenny (1991) found that parents often play an important

role in the decision to repeat and that parental requests are often a significant determining factor.

Schools and educational systems are unaware of the research about repeating

This traditional practice has not been significantly challenged in Australian education over the last fifty years because schools have lacked opportunities for access to contemporary research studies that present a very different picture (Jimerson, 2001).

Parents and teachers over-focus on short-term outcomes

Teachers and parents cannot conduct controlled experiments to see if repeating really does work in the long term. Without controlled comparisons, retention can look like it works, especially if teachers and parents believe it works. Many repeated students do show some academic improvement in the following year. Such short term and immediate progress would be expected because of increases in age and maturity, as well as the fact that the students are getting more practice on content and skills to which they have already been exposed. Additionally, teachers may make positive but biased judgments about a repeated student's progress as they are comparing them to a younger peer group. However, most parents and teachers cannot see the potential negative long-term picture for the repeated student. When students repeat at early year levels, the negative effects may occur several years later and thus are invisible to decision makers at the time. They over-generalise from these short-term perceptions to the notion that repeating 'works well'. Teachers may also give too much credence to anecdotal reports by parents and colleagues on supposedly 'successful' repeating situations and pay less attention to 'unsuccessful' anecdotes.

Parents and students are perceived as responsible for low achievement

The belief that students and/or their parents are responsible for low achievement appears to play a significant part in a school's decision to recommend repeating (Black, 2004). However less consideration is given to the possibility that the school has not provided effective instruction or support to address an individual student's diversity. Darling-Hammond (1998) has argued that schools need to abandon the deficit model, which places the problem of poor achievement within the child and their family, and acknowledge that classroom and school practices also contribute significantly to a child's low achievement.

Small differences are exaggerated

A small but temporary difference between a student and

same-age peers is often seen as a major one. For example, research has shown that in Year one the youngest children tend to do less well than the oldest. However, by Year three there are no differences between these same students on the basis of age.

Teachers and parents underestimate students' reactions to repeating

More than two-thirds of the students who repeat do so between their first and third year of primary schooling. In general, teachers and parents believe (erroneously) that repeating a year at such an early stage is less psychologically harmful than continuing to perform poorly academically, socially or behaviourally. However, both teachers and parents are often unaware of how students really feel about having to repeat. Nearly all students who repeat report that they dislike the idea, seeing it as a sign of failure and loss of status. A study by Byrnes (1989) concluded that most students saw repeating as a punishment and a stigma, not as a positive event which adults recommended to help them.

Students who repeat also report feeling very fearful of the social changes that they anticipate will occur eg loss of established friends and social connections, new students to get to know and get along with, and the need to find a social place in the new class group. Students who are already socially under-confident will face the challenges of being relocated into a new social setting where their social skills may be even less effective and their social status even lower than before.

Parents and teachers make decisions on the basis of unjustified assumptions

There are many false assumptions that both teachers and parents hold that tend to lead them down the path of requesting or recommending repeating. For example:

- Many parents assume, incorrectly, that a teacher working with a repeated student manages that student's learning in a special way or that additional support is provided to a repeated student. This is usually not the case. Most repeated students are treated as just another member of the new class. Repeating is most often no more than 'doing it again' with the same content and skills. If the new teacher proves to be more effective than the previous one it is usually coincidental rather than part of a detailed plan.
- Some schools and parents assume that repeating (or the threat of repeating) will motivate a low achieving student to try harder. Others assume that repeating will raise a student's self-esteem because they will be the 'oldest' in the grade, already have certain skills

and be able to take on a leadership role with younger students. However it is more common to find that their loss of self confidence results in their being out-performed academically and socially by their new younger classmates.

- Some schools still erroneously assume that there is a specifiable body of content and skills which exists for each year of schooling and that 'going up' to the next level should be 'earned' through successful performance compared to standards. However, it makes little sense for students who fail to attain competence in these standards to simply be recycled through the same curriculum in the company of a younger cohort of students. Such an assumption is inconsistent with the principles that underpin other effective school practices such as inclusion and multi-age classrooms. These practices are based on the assumption that the academic and social needs of individual students can best be addressed by placement in a classroom with same-aged, multi-aged peers or older peers.

Research suggests that many teachers and parents believe that 'development' is a physiological unfolding in a series of stages which is governed by an internal timetable and that the age at which a child is able to perform a certain skill is a function of his/her developmental age (Shepard & Smith, 1989). This implies that academic and social 'readiness' cannot be accelerated by what happens in the classroom and that very little can be done for an 'unready' child. So schools often decide to 'take the pressure off' and give the student another year in which to 'mature' and develop 'readiness'. The implication is that social and emotional maturity is most likely to occur when children are placed with other students who, although younger, are of similar emotional, social and academic maturity. However, this view of development is not supported by research. Studies confirm that maturity can be significantly increased through effective teaching and learning experiences. Maturity results from an interaction between a students' internal timetable and stimulating experiences and learning opportunities. Again this assumption is in opposition to the principles that underpin other evidence-based educational practices. For example, the principle that underpins inclusion and multi-age practices is that if less mature students learn in the same class with more mature students then it is more likely that their development will increase as a result of the modelling of more mature behaviours and being exposed to more mature thinking and learning.

Alternatives to Repeating

Repeating is a narrow strategy that clearly does not address the complex needs of most of the students

who are achieving poorly or have social or behavioural difficulties. However, simply promoting a student to the next year level along with their chronological peers, without a structured plan of additional support, isn't the answer either.

There is no single empirically supported intervention strategy or approach that can be shown to be effective for all students who are achieving poorly. Successful schools use a combination of specific evidence-based intervention strategies and approaches that enhance and support the achievement and adjustment of individual students. Some of the many options that can be included in a school's overall approach are listed below.

More effective teaching

Teachers can 'power up' their whole-class, small-group and individual teaching in a variety of ways such as:

- using cooperative learning strategies (see Murdoch & Wilson, 2004 and <<http://www.co-operation.org/adopting-problem-based-learning-approaches> (Blumberg, 2000; De Lisle, 1997; Lambros, 2002, 2004; McGrath and Noble, 2005).
- teaching students to develop and use a variety of mnemonic strategies to assist with recall of key concepts and information (Barnett, Clarizio, & Payette, 1996; Dretzke & Levin, 1996; Forness, Kavale, Blum, & Lloyd, 1997; Mastropieri & Scruggs, 1998; Shapiro, 1996).
- the use of rubrics for self assessment.
- relating classroom activities and curriculum to students' backgrounds, current lives and current knowledge.

Early identification and intervention

Early identification and intervention has been shown to make an enormous difference and can start at the pre-school level (Greenberg et al., 2003). In particular such interventions should focus on structured and engaging programs that teach basic literacy skills, social skills, emotional literacy skills and pro-social values.

Individual Education Plans (IEPs)

An IEP can be developed each term for every student with identified special academic, social or behavioural needs. These need to be specific plans plus actions and should be developed in conjunction with parents and specialist support staff. IEPs need to be regularly monitored, reviewed and refined. Frequent ongoing informal assessment of student performance and behaviour is also part of a successful IEP.

Individualised specialist support

Individualised specialist support (eg Reading Recovery) should be available and ongoing.

Differentiating the curriculum, learning tasks and assessment.

The most effective method of adapting curriculum, teaching and assessment to suit individual students is the integration of Gardner's Multiple Intelligences model with Bloom's (Revised) Taxonomy (Noble, 2004). Using an MI/Bloom planner (McGrath & Noble, 2005) provides teachers with a strengths-based approach to teaching, supporting, encouraging and developing individual students.

Two or more years with the one teacher

When students are 'looped' they spend two or more years with the same teacher. This allows that teacher more opportunity to better understand an individual student, adapt teaching and learning strategies, undertake ongoing assessment, provide instruction to meet their academic and social needs and take a strengths-based approach to their overall development (Nicholas & Nicholas, 2002).

Multi-age classrooms

Multi-age classrooms include students of several different ages and they can provide opportunities for flexible grouping of some students with older students (eg for peer tutoring) and younger students (for review and consolidation) (May, Kundert, & Brent, 1995) There is no stigma attached as all students are moving in and out of different small groups all the time.

Strategies for increasing motivation and on-task behaviour

There are many different approaches to increasing engagement, motivation and on-task behaviour. Whole-class incentive schemes can be successful, as can the use of educational games and peer tutoring.

Providing compensatory structures, scaffolding and assistive technology

There are many forms of scaffolding, compensatory structures and assistive technology that can support individual students in some areas of their learning. These include:

- laptop computers for note taking and assignment writing in class and exams;
- colour-coded notebooks to assist with organisation;
- providing summaries of notes from class or taping the lesson to allow student review;
- using graphic organisers (including computer versions) which allow students to organise their thoughts and summarise ideas;
- using a dictaphone to enable students to record stories which are then typed up,
- voice-activated typing programs;
- digital storytelling software; and
- CD-based books which feature high-interest stories in which each page of the story is read and the words are highlighted as they are read. Additional clicks of the mouse over a word provides pronunciation, syllabification and a definition.

Whole class social skills and resilience programs

All students benefit from learning social skills and skills associated with coping and acting resiliently and whole-class approaches work best (McGrath and Noble, 2003). Students with special social emotional and behavioural needs can undertake additional small group work, preferably in groups that also include other class members.

Peer tutoring

Older students can work with younger students to reinforce maths or language concepts and skills through age-appropriate activities and educational games.

In conclusion

Results from research studies during the past 75 years fail to support the use of repeating as an intervention to improve academic achievement and/or enhance socio-emotional and behavioural adjustment. There may be an occasional student who is an exception, but, for most students, providing them with more of what didn't work for them the first time around is an exercise in futility. Moving forward on this key educational issue involves schools giving consideration to the following directions:

- developing a clear school policy about repeating
- ensuring that teachers (and parents) have access to the relevant research in order to make informed decisions
- using teams of teachers or district panels to make decisions about an individual student's future in the following school year after considering questions such as: What does the school expect to achieve by repeating this student? What possible positive and negative effects might repeating have on this student's achievement, behaviour and wellbeing? What more effective alternatives might be implemented instead of repeating? What skills and resources will be needed to enable the school to do this?

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