

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY OF THE FORMAL
AND INFORMAL DISCIPLINE POLICIES USED IN
SELECTED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CLASSROOMS

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The broad aim of this study was to examine the dynamics of classroom discipline policy through the use of the micropolitical model of interaction. While this study explored classroom discipline policies utilizing the micropolitical perspective, it was classroom discipline that was the center of interest in this research. The template that framed and guided the exploration of classroom discipline included enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation as the particular phases of policy development. A distinctive feature of this study was the focus on the explicit, stated policies and the more subtle but equally important "dominant patterns of practice" in the classroom.

This exploratory case study of the formal and informal discipline policies used in selected elementary school classrooms was a qualitative research endeavor. The data sources included in-depth guided interviews and semi-structured classroom observations, supplemented by informal interviews and pertinent printed material. The methods of data analysis involved categorizing, distilling themes, and arraying chains of evidence.

The findings of this case study involved the ways in which teachers and students assert power and control; conflicts are manifest; compromises are used; protection is fundamental; and the classroom context affects, hinders, and constructs social order in the classroom. The views, behaviors, and verbal exchanges of the teachers and students concerning discipline were paramount to the analyses of the discipline policies used in the selected elementary school classrooms.

The conclusions of this case study were that the micropolitical model of interaction is a productive, yet unrefined conceptual framework for the study of classroom discipline; discipline policies are teacher-centered, noise-related, and community-focused; the dominant mechanisms for teacher-based control are rewards and punishments; the dominant outcome of conflict and assertions of power is the brokering of policies; compromises are used to reduce conflicts and produce student compliance; intentions and realities pose a paradox; and the influence from parents is an important factor.

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ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CLASSROOMS

by

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

In every classroom, amidst the medley of educational zeal and turmoil, are major and minor issues of classroom discipline.* Teachers and students vie for power, attention, and satisfaction on a daily basis. The politics of diverse intentions (Powell, Farrar & Cohen, 1985) and the desire for influence and protection (Blase, 1991a) have complicated the fruits and labors of classroom academic instruction for many years. Following the turn of the century, Bagley (1907) declares that without the subordination of individual desires by all class members, which he labels the essential ingredient of good order and discipline, teaching time is reduced to wasted time in the classroom. Nearly one hundred years later, problems with discipline continue to "hinder" educational opportunities for students (Doyle, 1986) and create an environment that is less likely to produce successful teaching and learning than is one that is unencumbered by discipline problems (Canter & Canter, 1992; Curwin & Mendler, 1988; Dubelle, 1995; Kauffman, Mostert, Trent, & Hallahan, 1998; Kohn, 1996; McLemore, 1994; Nelson, Duffy, Escobar, Ortolano, & Owen-Sohocki, 1996; Rousmaiere, Dehli, & Coninck-Smith, 1997; Weinstein & Mignano, 1993).

The annual Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll of public opinion consistently reports that discipline in school is an area of high concern. In fact, in a recent poll the "lack of

*I use the word discipline to refer to issues of student behavior and misbehavior that relate to the social order in the classroom. In so doing, I focus attention on interactions involving student misbehavior as does the majority of the literature. While some scholars refer to this field of study as classroom management, I use the term discipline to distinguish it from a host of other managerial tasks performed by teachers (e.g., record keeping, housekeeping) that may not involve disciplinary interactions between teachers and students.

discipline" in schools was ranked by respondents as the number one problem (Rose, Gallup, & Elam, 1997). Likewise, educators indicate that classroom discipline remains a primary enigma in schools (McLemore, 1994). Even President Clinton noted in a recent State of the Union Address (January 19, 1999) that schools must ". . . adopt sensible discipline policies." Assuredly, a great deal of time is devoted to the topic of discipline in the staff lounges and board rooms of our public schools, but nowhere is it more prevalent than in our classrooms. At any given moment in time, there are students refusing to follow instructions or regulations, displaying aggression, or causing disturbances to the learning of classmates. Just as often, there are teachers repeating directions, requiring students to "practice" skills of social order (such as walking in line or being quiet), reprimanding students or otherwise deviating from the academic curriculum. These are but a few of the numerous potential outcomes of the formal and informal discipline policies used in the classrooms of our elementary schools.

Despite district and school declarations of formal, written discipline policies, the everyday problems and seemingly nonproductive outcomes continue to escalate. As Kauffman et al. (1998) report, "Every reliable indicator tells us that disruption, aggression, disinterest in school, social withdrawal, and other forms of undesirable behavior are increasingly common in nearly all schools" (p. xi). Some classrooms are infested with discipline problems and other classrooms contain a cluster or clusters of classroom inhabitants (students and teachers) whose behavior deters and distracts from the educational curriculum.

Curwin and Mendler (1988), authors of Discipline with Dignity, observe that

School is a battleground for too many participants, a place where major confrontations and minor skirmishes occur daily. . . . They [teachers and students] spend most of the day communicating with each other, thinking about each other, scheming against each other,

and judging each other. When they are antagonistic, they spend as much if not more time and energy trying to outsmart each other and win, or at least achieve a standoff. If things get bad enough, they have the power to ruin each others' lives. When things go well, they share tender moments, meaningful triumphs, and genuine respect and love. . . . For many teachers and students, the main battlefield revolves around discipline. (p. 2)

The notion of the classroom as a battlefield, while it may be somewhat alarming to the novice, is the reality known to many teachers and students who are on the front line dealing with and oftentimes perpetuating disturbances to the academic curriculum and to teaching and learning. Certainly a field of battle is far from an educational environment that is conducive to learning, unless what one is learning is how to perfect skills of warfare.

Fueling the fires of discipline-oriented interactions are the contradictory expectations apparent in nearly all elementary classrooms. For example, students are asked to be independent, yet they are required to follow teacher instructions and directions. Weinstein and Mignano (1993) describe the dilemma further.

Children are expected to work together in harmony, yet they may be strangers - even arch rivals - and may come from very different cultural backgrounds. Students are urged to cooperate, to share, and to help one another, but they are also told to keep their eyes on their own paper, and they often compete for grades and special privileges. (pp. 3-4)

Likewise, a primary educational goal for elementary school students is the acquisition of problem solving skills (NCTM, 1989), yet when these skills are socially applied by students, they may be viewed by teachers and peers as disturbing or antagonistic (e.g., it is difficult to verbally discuss or "talk through" a problem with a classmate if the classroom rules include raising your hand before you speak or no talking at all). Contradictions and varying behavioral expectations are part and parcel of the complexities of the social and political structures of the elementary school classroom.

Adding to the complicated elementary school classroom is the fact that the intentions of students and teachers are multifaceted. Together, in a contained space for nearly six hours per day, for 180 repeated renditions (average number of days in a school year), these classroom inhabitants are thrust upon one another and charged with the colossal task of public education. Each classroom participant has different intentions, and diverse mechanisms for and modes of reaching individual goals. As the varying intentions collide, discipline-related issues arise. The interactions between and among students and teachers in and around issues of discipline are likened to the political "pulling and hauling" (Allison, 1971) of policy actors' advancements of power and influence, guided (or misguided) by individual values and intentions.

Educational systems, according to Kemmis (1989) are localities of contest, control, contradiction, and compromise. Certainly, the classroom is no exception. Teachers and students compete for attention and leverage. Teachers make demands and students comply, resist, or even retaliate. Some student behaviors are ignored by teachers, just as some teacher directions and classroom rules are ignored by students. Other student behaviors are publicized and culprits are humiliated into compliance or removed from the classroom. Specific student behaviors exhibited by some or all students are rewarded, punished, or tolerated by teachers. Because students and teachers compromise and bargain each day of their classroom lives, understanding the dynamics that produce these patterns of classroom interaction is crucial.

In The Shopping Mall High School: Winners and Losers in the Educational Marketplace, Powell et al. (1985) found, among the many "deals" struck in the classroom, that "if the students behaved themselves, the teacher would not push" (p. 69) and that "teachers sometimes offer a passing grade in return for the student's 'just sitting there'" (p. 68). These informal "treaties" between teachers and students are not limited to the high school environment. While the experiences of young children

are more limited than the experiences of most high school students, young children know how to advance tolerance or provoke reactions from teachers. Young children can negotiate and bargain. They have learned and continue to learn how to do so in the classroom. Consequently, it is little wonder that the elementary school classroom can be termed a micropolitical arena.

Micropolitics

Micropolitics involves the procurement and display of power, influence, control, authority, and self-protective behaviors among individuals and groups in a specific setting (Ball, 1987; Blase, 1991a; Hoyle, 1986; Malen, 1994). Micropolitics also includes "those strategies by which individuals and groups in organizational contexts seek to use their resources of power and influence to further their interests" (Hoyle, 1986, p. 88). The interactions between educational actors that involve the procurement and display of power and influence, competition over scarce resources, accommodation, negotiation, protection, and context comprise the micropolitical perspective of policy (and decision) making (Ball, 1987; Blase, 1991a; Bloome & Willet, 1991; Corbett, 1991).

Some scholars have chosen to situate micropolitical studies at the classroom level (e.g., Blase, 1991a, 1991b; Bloome & Willet, 1991; Opatow, 1991; Wallat & Piazza, 1988) and several others have acknowledged the potential application of the study of micropolitics in the classroom setting (Bacharach & Mundell, 1993; Blase, 1991a; Malen, 1994). Applying the micropolitical model to the classroom involves studying the power and protection, victories and defeats of students and teachers which are manifest in the everyday discipline interactions that produce the formal and informal discipline policies in the classroom.

Background of the Problem

The vast array of literature related to classroom discipline is limited to guidelines branded by behavior modification techniques, theories tainted by reproach, and superficial prescriptions and remedies that fail to systematically consider the interactive, micropolitical dynamics of discipline policy enactment and implementation in the classroom. A major problem with the literature on classroom discipline is that "the notion of discipline is itself seldom explored beyond simplistic neo-Skinnerian behavioral scenarios" (Slee, 1995, p. 3). Reducing children to the reflections of Thorndike's cats and Skinner's rats appears, unfortunately, just as contemporary as it did over 40 years ago. The behavior modification models that dominate the realm of approaches to and research on classroom discipline offer frail agencies for studying this profound and complicated issue.

Another problem with the existing research on and topical conversations about classroom discipline is the blame factor. It is common for educators (and the general public) to see a problem and attach simplistic notions of causality and condemnation. Slee (1995) characterizes the problem with oversimplified accusations by noting that "the attribution of cause for disruptive behavior is [too often] reduced to the dysfunctionality of student pathologies, families, cultural or class backgrounds" (p. 3). While these factors may have a place in understanding some of the complexities of discipline problems in the classroom, they do not completely explain the source of misbehavior, nor do they allow for or encourage behavioral growth in children. Furthermore, the notion of blaming children's behaviors on family or culture offers educators an excuse not to tend to disruptive behaviors because the roots of the problem are outside of the classroom.

Other research in the field of classroom discipline has abandoned the behavior modification mode and the family dysfunctionality culprit and has focused on what

teachers do to "encourage disruptive behavior" (Sedlack, Wheeler, Pullin, & Cusick, 1986, p. 86). While this type of research is less common, it has marked the field with the idea that discipline problems surface due to boring classes, lack of attention and respect given to students, irrelevant content knowledge and ineffective planning (Lufler, 1978). Further compounding the issue and broadening the circle of blame are the "arbitrariness and whimsical disciplinary practices" of administrators (Cusick, 1983; Lufler, 1978).

Teachers and administrators are not the only in-school parties that have been blamed for classroom discipline problems. Students are also identified as the cause of discipline problems in numerous writings on the topic and countless discipline programs. As Kohn (1996) suggests,

It is deeply unsettling for educators to have to reconsider their requests and demands, their expectations and rules. It is far more convenient to take these things for granted . . . Thus, the problem always rests with the child who doesn't do what he [sic] has been asked. (p. 12-13)

In response to the notion of blaming the students for discipline problems, formal zero-tolerance policies are sometimes implemented at the district or school level.

Consequently, violent outbreaks, noncompliance and in-class disruptions give rise to student suspension or expulsion. Ironically, these policies may actually "reward disengagement" not to mention the fact that "if a student is not in school, the chance that he or she is learning is substantially reduced if not eliminated entirely" (Sedlack et al., 1986, pp. 89-90). Blaming students, be it primarily or exclusively, for classroom discipline problems and attaching consequences which are inconsistent with the primary goals of public education have not adequately addressed the problem.

Considering that behavior modification models lack depth and that blaming one or more problem sources and imposing formal sanctions have ineffectively addressed

the complexities and realities of classroom discipline, it is little wonder why classroom discipline problems continue to obstruct the teaching-learning process. Clearly, there is a need to think about classroom discipline in a different way, conceivably a need to reform, perhaps transform the current approaches to the study of classroom discipline.

Micropolitical perspectives may offer ways to examine the issues of student behavior and misbehavior and the subsequent reactions and interactions with teachers in a new light. Because the classroom dynamics constitute the micropolitical arena in which discipline policies are actually enacted and implemented, the notion of discipline policy need not be limited to the printed text; written rules are not the sole contributor to policy (Boyd, 1987; Weatherley & Lipsky, 1977). Prominent patterns of practice, what some term "real policy" and others term "backdoor policy" are critical factors in understanding policy (Elmore & Sykes, 1992; McLaughlin, 1987; Malen, 1995, course content).

Unfortunately, the realm of educational research has, to date, rarely addressed the classroom as the paramount unit of analysis in the study of policy (e.g., Blase, 1991; Bloome & Willet; Opatow, 1991). Even fewer research efforts have been directed toward the connections between discipline policies and classroom discipline (e.g., Blase, 1991a; Powell et al., 1985). Furthermore, while discipline continues to play a major role in student learning endeavors (or the lack thereof) (Albert, 1989; Canter & Canter, 1992; Curwin & Mendler, 1988; Dreikurs, Grundwald & Pepper, 1982; Kauffman et al., 1998; Kohn, 1996; McLemore, 1994), the available research lacks in-depth policy process-oriented analysis, that is, in-depth analysis of how the formal and informal discipline policies are enacted, conveyed, realized, and evaluated in the classroom.

I elected to study classroom discipline because it is an ever present force in the field of education. My work as an educational practitioner, teacher mentor and

consultant has led me to realize that students cannot learn and teachers cannot teach if the classroom environment is plagued by discipline problems. Literally hundreds of books, articles, and workshops have been devoted to the topic of discipline; yet problems with student behavior continue to impede the teaching practices of educators and taint the learning endeavors of students. Theories on discipline swell our library shelves. "Modern" prescriptions continue to sell; but many of our "new" discipline techniques are simply recycled notions that resemble ideological commands rather than empirically grounded research. It is for that reason that I chose to embark on a different approach to the study of discipline, one that places discipline in a broader context so that the "real" policies and the processes through which these tangible discipline policies are enacted, conveyed, realized, and evaluated could be examined.

Statement of the Problem

The aim of this study was to examine classroom discipline policies using the micropolitical perspective to focus on how formal and informal discipline policies are enacted, conveyed, realized, and evaluated in selected elementary school classrooms. While this study explored classroom discipline policy from the micropolitical perspective, it was classroom discipline that drove this research. Discipline, in this study, was not the mere tool used to examine the political processes of policy formulation and implementation. Instead, the template served to frame and guide the exploration of discipline policy through the scrutiny of specific phases of policy development. The template included enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation as the particular stages of policy development. These phases of policy development are refurbished categories which are rooted in the common dimensions of policy (e.g., Malen & Knapp, 1997; Mazzoni, 1991) or what some term phases of

policy (e.g., Allison, 1971; Elmore & Sykes, 1992; Kingdon, 1984; Mitchell & Encarnation, 1984).

Using an exploratory case study approach, I sought to describe and analyze the discipline policies used by teachers and students in two elementary school classrooms. The exploratory mode was necessary because classroom discipline policy has received little attention. Without solid description, comparative studies can be premature. Therefore, it was not my intention to compare the approaches to discipline and various discipline policies used by the teachers and students in each of the classrooms. Instead, I employed the exploratory case study approach to gather and interpret qualitative data and analyze the formal and informal policy processes of enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation in the classroom. The enactment phase of the policy process involves the ways in which and reasons why teachers decide upon and initiate discipline policy in the classroom. The conveyance phase of the policy process involves the communication and implementation of discipline policy in the classroom. The realization phase of the policy process involves the general imprint and perceived outcomes associated with the classroom discipline policy. The final phase of the policy process, evaluation, involves how teachers appraise discipline policy in the classroom.

A primary purpose of this research was to examine the ways in which classroom discipline can be described in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction. To do so, I ventured to analyze the enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation of discipline policies in the elementary school classroom using exploratory case study methodology. Specifically, this study sought to address the following central question and related sub-questions:

Central Question:

What are the ways in which the dynamics of classroom discipline can be described in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction?

Sub-questions:

Enactment

1. How and why do teachers enact discipline policies in the classroom?

Conveyance

2. How do teachers and students convey and implement classroom discipline policies?
3. How does the process of conveyance shape and reshape the content of the discipline policies in the classroom?

Realization

4. What is the general imprint on the classroom and what are the perceived outcomes associated with the discipline policies employed in the classroom?

Evaluation

5. How do teachers appraise classroom discipline policies?
6. What is the degree of congruence between the teacher's "intended" discipline policies and the "actual" discipline policies employed in the classroom?

This case study of classroom discipline policies was situated in two elementary schools. The elementary school is an excellent location to conduct research on classroom discipline policy for several reasons. First, issues of misbehavior are increasingly observed in the elementary environment. As reported in the Safe Schools Report to Congress, "The age of those being suspended is decreasing. Growing numbers of elementary students are out of school because they are disruptive to the teaching-learning process" (Dillon, cited in Curwin & Mendler, 1988, p. 4). Second,

elementary school classrooms provide an advantage in the length of concentrated time that can be devoted to the study of classroom discipline because elementary school teachers typically work with one class for the duration of the day, compared to middle and high school teachers who typically work with several different classes daily. Third, issues of chronic misbehavior in school begin during the early educational experiences of students. Thus, it appeared logical to go to the "root" of the problem and examine the classroom discipline policies used in elementary school.

One class in each of the two elementary schools constituted the stage for this research project. The primary locations were one first grade class and one third grade class. The grade level differentiation was an intentional decision made by this researcher, not to promote artificial generalizability across populations, but to complement the exploratory nature of this type of research. The decision to use two school sites instead of one was based on the notion that a single school climate may directly affect all classrooms within its structure and thus limit the findings to mirrored images, rather than typical variance. Therefore, to enhance the exploratory nature of this project, two classrooms with different characteristics were chosen. Final selection of the specific classrooms was based upon issues of access and willingness to participate.

Setting, Scope, Limitations, and Assumptions

This case study of classroom discipline policies included two classrooms that are located in each of two schools that are part of a district located in a mid-Atlantic state. With a student population of over one million, this particular district is quite large.

The two elementary schools that housed this research project were Hampton Manor Elementary and Green Leaf Elementary. Hampton Manor Elementary is a

school serving over 500 kindergarten through second grade students. Green Leaf Elementary is a school serving just under 500 kindergarten through fifth grade students.

These two classrooms do not represent all other classrooms in the district, state, or nation. Generalizability between the specific classroom populations and the broader population was not the intent of this exploratory case study of classroom discipline policies. However, generalizability was addressed in an analytic sense. As Yin (1988) notes, ". . . the investigator's goal is to expand and generalize theories. . . ." (p. 21). Thus, this case study of classroom discipline policies sought to develop analytic generalizations, that is to create, clarify, and define theoretical constructs. This case study also sought to incorporate recommended procedures to enhance validity and reliability. Each of the quality control procedures is explained in Chapter Three, used as the findings are reported in Chapter Four, and used as the conclusions are discussed in Chapter Five.

The discipline policies studied in each of the two classrooms were not compared, because scholarly comparisons typically consider, if not build upon, copious literature so that points of comparison can be appropriately identified. In the study of classroom discipline policy, such literature is scarce. While there are case studies of discipline policies, these are not situated in the classroom (e.g., Slee (1995) studied the abolition of corporal punishment in Australian public education). While there are classroom studies of discipline, these are not politically framed. For example, Weinstein and Mignano (1993) used a case study approach to investigate four elementary school teachers' approaches to and techniques of classroom management and discipline; but they did not examine classroom discipline à la micropolitical notions of power, compromise, and accommodation. Because the literature base includes few case studies of classroom discipline policies, it would be premature to compare the schools studied in this research. The exploratory nature of this study is an attempt to

begin to fill the gaps in available research and add to the understandings between classroom discipline and the study of formal and informal policy.

This study is based upon several assumptions. First, "education is fundamentally political in nature . . . [and] . . . a stage on which social conflicts are manifest and managed" (Malen, 1995, course outline). Therefore, the interactions between and among students and teachers that involve behavior oriented toward individual goals of attention, power, control, influence, promotion, and survival can be characterized as political.

Second, politics in the classroom is not an evil that must be squelched or subdued. The political interactions of classroom inhabitants, while not always labeled politics, have been depicted and oftentimes condemned for over a century. Negative connotations associated with the word "politics" serve as mechanisms that narrow, mislead, and only partially characterize the richness of polity, the art of the possible.

Third, a scholarly approach to the study of policy and micropolitics necessitates the use of an appropriate conceptual framework. Without a clear sense of what one is studying, it may be difficult to uncover significant data, link findings to relevant literature, and draw appropriate conclusions.

Fourth, alongside the need to use a conceptual framework to study micropolitics and the policy-making process is the requirement of knowing how to use the template of choice. As Malen (1995, course outline) describes,

The most fundamental 'analytic skill' involves the ability to explicate an orienting framework . . . that could be used to guide the description, analysis and interpretation of political dynamics, to explicate 'a way of thinking' about, a way of understanding political interactions. A closely linked 'skill' involves the ability to acquire, assess and assemble data about political dynamics and to evaluate, integrate and interpret those data in light of the logical limits of the orienting framework. (p. 2)

Essentially, the study of micropolitics and the policy making process is more likely to be coherent and substantial when guided by a conceptual framework and performed by a researcher who understands how to use the conceptual framework. Therefore, careful attention was given to the political framework, data collection, and analysis techniques employed in this study. In so doing, specific definitions of case relevant terminology are warranted.

Definitions of Terms

There are several specific words and labels that will be utilized throughout this research project. In this section, the case-particular terminology will be defined, although further information associated with these notions will be presented in the review of literature (see Chapter Two). Rather than a typical alphabetized format, the definition of terms will be presented in a conceptually oriented, categorical manner.

Discipline. There is a continuum of definitions associated with the term discipline. While discipline includes the correction of misbehavior through judicial penal methods (New Webster's Dictionary, 1993), discipline also includes teaching and learning (Kauffman et al., 1998; Kohn, 1996; Nelson et al., 1996). A derivative of the Latin *disciplina*, which means training, discipline incorporates the notions of guidance and edification. For the purposes associated with this research, the term "discipline" will be used to portray issues of student behavior and misbehavior that are related to social order in the classroom. As does much of the literature, I will be directing attention toward issues of student misbehavior.

Policy. Policy is the adopted course of action and related agenda. For the purposes of this research, I will include both the formal and informal dimensions of policy. Essentially, policy is viewed as the aggregation of that which is in print and that which is in use in a particular organization (the school) in a specific arena (the

classroom). Therefore, the analysis focuses on the explicit, stated policies and the more subtle but equally important "dominant patterns of practice" in the classroom.

Formal policy. Formal policies range from the marshaled actions of an authoritative body (in this case study, district and school administration) to the written rules of the classroom. Formal policy will also include other pertinent printed material related to social order regulations and the systematic deployment of punishments and rewards.

Informal policy. Informal policy refers to the routines most prevalent in an organization (Elmore & Sykes, 1992; McLaughlin, 1987; Malen, 1995, course content, Weatherley & Lipsky, 1977). In the classroom, informal policy will involve the visible but unwritten, sometimes unspoken procedures, actions, and interactions related to discipline.

Classroom discipline policies. Classroom discipline policies are the aggregation of stated and observed rules and dynamics that relate to social order.

Policy making process. There are numerous ways to define and characterize educational policy making processes. One approach is to use several perspectives to examine the intricate aspects of policy. This multiple perspectives approach allows researchers to examine policy by arraying the common dimensions of policy in a coherent, orderly manner (Dye, 1984; Malen & Knapp, 1997; Mazzoni, 1991; Sabatier, 1991). While this form of policy analysis includes categorizing and characterizing, it also involves probing and prodding into the core of actors' intentions, strategies, resources, theories of action, and appraisals of policy aims, products and processes. Of the five prominent lenses (rational, political, symbolic, organizational, and normative) in the multiple perspectives approach (Malen & Knapp, 1997), the political perspective is most relevant to this case study.

Political perspective. The political perspective depicts policy as interest driven, power-based interventions that attempt to control conflict. The notions associated with classroom behavior and discipline are often power based, highly concerned with conflict, and continually exhibit a variety of interest driven interactions.

Micropolitics. Micropolitics is a subset of political perspectives of policy. Thus far, micropolitics of education has claimed as its focused arena, the school (Ball, 1987; Blase, 1991a, 1991b; Everhart, 1991; Hoyle, 1986; Iannaccone, 1991; Marshall & Mitchell, 1991; Willow, 1991). The move from the broader contexts of the federal, state, and district levels to the school site has shed light on the localized political identity of the school (Ball, 1987; Blase, 1991a; Hoyle, 1986; Iannaccone, 1975; Malen, 1994). I contend that the next logical step toward understanding educational policy is to authenticate the "micro" in micropolitics and move from the larger arena of the school to the concentrated arena of the classroom. It is at the classroom level that researchers can explore policy where it actually plays out. Therefore, in this study, micropolitics refers to the procurement and display of power, influence, authority, control, conflict, negotiation, and protection of teachers and students in the classroom environment.

Power. Power is defined as the capacity one has to influence decisions.

Influence. Influence is the activation of power to affect decision outcomes.

Authority. Authority is power that is legitimized through an imposed or acquired structural hierarchy.

Control. Control involves the advancement of one's own interests by directing, restraining, or commanding the actions/behaviors of others.

Conflict. Conflict refers to the disagreement and discord between parties, which ranges from subtle disparity to complete antithesis in ideals, behaviors, and/or perceptions.

Compromise. Compromise involves the bargains, concessions, and arrangements between parties that serve to subdue or postpone conflict.

Protection. Protection involves defending or guarding against identified or perceived ill-fate or discomfort.

Micropolitical policy-making process categories. The micropolitical policy-making processes of classroom discipline that were studied in this research project involve four major categories of interest (i.e., enactment, conveyance, realization, evaluation). These categories are far from novel, because similar categories have been selectively and jointly utilized in public policy research for many years, as noted by Malen and Knapp (1997). However, the categories specific to this research project are distinct and are, thus, labeled and defined in the following manner:

Enactment. The process of policy enactment involves the ways in which teachers decide upon and initiate discipline policies in the classroom.

Conveyance. The policy process of conveyance involves the numerous ways in which classroom inhabitants (teachers and students) communicate and implement discipline policies in the classroom.

Realization. The policy process of realization refers to the general imprint on classroom environment and perceived outcomes associated with the discipline policies employed in the classroom.

Evaluation. This term describes the ways in which teachers appraise the discipline policies used in the classroom.

Summary of Chapter One and Preview of Study

Chapter One offers an introduction to the study and a description of the problems associated with the study of classroom discipline, educational micropolitics and the policy-making process. Additionally, Chapter One provides the setting, scope, limitations, and assumptions associated with this case study of elementary classroom discipline policies, as well as the definitions of key terminology that will be used throughout this text. Chapter Two is devoted to the characterizing of the major bodies of literature relevant to this case study. Chapter Three explains the methodology used in this case study. Chapter Four presents the findings of this case study. Chapter Five offers a discussion of the conclusions and suggestions for further research related to this case study.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This research project focuses on what micropolitical perspectives may reveal about how formal and informal discipline policies are enacted, conveyed, realized, and evaluated in selected elementary school classrooms. This exploration requires a synthesis of the literature related to classroom discipline, micropolitics and the policy-making process. Therefore, in this chapter, I will first characterize the literature on classroom discipline by identifying and describing the relevant theoretical orientations and applications. Second, I will review literature on the micropolitical policy making process to anchor the conceptual lens that will be used in this study. Third, I will discuss the interrelated elements of classroom discipline and micropolitical policy making that are most pertinent to this study by synthesizing the literature and highlighting how these bodies of literature form the framework for this study.

Literature on Classroom Discipline

Dating back to the turn of the century, scholars and would-be savants have continually broadened the literature base related to classroom discipline. To date there are literally hundreds of "research" pieces on the topic of classroom discipline. An ERIC search in August 1998 (classroom techniques/classroom discipline or discipline policy) produced 583 separate pieces.* Sifting through the literature one finds

* I am characterizing this literature base, not summarizing all of the 583 pieces of research. However, I will utilize many particular examples to illuminate the review of this literature base.

opinions, commentaries, prescriptions, tentative assumptions, redundancy, and contradiction, amidst the mixture of information of yore and present-day streams of inquiry. Generally, the literature related to classroom discipline can be arranged into two major classifications. The first broad category is centered around theories of blame. This conglomeration of literature offers reasons why students "misbehave" in class and typically attaches accusation, sometimes, even condemnation. Embedded within this phylum are five subcategories asserting diverse sources of deficiency and implied causality. These include: (a) Children are to blame because they have inherent intentions that become classroom discipline problems; (b) Parents and families are to blame for student misbehavior because of faulted child-rearing practices, adverse familial characteristics or the cultural attributes bestowed upon children; (c) Fate is to blame because the child has biochemical conditions that explain his/her misbehaviors in the classroom; (d) Academic failure and peer influence are to blame for the student generated behavioral disruptions to the classroom environment; and (e) Teachers and administrators are to blame for problematic classroom discipline scenarios.

The second major classification of the literature on classroom discipline deals with approaches to addressing discipline problems in the classroom and will be referred to as theories of remedy. This second category hosts a multitude of texts, programs, remedies, and formulas that are aimed at "fixing" the problems associated with classroom discipline and can be collectively labeled as theories of intended remediation. These approaches to solving or attempting to solve discipline problems include (a) behavior modification; (b) teacher as authoritarian leader; and (c) communicative and community-oriented approaches to classroom discipline. Each genre embodies numerous theoretical orientations, assumptions, explanations, and potential problems.

Ironically or perhaps sadly, pedagogy and ways of teachers being present with students are not dominant forces in the literature on classroom discipline. While these

modes of thinking about classroom discipline offer important information in understanding students, educators, and the educational process, the lack of attention given to these ideas is apparent in the literature. Therefore, the theories of blame and the theories of remedy serve as the major clusters in the literature on classroom discipline.

The Theories of Blame

The discipline literature that involves theories of blame typically focuses on one or more of five major sources of student "misbehavior" in the classroom. Students, families, fate, academic failure, peers, and educators are accused of causing or perpetuating discipline problems in the classroom. Each cluster of accusation and the associated culprits will be characterized and examined in the following sections.

Blaming the Students

Children are not innately motivated to behave in school.
(Canter & Canter, 1992, p. 7)

Understanding why children misbehave is commonly based upon the notion that it is the students who are at fault. Students must change or be changed (Canter & Canter, 1976, 1992; Dreikurs, 1972). This basic notion has a long-standing tradition in the field of classroom discipline. Many scholars have investigated the underlying reasons associated with student misbehavior and a large number of them use recycled and renovated ideas from the work done by Alfred Adler, one of the forefathers of discipline theories.

While seldom given acknowledgment, let alone credit, Adler is one of the most significant contributors to the field of classroom discipline because his work established a framework for the study of discipline. Publishing sociological and psychological research (1920s and 1930s), departing from Freudian theory to develop the field of

individual psychology (1920s), and establishing a chain of "child guidance centers" (1922) are among Adler's greatest contributions (Lundin, 1989). While Adlerian theory was not titled such until well after Adler's death in 1937, the impact of his theoretical constructs remains significant. Therefore, an in-depth probe into Adlerian theory is a necessary first step in the review of literature on discipline, specifically why children misbehave.

Adlerian theory includes subcategories of socio-psychological analyses. Using observation and logical reasoning, Adler created the following specialized sub-fields: inferiority, compensation, superiority, self-esteem, goal orientation, lifestyle, unity of personality, creativity, birth order, and social interests (Lundin, 1989). Of these theoretical constructs; goal orientation, self-esteem, inferiority, and superiority are the concepts that are connected to discipline. Current applications of Adlerian theory specifically involve the goal orientation sub-category as the concept that surfaces and resurfaces in modern approaches to classroom discipline.

The goals of misbehavior that Adler (1930, 1938) created and Dreikurs (1948, 1958, 1972) later refined serve as the "reasons" that children misbehave. According to the Adler-Dreikurs model, children have problems behaving appropriately because they seek, successively, attention, power, revenge, and pity (Dreikurs, 1972).

The nature of children, as implied by Adler and expressed by Dreikurs (1972), is defined through the "attention getting mechanisms" constantly used by children. Children seek so much attention, according to Dreikurs (1972), that they actually "prefer being beaten over being ignored" (p. 6). Furthermore, contends Dreikurs, the child who finds that the "environment refuses to meet his [her] demands [for attention] . . . may discover that [s/he gets more attention by disturbing [the social structure]" (p. 7). This theoretical model implies that children are attention-deprived beings in constant search of gratification.

To avoid problems, Dreikurs (1972) urges adults not to "play into the games" of children and not to offer constant attention. However, according to the Adler-Dreikurs model, when the AGMs (attention-getting mechanisms) used by children fail during the first phase of misbehavior, the children resort to the goal orientation of power. Struggles for power between adults and children surface during the second phase of misbehavior. These "battles" for power and domination often result in adults using ". . . every conceivable means to subjugate the culprit" (Dreikurs, 1972, p. 7). As the wrong-doing children are conquered by the adults, the children are dis-empowered.

During the third phase of misbehavior, after a child's quest for power has been denied, s/he moves to the next goal, which is revenge. As Dreikurs (1972) attests,

He [the child] no longer hopes for attention, his [her] efforts to gain power seem hopeless, [s]he feels completely ostracized and disliked, and finds his [her] only gratification in hurting others and avenging his [her] own hurt. (p. 7)

Thus, children seeking revenge, according to Dreikurs (1972), "regard it as a triumph when they are considered horrible" (p.8). This third stage of the Adler-Dreikurs (1972) model involves the child's intentions of vengeance and retaliation.

When the child's exertions of retaliation flounder and "if antagonism is successfully beaten down" (p. 8), the child then moves to the final goal, which is the demonstration of his/her inadequacy (Dreikurs, 1972). The child in this stage is seeking to prove his/her shortcomings to evade further abatement. "[S/]He uses his [her] inability as a protection so that nothing should be required or expected of him [her] . . . to avoid more humiliating or embarrassing situations" (p. 8).

The attention, power, revenge, inadequacy model entails a problematic set of notions on the nature of children. Clearly, children are viewed by Adler (Lundin, 1989) and Dreikurs (1948, 1958, 1972) as incompetent, inferior beings who often use defective means to gain attention and power. Children dissatisfied with the amount of

attention and/or power that they acquire will resort to revenge and ultimately pity to satisfy their innate incompetence (Dreikurs, 1972; Lundin, 1989). Furthermore, reports Dreikurs (1972), many children are disobedient, stubborn, "enfant terrible," unstable, lying, dawdling, "power-drunk brats" whose means are justified by the end (Dreikurs & Grey, 1968, p. 55).

Herein lie some of the fallacies and dated presumptions associated with the Adler-Dreikurs model. Why is it that children must be viewed as incapable of accomplishing self satisfaction without adult attention? How does the withdrawal of attention promote social growth, when as defined by the theory, children's need for attention is ever present? Do adults desire attention, seek power, resort to retaliation, and eventually yield to pity? Why are the sources of misbehavior solely focused on the inadequacies of children rather than the possible failures of adults?

Blaming the Family

If a child lives with criticism, he learns to condemn.
If a child lives with hostility, he learns to fight.
(Dorothy Law Nolte, cited in Nolte & Harris, 1998)

The child-rearing practices, familial characteristics, and cultural traditions of every family vary considerably. Consequently, the experiences of children prior to their entry into school and during non-school hours are diversified. While many psychologists, sociologists, and educators have long held that the home environment heavily impacts school performance, academic achievement, and student behavior, it was the Coleman Report (1966) that validated the notion of the significant roles of home and family. The extensive research contained in the Coleman Report (1966) indicated that schools had a moderate capacity to effect student development compared to the home environment, family background, and socioeconomic status of the students (Mosteller & Moynihan, 1972).

For example, an ethnographic study of urban families conducted by Clark (1983) concluded that family habits and interactions were the most important indicators of school behavior and academic success. Patterson et al. (1992) found that children who exhibit intense behavior problems in school often come from homes characterized as highly stressful and live with adults who have difficult temperaments and who lack adequate parenting skills. Considering that students spend the majority of their lives out of school, it is important to consider the home environment, specifically parents and family culture, as potential influences and possible sources of student discipline problems.

Misguiding parents. Children begin learning at the time of (or prior to) birth (Brazelton, 1992; Sears & Sears, 1995). Among the array of information that young children absorb are the political interactions of social beings in a particular setting, usually the home. They learn, at very young ages, how to gather attention, display needs and desires, and interact with or gain reaction from adults. Parents, a child's first teachers, respond to needs, desires, and curiosity in various ways. The cause/effect relationship between the child's behavior and the adult's response is part of a psychological concept typically referred to as "learning theory" or "social learning theory."

Learning theory entails the notion that a behavior and the response/reaction attached to the behavior serve as a cause-effect connection that is internalized by the child (Bandura, 1963, 1973, 1977). These learned connections formulate patterns of behavior in the child. Numerous case studies of children (individuals and groups), typically found in the field of educational psychology, have inspected the learned behavioral patterns of children (e.g., Baldwin & Baldwin, 1981; Bandura, 1963, 1973, 1977; Berger, 1971; Fordham, 1996; Loeber et al., 1993; O'Connor, 1969; Patterson et al., 1992).

One of the findings most pertinent to the notion of classroom discipline is that "learned" behavior from outside the classroom may actually be or become "misbehavior" inside the classroom. Some learned behaviors, such as hitting, yelling, battling may be accepted or perpetuated at home. In the classroom setting, however, these behaviors and a host of others are likely to cause discipline problems.

Not only do the "learned" behavioral connections affect the child's construction of reality, but so, too, do the adult reactions themselves. This type of learning occurs through observation and modeling. "The process is called vicarious conditioning because another person is performing the actions. . ." (Woolfolk & McCune-Nicolich, 1984, p. 179). The everyday behavioral interactions and responses that are modeled to the child, be they positive or negative, mold the child. As Sears and Sears (1995) explain,

Studies show that children from spanking families are more likely to use aggression to handle conflicts. . . . Spanking demonstrates that it is all right for people to hit people, and especially for big people to hit little people and stronger people to hit weaker people. Children learn that when you have a problem you solve it by a good swat. A child whose behavior is controlled by spanking is likely to carry this mode of interaction into other relationships with siblings and peers. (p. 146)

Households that are characterized by high levels of aggression, malice, oppression, and vitriol are likely to produce children with dispositions to engage in these behaviors. The earlier children begin to display aggression and the more frequent the bellicose incidents become, the greater the likelihood for social maladjustment and academic failure (Kazdin, 1991).

Another issue related to learning theory and the causes of classroom discipline is that children learn by observation in the classroom setting. Therefore, classrooms that are overrun by discipline problems actually work to preserve the problems, in that students receive constant illustrations of inappropriate behavior. Considering that even

one overly aggressive child can disrupt the academic learning ventures of an entire class, the learned behaviors of aggression that children bring to and strengthen in the classroom setting explain a source of several problems in classroom discipline.

The culturally based behavior in children. Learned misbehavior is not the only potential source of family-related classroom discipline problems. The cultural differences of children and families play roles in classroom behavioral expectations and potential misunderstandings and misinterpretations. Because the broad American community incorporates a variety of ethnic differences and cultural perspectives, definitions of appropriate disciplinary practices by adults and of acceptable behavior displayed by children vary (Garbarino & Kostelney, 1992). For example, a study conducted by Gray and Cosgrove (1985, cited in Garbarino & Kostemney, 1992) reveals great differences in disciplining practices of several cultures which could be viewed by those outside of the specific cultures as stifling, abusive, or otherwise unacceptable.

Perceptions differ, just as cultures differ. The critical point (and particular to this research endeavor) is that family culture helps explain some of the potential causes or reasons why children "misbehave" in school. If a child is told to "look at" the teacher during instruction or reprimand, the child may be perceived as noncompliant or disrespectful if the direction is not followed. However, in some cultures, looking directly into the eyes of an elder is actually a sign of disrespect. Thus, when these children are in the classroom, they are expected to do what they have been taught not to do at home (Erickson, 1984; McDermott, 1974).

Similarly, identification of children by observable characteristics (i.e., gordito, fatty) is actually a sign of affection in some cultures (Korbin, 1994), whereas, "name calling" is often an infraction of rules or behavioral expectations in the elementary school classroom. Likewise, particular in-school behaviors are viewed by some

cultures as actions against community and heritage. Fordham (1996) finds that the African American students in an ethnographic study who attained academic success in school were charged with "acting white" or being "brainiacs" by their cultural peers. Numerous other examples of the contrasts between family culture and school expectations exist. Clearly, family culture plays an important role in understanding why some students hold specific perceptions and exhibit particular behaviors in the classroom. How can teachers use this information to address student discipline problems in the classroom? How does the culture in the classroom add to or reduce the potential contradictions?

Fate is to Blame: Biochemical Conditions

All living beings are different in some way,
If by only individuality.
Some are fortunate, others less
But all have the boon of singularity.
(author's verse)

Biological factors may also help explain the behavior of children. While we have advanced beyond the testing and measuring of children's skulls to research biologically connected behavioral problems in children, many educational practitioners and researchers continue to turn to the field of medicine for answers to classroom discipline problems. Terms such as "defective students" and "maladjusted children" have been replaced by labels such as "emotionally disturbed," "socially impaired," and "behaviorally disabled." These new labels are often connected to medically diagnosed conditions such as ADD (attention deficit disorder) and ADHD (attention deficit with hyperactivity disorder).

According to Bowley and Walter (1992), ADD and ADHD are syndromes that involve ". . . an imbalance or deficiency of one or more neurotransmitters in the brain" (p. 39), although the specific neurotransmitters and locations in the brain have not yet

been precisely determined. The imbalance or deficiency is typically treated by methylphenidate (Ritalin), a stimulant which "acts on the cerebral cortex" to restrain or subdue hyperactivity, inattention, and/or behavioral agitation (Slee, 1995, p. 74).

Special needs children, those with medically diagnosed ADD or ADHD, are categorized "learning disabled" and customarily given individual educational plans (IEPS) to be implemented in the "least restrictive environment" (Public Law 94-142, 1975), which is typically the regular classroom.

Packed with numerous social, economic, and political implications, these medical conditions offer adults reasons for the misbehavior and misconduct of some children. Students with diagnosed ADD and ADHD have, according to Slee (1995), transformed identities.

The medicalization of student behaviour [sic] transforms others' [sic], as well as self, perceptions and, consequently the status of students. Previously naughty, the ADDS students are qualitatively different. Their's [sic] is a dysfunctional or impaired physiology in need of close, specialized attention, generally beyond the scope and qualifications of the regular classroom teacher. . . . Classroom teachers are humbled by intimidating technical descriptions of the child. . . . The trade-off for parents, however, is quite beguiling. Used to having their child seen as 'bad', the status of impaired is often preferred. (p. 75)

The behavioral problems of children with ADD and ADHD are, by definition of the syndrome, manifestations of something beyond the control of the child and teacher. Yet these students, an estimated 1.2% to 6% of all seven-year-olds, for example (Toll, 1993), are a common part of the classroom environment.

Another diagnosable condition related to student misbehavior is known as conduct disorder. This syndrome is classified by the American Psychiatric Association (1987) as a condition involving the antisocial behavior exhibited by some children (Kazdin, 1987). There are two forms of conduct disorder; "overt conduct disorder

[which] involves acts against people . . . [and] covert conduct disorder [which] involves acts against property and/or self-abuse" (Walker, Colvin, & Ramsey, 1995). While there is an estimated 50 to 60% degree of overlap between conduct disorder and ADHD (Barkley, 1990; DuPaul & Stoner, 1994; Walker et al., 1995, p. 63), conduct disorder syndrome has become an established explanation for the classroom misbehaviors of some children.

An additional biochemical condition related to student behavior and misbehavior is recognized as Tourette syndrome. Tourette syndrome is a disorder that typically involves multiple motor and sometimes vocal tics. An estimated one in every 2,500 people have Tourette syndrome. About one third of all Tourette syndrome children have learning disabilities or learning problems; 25% to 35% have problems with aggression and hostility; and over half of all Tourette syndrome children have attention deficit disorder (Haerle, 1992).

Compounding the issue of biochemically explained behavior is the fact that elementary students, by virtue of age, do not typically come to school medically diagnosed. Many children have inhabited two or more classrooms prior to official, medical diagnosis of behavior-related conditions. Therefore, it is possible that in any given elementary school classroom there are a few students who may have a medical explanation for inappropriate behavior but have not yet received official labels that identify a primary cause. As Hyman and D'Alessandro (1984) conclude, ". . . unrecognized learning disabilities or handicapping conditions, poor self-esteem, and frustration with earlier school failures all contribute to . . . discipline problems [in school]" (p. 18). These adverse conditions that explain, if not cause, some of the problems with student behavior in the classroom project notions of students as victims rather than culprits in the classroom. Are the labels helpful to the student or the

teacher? Does knowing why a student manifests certain behavioral tendencies help the teacher solve or accept discipline problems in the classroom?

Academic Failure and Peer Pressure as Culprits

Who am I?

I am who I see.

I am who you say.

I am but a reflection of perception.

(author's verse)

Academic failure and peer pressure may also help explain the behavior and misbehavior of some students. Falling short in scholastic endeavors, due to skill or will, and succumbing to the forces of peer pressure offer further possible explanations of student conduct in the classroom.

Academic failure. As social beings, young children are influenced by the perceptions of others as they create personal images of self and self worth. Academic failure gnaws at the very core of a child's identity, and thus carries with it a host of behavior problems (Kauffman, 1997; Kerr & Nelson, 1998; Walker, 1991). Students who fall behind peers in academics typically hold minimal degrees of self value and pride (Kauffman et al., 1998). "They have little to lose, and sometimes much to gain in the way of attention from peers and adults, by getting into trouble" (Kauffman et al., 1998, p. 13). Children who sense that they cannot keep up with peers find ways of diverting attention from the problem to avoid rejection and embarrassment. Attention-diverting acts in the classroom come in many forms, including, but not limited to hitting, pushing, yelling, lying, annoying, abusing, irking, provoking, interrupting, and ignoring.

The behaviors of children are "inextricably bound," that is "socially embedded" with others (Dubelle, 1995), particularly peers and teachers (including parents). Appropriate and inappropriate behaviors stem from the bond children form with their

perception of their societal image. If children see themselves as academic failures or social incompetents, the defective qualities are likely enhanced (Kauffman et al., 1998). Rather than participating in academic experiences, which they often find unsuccessful, these children concentrate time and effort on misbehaving, essentially perfecting their skills of classroom disruption.

Peer pressure. Students often learn how to behave by observing the interactions and reactions of their "popular" peers (Baldwin & Baldwin, 1981). The desire to be like others, particularly those marked "favorite" or otherwise socially promoted, is an intense force often referred to as peer pressure. According to Kauffman et al. (1998) "our peer group is a relentless influence on our behaviors, regardless of age or societal role" (p. 96). Considering that children are continually reforming self perception through the eyes of others, it is not surprising that many students feel obligated to follow the often wayward directions of peers rather than the directions of adults.

Peers influence one another in various ways. Unfortunately, in many classrooms there is pressure to resist academic learning and be disruptive" (Kauffman et al., 1998, p. 91). Some student misbehaviors are fortified by the misbehaviors of others. Some of the research related to the tie between peer pressure and classroom misbehavior, much of it ethnographic in nature, asserts the notion that students are apt to accept those who refuse to completely conform to classroom expectations. McDermott (1974) found that ". . . social acceptance by peers is [often] offered to those who actively or passively resist academic learning tasks and activities" (cited in Sedlack et al., 1985, p. 76). By displaying brash indifference and blatant animosity toward classroom climate, these children are given high levels of acceptance and advantageous position from peers (McDermott, 1974).

Numerous classroom discipline problems can be described as peer performances. As the sideshows of disruption are reinforced by peer acceptance, urged on by peer pressure, and oftentimes initiated by academic failure, the classroom environment becomes one comprised of copious, yet traceable problems with student discipline. Can peer pressure be employed to help students behave in the classroom? How can the teacher structure the classroom so as to allow the social relationships of students to move toward academic teaching and learning? Does academic failure cause student discipline problems or do student discipline problems cause academic failure?

Educators are to Blame

Mother: Where's Johnny?
Father: I'll call him down. Johnny, time for school.
Mother: He doesn't want to go.
Father: He'd better go.
Johnny: (from upstairs) I'm not going. The kids gang up on me.
Father: Listen son, we spent a lot of money sending you to school to get that teaching certificate. You get down here and go to school!
(modified from Davis & Arnof, 1983)

Just as students vary in skill level, personality, and behavioral tendencies, so, too, do school personnel. Some teachers and administrators are particularly skilled educators and leaders; others are mediocre; and still others are less than adequate. These variations in educator expertise have been connected to classroom discipline problems. In a three-year longitudinal study conducted by Henry Lufler (1978), classroom discipline problems were linked to dull classes, the failure of teachers to respond and interact with students, and general disregard for the rights and backgrounds of students. Lufler (1978) maintains that, "while teachers often say that the discipline problems are the result of poor homes or unhappiness in the larger society, we attribute most discipline causes to in-school factors" (cited in Sedlack et al., 1986, p. 86). Other teacher characteristics and classroom compositions, such as poor planning, minimal content knowledge, careless instructional objectives, failure to elicit

democratic decision making, and inability to manage classrooms also contribute to classroom discipline problems (Unruh, 1977).

Violent Schools - Safe Schools, a report to the National Institute of Education, revealed that there were higher rates of suspension in schools that employed teachers who had low expectations of students, demonstrated racial bias, and were generally disinterested in students (Wu, 1980). In settings such as these, a self-fulfilling prophecy is likely to occur. The teacher expects some (or all) students to perform poorly in academics and to exhibit behaviors of misconduct. Consequently, the students conform to teacher expectations. As the Stephen Covey adage goes, "Argue for a weakness and it's yours!" (Covey, 1990). Teachers who anticipate and focus on negative teacher/student interactions and problems with classroom discipline are prone to participate in the like.

Classroom contradictions. The elementary school classroom is a crowded, complex, sometimes confusing place in which students face numerous classroom contradictions. Students are required to cooperate, yet individually comply with school rules and teacher commands. Elementary school "classrooms are crowded, yet students are often not allowed to interact. Children are expected to work together in harmony, yet they may not know or like each other" (Weinstein & Mignano, 1993. p. 9). These contradictory aspects of the elementary school classroom are far from new. Over thirty years ago, Philip Jackson (1968) notes,

Students must try to behave as if they were in solitude, when in point of fact they are not . . . in the early grades it is not uncommon to find students facing each other around a table while at the same time being required not to communicate with each other. These young people, if they are to become successful students, must learn to be alone in a crowd. (p. 16)

There is no other institutional setting, except the penitentiary (a poignantly somber analogy), where so many people are contained in such a small setting for such a large

portion of the day (Weinstein & Mignano, 1993). To intensify the situation further, children are expected to go about the task of academic learning, seemingly unaffected by these potentially adverse circumstances.

Many elementary school classrooms are brightly decorated with numerous posters, bulletin boards, and displays. It is not uncommon to find tokens hanging from the ceilings, displays of interesting artifacts, and other attention-grabbing exhibits adorning the classroom. The intention is to stimulate students, yet children are typically expected to restrain from any overt displays of liveliness. Teachers often expect young children to show excitement only at certain times. They essentially require students to turn spirited action on and off at the sole discretion of the teacher. For young children this expectation is particularly perplexing, because, by sheer virtue of age, they have minimal experience in patience and self-restraint.

Researching these and other classroom interactions, Doyle (1986) finds six major characteristics particular to the elementary school classroom environment. First, elementary school classrooms are multidimensional. Students work independently, cooperatively, and collaboratively on not one but many classroom tasks (reading, writing, math, group projects, tests, and the list goes on). Second, these diverse tasks often occur simultaneously. Much like a "three-ring-circus," students and teachers juggle many events (reading groups, independent work, centers, etc.) at the same time. Third, classroom happenings typically occur with a sense of urgency; that is, there is an immediacy attached to classroom interactions. From verbal demands for attention to actions requiring instant attention, teachers and students are required to tend to numerous, very important (at least at the time) situations. Fourth, by sheer design, elementary school classrooms are unpredictable. This unpredictability typically is intended to keep classrooms from becoming boring, to elicit active learning, and to keep students "on their toes," so to speak. Fifth, elementary school classrooms are

inherently public. This lack of privacy is bestowed upon teachers who are on stage most of the day and to students who are typically being monitored. Finally, students and teachers create a history together over the course of the school year. They remember many major and minor events, etching an image of that particular grade level or school year experience.

Given that the classroom is multidimensional, simultaneous, immediate, unpredictable, public, and history creating, it is far from startling that students and teachers often engage in problematic situations related to discipline. The contradictory conditions of the elementary school classroom make discipline problems virtually inevitable.

School conditions that contribute to the problem. Other in-school factors such as curricular decisions and academic grouping practices have been shown to have an effect on classroom discipline. According to Kohn (1996), there is empirical evidence to uphold the conclusion that "when behavior problems arise in the classroom, one of the first factors to be examined should be instructional procedures and materials and their appropriateness for the offending student" (Center, Deitz, & Kaufman, 1982, p. 371). Often students display misbehaviors when the curriculum has not adequately met individual needs. Perhaps the task given to the student is too easy, or too difficult. In either case, the curriculum can invite students to display inappropriate classroom behavior (Kohn, 1996).

As educators attempt to make modifications to curriculum, they often turn to grouping students for instruction by way of academic levels. The controversies associated with homogeneously (similar ability) grouped students, sparked by a number of writings such as Jeannie Oakes' Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality (1985), involve the disparity between the type and quality of instruction given to students in upper and lower academic groups or tracks. One of the negative effects

associated with tracking is that lower ability students, when grouped together for instruction, tend to participate in dull tasks associated with a sterile curriculum delivered by teachers who are among the least qualified teachers in the building (Oakes, 1985). As Kohn (1996) notes, "a huge proportion of unwelcomed behaviors can be traced to a problem with what students are being asked to learn" (p. 18). When students are bored they tend to "act up mostly to make the time pass faster" (Kohn, 1996, p. 19). Thus, the curriculum and instructional structure may contribute to problems with student misbehavior in the classroom.

Contrary to the opinions of some, ability grouping is not exclusively utilized in the upper grades. Various versions of ability grouping and tracking exist in elementary school settings (Johnson, 1985). Some schools structure classes homogeneously, assigning children to classrooms according to similar ability levels. Other schools structure classes heterogeneously, yet pull out groups of students with similar ability levels. In his qualitative, basically ethnographic research on the components and effects of academic grouping practices in elementary schools, Johnson (1985) found adversity, animosity, passive defiance, insufficient persistence, troubled communication, and other factors impeding academic learning and driving student misconduct in the lower group settings.

Certainly classrooms or subsets of classrooms, particularly those marked "lower ability" groups or tracks that are contaminated by arid content and negative teacher/student interactions, set the stage for student misconduct. These students are separated from the larger group, labeled "low," and inadvertently given some of the tools for disruptive behavior. Because segregation of students, by ability or by needs, according to Sapon-Shevin (1994), destroys any formulation of classroom community, these often struggling students find ways to further depart from the group by misbehaving or by forming cohesive counter groups within the classroom.

Amidst the school conditions, teachers are not the only educators who have been blamed for discipline problems in the classroom; administrators have also been indicted in several qualitatively based studies. Cusick (1983) found that administrators were inclined to react privately, almost clandestinely, to students rather than to follow through with the established school procedures for addressing specific problems with classroom behavior. Lufler (1978), in a three-year longitudinal study of student discipline, encountered teachers who reported frustration with the unilateral decision making and inconsistent disciplinary procedures of administrators. Perhaps these same administrators were frustrated with the teachers' disciplinary actions or neglect of classroom disciplinary routines.

Blaming others and failing to take responsibility for classroom discipline situations appear to be part of the problem. Clearly, the more teachers point the finger outside the classroom, the less likely the classroom conditions are to change. Do teachers and administrators inadvertently or overtly invite student behavior problems? Are traditional teaching methodologies such as academic grouping practices and curricular decisions outdated? Do these and other school conditions complicate the quest for discipline problem-free classroom environments?

Theories of Blame: An Eclectic Justification, a Tool, or a Conundrum?

The abundance of theories that attach blame and causality to student misbehavior offers educators, students, and the larger society explanations for student discipline problems in the classroom. The explanations, although not comprehensive nor applicable to all students, often pave the way for excuses not to address the complex problems of student misbehavior. If the problem resides at home, how can the school address the issue? If the child has a medical explanation for misbehavior, how can the classroom teacher change his/her behavior? Are some of the blame theories,

however accurate or inaccurate they may be, used to justify and perpetuate the problems of student misbehavior in the classroom?

Some argue that understanding why children misbehave in the classroom is often the first productive step in addressing classroom discipline problems (Dreikurs, 1972; Dreikurs & Grey, 1968; Nelson et al., 1996). Many programs on classroom discipline assume that knowing the potential sources of student misbehavior allows educators to gain access to background information that can aid in solving discipline problems in the classroom. For example, the goals that children work to achieve (attention, power, revenge, pity), as presented in the Adler-Dreikurs model, are ever-present in many of the currently available classroom discipline programs.

Positive Discipline (Nelson et al., 1996) builds the entire program around the "mistaken goals of misbehavior" which are the hidden messages children send to adults. The program is conceptually built upon the Adler-Dreikurs model and embellished with suggestions for teachers on how to address specific misbehaviors (Nelson et al., 1996). But what about the child who desires no attention, let alone power, revenge or pity? And what of the child who cares little about attention, but constantly focuses on a need for acceptance? While it makes logical sense to understand children, it seems simplistic to presume that all children misbehave or even behave according to one or more of four goals. Obviously, the Adler-Dreikurs model is only a partial view of the sources of student misbehavior in the classroom.

Just as the Adler-Dreikurs model offers an incomplete picture of the sources of student misbehavior, the familial characteristics of children explain only a portion of the behavioral transgressions in the classroom. Similarly, academic failure and peer influence explain some students' misbehaviors that occur some of the time (Kauffman et al., 1998; Kerr & Nelson, 1998; McDermott, 1974). Likewise, some teachers and administrators initiate or perpetuate some classroom discipline problems through

program implementation, curricular decisions and/or classroom environmental characteristics (Lufler, 1978; Oakes, 1985; Unruh, 1977; Wu, 1980). However, there are children with poor academic skills who are situated in "low" ability groupings who display no overt or implicit classroom discipline problems. Clearly, not all misbehaving students fall into the suggested categories of why students exhibit behavior problems.

Therefore, the theories of blame and causality construct a somewhat puzzling framework for the study of student discipline problems in the classroom. Some of the blame theories offer educators excuses not to address the problems because the sources are removed from the classroom. Some of the blame theories offer background information that presumably will enable educators to remedy problematic behavioral situations in the classroom. Perhaps the most perplexing of all is the literature that pinpoints the school, teachers, and administrators as the sources of the problems with student behavior. Moreover, "perhaps our tendency to blame persons rather than systems stems from our formal and informal education" (Alschuler, 1980). Herein lies the zenith of the conundrum; educators can serve as both culprits and victims of student misbehavior in the classroom!

The Theories of Remedy

The research on classroom discipline packaged in numerous classroom discipline "remedies" is a conglomeration of theoretical reflections and prescriptive notations. These various programs can be clustered into three major categories. The first major classification involves theories and techniques associated with behavior modification. The second category is concerned with authoritarian rule in the classroom. The third classification encompasses communicative and community orientations in the classroom.

Behavior Modification

Training alters the behavior, not the mind.
(author's verse)

The majority of classroom discipline programs address behaviorism theory and behavior modification techniques (Kohn, 1996; Slee, 1995). Dating back to the work of Edward Thorndike (1913), scientists have turned to the animal kingdom to find answers related to the behavioral tendencies of human beings. While B. F. Skinner (1953) is typically credited for "operant conditioning" which is the basic premise behind behavior modification, it was actually Thorndike (1913) who conducted the ground work (Woolfolk & McCune-Nicolich, 1984). Thorndike's animals of choice were cats. Using boxes with removable bolts on the lids, he contained the cats until they could figure out how to dislodge the bolts to obtain freedom and food. Over time, the cats "learned" to quickly escape and were thus rewarded with food. Thorndike concluded that "any act that produces a satisfying effect will tend to be repeated in that situation" (Woolfolk & McCune-Nicolich, 1984).

Skinner (1953) pushed Thorndike's theory to the next level which moved beyond basic "stimulus and response" to the deliberate choice of action (operant) and associated consequences. Using rats and pigeons to test his theory, Skinner created cages with small food dispensing devices. The subjects were conditioned to dispense the food (the rats pushed a bar and the pigeons pecked a disk). Skinner studied the effects of various consequences (e.g., no food dispensed, electric shock, etc.) on behavior. Using these and similar "scientific" experiments, educational psychologists established a framework for the study of human behavior, i.e., behaviorism; also known as behavior modification.

Behaviorism is typically understood through an action (behavior or response) situated between two mediums. Something precedes the action and something follows the action. In light of the theory of operant conditioning, the provoking medium is

referred to as the "antecedent" and the resulting medium is designated the "consequence" (Woolfolk & McCune-Nicolich, 1984). In the study of operant behavior, ". . . the actions which operate in the environment to produce certain outcomes" (Kauffman et al., 1998) involve natural or imposed environmental influences.

Typically, approaches to behavior modification focus on the consequences or operants associated with the behaviors of children. Educators are supplied with a host of possible consequences to attach to student behavior to change student behavior to what is desired by the teacher. These are the "bags of tricks" that have replaced the paddle and dunce caps of old (Dubelle, 1995). The range of possible teacher-dictated consequences falls under the specific prototypes of positive reinforcement (which includes rewards), negative reinforcement (which, contrary to public opinion, does not include punishment), extinction, and punishment. Positive reinforcement and negative reinforcement are typically used to increase specific classroom behaviors, while punishment and extinction are usually employed to reduce specific classroom behaviors (Kauffman et al., 1998).

Reinforcement -- increasing specific behaviors. Reinforcement is the method of using a repeated consequence to increase the regularity of a specific behavior. According to behavioral psychologists, a reinforcer is required to increase the frequency of an appropriate behavior. Likewise, if a student or students repeatedly display a specific misbehavior, then some type of reinforcement is perpetuating that behavior (Woolfolk & McCune-Nicolich, 1984). Included in the reinforcement construct is the notion of consistency. Most discipline program packages make mention of consistency in teacher reaction or interaction to eliminate discipline problems and promote positive classroom climates. Because reinforcement involves

frequency, consistency is a mandatory factor that has the potential to strengthen or negate teacher-established consequences.

Positive reinforcement is the presentation of a stimulus immediately following a specific behavior. According to Kauffman et al. (1998), "positive reinforcement is the staple of good management, and it is a concept with which most teachers are familiar" (p. 51). The range of positive reinforcement possibilities used by teachers is nearly infinite. Educators tend to assume that stickers, praise, credit, smiley faces, As, candy, free play time, pats on the back, winks, and thumbs-up signals serve to promote positive behavior in elementary classrooms. The fallacy is that, according to the behavioral scientists, nothing is a positive reinforcer until it serves to reinforce a behavior. Therefore, one cannot be sure that a reward is a positive reinforcer until it actually produces the desired behavioral outcome. Moreover, the behavioral scientists assert that reinforcers only work if they are contingent solely upon the display of the behavior -- which means that Johnny can never get a smile from the teacher or anyone else unless he has just displayed the specific behavior!

Some rewards are not reinforcers; most are not completely contingent; yet, "carrots" are used in a large majority of elementary school classrooms. Rewards, like punishments, require surveillance and produce temporary compliance (Kohn, 1996). While rewards are time consuming, costly (economically and emotionally), and do little to develop moral growth in children, prizes and praises top the lists of discipline techniques used in many elementary school classrooms. According to Kohn (1996), "'Do this and you'll get that' is at the heart of countless classroom management programs, including some that energetically promote themselves as positive or enlightened" (p. 32).

Although rewards constitute a large portion of carrot-oriented notions of positive reinforcement, there are other more antagonistic types of positive

reinforcement that are present in many classrooms. Reactions of laughter or anger or basic attention can serve as positive reinforcers for disruptive behavior. As Woolfolk and McCune-Nicolich (1984) recount, "without realizing it, many teachers help maintain problem behaviors by inadvertently reinforcing these behaviors" (p. 173). Positive reinforcement can serve to perpetuate a behavior, be the behavior good, bad, or indifferent.

Negative reinforcement involves the extraction or cessation of a disagreeable stimulus. The notion connected to negative reinforcement is that behavior is based on avoiding a certain unpleasant situation. According to Woolfolk and McCune-Nicolich (1984), "a stimulus is adverse if you do something in order to escape it" (p.173). If a student misbehaves intending to be removed from a class to avoid a specific assignment, then it is the assignment, not the punishment of removal from class, that has served as a negative reinforcer. Likewise, suspension can serve as a positive reinforcer and a vehicle for avoidance. If the child is uncomfortable in the classroom, then the classroom itself serves as the negative reinforcer.

The most prevalent types of intentional negative reinforcement used by educators come in the form of coercion. Coercion, which is defined by Kauffman et al., (1998) as "the use of force or intimidation to achieve one's objectives" (p. 54), involves the struggle for power and control by way of causing discomfort or anguish to another. The power struggle victor uses negative reinforcement to coerce the contender into compliance and is essentially positively reinforced because she/he received what was desired.

Coercion, notes Kohn (1996), is "the most basic way to get what you want from someone, assuming that you have more power than he does, [you] just make him [her] do it. . the adult simply forces the child to act (or stop acting) in a certain way" (pp. 22-23). Teachers using coercion decide when and where there is a problem, who

owns the problem, and what to do about the problem. The ethical dilemma associated with uneven decision making and unilateral problem solving is that children indicted and children in observance of the situation learn that power and authority afford the teacher the privilege of forcing others, particularly students, to do what the teacher wants (Kohn, 1996). Clearly, the shallow morality behind teachers coercing pawn-like students leaves much to be desired in the total picture of public education.

Punishments -- attempts at ending specific behaviors. Punishment, unlike coercion, is not a negative reinforcer because it involves a decrease in behavior. Punishment is aimed at subsiding or removing a specific behavior (Woolfolk & McCune-Nicolich, 1984). Punishment comes in two forms. A punishment can be "cost related" which involves the removal of highly regarded goods (i.e., recess, privileges, time, prizes) and punishment can be related to "aversive consequences," which may involve castigation, segregation, or pain (e.g., scolding, time out, embarrassment) (Kauffman et al., 1998). Both types of punishment are intended to cause the perpetrator to suffer.

According to Kohn (1996), teachers justify punishment as the means of teaching important lessons in behavior and refuse to acknowledge the noxious nature of punishment.

Thus we [educators] incarcerate students, but describe it as 'detention.' We exile them from the community and refer to it as 'suspension.' We forcibly isolate small children and call it by the almost Orwellian name 'time out.' And then there is the most ambitious euphemism of all, which allows adults to punish children in any number of ways but describe what they are doing as merely imposing 'logical consequences.' (p. 24)

Kohn's (1996) inclusion of "logical consequences" in the list of punishments utilized by teachers is a direct stab at several popular discipline programs that endorse the use of consequences but regularly confuse them with punishments [particularly Curwin &

Mendler's (1988) Discipline with Dignity; Canter & Canter's (1976, 1992) Assertive Discipline].

Punishments, regardless of what labels they are given, often serve as a teacher's last laugh, or her/his recovery of power through reprisal and vengeance. While punishments may advance control over student behavior and elicit change in student behavior, punishment "can't possibly have an effect on that person's motives or values, on the person underneath the behavior" (Kohn, 1996, p. 26). Moreover, argues Kohn (1990), punishing students can actually discourage them from thinking morally and ethically because there is little need to do so. The punishment or likely punishment bequeaths a blockade to real life moral decision making.

Extinction -- eliminating reinforcement. To eradicate misbehaviors from the classroom, some discipline "fix it" programs include extinction, that is the elimination of reinforcement. The notion behind extinction is that "when a behavior no longer produces the desired effect (positive or negative reinforcement), it will eventually fade away (be extinguished)" (Kauffman et al., 1998, p. 55). Many of the behavior modification-laden discipline programs include extinction as a strategy to be employed by teachers. One of the presumptions associated with extinction is that the reinforcer can be identified and isolated. Another presumption is that the reinforcer can be terminated. Since extinction is a gradual, time-consuming process that often begins with an increase in degree and/or frequency of the behavior problem before there is a decrease (Kauffman et al., 1998), many educators become frustrated with extinction, although it is commonly included in behavior modification programs.

Behavior modification -- incessantly residing. Even though the psychological labels of reinforcement (positive and negative), punishment, and extinction are not always mentioned in the countless classroom discipline programs available, various renditions of these behavior modification techniques are customarily included (e.g.,

Positive Discipline; Discipline with Dignity; Assertive Discipline; Discipline for the 21st Century; Cooperative Discipline; Discipline with Love and Logic). Classroom discipline programs typically proclaim effective ways to change student misbehavior and draw upon an established framework of altering human behavior (i.e., behavior modification). For example, Discipline with Dignity (Curwin & Mendler, 1988) is based upon systematic implementation of consequences. Students are informed, reminded, warned, and then subjected to specific consequences related to certain classroom misbehaviors. Reeking of reinforcement, punishment, and coercion, Discipline with Dignity (1988) proclaims that students should be respected. Endorsing a program saturated by behavior modification techniques while promoting that the victims are offered respect and honor appears to be a contradiction, if not an oxymoron.

Unfortunately for educators in search of the miracle antidote (or a tranquilizer for that matter), behavior modification does not cure all classroom discipline problems, nor does it pave the way to uninterrupted academic instruction. Behavior modification is mechanical and shortsighted. According to Sears and Sears (1995),

The bad news about behavior modification techniques is that sooner or later you are going to run out of them, or run out of the energy it takes to apply them consistently. The greater danger of behavior modification is that it focuses on external techniques rather than on the parent-child [teacher-student] relationship, so that the child is approached as a project rather than a person. (p. 5)

Because the education of young children involves more than training children to behave according to teacher-imposed standards, behavior modification techniques fall short in the classroom.

According to Kauffman et al. (1998), ". . . the teacher who ignores the way students think and feel about their behavior and about management techniques is doomed to be ineffective" (p. 58). Clearly, the utilization of behavior modification

techniques does not guarantee uninterrupted academic learning. Furthermore, the use of behavior modification techniques and/or concentration on behaviorist theory may actually work to achieve a paradoxical end. Kohn (1996) notes, "the more we manage students' behaviors and try to make them do what we say, the more difficult it is for them to become morally sophisticated people who think for themselves and care about others" (p. 62). Thus, the implementation of behavior modification and management techniques poses a potential educational dilemma.

Authoritarian Rule in the Classroom

And when the ammo was well spent
with blood on every chair
Silence shuffled forward
with its hands up in the air

The teacher surveyed the carnage
the dying and the dead
He wagged a finger severely
'Now let that be a lesson' he said.
(McGough, 1991, pp. 78-79)

Traditional views of classroom discipline often involve the teacher as an authoritarian, control-oriented leader and manager. The teacher, in this view, is the authority figure whom students must obey or pay the price of noncompliance, be that the teacher's wrath or other punitive measures. The classroom environment is marked by disdain for deviant behavior, feelings and expressions of student fear, and a general focus on "stamping out the bad" in children (Sears & Sears, 1995).

In the past, public school educators used corporal punishment as a method of imposing dominance and control to establish the authority of the teacher. Students who failed to comply with school rules were subjected to physical punishment. As many former students remember (myself included), teachers cracking knuckles with rulers and administrators "administering" paddlings and beatings were the order of the

day for misbehaving students. These and other punishments were used to ensure that students were fearful of what might happen if they chose noncompliance. Thus, the proclaimed intent of corporal punishment was that it would deter students from misbehaving (i.e., students would be afraid to misbehave in the classroom).

Along with fear, guilt is another student emotion necessary in the authoritarian approach to classroom discipline. As Dubelle (1995) notes, "whenever students become fearful or feel guilty with the thought of punishment educators might use, punishments seem to exercise control over students' behaviors" (p. 4). Compelling students to experience emotions of guilt and apprehension is a critical dimension of the authoritarian, control-oriented perspective.

Control theory. One of the contributions to this authoritarian leadership view is William Glasser's Control Theory which has been altered and redefined over the last several decades. Glasser first worked with prisoners (Reality Therapy, 1965) and then applied his conclusions to the educational setting (Schools without Failure, 1969; Control Theory, 1985; Control Theory in the Classroom, 1986; The Quality School: Managing Students without Coercion, 1990). Initial renditions of his theory (1985) involved a "ten-step" systematic approach to addressing classroom discipline problems. Glasser (1985) proposed that teachers establish rules with students and continually assess and adjust the guidelines and class structure. If misbehavior surfaces, the teacher is to discuss the problem with the student; the student is to identify the infraction and corresponding rule and decide upon a remedial strategy. If the misbehavior persists, the student is removed from the classroom (time-out or in-school or at-home suspension, depending on the severity of the offense).

This version of Glasser's (1985) control theory incorporates some behavior modification but mostly centers around the teacher's authority. The notion of control, with regard to issues of student misbehavior, involves authoritative leadership and

teacher domination over the classroom environment. Students who choose to remain noncompliant, according to the "ten-step" approach (Glasser, 1985), are to be removed from the classroom setting, providing the teacher with the ultimate power (i.e., victory over the student).

In Control Theory in the Classroom, Glasser (1986) totters away from his original authoritarian-laden approach toward a paradigm that can, according to Glasser, enable teachers to surpass stimulus-response orientations (behavior modification approaches), implement cooperative learning and, thus, in his view, improve classroom conditions. Essentially, control theory in the classroom (Glasser's 1986 version) involves an understanding that,

all of our behavior is always our best attempt at the time to satisfy at least five powerful forces, which . . . are called basic needs.
. . . [1] the need to stay alive and reproduce . . . [2] to belong and love . . . [3] to gain power . . . [4] to be free . . . [5] to have fun.
(Glasser, 1986, p. 14 & 23)

Strikingly similar to Maslow's (1977) hierarchy of needs and embellished with notions resembling Hertzberg's (1966) motivational drives, Glasser's (1986) control theory offers a reflective view of the behaviors, feelings, and motivations of educators and students. Because the actions chosen by individuals, according to Glasser (1986), are all related to the basic needs of survival, belonging, power, freedom, and fun, children and adults alike are working to satisfy one or more of these needs as they behave.

Much of Glasser's 1986 version of control theory in the classroom is based upon interviews with and observations of students and teachers. Among his findings, Glasser (1986) notes that students interpret the school environment as one that affords them some belonging (mostly through interactions with friends), little power, and virtually no freedom and fun. Glasser (1986) suggests that classroom discipline problems can be avoided through the use of cooperative learning models that allow

students to socially connect and collectively achieve power, freedom, and fun through student-centered decision making. Essentially, Glasser makes a complete turn-around in his notion of control from his 1985, Control Theory to his 1986, Control Theory in the Classroom. The seemingly paradoxical modification process that Glasser's work proceeds through changes from the idea of teachers asserting power to the idea of teachers empowering students. The concept of power remains a constant force throughout the metamorphosis of his theory of control.

Gravitation toward traditional constructs of control. Interestingly, a large segment of classroom discipline programs are grounded in traditional notions of control and teacher authority. For example, Canter and Canter's (1976, 1992) Assertive Discipline promotes the idea that,

An assertive teacher is one who clearly and firmly expresses her wants and feelings to the children and is prepared to back up her words with actions . . . The assertive teacher recognizes the fact that she has wants and needs and has the right to get them met in the classroom. (Canter & Canter, 1976, p. 30)

Control, in Assertive Discipline, involves a unilateral focus on the teacher who is to express her/his desires to the students and limit the power and influence of students. Through the use of warnings and consequences (which are often confused with threats and punishments), Canter and Canter (1992) contend that the job of the teacher is to "tell students exactly what behavior is acceptable . . . No questions. No room for confusion" (p. 27). The teacher's authority is of utmost importance.

Canter and Canter (1992) also state that all discipline problems are owned by students. The teacher is never in error and can only teach under favorable circumstances, that is, through the delivery of explicit commands and consequences. Control and compliance demands are the immediate goals of teachers. Essentially,

Assertive Discipline is an authoritarian package that is intended to alleviate conflict, promote and protect the teacher, and essentially strip students of power and influence.

The blemishes in authoritarian rule. Authoritative approaches to classroom discipline pose several problems. Because "the authoritarian style regards discipline as something you do to a child, not a learning process you go through with a child" (Sears & Sears, 1995, p. 3), the methodology focuses on domination, coercion, and punishment. Furthermore, Kohn (1996) contends, traditional authoritarian approaches "warp the relationship between the punisher and the punished" (p. 27). The child's relationship with the teacher involves notions of discomfort and fear, which are often cast by authoritarian advocates as notions of respect. For example, Canter and Canter (1992) note:

In the not-so-distant past . . . children knew that if they got in trouble at school, they'd be in twice as much trouble when they got home. Consequently, a vast majority of children came to school with built-in respect for teachers . . . (p. 6)

As Kohn (1996) so poignantly clarifies in his jocose glossary of Assertive Discipline terms, respect and fear are synonymous in this approach. An essential ingredient to the authoritarian style of classroom control is that students must be afraid of the teacher, even though this fear is often referred to as respect.

In the authoritarian method, "children behave out of fear . . . as a result they have no inner controls. . . . Once the controllers' backs are turned, the controllees can run wild" (Sears & Sears, 1995, p. 3). Students who are part of a classroom environment that is dominated by teacher command are prone to misbehave whenever they are given the chance to do so. In this light, the authoritarian approach preserves the ill-fated behaviors by temporarily putting them on hold, rather than extinguishing them. Consequently, students learn when to "misbehave," rather than how to "behave appropriately."

Considering that the authoritarian notion of classroom control involves teachers asserting dominance, demanding compliance, and eliciting fear, it is not surprising that students find these classrooms unpleasant. Does "helping" students "behave" involve "compelling" through punitive methods that children "obey" the commands of teachers (Kohn, 1996)? If fear is respect, then is mutual respect, mutual fear? What are the long-term educational and functional goals for students? Does forcing students to comply with teacher commands resemble animal training, rather than education? How far removed is the authoritarian approach from emotional and/or verbal abuse?

Communicative and Community-Oriented Remedies

Listen, or thy tongue, will keep thee deaf.
(Native American Proverb)

Some classroom discipline programs depart from the authoritarian version of control theory and from behavior modification and focus on classroom community, student directed conflict resolution, and peer mediation. While it is often the teacher who initiates and guides the implementation of these techniques (especially in the elementary school setting), the focal points are community, communication, and student-to-student reactions, interactions, and responsibilities. In these programs, it is the establishment of "community" and the utilization of "communication techniques" in the classroom that serve to remedy problems with classroom discipline.

Abandoning subordination and inviting community. This view of approaching classroom discipline problems through inviting community involves a paradigm shift for educators. Disheartened by the over-use of punishments and rewards in elementary school classrooms, Alphonse Kohn (1993, 1996) proposes a different means of addressing classroom discipline problems. In his recent book, Beyond Discipline: From Compliance to Community, Kohn (1996), offers a complex construct rather than a packaged program. Moving beyond the constraints of the traditionally used techniques

of discipline, Kohn (1996) promotes a community orientation in the classroom, which includes teacher evaluation of the curriculum and environment. Kohn's (1996) proposal is one that rejects authoritative models and behavior modification and offers a ground where teachers and students can develop a classroom community.

Recognizing that rewards and punishments are only effective in securing short-term compliance, Kohn (1996) asserts that educators need to take an evaluative look at their long-term goals for students. In Kohn's (1996) approach, the alignment of goals and practices, constant evaluation, and the establishment of a communal environment are encouraged. Therefore, unlike behavior modification, theories of control, and the many discipline programs that are grounded by them, Kohn (1996) shifts the responsibility of change and success from the students or the educators to the students and the educators.

Communication, conflict resolution, and peer mediation. Other scholars have worked with some of the same communicative notions of this perspective on classroom discipline. Hence, the focus is on how to strengthen classroom community by improving communication between and among students. This assembly of literature often comes in the form of conflict resolution models, which Michlowski (1999) notes may become the "fourth R in basic education" (p. 108). Conflict resolution involves the three basic strategies of mediation, negotiation, and group problem solving (Schrumpf, Crawford, & Bodin, 1997). As Schrumpf et al. (1997) explain:

Mediation is a communication approach in which the individuals with a problem work together, assisted by a neutral third party, to solve the problem. . . . In the mediation process, the mediator creates and maintains an environment that fosters mutual problem solving . . . During the mediation, the disputing parties listen to each other's points of view, identify interests contributing to the conflict, create options that address the interests of both of them, evaluate these options according to objective criteria, and create an agreement. (Schrumpf et al., 1997, p. 2)

The "neutral third party" in the mediation process is typically another student (in peer mediation models), but can be the teacher or another adult. This mediation facilitator is responsible for "controlling the process," while the "disputants control the outcome" (Schrumpf et al., 1997, p. 2).

Michlowski (1999) reports that there are three methods of resolving conflicts to be used in the classroom. The first is negotiation, which is a "bilateral process with two disputants trying to work out an agreement or settlement . . ." (p. 109). The second is peer mediation. The mediator's role is to guide the disputants by establishing ground rules, opening the discussion, and by recording an agreement to be signed by disputants upon settlement. If agreement is not reached in the peer mediation process, the third method of conflict resolution, which is arbitration, is followed. Students can request adult intervention (i.e., "voluntary arbitration") or have adult intervention imposed upon them through "compulsory arbitration." The arbitrator acts as "judge and jury" and makes the "final judgment" or decision (Michlowski, 1999, p. 109).

In general, the major elements of conflict resolution and peer mediation models are communication, structure, problem diagnosis, and evaluation. These models, typically geared toward middle and high school students, proclaim to offer educators more time to devote to academic curriculum and more opportunity to empower students through strategies that "attack the problem, not the person" (Schrumpf et al., 1997, p. 3).

In the elementary school setting, conflict resolution models are typically focused on the complexities of student feelings and "getting along" with peers. In Talk it Out, Porro (1996) notes that "teaching reading and math have always been a piece of cake compared to the overwhelming task of handling my students' everyday problems" (p. 3). Using "I-messages," an idea first proposed by Gordon (1974) as a teacher effectiveness technique, Porro (1996) delineates a plan for allowing students to

constructively express themselves to each other. Essentially, an "I-message" involves a person stating her/his feeling followed by the cause of that feeling. The notion follows this structure; "I feel _____ when you _____". Students are "taught" to fill in the blanks contained in the phrase to share feelings and reasons for those feelings with each other. The teacher is to model problem solving through using "I-messages" and by "guide[ing] children through the process" (Porro, 1996, p. 15). The intent is that students will learn to communicate to and with one another regarding situations of conflict in the classroom.

Communication and community -- synonymous? Unfortunately some conflict resolution models fall short of obtaining the proclaimed goals of solving problems and establishing community. While some students may learn to "talk it out," they may falter when it comes to listening to or understanding the perspectives of others. Other students may learn to appreciate the paradigms of others, but fail to make accommodations in their own behavioral tendencies. At best, a successful conflict resolution or peer mediation program enables children to learn skills of verbal communication; but do these communication skills translate into notions of classroom community? Are not teachers and students part of a community regardless of the use of verbal exchanges geared toward problem solving? What is community and how is it related to conflict resolution and discipline?

According to Powell et al. (1985), "community has come to mean differences peacefully coexisting, rather than people working together toward some serious end" (p. 3). If so, conflict resolution models may be best understood as conflict bandage models. The problems and conflicts are not necessarily resolved; rather, they are covered or softened with verbal exchanges of negotiation and compromise. The students and teachers who are skilled at tending to the conflicts through verbal bandages are often the same classroom inhabitants who are skilled at advancing

individual or collective interests through the power to influence decision making. Thus, the learned techniques of conflict regulation can be used to manipulate or to emancipate classroom inhabitants.

Remedy Theories: Sensible Answers or More Problems?

The theories of remedy aimed at solving classroom discipline problems carry a host of presumptions and potential problems. The techniques associated with behavior modification are perfunctory in nature. Training children to behave in a certain manner for the sole purpose of receiving a reward or avoiding a punishment fails to consider the fact that education involves more than learning simplistic cause/effect relationships. If, as Kohn (1996) highlights, educators are to enable children to ". . . become morally sophisticated people who think for themselves . . ." (p. 62), then educators are doing an injustice to children by "teaching" them to perform (not far from the notion of trained seals) through behavior modification techniques.

In like manner, the remedies to classroom discipline problems that involve an authoritarian rule in the classroom and the associated notions of control focus on dominating and coercing children into specific behaviors. Forcing children to behave out of fear teaches children to have "no inner controls" and to "run wild" when given the opportunity (Sears & Sears, 1995, p. 3). While methods of control and behavior modification can be successful means of achieving student compliance, the compliance may be at best temporary and at worst detrimental to the emotional and social growth of children (Kohn, 1996).

Of the theories of remedy, the community and communicative-oriented approaches hold the greatest potential for addressing classroom discipline problems over the long haul. While some of the community-oriented approaches aspire to virtually unrealistic ideals, and while a majority of the conflict resolution and peer

mediation models are too concerned with offering specific recipes and prescriptions, these approaches begin to address the interactions of classroom inhabitants. Classroom conflicts and the attempts at resolving those conflicts, be they peer mediation or the establishment of a "community," are actions and reactions that are political in nature. Thus, the doors have been opened to a new lens through which educational researchers and practitioners can study classroom discipline; that is micropolitics.

Shifting to the Micropolitical Perspective

As the previous section demonstrates, the literature on classroom discipline is comprised of theories of blame and theories of remedy. The blame theories are apt to offer educators excuses and pardons rather than solid grounds for studying, let alone improving, problematic classroom conditions. The theories of remedy, often evident in "fix-it" packages related to classroom discipline, fail to consider the multi-dimensional, complex nature of the elementary school classroom. In other words, both genres of literature neglect the dynamic interactions which produce patterns of behavior and misbehavior in the classroom. Essentially, the theories of blame and the theories of remedy overlook the micropolitics of classroom discipline. However, collectively, the theories of blame and the theories of remedy lean toward a micropolitical orientation. Most of the theories acknowledge that power is at stake, consider who is in control of the classroom, and take into account how those in control influence others. Therefore, collectively, the theories suggest that discipline interactions in the classroom are amenable to analysis from the micropolitical perspective.

The discipline policies that are enacted, conveyed, realized, and evaluated in the elementary school classroom are critical to the social order of the classroom. These policies involve stated or written rules, as well as actions of tolerance, intolerance, and indifference. Clearly, there is a need to approach the study of classroom discipline in a

manner that considers the multifaceted intentions of students and teachers, the contests for control and influence, the compromises or negotiations, and the self-protective actions that forge the micropolitical dynamics within the classroom setting. Therefore, in this section, I will draw upon a wide range of literature related to organizational politics to explain and illustrate the key components of the micropolitical perspective. I will include a discussion of micropolitics as an evolving field, a delineation of the micropolitical policy-making process, and a presentation of the essential elements of educational micropolitics. I will also address what is known about political dynamics in classrooms and explain how formal and informal classroom discipline policies can be studied using the micropolitical framework.

Micropolitics: An Evolving Field

And we are here as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night.
(Matthew Arnold, Dover Beach, 1867)

Micropolitics involves the use of formal and informal power to assert influence to obtain individual or collective goals in an organizational setting (Blase, 1991b). To portray the development and accurately depict the theoretical orientations of educational micropolitics, it is necessary to turn to some of the prominent scholars in the field to uncover the germane definitions and interpretations associated with the study of micropolitics in education.

Although Iannaccone began to study the "realities of micropolitics in education" in conjunction with his doctoral work (The Social System of School and Staff) in the late 1950s, it was Willard Waller who had opened the door to the study of micropolitics nearly twenty years prior. Waller's The Sociology of Teaching, written in 1932, includes references to the political actions of teachers, students, and the

taxpaying community. Recognizing "the presence of a large element of dominance and subordination in the relation of teacher and student (p. 445), Waller (1932) urged educators to realize the significance of concentrating reform attention at the classroom level. As Waller (1932) acclaimed, "the reformation of the schools must begin with the teachers, and no program that does not include the personal rehabilitation of teachers can ever overcome the passive resistance of the old order" (p. 458). While the terminology used by Waller did not include the word micropolitics, he was one of the first known educational scholars to begin scratching at the surface of the emerging field of micropolitics.

Other scholars have since studied educational institutions by way of micropolitical orientations, further defining and illuminating the field through their research efforts. Hoyle (1986) investigated "those strategies by which individuals and groups in organizational contexts seek to use their resources of power and influence to further their interests" (p. 88), explored the often grim realities of dysfunctional tactics, and consequently described micropolitics as the "dark side of organizational life" (p. 87). Ball (1987), defines micropolitics as the realities of school life and explains that as the ideologies and strategies employed by educational actors clash, internal struggles for influence and control redefine the very nature of schools. Skilled educators, notes Ball (1987), learn to bargain, compromise, assert influence, direct conflict and retain domination.

Blase (1987, 1988, 1991a, 1991b) conducted a long-term case study (four years) that explored teacher perceptions of the power and influence relationships between educators and administrators in the school setting. Using questionnaires distributed to teachers (770) and categorical data analyses, Blase studied micropolitics in education, recognizing that,

Micropolitics refers to the use of formal and informal power by individuals and groups to achieve their goals in organizations. In large part, political actions result from perceived differences between individuals and groups, coupled with the motivation to use power to influence and/or protect. Although such actions are consciously motivated, any action, consciously or unconsciously motivated, may have political 'significance' in a given situation. Both cooperative and conflictive interactions and processes are part of the realm of micropolitics. Moreover, macro- and micropolitical forces frequently interact. (1991a, p. 11)

Basically, Blase (1991a) asserts that in the micropolitical perspective, power is typically used to jointly or aggressively influence others and/or to protect one's own interests, values, or goals.

Iannacconne (1991) defines micropolitics as "internal" and "external" forces within the context of educational organizations. Iannacconne explains that the "internal organizational subsystems" of the school involve the "interactions and political ideologies of social systems of teachers, administrators, and pupils within school buildings" (p. 466). Iannacconne describes the "external systems" as "interactions between professional and lay systems" (p. 466).

Using the scope of definitions, as described by the scholars, a general definition of micropolitics involves the complexities associated with the procurement and display of power, influence, authority, control, negotiation, and protection within the context of the school (Ball, 1987; Blase, 1991; Hoyle, 1986; Malen, 1994; Marshall & Scribner, 1991; Willower, 1991). The power and protection victories and defeats executed by educational actors, as well as the conflicts and resulting compromises, are part and parcel of the micropolitical perspectives on policy making.

Micropolitical Views on the Dynamics of Policy Making

Zeal . . . makes a good cause better, so it makes a bad cause worse.
(Old Farmer's Almanac, 1860)

Because of the tenderfoot, loosely bound nature of educational micropolitics, it is difficult to delineate a concise layout of the micropolitical perspective. Therefore, it is essential to turn to the study of the micropolitical processes that produce the formal and informal policies to help define and delineate the micropolitical perspective. Because the expression "micro" in micropolitics merely serves to situate examination and analysis within the boundaries of the school (although consideration is regularly given to external influences), the study of political policy making is not a separate field, rather a fundamental domain. Essentially, micropolitics is a term used to get at the political dynamics in smaller arenas (e.g., schools, classrooms) versus larger organizations (e.g., congress). Thus, the terms micropolitical and political will be used interchangeably because it is the phenomenon, not the label, that is of interest in this section of the review of relevant literature.

The purpose of policy associated with the political perspective is to "regulate social conflict" in ways that "retain the legitimacy" of those in power (Malen & Knapp, 1997, p. 428). There exists a continuum of interpretations of the political perspective; however, the differences lie in the range of political activities, more than in the strictness of the tenets of the perspective. To explain further, the political perspective includes a classical form presented by Allison (1971), while others, such as Baldrige (1983), Morgan (1986), and Abrams (1987), analyze different political concepts rather than present opposing views of the political perspective.

The political perspective of the policy-making process involves interactive facets and stages that are quite fluid and often simultaneous and overlapping (Malen & Knapp, 1997). The stages associated with the political process are strongly rooted in

power. While this term can be defined in a variety of ways, in this case, power is defined as the capacity that an actor has to influence decisions. Influence is defined as the activation of power to affect decision outcomes. Using various sources of power (including; knowledge, information, status, charisma, time, materials, etc.), actors deploy power based on capacity and commitment (McLaughlin, 1987). Power is always relative and situational and has the potential to be reciprocal, because policy issues and actors' intentions and resources can shift and/or change and because actors' behaviors are often contingent upon other actors' behaviors (Malen, 1994).

Considering that the entire policy process pivots on the notion of power, it is not surprising to see how the process stages are better viewed as intertwining, cyclical, fluent phases. Typically the process begins when issues are generated. Private wants become public demands. Sometimes these issues come from within the organization; often they are generated outside the organization. There are times that the issues are generated by a combination of "inside" and "outside" interests. The second aspect of the process involves the formulation of alternatives. Some demands get postponed, defused or neglected, while others are compromised, honored, and/or packaged. The third phase of the process involves the enactment of choices, typically in a "package deal." In the fourth stage, these choices are implemented or not implemented. If the choices are not implemented, the next phase of activity could loop back to any of the early stages. If during the fourth phase the choices are implemented, the fifth stage may follow. This stage involves the evaluation or the lack of evaluation of the choice package. Again, the increased level of activity could return to any of the previous stages or proceed to the sixth stage, which involves feedback and reaction. The entire cycle, or portions of the process, will repeat again and again as issues are generated and recycled (Malen & Knapp, 1997).

The policy outcomes are interim settlements, which only surface after a great deal of bargaining, negotiating, and compromising. Essentially, the political perspective outcome is not the solution to the problem, but rather the temporary settlement of a conflict (Malen & Knapp, 1997). It is not surprising that Allison (1971) refers to the political perspective outcome as the resultant. The term is defined by Allison in these words, ". . . resultants in the sense that what happens is not chosen as a solution to a problem but rather results from compromise, conflict, and confusion of officials with diverse interests and unequal influence" (p. 148).

The interactions between actors in the political perspective involve a series of bargaining and bartering. In Allison's (1971) words there is a great deal of "pulling" and "hauling" associated with the political activities of the actors. The actions and reactions that create policy may be incremental or impetuous, but they are always contingent upon the actors, situation, issue, stage and/or context. Typically, the actions are conscious and strategic efforts striving toward the regulation of conflict and retention of legitimacy. Baldrige (1983) sheds light on the complexity of the actions and interactions associated with the political perspective, by emphasizing fluidness in the "garbage can" process.

Decisions are not so much "made" as they "happen" -- they are events in which problems, choices, and decision makers happen to coalesce to form temporary solutions. In a sense, then, a decision situation is a "garbage can" into which problems, decision makers, and preconceived solutions are poured and jostled around until a solution emerges that at least temporarily satisfies the organization's needs. (p. 44)

The capacity to influence which problems, solutions, and actors are poured in Baldrige's "garbage can" relates to the power of those involved. As Pfeffer (1981) notes, who gets the can and who gets the garbage is often far from random assignment. Thus, Baldrige's (1983) "pouring" and "jostling" of issues and influence may have the

appearance of haphazard behavior, but could actually be quite strategic. The "solution" that emerges, however temporary, serves the political purpose of regulating conflict and retaining legitimacy. As such, it is more appropriately viewed as a settlement than a solution.

The policy actors, viewed from the political perspective, are clusters of shifting coalitions. The actors align and realign on various issues and alter group affiliations depending on the situation or stage of the process. Of course, these alignments relate to the actors' underlying intents. Group affiliations may offer specific perks and accommodations at specific times. To utilize these perks and accommodations political actors engage in compromise. As Baldrige (1983) shares " . . . institutional leaders serve primarily as catalysts. . . . They do not command, they negotiate" (p. 44). Thus, political actors negotiate and compromise as they affiliate and alter affiliation with various clusters of other actors.

Abrams (1987) contends, after studying a specific case involving coalition strategies, that " . . . in certain circumstances a limited cooperative strategy, within a competitive environment, can emerge as a politically justified alternative to directly competitive strategies" (p. 390). To summarize Abrams' notions, actor clusters can clearly work toward positive political gain using a variety of approaches and strategies. The use of various coalition strategies can have great impact on the political outcomes.

The role of information and values is very significant in the political perspective. Information is an important instrument of power, used for actor advantage and leverage. Political actors use knowledge and information as the driving forces, not necessarily to solve the substantive problem, but to advance their power. Information in the political perspective is viewed as an actor resource serving to empower certain individuals and groups at certain times. Values, too, play a significant role in the political perspective. Values are the grist of policy disputes. Values are used to justify

the decisions of the actors and often compete during the policy making process (Malen & Knapp, 1997).

The Essential Elements of Micropolitics

Politics, the art of the possible,
The power to curb,
The power to sway,
The power to propel.
(author's verse)

Considering that "political lenses zoom in on the interest-driven, power-based interactions that occur as actors holding diverse views of problems and priorities compete as well as cooperate to influence decision outcomes through bargains, negotiations, compromises, and other accommodations" (Malen & Knapp, 1997, p. 428), there are several common elements that help characterize educational micropolitics. These staple articles can be indexed into five categories associated with the intentions and interactions between and among educational actors in the school, namely: (1) power, influence, authority, control; (2) conflict; (3) compromise, negotiations, bargains; (4) protection; (5) context, setting, and environment (Blase, 1991a, 1991b; Ball, 1987; Corbett, 1991; Hoyle, 1986; Marshall & Scribner, 1991; Malen, 1994; Mazzoni, 1991). In the following sections, a description of each of the categories will be presented, then applied to the classroom environment (i.e., micropolitics in the classroom).

Power. Interactions involving assertions of power, authority, influence, and control relate to the micropolitical actors' abilities to mold policy (Ball, 1987; Blase, 1991a, 1991b; Hoyle, 1986; Malen, 1994). In essence, power is the ability to use authority, or other influence, establish control, or assert a "dominant view" (Marshall & Scribner, 1991, p. 349).

In other words, power is the ability to get others to behave in ways that they ordinarily would not. Power, then, is associated with altering the behavior of others and can be both constraining (in terms of getting others to give up actions that they might prefer to engage in) or liberating (in terms of enabling others to take actions they have not been accustomed to taking). (Corbett, 1991, p. 74)

Some actors exercising power focus influence on restricting certain behaviors in others, using control oriented strategies and tactics. Other actors exercising power direct influence toward releasing others to engage in specific activities. As politically skilled actors use power to force or emancipate, others view them as powerful. Without the social context, power cannot be exercised, let alone maintained. Hence, political actors are afforded the power to liberate or limit others, in part, by way of the perceptions of the very people who are influenced.

The power exerted in micropolitical arenas can be legitimately or illegitimately acquired (Blase, 1991a). The legitimized version of power is typically known as authority (Corbett, 1991). Authority usually involves a structured hierarchy or imposed pecking order. Subordinates either accept the regime, in which case the organizational actors at the top have "endorsed power," or subordinates reject the power structure, in which case superordinates are not afforded the capacity to influence, basically constraining the power of the superordinates (Scott, 1981). Therefore, the actor's power to influence others can range from approved to ignored depending upon the social structure of the organization.

Power is generated through various resources, which include, but are not limited to knowledge, personal characteristics, time, and materials. Corbett (1991) asserts that "knowledge is power, and its absence places an actor in a vulnerable position" (p. 75). This knowledge is not necessarily related to intellectual capacity (which is yet another source of power, in and of itself), but rather to pertinent information about the situational task at hand. Key to a micropolitical actor's

repertoire of knowledge is the "flow of information" (Corbett, 1991). In some situations, subordinates control the dissemination of information by constructing an artificial picture of reality, such as behaving in a certain manner only when superordinates are watching. In other situations, authority figures shield subordinates from relevant knowledge (i.e., control of information). Thus, knowledge affords micropolitical actors a contingent source of power.

Personal characteristics, such as capacity and commitment (McLaughlin, 1987), charisma, and social status are also resources of power. The higher an actor's leadership ability, coupled with her/his motivation, the more likely that actor can advance her/his power to influence others. Additionally, using charisma to influence decision making can fortify the intensity and the amount of sway applied to micropolitical situations. Social status can also serve as a resource of power. High social status offers an advantage and the lack of social status may yield a disadvantage. While social status is based upon culture, class, and gender, it also includes political savvy, experience, and motivation.

Other power resources such as time and materials can invigorate the micropolitical actor's capacity to influence others. Time is a key power resource because the more time actors devote to active involvement in political issues, the greater the opportunity for their credibility and legitimacy to grow (Meltsner, 1972). Knowing the right time or the "propitious moment" (Kingdon, 1984) to do or say or not do or say is a particularly advantageous quality. Likewise, materials can serve as power resources. Supplies and the economic resources to purchase treasured materials are often pivotal points used to influence decision making.

Likened to the economic theory of supply and demand, resources are often the most valuable when they are held by a select few and desired by the masses. The micropolitical actors who have and know how to use resources (including knowledge,

personal characteristics, time, and materials) are most likely to control or at least direct decision making. Thus, in the contests for power, micropolitical actors use a variety of resources to activate power to shape decisions and outcomes.

Conflict. Conflict is the disagreement and discord between micropolitical actors which can range in intensity from subtle disparity to downright antagonism. Conflicts arise due to clashes among diverse interests (Morgan, 1986) and "competition over scarce resources" (Marshall & Scribner, 1991, p. 346). The multifaceted opinions and varying intentions of actors often erupt into abrasive interactions. Baldrige (1971) contends that conflict is the result of groups or individuals working "to gain advantage over another" (p. 14). Clusters of shifting coalitions work with vigor to achieve the power position, clashing and crashing in ideals, interests, and desires.

According to Boyd-Barret (1976), "conflict between groups in organizations is not just an inevitability of organizational life but may be seen as a process through which organizations grow and develop over time" (p. 92). Conflict pushes the situation to the next level of activity. Whether that next stage is progression, regression, or gridlock, the organization still changes over time. In a sense, conflict drives the processes by which policy is made and re-made.

Ball (1987) views schools as "arenas of struggle; to be riven with actual or potential conflict between members; to be poorly coordinated; to be ideologically diverse" (p. 19). Given the large number of value-driven, if not forthright actors in the educational setting, it would be nearly remarkable if there were no conflicts.

Compromise. The predictable conflicts that arise due to opposing ideologies and rivalry over limited resources cause actors to reshape policy through compromising, negotiating, and bargaining (Ball, 1987; Hoyle, 1986). This reshaping of policy involves manipulation of interests, readjustment of intentions, and alteration of the means by which policy is developed. Negotiations reflect Allison's (1971)

"pulling" and "hauling" and Baldridge's (1983) "pouring" and "jostling" of ideas, potential solutions, and possible decisions. Just as in other arenas, in micro arenas, actors use negotiation and compromise to advance settlements that satisfy their interests.

Negotiation and compromise are the basis for many exchanges between actors. As Ball (1987) highlights, the "vertical relationships" and the "horizontal relationships" invite different forms of negotiation. Generally, more informal exchanges and bargains are made in the horizontal relationships, while more formal accommodations are made in the vertical relationships. To explain further, actors situated in a horizontal relationships are more likely to strike a balance or find a middle ground through verbal exchanges, while those in vertical relationships are more likely to bargain or barter officially (i.e., the verbal exchanges may be publicized or aspects of the compromise may be in writing).

As Ball (1987) notes, "social relationships are frequently, by default, a vehicle for decision-making, amendments to rules and formal arrangements of information exchange" (p. 221). The conversations between actors, be the actors in horizontal or vertical relationships, often entail various levels of negotiation and compromise. At any given time, therefore, in micro arenas actors are negotiating avenues through which individual or collective interests may be pursued.

Protection. Self-protective intentions amplify the actors' immediate policy struggles and decisions. Some actors work to survive the micropolitical arena (Blase, 1991a) and others strive to protect themselves and their interests amidst the micropolitical dynamics. Self-protection is in some ways the means and ends desired by actors. To explain, some actors desire preservation, display self-protective behaviors, and labor to achieve self-protection in the end (Blase, 1991a). Others,

however, desire to protect themselves as they seek to retain legitimacy of their power position. Thus, self-protection serves as the goal for many micropolitical actors.

Ball (1987) asks, "are social actors in the organization primarily in pursuit of their self-interest or are they much more concerned with personal development and the achievement of self-realization?" (p. 21). The answer, Ball (1987) notes, lies in the issue at hand. Some actors are nearly always involved; others only sometimes involved; and still others are rarely involved. Baldrige (1971), after studying the politics in a university setting, found four types of involvement. First, there is official involvement, usually by those employed in the setting. Second, there is involvement from activists, who are involved due to specific content interests. The activists are usually relatively small in number, yet can become highly influential. Third, Baldrige (1971) identified the attentives who are essentially "sideline watchers interested in the activities of the formal system" (p. 178). The fourth and final type of actors, Baldrige describes as the apathetics, who are seldom involved and project a laissez faire attitude toward policy decision making. Obviously, the officials and activists have more at stake than do the attentives and the apathetics. The officials and the activists have a vested interest in promoting and protecting themselves and their ideals.

Context. Contests for power and influence, the conflict that "arises wherever interests collide" (Morgan, 1986, p. 155), negotiation, and protection are components that are contingent upon the setting or context. The contextual setting is a critical element in the study of micropolitics, because the setting can shape and reshape actors' responses, reactions, and interactions. According to Mazzoni (1991), the setting relates to the situational and environmental elements that set the stage for political decision making. One aspect of the setting is the anticipated, role appropriate behaviors displayed or expected to be displayed by actors. Other aspects of the setting include standard operating procedures, traditions, routines, cultures, expectations, and

previous situational experience (shared or individual history). Additionally, the racial, economic, and religious demographics of the broader environment can serve as important aspects of the micropolitical context.

Essentially, the micropolitical context can offer or limit power, influence, authority, and control to actors. The context can serve to initiate, perpetuate, or diminish conflict. The environment can also affect actions and reactions oriented toward negotiation and/or protection. As the setting affects each of these elements in the micropolitical policy-making process, actors may adjust and readjust intentions, reactions, and reactions.

In sum, the use of power, influence, authority and control, the manifestation of conflict, the corresponding tactics of negotiation, the interests of self-protection, and the situational context (including behaviors, habits, traditions, and reputation of the organization) characterize the micropolitical perspective. These micropolitical elements also characterize the classroom. While classroom inhabitants are not usually writers of formal policy documents, they nearly always develop the "real life" policy in the classroom. Teachers and students are the "street level bureaucrats" (Weatherley & Lipsky, 1977); the true policy formulators, enactors, and implementors. As Corbett (1991) declares, "regardless of what the formal curriculum says should be taught, closed classroom doors and the ubiquitous posters covering glass panels in the doors enable teachers to teach what and how they want" (p. 76). More to the point, teachers and students, either cooperatively or competitively live the curriculum, deciding what will be taught and how it will be taught. In so doing, they also decide how discipline policies will be enacted, conveyed, realized, and evaluated in the classroom.

Synthesizing the Literature:

Micropolitical Discipline Policies in the Classroom

To synthesize the streams of literature relevant to this study, it is necessary to (a) discuss classroom interaction research and its relationship to the study of micropolitics; (b) situate the cornerstone dimensions of the micropolitical perspective (power, conflict, compromise, protection, and context) in the classroom and examine the micropolitical interactions between teachers and students that formulate policy; (c) address theory and policy in the classroom; and (d) construct a bridge between discipline and micropolitics to illustrate how these ideas come together to create the conceptual framework for this case study.

Micropolitics in the Classroom

Although classroom interaction research has been in the educational literature foreground for many years, application of the micropolitical framework to the classroom has been given limited attention (e.g., Blase, 1991; Bloome & Willet, 1991; Powell et. al, 1985; Wallat & Piazza, 1988). In fact, Blase (1991a) notes, ". . . little research has been published that examines the teacher-student relationship from a micropolitical perspective" (p. 186). Because classroom interaction research has focused on teaching and learning (Bloome, Puro & Theodorou, 1989; Delamont, 1981, 1983; Denham & Lieberman, 1980), the political happenings have been generally under-explored. The fact that micropolitical phenomena have been neglected in the classroom interaction literature is not to imply that they are not present. It is simply to highlight the fact that the "immediate purposes" of teacher/student interactions have been overshadowed by the frenetic search for "good" teaching methods as to somehow insure student achievement (Bloome & Willet, 1991).

In an attempt to systematically study the micropolitics of the classroom, Bloome and Willet (1991) used ethnographic transcripts of teacher/student communication related to a phonics lesson. The researchers analyzed the political behaviors and interactions of the teachers and students. Generally, these researchers found that ethnicity, language, class, and gender were the most apparent political forces present in the data. Specifically, these researchers found that in a small group instructional setting, boys were more likely than girls to answer questions, divert attention, and sway teacher responses. While these political manifestations provided the vehicle for the study of the political interactions between teachers and students (Bloome & Willet, 1991), they were and remain context specific (i.e., small group phonics instruction) and gender focused (i.e., male student behavior verses female student behavior). However, the study of classroom discipline policy was somewhat addressed in this ethnographic research because Bloome and Willet (1991) discovered that some students (males) gained and maintained the majority of the teacher's attention. The strategies employed to gain and maintain the teacher's attention (i.e., how the male students secured favorable distribution of the limited resource) could be viewed as mini-activations of power to effect mini-decision outcomes in the classroom, although Bloome and Willet (1991) do not directly include this type of analysis in the study.

Other research directly attends to discipline-related issues and political phenomena, but uses non-politically oriented terminology. These studies highlight educators' concerns with social order. For example, Cusick (1983) found that teachers and administrators regarded the friendly relationships between teachers and students as more important than formal district/school policy implementation or the academic curriculum in the classroom. By the same token, McNeil (1982, 1986) found that control of the student body overshadowed the teaching-learning process. Other

research accents the emphasis educators have placed and continue to place on social order and good behavior (e.g., Becker, 1980; Lortie, 1975; Pollard, 1985; Waller, 1932). While these streams of research point to control, influence, authority, and power obtained and used by teachers and students, they typically neglect to unpack the dynamics involved in discipline in the classroom.

Power in the classroom. According to Bloome and Willet (1991), "central to an adequate definition of the micropolitics of classroom interactions would be analysis of power relationships and power agendas" (p. 208). Power (the capacity to assert influence), influence (the activation of power to affect decision outcomes), authority (legitimized power) and control (ranging from dominance to direction) are ever-present in the classroom. Teachers, by sheer position, are afforded potential authority in the classroom. If students accept the regime, the teacher's power is translated into authority and ultimately advantage. However, if a student or some students choose not to "authorize" the teacher's position, the field is open to want-to-be contenders. Clearly, the assertion of power in the classroom is not a one-time event; instead, there are multiple displays of power and control, by teachers, individual students, and groups of shifting coalitions.

Students and teachers use multiple strategies as they vie for power to influence the class agenda and activities. Teachers steadily influence or attempt to influence students through their words, actions, and decisions. Pollard (1985) contends that "good" teaching is basically manipulative in nature. Thus, it is supposed by some that teachers who successfully influence students into behavioral and academic compliance have triumphantly mastered the task of education. However, students (and some teachers) may have a distinctly different class agenda and different overall educational interests. The power, influence, and control displayed in the classroom are intertwined with the multifaceted intentions of students and teachers.

The power obtained and utilized by classroom inhabitants is contingent upon the availability and acquisition of resources (e.g., knowledge, personal characteristics, time, materials, and connections). Obviously, teachers, by virtue of age and experience, begin with an advantage in the resource of knowledge. Teachers (it is presumed) have more information than students. However, the information needed in the micropolitical arena is not necessarily related to academic content. Students may have an equal amount of "information," and perhaps, more knowledge in the realm of political experience than teachers, in that some students may know how to promote their interests. Furthermore, students may control the "flow of information" to and from the teacher as they display certain actions or behaviors (e.g., students may act as if they are on task or have followed directions). Likewise, savvy teachers may control the "flow of information" by withholding information to and from the students as they perform in the classroom (e.g., teachers may not reveal certain behavior consequences to students).

Personal characteristics as a resource give students the most potential for the activation of power. Some children are charismatic, more charismatic than teachers. Some students have stronger motivations to sway and influence the class agenda and decision making than do teachers. However, some teachers project high levels of charm, public appeal, and motivation. Therefore, the classroom is an open arena for the attainment and employment of personal characteristics (charisma, motivation, social status, and the like) as sources of power and influence.

Similarly, materials, time, and connections are relevant power resources in the classroom. Teachers and students have the opportunity to use time, materials, and connections as power chips in the classroom. Teachers may hide, confiscate, or hoard classroom materials. Students may do the same or perhaps bring valuable materials from home to the classroom. Correspondingly, time may be the power source of

choice for teachers or students. Teachers make "take" time from students, particularly student-valued time such as "fun" classroom activities or recess. Students may, in a teacher's opinion, "waste" time in the classroom. Additionally, connections to other (perhaps influential) actors may provide classroom inhabitants with a robust resource of power. For example, some students have highly influential parents. Likewise, some teachers have connections to local administrative personnel. Certainly, the acquisition and use of resources, particularly skill and will, fortifies the advantages of power in the interactions between teachers and students in the classroom.

While both teachers and students have power resources, the parties are not on equal ground, because there are differences between the rights of students and the rights of teachers. Iannaccone (1991) contends that

When the largest category of a polity's members is a class of persons who neither share in its governance by right, nor are able to acquire that right through their efforts . . . then the polity involved is indisputably a cast society. (p. 468)

Perhaps Iannaccone's (1991) "cast society" label enables researchers to recognize the differences between the rights of students and the rights of teachers. However, by Iannaccone's (1991) characterization of polity subjects, political actions revolve around the "tensions along the line of cleavage" (p. 468) that separate people by various levels of citizenship. Hence, when it comes to students and teachers, the tensions may be greater; the separation may be more defined; the citizen and subject roles may be in greater flux; but the micropolitical dynamics may be more distinguishable and profoundly ripe for political analysis.

Classroom conflicts. Conflicts are part of the micropolitical arena of the classroom. As Weinstein and Mignano (1993) find, conflict prevails in the school environment, particularly within the contradictions of the elementary school classroom. In many of these classrooms educators impel students to be "independent and

responsible," yet they simultaneously require the students to "show complete obedience to the teacher" (Weinstein & Mignano, 1993, p. 4). Likewise, numerous classrooms are set up to invite cooperation, yet competition is the overriding theme. Similarly, many teachers are expected to teach each child at the appropriate level, yet there are twenty-five or more students in each classroom. The contradictions and conflicts are intensified because the classroom environment is crowded, complex, and emotionally charged.

While classroom contradictions set the background, it is the contest for power and influence that brings conflict to center stage. Conflict is not always blatant, nor is it always detectable; but, it is a potential force in the classroom. In a study of high schools, Powell et al. (1985) notes,

The important point is that banging heads every day is the exception rather than the rule. [Physical] Conflict is rarely the way classroom participants come to terms with one another. Most classes are relaxed and orderly, despite the presence of so many diverse individual intentions. Agreement is far more common than antagonism. Sometimes agreement dominates antagonism because the interests of all parties are similar to begin with. Sometimes it is because, when interests sharply diverge but power is perceived to be equal, peaceful coexistence seems preferable to outright conflict. Sometimes one or another party to an agreement has little choice in the matter: the agreement is really an imposed diktat. (p. 67)

While physical exhibitions of conflict are not an everyday occurrence, "the potential for active resistance and debilitating classroom battles is never far from teachers' minds" (Powell et al., 1985, p. 108). Nearly all teachers and students can recall a handful of incidences where conflicts broke out into violent actions between students and teachers. Even more teachers and students can recollect several (if not many) physical confrontations related to conflict among students. Clearly, physical aggression is a possibility; but it serves as only one form of actual or anticipated conflict in the classroom.

Conflict in the classroom is at times brought to the surface through verbal exchanges between teachers and students and/or students and students. Words of rage and discord are not uncommon in many classrooms. Threatening or belittling words are often used to show contention in the competition for power and influence. Some teachers and students engage in "power struggles" as they squabble over one or more of the precious classroom resources (e.g., time, materials, information). Other teachers and students display passive aggressive behaviors (i.e., silent defiance) as they participate in situations of conflict. As classroom inhabitants compete for power and influence, deter from the social order and assert diverse intentions, conflicts can unfold.

Classroom compromises and bargains. To deal with and to prevent conflict in the classroom, many teachers and students turn to bargaining, brokering, compromising and negotiating. Powell et al. (1985) contend that teachers and students create "treaties" of compromise in the classroom. While some treaties are "formal, explicit, and public," others are "abided rather than talked about" (p. 68). According to Powell et al. (1985), "the ultimate stakes in classroom treaties are engagement in learning or avoidance of learning" (p. 70). While some classroom treaties directly attend to participation (if you do this, I'll do that) and nonparticipation (if you do not do this, that will happen) in the academic curriculum, a vast majority of the treaties fall somewhere between the two extremes, combining "simultaneous impulses to avoid and engage" (p. 70). For example, the teachers that Powell et al. (1985) interviewed report that teachers and students "learned to leave each other alone" (p. 75), "get along because I [teachers] don't put a lot of pressure on them [students]" (p. 76), and "we [teachers] don't hassle them [students]" (p. 76). These informal treaties centered in and around issues of students' engagement in or avoidance of academic learning represent a common form of classroom discipline compromises offered by teachers to students.

Some treaties between students and teachers relate to specific student behaviors, such as compliance and silence in exchange for dividends, such as passing grades and special accommodations. For example, Powell et al. (1985) find that some teachers did not distribute homework in order to avoid student behavior problems; other teachers "settled for silence rather than discussions that might cause 'confrontation' because 'as soon as they feel threatened, they lash out'. . . [Thus] going along with kids avoided problems and hassles," (p. 109). These treaties are aimed at the avoidance of conflict through special accommodations given to students. Some teachers require less of some students in order to avoid potential disruption to the social order of the classroom. In essence, the fear of conflict is a driving force in micropolitical decision making in the classroom.

While the treaties between teachers and students studied by Powell et al. (1985) were situated in the high school environment, these treaties may also be found in the elementary school setting. Although the stakes of promotion and graduation may be less immediate to elementary school classroom inhabitants, numerous exchanges and arrangements involving the engagement or avoidance of the academic curriculum can occur. Possible treaties between teachers and students in the elementary school can take the form of students behaving in a certain way to gain time away from academic work (e.g., popcorn parties and free play). For some young students, the bargaining chips of promotion and graduation can be overshadowed by "treats" offered to them in the early grades. However, these negotiations between students and teachers still involve the engagement in or avoidance of academic work. Thus, some of the daily accommodations, bargains, and compromises made by teachers and students in the elementary school classroom could be described as treat treaties.

Protective actions in the classroom. As students and teachers compete for power and influence, attempting to preempt conflict through compromising, bargaining,

and negotiating, they tend to protect themselves during the process. The notion of self-protection is often tied with fears of failure and criticism. As some psychologists contend, the fear of criticism and the fear of failure (making mistakes) are normal psychic stress factors that play a part in the behaviors displayed by people (although excessive fear may be abnormal). For example, Miller, Barrett, Hampe, and Noble (1972) studied the fears of children by means of parent questionnaires and rating scales. These researchers found that fears involving failure, criticism, and physical injury are among the fears most likely to emerge in childhood and continue through to adulthood. Thus, the fear of possible criticism and the fear of potential failure in the classroom can be held by students as well as teachers.

Blase's (1991a) study of the political perspectives of teachers toward students indicated that the "teachers developed a protective political stance" (p. 192). Particularly, the "teachers feared parental criticism and reprisals for initiating disciplinary actions" (Blase, 1991a, p. 195). Blase (1991a) is one of the few researchers in micropolitics that has studied the "everyday political perspectives of teachers toward students" (p. 185). Using a grounded theory approach to code and analyze the responses from teachers to open-ended questions about teacher socialization and perception changes, Blase (1991a) finds themes of influence, persuasion, administrative support (or the lack thereof), sensitivity toward students, and protection (from parents, administrators, and students). The cluster of data pertaining to matters of discipline was interpreted through the use of two major categories: influence and protection.

As Blase (1991a) notes, "teachers reported a number of factors that accounted for their influence orientation toward students in the area of discipline . . . school principal support was particularly important" (p. 194). Teachers diluted or increased modes of discipline according to the support they perceived the principal would give to

them. Other factors such as "attempts by students to manipulate teachers" also influenced the teachers' decisions and approaches related to discipline (p. 194). For example, one teacher reports, "I have to be careful . . . I may be playing into Jason's hands. . . . He wants to be suspended" (Blase, 1991a, p. 194). The perceived manipulative intents of students caused some teachers to trump up the control over students. However, other factors of influence such as the "fragile nature of students" caused some teachers to "temper inclinations" toward disciplinary practices (Blase, 1991a, p. 194). For example, one teacher reports "You don't discipline in front of the class. . . . Their egos are fragile. . . . They're easily embarrassed by things" (p. 194). Thus, the teachers' discipline approaches (formal and informal policies) were modified to accommodate the perceived tender nature of children.

The factors related to the self-protective orientation of teachers included the fear of "parental criticism and reprisals for initiating disciplinary actions" (Blase, 1991a, p. 195). One teacher reports, "I don't want to do anything to cause parents to jump down my throat, [and] call me a liar" (p. 195). The perceived lack of support from administration also factored into the teachers' self-protective actions. As one of the teachers reports, "you are made to feel there is something wrong with you if you need assistance from the front office" (p. 196). Thus, many of the teachers in Blase's (1991a) study attempted to "reduce their vulnerability" by using "conservative discipline strategies" and by ignoring some student misbehaviors (p. 196).

Consequently, and in congruence with Powell et al.'s (1985) findings, many of the teachers in Blase's study "seemed to become more tentative and 'cautious' in their approach to discipline" (p. 195). Other themes of self-protection in Blase's study emerged in the form of "vulnerability" to the criticisms of students and administrators. Therefore, many of the teachers' discipline strategies and tactics used in the classroom

were driven by the perceived need to protect themselves against criticism (from administration, parents, students) and to prevent open conflict (Blase, 1991a).

In my years of experience in working with teachers and students on discipline issues, I have observed numerous illustrations of self-protection in the classroom. For example, posted classroom rules and infraction consequences may serve to protect the teacher against the criticism of haphazard disciplinary procedures. Or, perhaps, the posted classroom rules serve as mechanisms for delivering expectations and/or projecting fairness. Likewise, when teachers choose to ignore a situation, it may be an act of protecting themselves from conflict or criticism. Or perhaps ignoring certain student behaviors relates to understanding and respecting students.

Students also protect themselves from the criticisms of teachers. Some students discount teacher comments and evaluations. Other students do not complete assignments in order to avoid criticism. From minor behaviors of indifference to blatant disregard of others, some classroom inhabitants are concerned with self-protection as they participate in the dynamics and flesh out the collective discipline policies employed in the classroom.

The micropolitical context of the classroom. Assertions of power in the classroom are context bound, just as manifestations of conflict are environmentally affected, just as efforts of negotiation and compromise are situationally influenced, just as labors of self-protection are connected to the classroom milieu. Clearly, the classroom environment creates the contextual setting wherein the politics of classroom discipline unfolds. Of the multifaceted elements of the classroom context, there are prevalent, easily viewed factors and there are veiled, perhaps, more implicit factors.

For example, upon entry into a classroom, one can easily note the arrangement of furniture. The placement of activity centers, desks, and the like can play a role in the enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation of formal and informal discipline

policies in the classroom. Student desks may be arranged in a fashion that affords little chance for direct peer contact. The teacher's desk or reading table may be situated in a location that offers little or no opportunity for monitoring student behavior. Similarly, centers for individual or group work may be hidden from the teacher's view. The classroom arrangement can limit or perpetuate the classroom interactions related to discipline (Weinstein, 1979).

Additionally, the class structure and activity type can affect classroom discipline. Perhaps the class is structured in a whole group format for a large portion of the day in order to ensure compliance and easy monitoring. Perhaps students spend little time engaging in activities that involve movement and conversation. Utilizing data from 75 elementary classrooms, Berliner (1983) reports that the basic unit of classroom organization is the activity (of which he found eleven distinct types). These classroom activities are situationally tied to the formal and informal discipline policies used in the classroom because specific activities may invite or deter specific student behaviors.

For example, in one of the most diligent investigations of the connections between activity type and student behavior in the classroom, Gump (1967), using time-lapse photographs of third grade classrooms, found that students were engaged in academic learning 92% of the time during teacher-directed small-group instruction and only 72% of the time during whole group peer presentations. These findings point to the significance of group structure and activity in the classroom. Obviously, if students are engaged in academic learning, they are less likely to be engaged in misbehavior. Therefore, the room arrangement, class structural format, and activity type serve as explicit context perimeters that shape and reshape classroom discipline policies.

Among the more implicit contextual factors that influence policy making are the reactions and interactions of classroom inhabitants. As Mazzoni (1991) notes, behaviors that are aligned with anticipated or predicted roles are part of the political

setting. In other words, expectations help define the micropolitical context. In the classroom, some teachers are expected to take command in situations when students misbehave (e.g., the students may expect the teacher to act or react in a certain manner). Teachers, too, have expectations of students. For example, the teacher may expect compliant students to comply and misbehaving students to misbehave.

Doyle (1986) explains the complexity of classroom behavior and misbehavior,

The key to understanding misbehavior is to view what students do in the context of classroom structures. From this perspective, misbehavior is any behavior by one or more students that is perceived by the teacher to initiate a vector [vehicle] of action that competes with or threatens the primary vector of action at a particular moment in classroom activity . . . by this definition, not every infraction of a rule is a misbehavior. Talking out of turn is not a misbehavior if it advances the lesson at a time when moving forward is essential. Similarly, inattention during the last few minutes of a class session will often be tolerated because the vector of action is coming to a stop. . . . Misbehavior, then, is not a property of an action but an action in context. (p. 419)

Context defines and redefines student misbehavior and preserves or alters student behavior in the classroom. Obviously, the context of the classroom is a multidimensional facet that marks classroom discipline policies as contingent upon the very interactions between and among participants that formulate policies.

Understanding the complex nature of formal and informal classroom discipline policies calls for a connection among theory, policy, and practice in the classroom.

Theory, Policy, and Practice in the Classroom

Theory is often extolled as a way of reflecting on practice but I am not sure there is sufficient opportunity for practice to reflect on theory. This is particularly fraught with regard to classroom disruption where there is such an uncomfortable contrast between the activities of the practitioners and those of the theorists: the one in the thick of the fray, the one analyzing data or quietly reflecting in a library or study. (Coulby, 1988, p. 153)

The problems of increasing detachment between the academic world and the site of the investigation are especially profound in the study of classroom discipline (Coulby, 1988; Slee, 1995). The immediacy of the classroom environment requires teachers to handle disruption and crises in a responsive, reactive manner because there is little time for contemplation. The theorists, conversely, are afforded the luxury of escaping the proximity and urgency of classroom interactions in their study of discipline, but must consequently bear the liabilities of potential inapplicability of findings and conclusions.

Furthering the lines of separation between the educational theorists and practitioners in the study of classroom discipline is the "vicarious shift of blame to teachers themselves by academics" (Slee, 1995, p. 90). As Coulby (1988) surmises,

The added twist of the knife is that theorists seem currently to be blaming teachers for the phenomenon of classroom disruption. Because they are not effective teachers, firm class managers, innovative curriculum planners, because they are tools of capitalist ideology, because they are racists, sexists, or classists, practitioners have only themselves to blame for their classroom tribulations. At worst here, non-practicing theorists are blaming the victims of classroom disruption whilst refusing or being unable to offer any (non-risible) suggestions for amelioration. Furthermore they have transferred this perverse activity into a comfortable profession for themselves. (p. 154)

By Coulby's (1988) account, the separation between theory and practice, propelled by notions of blame, yields little progress. Neither the theorist nor the practitioner benefits, leaving students with even less.

The jarring partitions between theorists and practitioners are near mirror images of the distinctions between district or school level policy implementors and classroom-level directors of policy. There are numerous grandiose discipline policies implemented at the district level, that never make their way into the classroom. Teachers and students are the "street level" implementors of policy (Weatherley & Lipsky, 1977),

who make and mold policy in the classroom. By distance or by choice, teachers and students create classroom-specific discipline policies that may or may not resemble district or school-level proclamations. These classroom policies are the fusion of that which is in print and that which is in practice. Classroom inhabitants construct formal and informal discipline policies using and modifying the contemporaneous rules that flow from higher levels of the social structure.

There are those that argue that formal policy is so powerful that it controls the classroom dynamics. There are others, including Weatherley and Lipsky (1977), who view formal policy as having very little impact on what actually occurs at the street level (i.e., in the classroom). The policy implementors, according to some experts, experience an organizational overload and remake formal policy due to overwhelming demands. The potentially low impact of formal policy is further explained by Mitchell and Encarnation (1984) as the consequence of the tension between the broad social value goals of policy makers. There are others, such as Elmore and Sykes (1992) and McLaughlin (1987), who argue that formal policy has variable impact depending on the congruence between features of the context and the design of the policy. The issue of impact is further compounded by the argument made by Glaser (1988) who believes that policy impact is often misinterpreted due to criteria problems and measurement errors. Impact is near irrelevant in Boyd's (1987) depiction of the capitalistic view that formal policy is not intended to make a difference, but rather to maintain the status quo.

Considering these conflicting views on the impact of formal policy, it is critical to study the micropolitical interactions between teachers and students instead of focusing solely on the *copia verborum* (Latin translation: abundance of words) that surrounds issues of classroom discipline. The micropolitical interactions between students and teachers ultimately create the formal and informal discipline policies that

are enacted, conveyed, realized, and evaluated in the classroom. The processes utilized and the strategies employed by teachers and students can hasten, taint, or in other ways alter the formal and informal discipline policies in the classroom. Therefore, the utilization of the micropolitical perspective illuminates the formulation and ultimate impact of the "real" discipline policies, that is the combination of informal and formal discipline policies, employed in the classroom.

The Bridge Between Discipline and Micropolitics in the Classroom.

The bridge between discipline and micropolitics in the classroom is ripe for further study. While the research conducted by Blase (1991a) and Powell et al. (1985) offers a starting point, these studies only begin to scratch the surface of the connections between micropolitics and classroom discipline. Although these studies were situated in the high school environment, many of the same general concepts are applicable to the elementary school environment. Clearly, the examination of the micropolitical dynamics and interactive force related to (a) power; (b) conflict; (c) compromise, negotiation, and bargains; (d) protection; and (e) context help one to uncover and unravel the intentions, tactics, and results associated with discipline policy in the classroom. Obviously, the categories one uses to get at micropolitical interactions must be carefully delineated to allow analysts to map players and their exchanges and how those interactions mold and reshape discipline policy in the classroom arena.

To help map the terrain that has been covered over the course of this literature review, it is necessary to earmark the theories of blame and the theories of remedy associated with classroom discipline. Furthermore, it is critical to connect these genres of literature to the micropolitical dynamics and the stages of classroom discipline policy process that will be utilized in this study. Figure 1 represents the field covered thus far in this review of relevant literature.

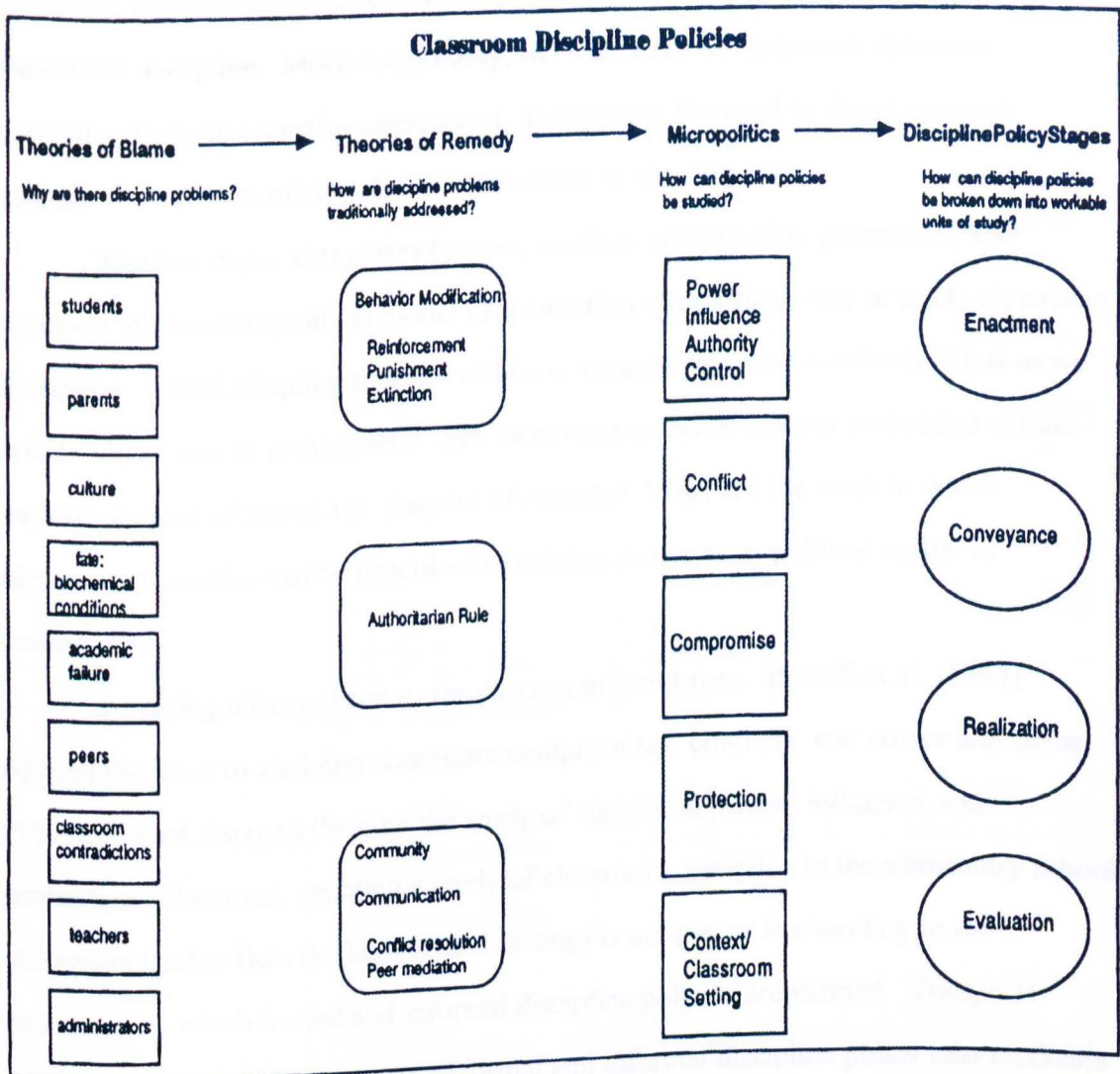


Figure 1. Classroom discipline policies

The theories of blame associated with the literature on classroom discipline include separate categories (students, parents, culture, fate, failure, peers, classroom contradictions, teachers, and administrators) representing particular parties or circumstances upon which problems with classroom discipline theoretically rest. To attend to these problem sources, the theories of remedy offer three major types of solutions (behavior modification, authoritarian rule, and community/communicative orientations). While the balm of such theories of remedy may address some discipline

problems, many of these remedies fail to solve the complexities associated with classroom discipline. More importantly, the vast array of classroom dynamics involving discipline remains unexplored, highlighting the need to direct research attention toward the micropolitical interactions in the classroom.

The five major categories (power, conflict, compromise, protection, and context) of the micropolitical model of interaction offer a fresh way to study classroom discipline. Could adopting theories of blame actually represent a micropolitical move which allows one to protect self? Are there micropolitical utilities embedded within various sources of blame and theories of remedy? What are the ways in which classroom discipline can be described in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction?

Applying micropolitics to the classroom is not new. Powell et al. (1985) opened the door to studying classroom compromises, conflicts, and power and Blase (1991a) paved the road through the study of classroom power, influence, and protection. However, situating a study of classroom discipline in the elementary school classroom (rather than the high school setting) is unique, as is attending to the processes by which formal and informal discipline policies are formed. Thus, it is critical to break down the stages of formal and informal discipline policy into workable units of study (i.e., enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation). In so doing, these interrelated phases can be examined using micropolitical concepts, rendering a detailed description of the dynamic process through which discipline policies are enacted, conveyed, realized, and evaluated. Table 1 is a depiction of the connection between the micropolitical concepts, workable units of study of the policy process, and related questions of interest that will serve as the conceptual framework for this study.

Table 1

Template for the Study of Classroom Discipline Policies**Template for the Study of Classroom Discipline Policies**

Enactment	Conveyance	Realization	Evaluation
Power <i>How does the concern for power, influence, authority, and control play into discipline policy decisions?</i>	Power <i>How do teachers and students vie for power, influence, authority and control as the discipline policies are put in place?</i>	Power <i>Who, if anyone, commands the classroom?</i> <i>How are specific parties afforded power, influence, authority, and control in the classroom?</i>	Power <i>How do teachers and students interpret the power, influence, authority, and control of classroom inhabitants with regard to discipline policies?</i>
Conflict <i>What is the nature of dispute during the enactment of discipline policies in the classroom?</i> <i>How do conflicts unfold as the discipline policies are introduced?</i>	Conflict <i>What is the nature of the disagreement that surfaces as the discipline policies are conveyed in the classroom?</i> <i>How are conflicts addressed?</i>	Conflict <i>How do classroom conflicts affect the realization of discipline policies?</i> <i>How do classroom conflicts make or break the classroom discipline policies?</i>	Conflict <i>How are these conflicts assessed by teachers?</i>
Compromise <i>How are bargains initiated during the enactment of the classroom discipline policies?</i> <i>How are compromises and bargains utilized to enact discipline policies in the classroom?</i>	Compromise <i>What kinds of compromises and bargains are used in the classroom?</i> <i>How do these compromises help/hinder the conveyance of discipline policies?</i>	Compromise <i>How do bargains and compromises affect the overall classroom discipline?</i>	Compromise <i>How are compromises and bargains appraised by teachers?</i>
Protection <i>Are the goals of the enactment of discipline policies related to the protection of teachers/students? If so, how and why?</i>	Protection <i>How (and from what) are teachers and students protected during the implementation of discipline policies?</i>	Protection <i>Who is being protected in the classroom?</i> <i>How do the classroom discipline policies protect that person/group of people?</i>	Protection <i>How do teachers assess the extent to which classroom inhabitants are protected by the classroom discipline policies?</i>
Context <i>How do the physical layout, the outside influences, the expectations, and the group structure affect the enactment of discipline policies?</i>	Context <i>How does the classroom setting (explicit and implicit factors) affect the conveyance of classroom discipline policies?</i>	Context <i>How does the classroom environment affect the actual discipline policies employed in the classroom?</i>	Context <i>How is the environmental impact on classroom discipline policies evaluated and/or monitored?</i>

This categorical depiction serves as the map which guided this study of the formal and informal discipline policies used in selected elementary school classrooms. The questions listed under each category are the springboard questions which are

intertwined with the interview protocol and the observation template (explained in Chapter Three). Additionally, these questions help structure the way in which the findings of this study are reported (in Chapter Four). This careful delineation of the phases of the policy process, the micropolitical elements, and the points of interest is an intentional attempt at systematically identifying the mechanisms for researching how classroom inhabitants interact, formulate, mold, and reshape formal and informal discipline policies in the classroom arena.

Summary of Chapter Two and Preview of Chapter Three

Chapter Two offers an in-depth view of the numerous theories of blame and theories of remedy associated with classroom discipline practices and highlights the micropolitical perspective as important in the analysis of classroom discipline policies. Because classrooms contain numerous actors competing for power, attention, and protection, and because the contests for control and compliance are manifested in the daily discipline policy interactions of teachers and students, the political perspective is a sensible approach to the study of such phenomena.

Interestingly, numerous discipline blame and remedy theories carry the same purpose of policy as viewed in the political perspective, which is the regulation of conflict and the retention of legitimacy. Many classroom discipline programs do not openly admit these political aims, although the intentions are ever-present. Since classroom discipline involves contests for control, the micropolitical perspective is a valid approach to the study of classroom discipline policies, be they specific popular programs (e.g., Assertive Discipline, Positive Discipline, Discipline with Dignity) or the conglomerated techniques used by teachers and accepted or rejected by students (e.g., behavior modification, authoritarian control, communication strategies, community orientations). The micropolitical perspective allows the analyst to investigate the

dynamic processes through which formal and informal discipline policies are enacted, conveyed, realized, and evaluated in the classroom. Therefore, the political viewpoints and desired outcomes of teachers and the interactions between classroom inhabitants can be uncovered, examined and interpreted through the use of the micropolitical template.

Chapter Three will explain how this study of discipline policies in selected elementary school classrooms will be conducted. The data instruments and methods of data collection will be clarified and the processes of analysis and interpretation will be explained.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides a detailed explication of the type of case study research that was conducted. It focuses on the design of and rationale for the study, data sources, methods of data collection, instrumentation, data analysis, checks for bias and error, and the role of the researcher.

The purpose of this study was to examine classroom discipline policies through the use of the micropolitical conceptual framework. The study focused on the phases of classroom discipline policy -- enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation and the elements of micropolitics -- power, conflict, compromise, protection, and context. Since this research sought to explore uncharted territory and to generate understandings related to classroom discipline, the views, behaviors, and verbal exchanges of the teachers and students concerning discipline in the selected elementary school classrooms were critical sources of data. Given the purpose, focus, and data sources, I chose case study methodology.

Rationale for Exploratory, Empirically Oriented

Case Study Methods

Case study research, according to Yin (1984/1988), "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (p. 23). This type of research methodology is well suited to this

study because of the real-life policy arena of the classroom and the indefinite perimeters associated with the definition of discipline policy as printed text and imprinted context.

While there are several types of case studies, this research endeavor was an empirically based, exploratory case study of elementary school classroom discipline policies. The empirical nature of this research, which includes structure, validation and attention to "traditional rules of scientific inquiry" (Yin, 1991, p. 12), served to compensate for the surplus of speculative "data" in the popular classroom discipline literature. The exploratory version of case study methodology helped to develop preliminary groundwork regarding dynamic interactions that produce discipline policies in this fresh way of thinking (i.e., the micropolitical perspective) about classroom discipline. Although two classrooms situated this study, a premature leap to comparative case study analysis may taint, possibly distort, the finding associated with this study of classroom discipline. Therefore, the purpose of including more than one classroom setting was not to compare, but to aggregate the findings.

The research questions addressed in this project directly relate to the use of exploratory case study methodology. To find out "why" and "how" teachers and students enact and implement classroom discipline policy, it makes sense to ask them (via interview) and confirm (or correct) and enrich the data with observations and document reviews. Likewise, to discover the "impacting realities" of classroom discipline policies that teachers and students create, it is sensible to observe them in the classroom setting and corroborate the data with teacher interviews and document analyses. As Yin (1988) notes, in some situations "a specific strategy has a distinct advantage. For the case study, this is when a 'how' or 'why' question is asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control" (p. 20). Therefore, the use of case study methodology to answer the specific research questions pertinent to this project was a sensible, potentially productive, method of inquiry.

This rationale behind the choice of exploratory case study methods leads to the rationale behind the selection of case study sites. I chose specific classrooms based upon issues of access, my professional connections, and the teachers' willingness to participate. Once I obtained access into the district, I generated a list of potential sites which included teachers with whom I had some professional connection. To foster the "non-extreme" nature suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994), I intentionally included teachers without reputations of problems with classroom discipline. The teachers' willingness to participate and approval from their administrators determined the final selection of study participants.

Overview of Data Sources

The data sources used in this case study include interviews, observations, and document reviews. I interviewed each teacher, in person, three times during the school year. The interview protocol (see Appendix A) served as an in-depth guiding tool during all three interviews. However, I invited related conversation and recorded the pertinent information. Follow-up interviews helped illuminate this information. Specifically, telephone conversations helped clarify information gathered from the interviews. The second and third interview sessions with the teachers were more informal than the first interview. In these interviews, I used the original interview protocol for structure, but focused on any changes/modifications to the initial discipline ideas and plans shared by the teachers at the first interview. Using phrases such as "How have you continued to prepare for discipline in the classroom" and "Given what you are attempting to accomplish with classroom discipline" during the second and third interview sessions allowed me to gather further information. To enrich the data set, I wanted to interview students; but the district authorities prohibit direct contact between researchers and students. Thus, I ascertained and interpreted ideas and

insights from the students' perspectives through the combination of teacher information (offered during interviews) and my inferences drawn from the classroom observations.

I observed each of the selected elementary school classrooms six times during the school year (December, January, February, March, April, and May). Each observation included a minimum of two morning hours and two afternoon hours. Observation notes were recorded using the observation template (see Appendix B).

To enhance the data set, I used primary and secondary documents, such as classroom rules, written discipline policies of the school, and letters to parents regarding discipline. For the most part, these documents corroborated or corrected the teachers' statements about their intentions, mechanisms for advancing those intentions, and interpretations of social order in the classroom.

Each of the data sources used links to the central research question and the six sub-questions of this case study. Table 2 illustrates the alignment of data sources and research questions (also see Appendix C).

While the central research question was primarily addressed through in-depth guided interviews and semi-structured classroom observations, these data sources were supplemented by informal interviews and pertinent printed material. Of the sub-questions, the first research question regarding teacher enactment of discipline policies in the classroom was addressed through the in-depth guided interviews, although pertinent printed material (such as classroom rules, school discipline policies, letters to parents, etc.) was used to supplement this data source. The second and third research questions, which dealt with the conveyance of discipline policies in the classroom, were addressed by way of the semi-structured classroom observations and the in-depth guided interviews, supplemented by pertinent printed material. The fourth research question, which was concerned with the realization of discipline policies in the classroom, was addressed in the in-depth guided interviews, and the semi-structured

Table 2

Research Questions and Data Sources

Research Questions	Data Sources
<u>CENTRAL QUESTION:</u>	
What are the ways in which the dynamics of classroom discipline can be described in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction?	In-depth guided interviews and semi-structured classroom observations, supplemented by informal interviews and pertinent printed material
<u>SUB-QUESTIONS:</u>	
<u>Enactment</u>	
1. How and why do teachers enact discipline policies in the classroom?	In-depth guided interviews, supplemented by informal interviews and pertinent printed material
<u>Conveyance</u>	
2. How do teachers and students convey and implement classroom discipline policies?	Semi-structured classroom observations and in-depth guided interviews, supplemented by informal interviews and pertinent printed material
3. How does the process of conveyance shape and reshape the content of the discipline policies in the classroom?	Semi-structured classroom observations and in-depth guided interviews, supplemented by informal interviews
<u>Realization</u>	
4. What is the general imprint on the classroom and what are the perceived outcomes associated with the discipline policies employed in the classroom?	In-depth guided interviews and semi-structured classroom observations, supplemented by informal interviews and pertinent printed material
<u>Evaluation</u>	
5. How do teachers appraise classroom discipline policies?	In-depth guided interviews, supplemented by informal interviews and semi-structured classroom observations
6. What is the degree of congruence between the teacher's "intended" discipline policies and the "actual" discipline policies employed in the classroom?	Semi-structured classroom observations, supplemented by in-depth guided interviews and informal interviews

classroom observations, and again supplemented by pertinent printed material. The fifth research question, which was concerned with the evaluation of classroom discipline policies, was primarily addressed in the in-depth guided interviews, and supplemented by classroom observation (i.e., student interaction and response to specific rules and requests allowed me to gain interpretive, be it second-hand, information on how students appraise the discipline policies). The final research question (6) was addressed through the semi-structured classroom observations and supplemented by the in-depth guided interviews and informal interviews.

Data Collection

Relying on interviews, observations, and document reviews as the major sources of data, I collected data from the participants in this case study. Identifying the particular subjects, interview procedures, observation techniques, and document review processes helps explain the methods of data collection used in this case study.

Subjects

The participants of this case study were the teachers and students in two elementary school classrooms (Hampton Manor Elementary School in Ms. Patrick's first grade class and Green Leaf Elementary School in Ms. Karris' third grade class located in a school district in a state in the mid-Atlantic region. (Note: To support anonymity, I used pseudo names for the schools and study subjects/participants). To research the micropolitical, discipline-oriented interactions between teachers and students and students and peers in the elementary school classroom, the study participants need to be teachers and students who are in the elementary school classroom on a daily basis. As Miles and Huberman (1994) propose, study subjects should be "information-rich cases that manifest the phenomenon intensely, but not extremely" (p. 28). Thus, I sought to include teachers and students who engage in

unexaggerated classroom discipline dynamics as compared to other classroom environments.

Interviews

This case study sought teachers' insights and interpretations related to discipline interactions between students and teachers and among students in selected elementary school classrooms. Because understanding the intentions of teachers and the realities of the classrooms were critical factors, I structured the interviews so as to elicit teachers' perceptions, experiences, and notions pertaining to classroom discipline. Specifically, the questions addressed how the participants enact, convey, realize, and evaluate discipline policies in the classroom. By structuring these interview questions in an open-ended fashion, I sought to encourage detailed responses from the teachers.

The interviews in this case study weighed heavily upon issues of access. As Creswell (1998) notes, "gaining access through the gatekeeper" (p. 112) is a critical factor that can negatively or positively affect the data. Interestingly, this case study involved a double gate related to accessibility. First, the district served as the gatekeeper, protecting students by allowing only certain types of research projects within its schools and by imposing restrictions and limits upon what the researcher does during data collection (e.g., prohibiting direct contact with students) and what the researcher does with findings and conclusions (e.g., not naming district and school affiliations in the final product). Second, the teachers served as gatekeepers of the classrooms, controlling the amount of information shared during the interviews and observations. While I complied with all of the district's restrictions, the gatekeepers of most direct interest in this study were the teachers. Thus, it was extremely important to work toward establishing rapport with the teachers given the potential reluctance associated with discussing classroom discipline.

Establishing rapport with and gaining confidence from the interviewee are important aspects of the interview process (Creswell, 1998). According to Payne (1951), question-asking is an art perfected through practice and endurance. Utilizing these suggestions I tested the interview protocol and procedures by conducting a practice interview. Generally, the practice interview provided the opportunity to make a few modifications and clarifications to the interview protocol. Specifically, I rephrased two questions (#10 and #14b) and added one question (#9d). The practice interview enabled me to glean further information on how to invite relevant conversation on classroom discipline.

One of the most important procedures associated with interviewing was the ability to listen. Yin (1988) contends that, "listening includes observing and sensing more generally and is not limited to the aural modality. Being a good listener means being able to assimilate large amounts of new information without bias" (p. 63). Refraining from potential assertions of bias and "listening between the lines" were crucial strategies that I attempted to include during the interview process. Additionally, I used "wait time" between questions to invite further interpretation and explication from the interviewees. Furthermore, I employed active and reflective listening techniques, such as eye contact, rephrasing for clarification, and expressions of interest during the interviews (Murphy, 1980).

The interviews provided opportunities for me to learn more about the perceptions of teachers and the realities of classroom discipline. As Bogden and Bicklen (1992) maintain, "the interview is used to gather descriptive data in the subjects' own words so that the researcher can develop insights on how subjects interpret some piece of the world" (p. 96). Interviewing provides the occasion to gain knowledge related to the real world through the eyes of someone else, in this case elementary school classroom teachers. Therefore, I used the recommended strategies

to enhance the interview process, by utilizing listening techniques, asking open-ended questions, assuring anonymity, and adopting a non-judgmental stance.

The two classroom teachers participated in three separate interviews during the school year. I conducted the first in-depth guided interviews at the school sites, in the classrooms of interest, during the month of December. The second interviews, conducted in March, and the third interviews, conducted in June, focused on adjustments made to discipline policies and ongoing discipline-related interactions in the classroom. I set the interview times by telephone and sent confirmation letters to the teachers. The confirmation letters included verification of the interview dates and times, a project description (see Appendix D), and a consent form (see Appendix E).

The interviews began with an introduction to the study and collection of the consent form. The teachers allowed me to tape-record the interviews so that I could use the cassette tape to edit and correct my notations. I followed the interview guide, but allowed time for conversation, further rapport building (i.e., discussions unrelated to the research project), and setting the classroom observation times.

After each interview, I transcribed the interview tape and used my notations to correct and polish the data. I stored the data on computer diskettes for the duration of the project and sent thank you letters and tokens of appreciation to the teachers at the completion of the study.

Observations

Because this case study of classroom discipline policies involves the interactions among students and between teachers and students, it made sense to observe the participants in the natural setting of the classroom. Field observations can offer critical information about the realities of the phenomenon of study (Creswell, 1998; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Stake, 1995; Yin, 1988). While there are several types of field

observations in qualitative research (e.g., participant observation, semi-participatory observation, and outsider observation), this case study incorporated limited participatory observation techniques. I sought to observe each classroom without directly becoming one of the classroom participants although I did not ignore conversation directed toward me in the classroom. In applying Creswell's (1998) suggestions of passivity and friendliness, I acknowledged student expressions directed toward me, but remained, as much as possible, separated from the "normal routines" of the classroom. In so doing, I refrained from initiating conversations, participating in activities, and disciplining students.

To minimize the effects that my presence may have on the environment, I visited each classroom prior to the official start of data collection. As Creswell (1998) implies, an early, limited observational session can aid in the establishment of rapport between researcher and participants and reduce potential distraction. After the initial visits, I observed each of the two classrooms six times during the school year (December, January, February, March, April, and May). I decided to observe the classroom participants one day per month because classroom interactions can change over the course of the school year. Scheduling the observations in this manner enabled me to gather snap-shots of the school year experience over time.

Each observation session included two morning hours and two afternoon hours. I based the decisions related to observation times upon my experience with students in the elementary school classroom setting. Two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon are more likely to give a solid representation of the realities of classroom life for that particular day than would a block of time in either the morning or afternoon. Some young children appear fresh and ready to engage in academic learning in the morning; others bring to the classroom the events of the prior evening at home. By the afternoon hours, some young children seem tired and still others seem to gain

comfort in the environment and the established routines of the classroom. Certainly, I could have scheduled the observational sessions for a full day, but transitional times, notably lunch and recess, surround the two-hour a.m. and p.m. time blocks. Therefore, an entire day's visit would not give much if any additional in-class observation time. Essentially, I sought to confine observations to the potential discipline exchanges in the classroom settings of interest.

The specified times, the particular classroom locations, and the study of a particular phenomenon (i.e., classroom discipline) bound this case study. According to Creswell (1998), "bounded systems" involve time, place, activity, or program. While the interactions in and around issues of classroom discipline were diverse, they were activities related to discipline (i.e., activity/program), contained within the classroom (i.e., place), and observed during the school day (i.e., time); hence securing, connecting, and establishing the "bounded system" of this case study of classroom discipline policy.

Documents

Unlike other case study projects that rely heavily on formal documents, this case study used printed material to supplement and enrich the data collected. Printed material included written classroom rules/expectations, school policies on discipline, letters to parents, and teacher/school expectations of student behavior. According to Yin (1988),

The usefulness of these and other types of documents is not based on their necessary accuracy or lack of bias. In fact, documents must be carefully used and should not be accepted as literal recordings . . . the most important use of documents is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources. (p. 86)

While documents and other printed material may contain erroneous or fragmented information, the written texts may also provide insight on how certain participants

perceive or interpret the phenomenon of interest. As Yin (1988) notes, "documents can provide specific details to corroborate information from other sources; if the documentary evidence is contradictory rather than corroboratory, the case study investigator has specific reason to inquire further into the topic" (p. 86). In this case study, the documents reviewed allowed me to clarify and define the formal and informal discipline policies. For example, some printed material prompted me to ask follow-up questions; other printed material affirmed social order expectations expressed by the teachers in this study. I acquired particular copies of the printed materials, particularly school discipline policies, written classroom rules, notes to parents, and lists of student behavior rewards and punishments from the teachers in this study and incorporated these documents into the data set.

Instrumentation

The instruments employed in this case study of classroom discipline policies included the in-depth guided interview protocol and the semi-structured classroom observation template.

The Interview Protocol

The interview protocol is a set of questions about the enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation of discipline policy in the classroom. I constructed the questions to encourage the teachers to describe how they think about discipline; particularly how the micropolitical elements of power, conflict, compromise, protection, and context are embedded within the enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation of classroom discipline policies. The sequence of questions included beginning with non-threatening questions and moving toward more complicated questions. I designed each question to be open-ended, yet particular enough to

encourage rich and relevant conversation about the nature of discipline policies in the classroom and the processes by which those discipline policies are made and remade.

In formulating the interview questions, I took into account that "the primary consideration for qualitative research is that the questions be open-ended, inviting the interviewee to participate in a conversation" (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p. 88).

Using these notions, Patton (1990) finds six types of questions fruitful in qualitative data gathering: (1) experience/behavior questions; (2) opinion/value questions; (3) feeling questions; (4) knowledge questions; (5) sensory questions; and (6) background/demographic questions. In this study, I considered the various classifications emphasized by Patton (1990) and developed an interview protocol intended to generate answers beyond simplistic yes/no responses.

The interview protocol (see Appendix A) used in this study reflects the advice given in the literature. The initial questions are background/demographic questions that served to aid in the characterization of interviewees and classroom populations. These questions, asked at the onset of the interview, enabled the teachers to begin with comfortable, easily answered questions and provided me with important information. The sequence of the interview intentionally included non-threatening questions at the beginning and a progression to more complicated questions. Questions one through four relate to teacher enactment of classroom discipline policies and align with Patton's (1990) opinion/value and knowledge categories of questions. Questions five through nine deal with the conveyance of discipline policies in the classroom and tie to Patton's (1990) behavior/experience and sensory types of questions. Questions ten and eleven correlate with the realization of classroom discipline policies and attend to Patton's (1990) sensory and feelings questions. The final questions, twelve through fourteen, address the evaluation of classroom discipline policies and connect to Patton's (1990) opinion/value, feelings, and sensory types of questions. Thus, the instrument used in

this case study incorporates Patton's (1990) typology, advances components of the conceptual framework, and promotes the acquisition of rich data.

The Semi-Structured Observation Template

To gather information on the discipline-related interactions of teachers and students, I conducted classroom observations. According to Yin (1988), case study

observations can range from formal to casual data collection activities . . . Most formally, observation protocols can be developed as part of the case study protocol, and the investigator may be asked to measure the incidence of certain types of behaviors during certain periods of time in the field. (p. 91)

This case study employed Yin's (1988) more formal version of observation. The instrument of choice was a semi-structured observation template (see Appendix B). The template enabled me to record the specific discipline incidents and responses displayed by students and teachers. I treated these recordings as anecdotal records, in that they were fact-oriented and non-judgmental in nature.

To help obtain and depict contextual influences, I recorded unexpected events (e.g., fire drill, intercom announcement, construction noise, etc.) in the incident/response column as a fact preceding or following the discipline incident. I noted the time and duration of each incident on the template. I also recorded the class structure at the time of the discipline-related incident. Structure possibilities included but were not limited to whole group instruction, small group instruction, independent work time, or a combination of structural models. I kept track of the content area (reading, writing, mathematics, social studies, science, etc.) and used the last column on the template for my comments and reflections about each incident. The comments in the last column were more subjective reactions and reflections that served as reminders of my thoughts as I observed the incidents.

I used the semi-structured observation template to keep running records of classroom interactions, often writing phrases rather than complete sentences. However, I also wrote down many direct quotations from teachers and students. Recording the anecdotal-style descriptions and quotations in the discipline/response column and subjective style comments in the researcher reflection column helped me to classify facts and feelings. Other observation notes included a sketch of the classroom and a record of the physical artifacts that pertained to classroom discipline policies (i.e., charts, posters, centers).

The semi-structured observations of classroom discipline were more than casual, accidental encounters with real life issues of discipline in the classroom. Using the semi-structured observation template allowed me to record specific discipline incidents, certain quotations, particular responses, related factors (time, content, class structure), and my impressions of these events. The framework of the semi-structured observation template proved particularly beneficial during data collection and data analysis.

Methods of Data Analysis

The process of data analysis in this exploratory case study incorporated specific strategies of "categorizing," "distilling themes" (Murphy, 1980), and "establishing a chain of evidence" (Yin, 1988). According to Yin (1988), "the ultimate goal is to treat the evidence fairly, to produce compelling analytic conclusions, and to rule out alternative interpretations" (p. 106). To accomplish these goals, I found it necessary to apply rich description and investigative thinking as I wrote, revised, and edited the case study.

Categorizing

Categorizing the data involved inspecting the data and sifting and sorting the data into various clusters. To begin the analysis, I used the conceptual framework's (See Table 1) discipline policy process stages of enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation and elements of the micropolitical model. I arrayed pieces of data collected from the interviews and observations using a data analysis template (see Appendix F). The "pieces" of data included specific quotations and behaviors (reactions and interactions) collected during the interviews and observations. I based decisions regarding the importance and inclusion of data upon the significance of the data, the connections in the data, the frequency of occurrence, and the corroboration among the multiple data sources (i.e., interview data, observation data, and document review data).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to this aspect of qualitative data analysis as "unitizing" the data. In this process, researchers use photocopies and index cards to group data into chunks or "units of meaning" and to examine these data for further significance. As Maykut and Morehouse (1994) contend, "the process of qualitative data analysis is one of culling for meaning from the words and actions of the participants in the study, framed by the researcher's focus of inquiry" (p. 128). In this case study, I categorized the data gathered from interviews, observations, and document reviews to find meaning by pulling apart data, coding for original source (e.g., interviewee, date, and related interview question or observation date, time, activity/structure, and participants involved), and putting data back together in several categorical formats.

While I used the conceptual framework (See Table 1) to categorize the data, I was also cognizant of Murphy's (1980) notion that "other categories may emerge" during data analysis (p. 41). The micropolitical subcategories of power, conflict,

compromise, protection, and context interwoven within the workable units of policy enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation served as the initial categories. However, other categories, particularly theories of blame and theories of remedy, drifted out of the data. I explored and examined new themes and new slants on the data. The process of discovering new themes involved viewing chunks of data by way of fresh paradigms.

Distilling Themes

Distilling themes, according to Murphy (1980), involves the identification of "those principal ideas that recur throughout the data" (p. 141). Clearly, drawing out themes may lead to further connections that are not necessarily part of the original framework. Themes help organize the presentation of data through the "exploration of previously unidentified relationships" (Murphy, 1980, p. 142). In this case study, themes revolved mostly around the categories included in the conceptual framework, namely, struggles and contests associated with power, conflict, compromise, protection, and context at each stage of the policy process. Interrelated themes, particularly theories of remedy such as behavior modification, authoritarian control, and communicative approaches, emerged. Theories of blame also surfaced, specifically, themes of blaming students, families, fate, and academic failure. As the literature review would predict, theories of blame and theories of remedy were part of the classroom discipline dynamics; however, these notions of discipline are also part of the stakes, intentions, and political exchanges between and among classroom inhabitants. Thus, the themes "distilled" in this case study corresponded to the conceptual framework.

Arraying the Chains of Evidence

To analyze data in case study research, Yin (1988) suggests establishing chains of evidence. To array the chains of evidence in this study, I broadly explored and organized the data using the micropolitical model of interaction to discover how teachers and students actually enact, convey, realize, and evaluate discipline policy in the classroom. In other words, I examined the data to learn how the micropolitical elements of power, conflict, compromise, protection, and context affected the enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation of classroom discipline policies.

I developed chains of evidence, comprised of how the data supported or contradicted themes, by connecting snippets of data from all sources and examining the interrelationships between interview, observation, and document review data. In so doing, I was able to discern how the data supported and challenged themes and interpretations.

As I arrayed the chains of evidence, I employed other techniques such as reviews by key informants and the corroboration of narratives and documents to strengthen analysis and interpretation of the data. The key informant reviews helped to establish credibility of the data and analysis, and validate the findings, because the teachers reviewed a copy of the case study and submitted clarifications and corrections. I also subjected this case study to several collegial reviews to include, as Murphy (1980) suggests, fresh insights from neutral colleagues. Therefore, by inviting review, arraying chains of evidence, distilling themes, and categorizing, I refined this case study of the formal and informal discipline policies used in selected elementary school classrooms.

Checks for Bias and Error

To enhance the quality of this case study, I followed recommended procedures related to generalizability, construct validity, and reliability. Recognizing that some

scholars argue about the applicability of these procedures; and still other scholars argue the possibility of these procedures in case study research, I chose to address these procedures to complement the empirically oriented nature of this particular case study.

Generalizability

A common criticism of case study research relates to the generalizability issue. In this case study, I dealt with generalizability, but not in a conventional manner. To explain, a common, perhaps conservative form of generalizability is generalization from a specific sample to the broader population, that is across people; however, there are other types of generalizability, such as across situations and across theoretical constructs (Shulman, 1988; Yin, 1988). Although this particular case study is not generalizable to "populations or a universe," it, as well as other well done case studies, can be "generalizable to theoretical propositions . . . In this sense, the case study . . . does not represent a 'sample', and the investigator's goal is to expand and generalize theories (i.e., analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (i.e., statistical generalization)" (Yin, 1988, p. 21). Thus, the analytic generalizations in this case study connect to the ways in which the micropolitical model of interaction describes the dynamics of classroom discipline.

While quantitative researchers typically claim generalizability through the use of random sampling, there are some (e.g., Cornfield & Tukey, 1956) who argue that authentic random sampling is statistically impossible. To address this problem, Cornfield and Tukey (1956) contend that researchers must "build" an "inferential bridge" between the sample population and the general population to demonstrate generalizability. The notion of an "inferential bridge" is applicable to the analytic generalization of qualitative research as well. To apply analytic generalization, "a critical reader of a case study must examine whether an inferential bridge can be built

between this case and other cases [theoretical propositions] of interest to the reader" (Shulman, 1988, p. 11). Building the inferential bridge in this case study requires attention to detail, accurate connections, and complete explanations of research decisions, analyses, and interpretations.

Construct Validity

Construct validity involves implementing accurate procedural measures for the ideas being studied (Kidder, 1981). In case study designs many researchers address construct validity by using "multiple sources of evidence," arraying "chains of evidence," and having "key informants review [a] draft case study report" (Yin, 1988, p. 41). In this case study, I used multiple data sources, such as the in-depth guided and informal interviews with teachers, semi-structured classroom observations of students and teachers, and review of relevant documents (pertinent printed material). The in-depth guided interviews followed a set format of open-ended questions. The informal interviews involved telephone calls initiated by me to request clarification or elaboration. The semi-structured classroom observations involved noticing and recording specific discipline-related behaviors, interactions, and verbal expressions of students and teachers. Document reviews involved the analysis of written classroom rules, posted discipline-related rewards and punishments, notes to parents, and school discipline policies.

Using these multiple sources of data, I laid out the evidence to see if and how the data supported or challenged themes and interpretations. As I developed the case narrative, I sought to establish construct validity by arraying the evidence from multiple sources of data to allow the reader to see and interpret these chains of evidence.

In attending to construct validity, I used review by key informants [also called "member checking" (Stake, 1995)] in this research project. As explained in the

methods of data analysis, each teacher reviewed a draft of the case study report and commented on the authenticity, accuracy, and clarity of the content, analysis, interpretations, and conclusions. To assist response, I gave each teacher a list of questions to consider as she read over the case study draft (see Appendix G). By adding the minor clarifications (e.g., the amount of recess time a child missed and the manner in which students exit the classroom) suggested by the teachers, I used the information gained from the review by key informants. By confirming the overall accuracy of this case study of classroom discipline policies, the key informants clarified and validated the study.

Reliability

The "goal of reliability is to minimize the errors and biases in a study" (Yin, 1988, p. 45). To increase the reliability of this exploratory case study, I incorporated additional checks for bias and error, such as maintaining clarity in procedures, creating a retrievable data base, and clearly defining emergent constructs.

Reliability is a well-known method of quality promotion in scientific research. It involves "demonstrating that the operations of a study - such as the data collection procedures - can be repeated, with the same results" (Kidder, 1981, p. 8). Reliability refers to the repeatability of the study. As Yin (1988) notes,

The objective is to be sure that, if a later investigator followed exactly the same procedures as described by an earlier investigator and conducted the same case study all over again, the later investigator should arrive at the same findings and conclusions. (Note that the emphasis is on doing the *same* case over again, not on 'replicating' the results of one case by doing *another* case study). (p. 45)

In this sense, the notion of reliability need not be limited. If a case study is thorough and logically presented, a second researcher could conduct a similar case study and arrive at similar findings. More importantly, a reader of the case study could adopt the

lens used and render similar interpretations. The points of interest in reliability of case study research are clarity and precision.

According to LeCompte and Goetz (1982), the research procedures need to be clear and comprehensive so that another researcher could use the report as an "operating manual." To do so, data collection and analysis procedures need accuracy and detailed information. As Ogawa and Malen (1991) note, reliability of data analysis in exploratory case study methods involves "present[ing] findings so fully that other individuals can determine what decision rules were used and whether they were followed" (p. 283). To promote clarity in this exploratory case study, I documented and explained each phase of research activity. The Introduction to the Study, Review of Relevant Literature, Methodology, Findings, and Conclusions sections included detailed descriptions. I anticipated and avoided potential problems through the use of "forethought," a practice interview, a practice observation, and precise planning.

Additionally, I created a case study data base to promote the reliability and strengthen the analyses and interpretations associated with this research project. According to Yin (1988), a case study data base includes case study notes, case study documents, tabular materials (available numerical sources), and narratives. As Yin (1988) asserts, these data should be organized and stored in a manner in which they can be easily retrieved and understood.

Most of the case study notes that I collected in this research project, I chose to hand write and transfer to computer diskettes. The observation and interview notes comprised the majority of the case study data base. I also obtained, organized, and studied supplemental sources such as classroom rules, notes to parents, and written school discipline policies. Thus, this case study of classroom discipline policies included a comprehensive, orderly, retrievable data set.

After I created the data base I analyzed the data. During this phase of research activity, I incorporated "clear definitions of emergent constructs" through the use of "explicit lines of evidence" to check for bias and error. Ogawa and Malen (1991) explain,

Throughout all stages of data analysis, the investigator must define emergent constructs, delineate the manner in which evidence is being used to examine the constructs (or their relationships), and demonstrate the degree to which data from diverse sources corroborate or confound the analysis. (p. 281)

Defining emergent constructs and connecting the evidence serve to check for bias and error. To explain, I did not use all of the data collected in this study to report the findings and discuss the conclusions, because specific portions of the data were relevant to the phenomena of interest, while other portions of the data were not. To address the selective use of data, I sought to use clear definitions of emergent constructs and draw explicit lines of evidence, thereby explaining why and how I used particular portions of the data.

In sum, this case study of classroom discipline policies incorporated efforts to minimize error and bias through the use of construct validity techniques, such as using "multiple sources of data," arraying "chains of evidence" and having "key informants review the case study report" (Yin, 1988, p. 41). I also utilized other techniques such as incorporating clarity in procedures, creating a data base, and defining emergent constructs to check for bias and error. Using these techniques allowed me to collect, analyze, and interpret the data as accurately as possible.

The Role of the Researcher

As the researcher in this case study of classroom discipline policies, I was an observer, interviewer, and interpreter/analyst. In qualitative research, the roles of an observer and an interviewer are distinct. Of the researcher/observer prototypes, which

range from complete participation to complete detachment, this case study involved limited participatory observation. While some scholars may argue that complete disassociation from the environment offers a more objective view of the data, other scholars recognize that conducting field research in a detached manner sends potential messages of unfriendliness and arrogance. In this study, I found it more appropriate and realistic to acknowledge that my presence brought about some reaction from the participants. My goal was to minimize, as much as possible, the interactive behaviors between myself and the participants during the observations.

As noted by Maykut and Morehouse (1994), "the challenge to the qualitative researcher of being there is complicated by the task of also becoming invisible, as a researcher" (p. 72). To accomplish this task it was important for me to be as unobtrusive as possible in the classroom. Simple techniques, such as sitting in the back or in a corner of the classroom, quietly recording observations, and sensitively addressing questions from students and teachers helped in the process of limiting my participation in classroom interactions during the observations.

While my role was different during the in-depth guided and informal interviews from my role during the observations, I embraced the common elements of limited participation and a disposition of benevolence (i.e., a non-judgmental nature). I limited my participation in the interviews, in the sense that I did not intentionally bring forth my opinions, views, and perceptions. As during the classroom observations, I took a non-threatening position during the interviews. However, the interviews involved conversations and reciprocal communication, which required me to be an active participant. Therefore, the stance I took during the interviews was one of an interested colleague, not an evaluator.

In this case study, I also took on the role of analyst/interpreter. Analysis and interpretation include efforts to check subjectivity, validate the data and interpretations,

and employ logical reasoning. While subjectivity cannot be eliminated entirely (otherwise, the ownership of the dissertation would be forfeited), it can be curbed and circumscribed, so as to check for bias and error in data interpretation. Inspecting for even-handedness, searching for rival interpretations, and confirming and dis-confirming data assisted me in the checks for possible bias and error. While objectivity serves as an important factor in interpretation and analysis, so, too, does applying my own knowledge and understanding to the context (i.e., my own subjectivity). However, I sought to ensure that this applied subjectivity was not realized at the expense of distorted analyses and interpretations. Therefore, using my knowledge and experience to interpret and analyze (not alter) the data were critical and ultimately helpful aspects of my role as the analyst/interpreter.

As Gadamer (1975) notes, "the important thing is to be aware of one's own bias, so that the text may present itself in all its newness and thus be able to assert its own truth against one's own fore-meanings" (p. 238). My experience in the elementary school classroom, as a teacher, mentor, instructional guide, and consultant allowed me to bring experience and understanding to this research endeavor. I worked to make sure that my background served as a tool for culling meaning, not a crutch for artificial interpretation.

Ethical research behavior and expressions of appreciation directed toward participants were continuous motifs throughout this research project. I gave high regard to issues such as confidentiality and other appropriate requests (e.g., rescheduled observation times) from the research participants and gatekeepers in this study. Additionally, I was sensitive to the needs of the teachers and students that were part of this research project. I honored all germane requests and kept promises of anonymity. At the conclusion of the research project, I sent a thank you letter to each teacher and a token of appreciation to each teacher and her class.

Clearly, I assumed many roles as the researcher in this case study. I attempted to fulfill each role in ways that advanced the integrity and quality in this project.

Summary of Chapter Three and Preview of Chapter Four

Chapter Three offers an explanation of the type of empirically minded, qualitative case study research used. The chapter included a rationale for this type of research, the data sources, methods of data collection, instrumentation, the methods of data analysis, the checks for bias and error, and the role of the researcher were provided. Chapter Four will be a report of the findings associated with the enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation of discipline policies used in selected elementary school classrooms.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings related to the central research question and the six sub-questions stated in Chapter One.

Central question:

What are the ways in which the dynamics of classroom discipline can be described in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction?

Sub-questions:

1. How and why do teachers enact discipline policies in the classroom?
2. How do teachers and students convey and implement classroom discipline policies?
3. How does the process of conveyance shape and reshape the content of the discipline policies in the classroom?
4. What is the general imprint on the classroom and what are the perceived outcomes associated with the discipline policies employed in the classroom?
5. How do teachers appraise classroom discipline policies?
6. What is the degree of congruence between the teacher's "intended" discipline policies and the "actual" discipline policies employed in the classroom?

In this chapter, I will address the central question involving the ways in which the dynamics of classroom discipline can be described in relation to the micropolitical

model and the six sub-questions using the teachers' responses to the interview questions, observation-based vignettes that portray the classroom interactions, and documentary data. By categorizing these data, distilling themes, culling for meaning, and arraying chains of evidence, this chapter presents the findings associated with classroom discipline policy enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation. To set the stage, this chapter begins with an introduction to the classroom participants. Using pseudo names, specific information about the particular teachers and students who were part of this case study is presented.

Introduction to the Classroom Participants

The teachers and students who were part of this study are Ms. Patrick and her first grade students, and Ms. Karris and her third grade students. Providing descriptions about these major participants introduces the actors most directly involved in the making and remaking of classroom discipline policies in this case study.

Ms. Patrick and Her Class

Ms. Patrick is a third-year teacher at Hampton Manor Elementary School. Her experience in the field of teaching includes three years as a first grade teacher, student teaching in a second grade class, and teaching religion (sacred studies) in a private school. Ms. Patrick is a white female. She is the "leader" of the first grade team at Hampton Manor Elementary School. In her role as "team leader," Ms. Patrick is responsible for weekly meetings, planning and organizing grade level events, ordering supplies, and sharing and clarifying information from the principal to the teachers on her team. While the "job" of team leader receives no additional salary, the responsibility could be interpreted as a quasi-administrative role. Information gleaned from limited informal conversations with Ms. Patrick's administrator, her colleagues, and her students' parents indicates that she is known as an excellent teacher who is

caring and compassionate toward her students. In her relatively short career, Ms. Patrick has earned a great deal of respect from her colleagues and supervisors.

There are twenty students in Ms. Patrick's first grade class. Ten students are Hispanic; three students are Asian; four students are African American; and three students are white. Of the students, at least three have ADHD (attention deficit with hyperactivity disorder); six receive special services during the school day. When referring to or describing her class, Ms. Patrick often (during the interviews) begins with "I love all my kids." Ms. Patrick offers the following condensed descriptions of each of her students.

Carlton is a special education student (level 3) with an IEP who "needs to pay attention more" but "takes responsibility for his actions." Otis is "hungry for any kind of attention" and "probably has ADHD or a learning disability, or both." Otis went through the reading recovery program and "totally slipped backwards." He is a "below grade level" student who can "cop an attitude" and "still knows enough about how to push somebody's buttons." Owen "treats others nicely," "craves positive attention," will "do anything to please the teacher," but "shuts down if he perceives the task to be too difficult [for him]." Arden is a "rule-oriented persistent" boy who "doesn't like to do things that are too hard." Arden has "slight memory issues," is "bothered by noise," and is "challenged some in learning." Joel "has trouble paying attention" and "needs a lot of extra help, academically." Allen "struggles with memory," "always tries to help," has "a good heart," "is a perfectionist," and "has done well in the reading recovery program." Kimmy is an "artistic," "above grade level" student who is still "not meeting her [full, academic] potential . . . because she lacks focus." Kimmy "has ADHD," but is not on prescribed medication. Kelvin is a "highly distractible" student who "craves attention and gets it negatively," because he "hurts other children." Kelvin has "ADHD and will be starting medication soon." Miles is a "distant" and "withdrawn" student

who displays some "odd behaviors, like rocking and repeating." Miles is "uncomfortable with personal feelings" and has "a hard time paying attention."

Cleo is an "angel" who is "willing to help," "very responsible, a hard worker," and is working "slightly above grade level" academically. Remy is "very mature and responsible" and "never complains about her diabetes." Kyle is a "follower" who "does whatever those around him are doing [on task or off task]." Lana is a "very smart" student who is "somewhat self-absorbed" and "immature." Cody is an above average "very smart" little girl who "likes for people to do the right thing." Cody "speaks two languages fluently," and "taught herself multiplication." Maris is an "on grade level, average" little girl who is "caring" and "knows how to be a friend." Yale is still learning English. She is shy," but "very excited about learning."

Anita "craves attention" and is "over confident in abilities that she doesn't have." Risa is an "active" student who was only in Ms. Patrick's class for part of this school year because she withdrew from the school in February. Nina is an "energetic, bright girl" who "craves attention." Nina "could be higher" academically, but sometimes chooses to "lower her standards to get attention." Mandy is "quite a character." Mandy is "smart, cute, and basically she knows that and sometimes that [confidence, superiority] is portrayed in her treatment of other people." Mandy is also "hard on herself" and "wants very much to be smart and be popular." "If she [Mandy] feels like she has failed, she falls to pieces."

The students in Ms. Patrick's class offer a wide range of academic and social skills. Several of the students receive special education services; several others may receive these services in the future. Still other students in Ms. Patrick's class have "average" or high academic ability. The social skills and personalities of the students in Ms. Patrick's class are equally diverse. Some students are "shy" or "kind," while others

"cop attitudes" or display confrontational behaviors. Clearly, the students in Ms. Patrick's class are children with varying levels of skill and multifaceted intentions.

Ms. Karris and Her Class

Ms. Karris has a teaching career that includes 23 years in the classroom. She taught out of state for many years, has worked in the present district for nine years, and is in her second year at Green Leaf Elementary School. Her previous teaching experience includes first and second grade. Presently, Ms. Karris works with a third grade class. Ms. Karris is a white female. She is a recent recipient of an award for excellent teaching presented by the state. Her area of expertise is mathematics. She has presented ideas to other teachers at regional, state, and national conferences. Information gathered from limited informal conversations with Ms. Karris' administrator, her colleagues, and her former students' parents indicates that Ms. Karris is respected by her colleagues and principal and is considered a master teacher.

There are twenty-six students in Ms. Karris' third grade class. Three students are Hispanic; three students are Asian; two students are African American; and 18 students are white. Of the students, three have diagnosed ADHD, three have learning disabilities, one has Tourette Syndrome, and five receive special services during the school day. When speaking of her class (during the interviews), Ms. Karris shares, "I'm happy with my room. I'm comfortable . . . I have a really nice class." She offers the following abridged descriptions of her students.

Krissy is "an active, learning disabled student who has ADHD, but does not take [prescribed] medication" for the diagnosed disorder. Toby has Tourette Syndrome. He has "difficulty focusing" and "is very loud," which, according to Ms. Karris, are characteristics associated with Tourette Syndrome. Roth "has difficulties academically." Roth has an extensive IEP (individual educational plan) and was given

an Intensity IV placement in a different school in April. Jonas "has definite difficulties focusing," is "off task a lot," is "nervous and uptight," and "displays ADHD symptoms," but "has a mother who is unwilling to have him diagnosed, because she blames allergies." Sally is a "brilliant and creative" student who has ADHD, but cannot take medication (due to a physical reaction). Marty "has ADHD, but takes regular medication (Ritalin)" and is "weak in academics."

Tirza is "well-mannered, shy, and an average reader" who is "lower in mathematics" than in reading. Peggy is a "hard working" student who "needs structure and organization." Jamal is a "good leader" who is "bright" and "nice" to others. Kirby is a "bright" and "well organized" student who is "creative," but "struggles to express himself in written and verbal forms." Brice is an "average" student who is "anxious and nervous." Alonzo is a "very verbal," "strong average" student who is "so creative." Jody "has trouble with school" and "is more successful in her peer group." Jody is "interested in clothes" and "fads," and could be described as a "valley girl." Erica is a "quiet" and "very sweet" child who has "gained confidence" as the year has progressed. Teri is bilingual, "a little behind in reading and writing," but she is "affectionate" and "docile." Andy is an "average" student who "sees humor" before others do. Sigmund is a "good, average" student that "needs to be pushed" to keep him learning. Mason has "trouble with spatial relationships" and is an "average reader" who "gets silly and doesn't listen real well," but "is not a big problem."

Anetta is a student who "started the [school] year as verbally aggressive", but has become "more settled" as the school year has progressed. Mary is a "strong average student who started the school year as a leader of a clique of spice girl types," but became "more serious" about school as the year progressed. Nora, much like Mary, started off the school year "too concerned with socializing," but became "a lot more serious about school" by the second half of the year. Mitchell "socializes too

much," has "average" academic skills, "is competitive, but a good friend" to class mates. Nelson is "good in sports, is a good friend," but "is off task often and needs to take school more seriously." Annabel is "somewhat pampered by her family, has very strong opinions, is impulsive at times, and is academically capable." Ambar has "strong opinions," "talks too much," is often "off task," is "too bossy," but "strong academically." Jake is "a good leader, very competitive, yet sensitive to others, somewhat impulsive, and very strong academically."

Ms. Karris' class is a group of students who vary in academic ability, social skill, and personality. Some of the students have biochemical conditions, some of them receive special education services. Other students are considered "average" in academic ability. Some students are considered above average or academically strong. In Ms. Karris' class, there are students with "strong" personalities. Some of these students demonstrate leadership qualities; others focus more on interpersonal relationships than on academics. Clearly, the students in Ms. Karris' class are children with varying levels of academic and social skill, who behave in diverse manners to achieve particular intentions.

These thumbnail sketches of the specific teachers and students present the "cast of characters" in this case study. The following sections will be devoted to the ways in which these classroom inhabitants enact, convey, realize, and evaluate classroom discipline policies.

Enacting Classroom Discipline Policies

The enactment of classroom discipline policies involves the ways in which and reasons why teachers initiate discipline policies in the classroom. In this section, I will address Research Question One: How and why do teachers enact discipline policies in the classroom? The discipline policies enacted are the aggregation of stated rules, and

the classroom dynamics manifest in the dominant patterns of practice in the classroom. Thus, part of revealing how and why discipline policies are enacted in the classroom involves defining the nature of the discipline policies. Consequently, as the findings related to the process of discipline policy enactment are reported, special attention will be given to the content and characterizations of the discipline policies that teachers enact in the classroom. The micropolitical elements of context/classroom setting, power, conflict, compromise, and protection illuminate the ways in which and reasons why teachers enact discipline policies in the classroom. These micropolitical elements were depicted in the review of literature following a different sequence from that which is used in this findings section. Specifically, context was discussed after the other components in the review of literature; but context/classroom setting will be addressed first as the findings are presented. The decision to do so is intended to aid in the understanding of the context as an interrelated component (in the review of literature) and a prefatory, still interrelated component (in this findings section). Therefore, I will attend to each of these categories and offer a closing synopsis as I present the findings related to discipline policy enactment.

Classroom Setting

The classroom setting provides the context in which teachers enact discipline policies. The physical layout of the classroom, outside influences, expectations, and group structure are important aspects of the classroom setting in the enactment of discipline policies in this study.

Physical layout. Ms. Patrick's first grade classroom is decorated with academic posters, centers, and artifacts. The organization of her classroom is evident in the arrangement and accessibility of academic manipulatives, learning station supplies, and student seating areas. The student desks are arranged into four tables (of four or five

desks), forming an "X" in the middle of the classroom. The teacher's desk is located beside the door, facing the student tables. Otis' desk is beside Ms. Patrick's desk. By the window, there is a rocking chair for the teacher and a carpeted area for students, which Ms. Patrick refers to as the "gathering area." Student "cubbies" are located behind a stationary wall situated in the right center of the classroom. There are bookshelves, book baskets, and center activities surrounding the outskirts of the classroom. Children's work and academic posters and charts adorn the walls.

Above the gathering area, there is a poster which summarizes Ms. Patrick's formal classroom rules. As Ms. Patrick shares, "My first year I made a list of procedures . . . but I found one rule last year that I think is really good. They have one rule [this year] and that's that everyone helps . . . we read it every morning." There is another poster displayed in the gathering area that reads, "Ask yourself. What am I doing? Does it help me learn? Does it help our team? Does it help our school?" These two posters constitute the formal written rules of the classroom. Figure 2 is a depiction of the arrangement of Ms. Patrick's classroom, which is the physical environment that framed part of the classroom setting in this case study.

Ms. Karris' third grade classroom is also decorated with academic posters, centers, and artifacts. There are numerous mathematics posters and higher level thinking questions adorning the walls and shelves. There are no posted classroom rules because, according to Ms. Karris, "they [the students] know appropriate classroom behavior." The organization of Ms. Karris' classroom is evident in the arrangement and accessibility of academic manipulatives, learning station supplies, and student seating areas. The student desks are arranged in four tables of six or seven in the center of the classroom. The teacher's desk is beside the door, facing the student desks. There is an area for meeting as a group in the far corner where the teacher's rocking chair is

located. The student "cubbies" align the wall closest to the door. Figure 3 illustrates Ms. Karris' classroom.

Aside from the stationary wall in the center of Ms. Patrick's classroom, the two classrooms are arranged similarly (See Figure 2 and Figure 3). Both classrooms have student desks grouped into tables, a "central meeting place" with a rocking chair for the teacher, and a desk for the teacher which is located by the door facing the student desks. Both classrooms appear to be designed to foster social order and academic learning in that there are specific locations for particular types of academic instruction and there is adequate space for movement.

Ms. Patrick addresses the physical layout of the classroom as part of her discipline plan. Ms. Patrick explains, "I put a few things into place before they [students] came in, like the way the classroom is set up . . . I want to make it so everyone can move freely and there's not people next to disturbing places." As Ms. Patrick reveals, the choice to cluster student desks in the center of the classroom in an "X" pattern is based upon the idea that students are less likely to be "disturbed" if desks are not placed in close proximity to "distracting" centers or people.

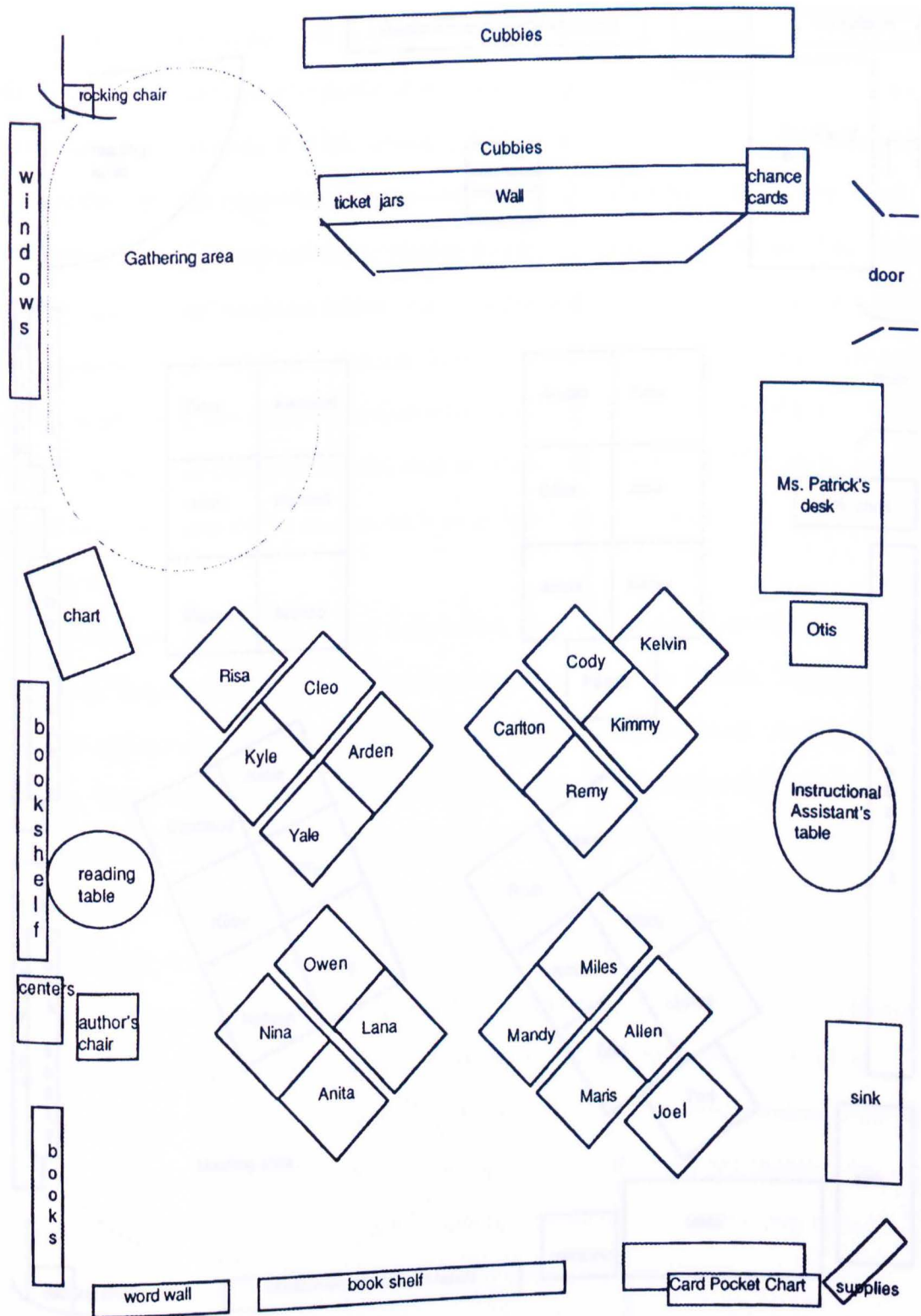


Figure 2. Ms. Patrick's classroom

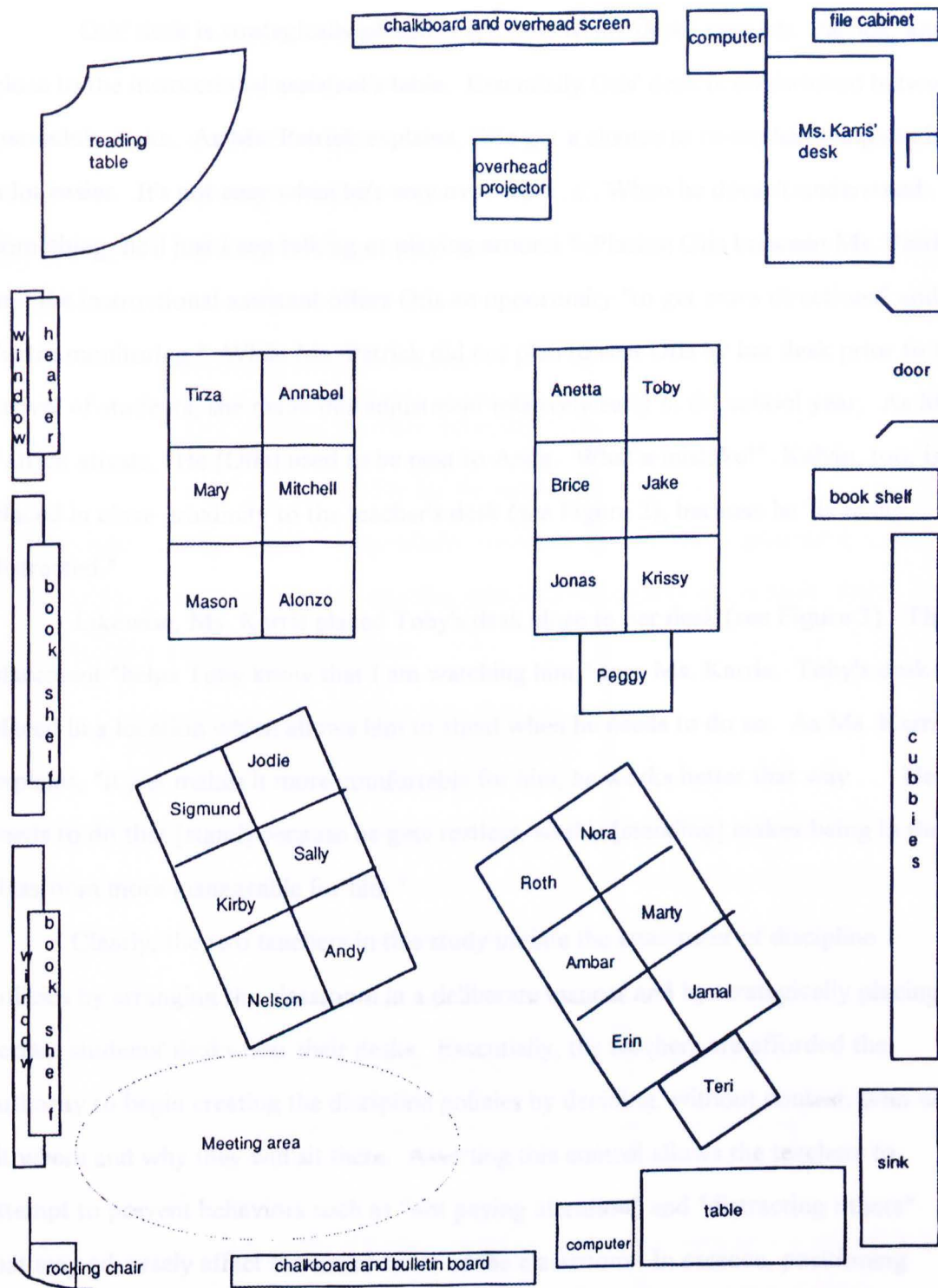


Figure 3. Ms. Karris' classroom

Otis' desk is strategically placed "right next to my desk" says Ms. Patrick, and close to the instructional assistant's table. Essentially Otis' desk is sandwiched between two adult desks. As Ms. Patrick explains, "We get a chance to re-explain things to him a lot easier. It's not easy when he's way over there . . . When he doesn't understand something, he'll just keep talking or playing around." Placing Otis between Ms. Patrick and the instructional assistant offers Otis an opportunity "to get extra directions" and "extra monitoring." While Ms. Patrick did not plan to seat Otis by her desk prior to the arrival of students, she made this adjustment relatively early in the school year. As Ms. Patrick attests, "He [Otis] used to be next to Anita. What a mistake!" Kelvin, too, is placed in close proximity to the teacher's desk (see Figure 2), because he "is easily distracted."

Likewise, Ms. Karris placed Toby's desk close to her desk (see Figure 3). This placement "helps Toby know that I am watching him," says Ms. Karris. Toby's desk is placed in a location which allows him to stand when he needs to do so. As Ms. Karris explains, "it just makes it more comfortable for him; he works better that way . . . He needs to do that [stand] because he gets restless, so this [standing] makes being in the classroom more manageable for him."

Clearly, the two teachers in this study initiate the enactment of discipline policies by arranging the classroom in a deliberate manner and by strategically placing certain students' desks near their desks. Essentially, the teachers are afforded the authority to begin creating the discipline policies by deciding, without contest, who will sit where and why they will sit there. Asserting this control allows the teachers to attempt to prevent behaviors such as "not paying attention" and "distracting others" that may adversely affect the social order of the classroom. In essence, positioning students reflects the teachers' control, because teachers assert power by placing some students in locations where they cannot readily initiate disruptive activity.

Outside influences. Among the many possible outside influences that may affect the classroom setting during discipline policy enactment are the formal discipline policies of the schools. The formal school discipline policy at Green Leaf Elementary is revealed in the "Standards of Behavior at Green Leaf Elementary School" document. The document begins with a short paragraph indicating the manner in which the school discipline policy is conveyed to students and parents.

The following standards will be discussed by the teacher with students at all grade levels. Students, teachers, parents, and the principal will sign the form indicating that they are well acquainted with and clearly understand the standards of the school. Signed forms will be kept on file for the school year. (p. 1)

The discipline policy in print is, essentially, written as a list of rules/guidelines to be followed by students in all and/or specific locations throughout the school. For example, there are three general rules:

Follow directions the first time they are given.
Keep hands, feet, and objects to yourself.
Use appropriate language at all times. (p. 1)

There are also specific rules for "before and after school," for "the classroom," in the "halls," in the "cafeteria," in the "media center," in the "lavatory," on the "playground," and on the "bus." The document concludes with the following list of consequences:

If a student chooses to break a rule, the following consequences are applied following a written report to the administrator: 1st incident: Bus driver to inform administrator; parents called; warning issued. 2nd incident: Parents called; conference with bus driver, administrator, and student. Third incident: Bus riding privileges suspended for 1 to 5 days; parent conference or letter to parents. (p. 3)

These consequences, however, are only related to student conduct on the school bus. The "Standards for Behavior" document does not include consequences for "if a student chooses to break a rule" other than on the school bus.

The "Standards for Behavior" in the "classroom" category include three regulations:

- Receive permission before using school equipment.
- Keep the classroom clean and neat at all times.
- Show respect for classmates, teachers, and self. (p. 1)

While these rules and other rules contained within the document are not posted in the classroom, they are reviewed by students, teachers, and parents at the onset of the school year. Signed copies are kept "on file" in the office. Ms. Karris keeps a copy of this written school discipline policy in her staff handbook.

The formal school discipline policy at Hampton Manor Elementary School is expressed in "The Behavior Management Plan and Instruction and Classroom Management: Expectations" document. The six-page document begins with student "achievement and expectations," which is directed toward staff members and their responsibilities. The document begins:

The achievement and participation of students is the highest priority. It is expected that each staff member will develop instructional plans that meet the needs and abilities of all students. Each staff member must communicate high expectations and monitor student performance, involve all students in class, work closely with parents, and nurture potential giftedness. (p. 2)

The document continues with the specific category of "discipline."

Staff members are reminded of the following policies concerning the supervision of children in the building and on the school grounds:

1. Teachers are responsible for their children at all times during the school day. If a teacher has to leave the students, he/she must have another responsible adult supervise them.
2. Teachers are expected to develop in their children general standards of safety and courtesy.
3. Children are expected to travel through the building in a quiet, orderly manner, walking always on the right-hand side of the hallways.

4. All teachers should uphold school standards for proper behavior by correcting any child who is disorderly, regardless of grade, anywhere on school property. At the same time, teachers are encouraged to recognize the positive behavior shown by any student, regardless of grade.
5. No staff member should use physical force with any child. Do not touch, grab, or push any child unless the child is about to harm himself/herself or another person. (p. 2)

This portion of the written school discipline policy is obviously centered around the adult responsibilities because four of the five regulations state specific teacher/staff member directives, obligations and/or duties.

The Hampton Manor Elementary School discipline policy document continues with "playground safety rules," which include seventeen regulations and a series of three consequences for students who fail to comply. The next category in the discipline policy is "cafeteria rules for breakfast and lunch," which includes five regulations, three subsequent, consecutive consequences for student non-compliance, and three possible rewards for student compliance.

The Hampton Manor discipline policy also includes a "contingency disruption plan." There are three "disruption" types listed in the document: (a) minor disruptions; (b) serious disruptions; and (c) major disruptions. Minor disruptions include "Missing student/s; student fight; [and] student injury" (p. 4). Serious disruptions include "trespassers in the building or on the grounds, early dismissal due to weather; [and] group fight" (p. 4). Major disruptions include "power failure; severe, unexpected weather conditions, i.e., flood, hurricane, etc.; bomb scare; fire; other emergency situations endangering entire school; [and] local neighborhood danger" (p. 4). To deal with these disruptions an intervention team (IT) is summoned via a response signal and (ten) specific procedures are followed. The written discipline policy also contains the "local school grievance procedures" (p. 5), offered to students who are not satisfied with discipline-related decisions made by school personnel. The final portion of the

discipline document attends to "school bus safety," and includes the slogan "Obeying rules keeps you safe," a list of seven rules for at the bus stop, fifteen rules for riding the bus, four rules for getting off the bus, three consequences for non-compliance, and a final reminder; "Don't lose your riding privilege!" (p. 6).

The "Behavior Management and Instruction and Classroom Management: Expectations" document at Hampton Manor Elementary serves as the current formal discipline policy. The "Behavior Management Team" is presently working on a revised version of the school's discipline policy which is expected to be in place by the next school year. Students receive copies of specific portions (i.e., the playground safety rules, cafeteria rules and the school bus safety rules) of the "Behavior Management and Instruction and Classroom Management: Expectations" document. Teachers and students continually review these rules throughout the school year. Ms. Patrick keeps a copy of this school discipline policy in her staff handbook.

Other outside influences that affect how teachers enact classroom discipline policies include parents and colleagues. The parents of the students in each of the classes influence the classroom discipline policies. However, the influence that parents have on the discipline policy process is more distinct during other policy process phases. Thus, the outside influence offered by parents will be addressed in the later sections on the conveyance and realization of classroom discipline policies.

Both teachers shared with me that several of the discipline policies that they have put into practice were ideas that came from other teachers. Collegial influence is evident in the following comments from the teachers in this study: "I got that idea from another teacher." "Oh, that came from the teacher across the hall." "Last year, I was talking with another teacher and she suggested that I try this," "Well, I got that idea from this [educational resource] book, but I added my own part." Both Ms. Patrick and Ms. Karris utilize information on discipline practices gleaned from colleagues and

other resources (educational resource books) during the enactment phase of discipline policies.

Therefore, teachers utilize outside influences as they enact discipline policies in the classroom. The formal discipline policies of the school and information gathered from colleagues affect how teachers enact policies, why teachers enact policies, and which policies they choose to enact.

Expectations. The enactment of classroom discipline policies involves the expectations held by teachers and students. Ms. Karris sheds light on how expectations play an important role in the enactment of classroom discipline policies,

Of course, there are rules that you have to have from the very beginning so that it is orderly along the way . . . I let them know my expectations and we talk about what their expectations are for an orderly room. . . . But sometimes their expectations might not be as high as mine. So I might have to put in some of my own expectations [and] intermesh them [teacher's expectations] into theirs [students' expectations]. They might think that it is OK to talk during certain activities, when in fact, it's quiet time. That's not to say that I don't let them talk. There are times when they can talk like when they are with other kids and they are working together . . . but we also have to have quiet times . . . I let them say first what an orderly classroom is like so it feels like they are taking ownership of it, and then I might intermesh that with my higher level, if I need to [do so].

As Ms. Karris shares how expectations are a part of the enactment of discipline policies in the classroom, some of the reasons why she enacts discipline policies are revealed. Having an "orderly" classroom, evident perhaps by specific "quiet times" is an important reason to enact discipline policies. During the enactment process, teacher and student expectations are shared and eventually tweaked by the teacher as she "intermeshes" and tries to bring these expectations to her "higher level." Essentially, the teacher activates her authority to modify student expectations about the social order of the classroom because the student expectations do not conform to her

expectations. Apparently, students do not contest her efforts to redefine expectations. Thus, the teacher has the skill and will to mold the behavioral expectations that become the foundations of the discipline policies enacted in the classroom.

The notion of ownership is also evident in Ms. Karris' account. Ms. Karris desires that her students "feel like they are taking ownership" of the expectations of social order in the classroom. Because she guides the students through this process rather than simply lecturing about expectations, the students are more apt, in Ms. Karris' opinion, to "feel like" they own the expectations. Thus, by Ms. Karris' account, ownership and revised expectations become the means of enacting discipline policies in the classroom.

Ms. Patrick also revamps student expectations as classroom discipline policies are enacted. Ms. Patrick says,

Actually when we started talking about what rules [we would need in our classroom] we did make a list. . . . It was like, don't push, don't hit, don't write on the school's stuff . . . What I said was 'You know, all of these things [rules that the students came up with] are things that we should know anyway. . . . If we're doing our best then we shouldn't have to worry about any of these things. . . . So I brought in the rule 'Everyone helps' and we talked about it and decided it included all of the other listed rules . . . procedures are what you are supposed to call them.

The initial expectations/rules/procedures shared by the students were formed into one all encompassing notion; Everyone helps. While the students may feel part of that process, the mesh into one rule is a pre-planned, strategy utilized by Ms. Patrick. In explaining why the blend into one rule is desired, Ms. Patrick shares, "It's hard to remember all of them [list of rules], so this one [everyone helps] covers it all." This one rule is posted above the gathering area in Ms. Patrick's classroom. The students and teacher read this rule together everyday. The enactment of this rule takes on a formal tone, because it is posted, reviewed, and intended to be enforced.

The rule (Everyone helps) is connected to Ms. Patrick's poster which reads, "Ask yourself. What am I doing;? Does it help me learn? Does it help our team? Does it help our school?" The idea of categorizing student behavior as helpful or non-helpful, and the notion of working together as a helpful team are, according to Ms. Patrick, critical features in the enactment of the formal discipline policy in her classroom. However, this rule also provides the teacher with all sorts of latitude to decide what counts as "help" in the classroom. Thus, the teacher determines how, which, why, and when specific student behaviors "help" in the classroom.

Clearly, expectations play a role in the enactment of classroom discipline policies. Both teachers in this study encourage students to share expectations of classroom "order" and then guide the students through a process of modifying these stated expectations to meet the "higher level" or all-encompassing expectations of the teacher. Consequently, the teachers' expectations of students being "orderly" by adhering to "quiet times" and "helping" serve as some of the most important discipline policies enacted in the classroom.

Group structure. Ms. Karris' notion of the class being "a family away from home" is seemingly geared toward a community-oriented group structure. In enacting classroom discipline policies, Ms. Patrick seeks to structure her class into a cooperative group;

It means a lot to me for my students to know how much I care about them, but I'm not going to just sit [idle] . . . I care about them enough to discipline. . . . I was thinking over the summer [prior to the start of school] and decided to go at it [discipline policy] from the team perspective. So we are a team and we have a mascot, a lion. We read a poem every morning about a lion. . . . They have a lion in their cubbies and we're going to make shirts with lions . . . We talk about whatever you [students] are doing, it should be helping our team. When somebody has a question, you want that person to be able to get better [find the answer] because it helps our team get better. . . . Lots of times kids will laugh at somebody

because they don't understand or they are annoyed with somebody because they are taking too long . . . But this team thing helps. . . . We're trying to get this, 'We're a group' concept.

The notion of working together as a team is quite apparent in Ms. Patrick's account of her enactment of discipline policies. She "cares enough to discipline them" by taking an active role in the establishment of "community" as part of the classroom context. She works to send the messages of "community" as one of her broad discipline policies and employs mechanisms appropriate for young children. Using a mascot, reading daily poems, placing mascot cut-outs in cubbies, and making shirts are the ways in which the teacher pulls the class together into a team. Additionally, the team concept is enacted to help the communication between students. Because the classroom setting includes students who "laugh" and "get annoyed" at other students, the teacher's enactment of a community orientation is aimed at molding student communication to fit the teacher's desired group structure in the classroom.

In sum, determining the group structure, clarifying the expectations of student conduct, utilizing outside influences, and addressing the physical layout of the classroom are prevalent points of interest to the teachers throughout the enactment of classroom discipline policies. Essentially, teachers set the stage for discipline-related classroom interaction by considering context features in ways that reflect their concern for power.

Power

Because so much of the daily interaction related to classroom discipline is directly connected to concerns for power, it is not surprising that power, influence, control, and authority play into discipline policy enactment decisions. The teachers in this study considered issues of power prior to and at the onset of the school year. In their desires to preempt problems, the teachers turned to behavior modification techniques. Therefore, in this section, I will present the forms of behavior modification

enacted in the classrooms and discuss how the concern for power plays into discipline policy decisions.

Behavior modification. By its sheer title, behavior modification conjures up notions of power, influence, control, and authority. Certainly, in the act of modifying someone's behavior, the modifier is exerting some level, if not great levels of power and control. Thus, notions of power, influence, control, and authority are present in the enactment of behavior modification techniques that frame, enforce, and define many discipline policies in the classroom.

Ms. Karris explains her behavior modification approach to discipline,

Each child has a calendar, a monthly calendar at his/her desk. This program is to be on their own, it has nothing to do with tables . . . It is on their own so that they take ownership of it. It's their behavior. I want it to come from them. It involves stickers. At the end of the day if their behavior has met our classroom expectations, I give them a teeny, little sticker [to put] on their calendar. When they accumulate ten days or ten stickers, they can pick from my treasure chest.

Ms. Karris' behavior calendars involve positive reinforcement and rewards. Ms. Karris adds, "They love the calendar . . . because they love picking from the treasure chest [which contains toys, tokens, pencils, etc.]." Because positive reinforcement involves using a repeated consequence to increase the regularity of a specific behavior, the stickers and treasure chest awards serve as the intended "reinforcers," while "meeting classroom expectations" serves as the desired behavior and becomes the reason why the teacher enacts this discipline policy.

The behavior calendars include another aspect of behavior modification which is punishment. When students do not "meet classroom expectations," they do not receive a sticker. The specific behaviors that do not meet classroom expectations are the behaviors that the punishment is intended to subside or remove. Both forms of punishment (i.e., cost-related punishment and adverse consequences punishment) are

present. If students desire the sticker and do not receive it, cost-related punishment is applied. The adverse consequences utilized in Ms. Karris' program involve writing a note on the calendar explaining why a sticker was not received and notifying parents of the problematic situation. Ms. Karris explains this portion of the behavior calendar program,

My policy is when they have gotten their third day with something written, it gets sent home and the parent signs it. The parent either calls me or comes in and we meet and talk about what's going on

If students view the note and contact to parents as inimical and unfriendly, then the punishment can be characterized as adverse. Ms. Karris shares,

Now they [students] don't want that [notes on calendar] going home because they have to live there. . . . They have to talk about what they've been doing right away. Nothing slides. . . . They have to face up to what they've been doing and start thinking about how they can resolve it.

Because the students do not want to take a note-filled calendar home, this aspect of the formal classroom discipline policy involves the adverse consequences type of punishment. The student behavior calendars enacted in Ms. Karris' classroom constitute a formal record of the students' abilities to follow the social order of the classroom because the calendars are publicly displayed, regularly referenced, and repeatedly reviewed. Moreover, these calendars trigger another set of consequences contingent upon how the students' parents react to what has happened in the classroom.

In Ms. Patrick's classroom there are four forms of behavior modification that are enacted as the initial classroom discipline policies. These formal policies include yellow and red pocket cards; red and green tickets; chance cards; and a star player of the day. The yellow and red cards go into a pocket chart that is located on the side

wall of the classroom (see Figure 2). The pocket chart has a name label for each child on each pocket. As Ms. Patrick spells out, "The yellow card is a warning and the red card is a note home. Very simple." If a student displays a behavior that is in opposition to the social order of the classroom, s/he may receive a yellow card. If the child displays the same or another disruptive behavior again s/he receives a red card. A written explanation of the problem is sent to the parents.

This pocket chart "is used for a lot of things." As Ms. Patrick explains,

They [students] need to be responsible. If after they have asked three others [classmates,] and they still don't know what to do . . . they put a help stick in their pocket [on the chart] and then I know that they need help.

Thus, the pocket chart serves several purposes. It is a place where students can indicate to the teacher that they need assistance and it is a place where the teacher can indicate to the students that they are adversely affecting the social order of the classroom. The display is public, in that information concerning any warnings (yellow cards) and notes home (red cards) is available to anyone who cares to notice. If a student views the yellow cards and red cards as undesirable, then the adverse consequences form of punishment is present. In this manner, the pocket chart is a mechanism for the teacher to systematically deploy punishments.

Ms. Patrick explains another behavior modification-related discipline policy which she refers to as "Are we doing our best?":

I created green and red tickets for the class reward or penalizing system. . . . A green ticket is if they've done a really great job. I just drop a ticket into the container. A red ticket is if I had to count to five. That means we need to do better. . . . At the end of the week I pull one out . . . if it's a green ticket we have popcorn or something. . . . If it's a red ticket, we know we have to try harder.

This enacted discipline policy involves rewards and the mathematical concept of probability. The rewards have a potential two-fold effect. The green tickets,

themselves, could be viewed as direct rewards for some children as can the popcorn or other treat. If the rewards actually help to increase the desired behavior (doing our best), then the program utilizes positive reinforcement. Academically, the first grade students gain mathematical experience with the notion that if there are more green tickets the likelihood of a green ticket being randomly pulled is greater. Likewise, if there are more red tickets, the probability of a red ticket being randomly selected is greater. Furthermore, the more often students display social order and compliance to classroom discipline policies, the higher the chance that the teacher will place a green ticket in the jar and visa versa for red tickets.

Additionally, Ms. Patrick uses "chance cards" as another way to enforce and define discipline policies in the classroom.

I also have chance cards at the beginning of the year. . . . A lot of times there are kids who are always doing their best. . . . They are watching out for others. They are trying hard. And they get lost in the shuffle. . . . So whenever I see somebody doing a really great job, I put their name on the back of a chance card. . . . The more chance cards they have in the jar, the more likely their name will be drawn. . . . I might draw ten names out . . . and they [the students whose names were drawn] pick a numbered ticket [reward]. . . . I have a list of eleven things [rewards].

The reward possibilities include: (1) DEAR (drop everything and read) time; (2) three green tickets; (3) lunch with Ms. Patrick; (4) Friday treat for the whole class; (5) a wonderful note home; (6) two chance cards; (7) first to gab and go for the day; (8) line leader; (9) mathercize for two mornings; (10) star player of the day; (11) two free sticker choices. If a student's name is drawn from the jar, that student picks a numbered ticket and receives the corresponding reward. Some of the rewards are for the individual student; others are shared with the entire class. As Ms. Patrick notes, the chance card program "encourages them to do better." Ms. Patrick enacts this classroom discipline policy to ensure that those students who follow the social order

guidelines/discipline policies (everyone helps, doing your best) are rewarded. The random reward time, given at the sole discretion of the teacher, specifically when she sees a student doing a "really great job," is intended to encourage, inspire, or entice on-looking students into following the social order model (i.e., the student who received the chance card).

Star player of the day is another behavior modification-oriented discipline policy that Ms. Patrick uses in her classroom. It is also one of the rewards used in her "chance card" policy. The star player of the day wears a blue ribbon, is the line leader, and brings home a special award. Ms. Patrick uses star player of the day as "a behavior reward." Star players receive special recognition for the entire day. Similar to the ideas propelling the chance card policy, the star player of the day is a reward-based policy that is enacted to spotlight social order compliance. It is also intended to inspire other students to behave in manners that will qualify them as the next "star player of the day."

From star players of the day to behavior calendars and pocket charts, the teachers in this study enact behavior modification techniques that frame, enforce, and define many classroom discipline policies. These behavior modification techniques are intended by the teachers to preempt problems with social order and establish teacher control.

Concern for power. The concern for power, influence, control, and authority is ever-present in the behavior modification related discipline policies. Both teachers consider that controlling the behavior of students is a necessary aspect in the enactment of classroom discipline policies. However, both teachers frequently soften the play of power with humor. The teachers also want to empower students and avoid abusing authority and power in the classroom.

When asked about the specific student behaviors, particularly those behaviors that must be displayed in order to get a sticker on the behavior calendar, Ms. Karris

includes, "listening to authority . . . listening to and respecting adults . . . all adults in the building, not just the teacher." These student behaviors are directly tied to the teacher's power and authority, because listening to and respecting adults situates the control in the adult's corner. Thus, as the classroom discipline policies are enacted, the teacher activates her control and authority by requiring students to comply with adult requests through "listening" and "respecting." In these ways, the teacher's control is preserved in the classroom.

As Ms. Karris reflects upon why the social order of the classroom and her control are adversely affected by students exerting power, she explains,

It could be the kids at this school . . . At my previous school I didn't have to work as hard to get things under control. . . . They [students in former class] were watching for themselves. They were ignoring people next to them who were not making wise choices . . . because they wanted a sticker.

Because control involves the advancement of the teacher's interests by directing, restraining, commanding the actions/behaviors of students, working to "get things under control" becomes an important aspect of the enactment of discipline policies. Thus, issues of control are part of the decision calculations made by the teachers regarding discipline. The teacher decides which behaviors will earn rewards and which behaviors will not earn rewards. By setting the perimeters associated with the deployment of rewards, the teacher advances her control in the classroom.

However, the controlling mechanisms used by teachers are not intended to be callous. Ms. Karris adds, "When I do behavior control in the room, I do it with humor. . . . I don't make fun or light of anything, but I use a lot of humor in my teaching." Likewise, Ms. Patrick says, "I joke with all my students . . . It's the relationship." Humor, therefore, serves as a potential vehicle for softening the play of power by the teacher in the classroom.

When speaking about children who are disruptive to the social order of the classroom, Ms. Patrick shares, "Their parents can't control them either . . . Not that I can't control them. They're just off the wall at home [and] they're off the wall here." The concern for control and the difficulties associated with the enactment (not to mention the conveyance) of classroom discipline policies are sometimes superseded by theories of blame, in that parents are the reasons why students misbehave in the classroom.

The teacher's concern for control in the classroom is accompanied by the desire to empower students. As Ms. Patrick reflects upon the need for control and the use of the behavior modification techniques, she explains,

I had wanted to not have any of those things [pocket chart, tickets, chance cards]. I just wanted to appeal to their goodness. . . . So I tried the other way . . . Because I didn't like the fact that they were expecting green tickets . . . [the students would say] 'Are we gonna get green tickets 'cause we did this?' . . . Well, if they ask for it, I say, 'You don't get one, because you should be doing it because it is right, not because you are going to get a green ticket' . . . I want this to be an intrinsic thing . . .

Ms. Patrick desires to empower students, offering power to those who can use their own "goodness" to find reward in the social order of the classroom. To encourage students to gain the capacity to influence personal decisions, Ms. Patrick enacts the policy of not giving green tickets if they are requested. In essence, Ms. Patrick attempts to empower students by modifying the deployment of rewards, thereby reconstructing the "Are we doing our best?" discipline policy.

Ms. Karris desires that her students "feel like they are taking ownership" of the discipline policies, which is another mechanism aimed at empowering students that plays into discipline policy enactment decisions. Again, this type of student empowerment involves the teacher's activation of power to set the stage for student empowerment. Even though Ms. Karris knows the classroom expectations in and

around social order, she guides the students toward expressing the desired information by asking questions and prompting reflection rather than bestowing commands. In this way, Ms. Karris attempts to empower the students as she enacts discipline policies at the onset of the school year.

Understanding and appreciating the magnitude of power and influence that teachers of young students can have is also part of the enactment of discipline policies in the classroom. As Ms. Karris shares,

When you think about the power you have as a teacher and how these kids really look up to you, it's pretty scary. So as the teacher, you want to make sure that you are the very best that you can be for those kids. . . . Direct modeling is important, even when you get frustrated and it's the end of the day.

In this light, the teacher is not to abuse the legitimized authority and natural power that her position offers. As the discipline policies are enacted, Ms. Karris models social order by "being the very best that she can be," and in so doing expresses guardianship of the well being of the classroom community.

Likewise, Ms. Patrick notes, "They [the students] know that I would never ask them to do something that I wouldn't do. . . . I am very honest with them . . . If I make a mistake, I tell them . . ." Ms. Patrick adds, ". . . they know that I'm the teacher and I need respect. . . . I treat you with respect, so you need to treat me with respect . . . We're in this together . . . I'm part of the team." Thus, in the enactment of classroom discipline policies, the notion of teacher power is treated in a mindful manner by the teachers themselves. By the teachers' accounts, they strive not to take advantage of the power that they are naturally given and to "walk the talk" when it comes to social order and human compassion.

Therefore, the concern for power held by the teachers includes not abusing the power and authority offered to them, attempting to empower students to use inner

goodness, attempting to empower students to take ownership of classroom discipline policies, and controlling student behavior in the classroom.

In sum, teachers enact discipline policies through the use of behavior modification techniques intended to preempt potential problems and to establish the control of the teacher. The systematic deployment of punishments and rewards associated with the behavior modification techniques (i.e., behavior calendars, pocket chart cards, "Are we doing our best?" tickets, chance cards, and star player of the day) serve as ways to control student behavior and enforce discipline policies. They also become specific formal discipline policies enacted in the classroom. Teachers share a concern for power that directs them to enact classroom discipline policies by controlling student behavior using humor, attempting to empower students to use inner goodness and to take ownership, and by not abusing the power position of the teacher.

Conflict

As classroom conflicts arise, teachers target potential disruptions as they enact classroom discipline policies. Some conflicts are sparked by contests for power. Although these incidents involve power, they are characterized as direct confrontations. Therefore, they will be addressed in this section on conflicts. Other conflicts are basic disagreements between parties. Unveiling the conflicts that are present in the classroom involves probing into the nature of the disputes and the ways in which conflicts unfold.

The nature of the disputes. Typically during the enactment of discipline policies, the nature of the dispute relates to the anticipated disruption to the social order in the classroom. In essence, teachers target likely disruptions. The students who may fail to comply with formal and informal guidelines for classroom living are the students that the teacher keeps under a watchful eye. These students are seated in

close proximity to the teacher during whole group instruction and during independent or paired work assignments. As stated in the classroom setting section, Otis is seated between Ms. Patrick and the instructional assistant. As Ms. Patrick explains, "He knows both of us are there. . . . He knows and he'll be good." Ms. Karris, too, places Toby beside her during teacher direction instruction. Both teachers anticipate disruption to the social order of the classroom (i.e., calling out, fooling around, not paying attention) from specific students. Consequently, these students are placed close to the teacher so as to enable the teacher to halt this noncompliant type of conflict.

Other, more blatant conflicts between students and teachers can also occur in the classroom. As the teacher reacts and responds to these conflicts, she enacts informal discipline policies. When asked to describe conflicts between students and teachers, Ms. Patrick initially states "there are not usually any conflicts between us (students and teachers)," although she later reveals that there are sometimes opposing views and opinions. For example, some students "talk back." Ms. Patrick describes the nature of this type of conflict;

Conflicts are loud . . . like when they [students] are talking back . . . They say, 'No I didn't do that!' . . . I say, 'What did you say?' or 'What was that again?' . . . You see, I just ask them again and they restate it. . . . It must be one of those unspoken things [rules] . . . They know that I'm going to treat them that way . . . and they know how they should be treating me.

While this kind of conflict is not considered "severe" by Ms. Patrick, it propels the informal discipline policy into action. When students challenge her through "talking back," she will simply ask what was said. The question posed is intended to elicit a revised answer from the student. The student is to change her/his initial response into one that better complies with the social order and power structure of the classroom, that is, the student is to revamp their "talking back" language. Thus, the notion that students are not to challenge the teacher, coupled with the idea that if they do challenge

the teacher, they must adjust specific words upon demand, are enacted as two of the informal discipline policies in Ms. Patrick's classroom.

Other types of student and teacher conflicts come in the form of possible arguments. Arguments are typically not tolerated by the classroom teacher. Ms. Patrick explains,

I read somewhere that if they [students] keep arguing with you, you just keep repeating what you said. If you asked them to get their coat and they say 'but I don't want to.' You say, 'Please get your coat' as many times as you need to . . . I just repeat the direction. . . . I don't argue back and forth with them.

Hence, restating directions until the student complies is another strategy for enforcing social order and another informal discipline policy enacted in Ms. Patrick's classroom.

Similarly, Ms. Karris shares, "I don't argue with them." In situations when students challenge the teacher, Ms. Karris says,

Well, I'm not arguing. Usually the topic is just dropped right then . . . It might occur during class time and I don't even say anything, I just go on. [I] put my hand up and they know to close their mouth.

Informal discipline policies, such as not arguing with students and offering signals instead of verbal assaults, are enacted to dodge and combat the classroom conflicts. Essentially, the teachers enact these policies to deflect contests for power from students to avoid conflicts in the classroom.

Other conflicts in the classroom are student opposing student in nature. Ms. Karris explains, "Their first instinct is to be nasty to each other if someone is being nasty to them . . . because they want to get back at them." While the notion of revenge is clearly present, the conflict may also involve learned behaviors and modeled aggression. To combat such forces, teachers enact discipline policies that are proactive and ongoing. Ms. Karris says, "It's really hard for kids to work together . . . It's something that we always need to work on . . . " Thus, one informal discipline policy that is enacted in Ms. Karris' classroom is that acts of revenge are not acceptable.

Likewise, Ms. Patrick does not accept 'He made me do it' as a valid reason for students to engage in acts of conflict. Ms. Patrick says, "... when they hit you, it's your choice what you are going to do back. ... It's your decision." Therefore, Ms. Patrick's non-acceptance of revenge as a rationale for conflict is enacted as an informal discipline policy in the classroom.

The unfolding of conflicts. Alongside the notion of understanding the nature of the dispute in the classroom is the idea of being cognizant of how these conflicts develop. As conflicts unfold in the classroom, teachers retort or react. The conflict and the response offered by the teacher create newly enacted informal discipline policies, in that the cause/effect relationship between the student's behavior and the teacher's response becomes the established pattern of practice in the classroom. For example, Ms. Patrick explains,

If they are crying, I'll usually step in, but sometimes I have them go work it out on their own. [If I step in] I hear both sides and they have to listen to each other. Then we discuss it. ... Other times, if it's not that big of a deal or I think that they can solve it on their own, I put the responsibility back on them ...

Thus, the discipline policy that is enacted is that if the conflict is "a big deal" the teacher will guide the students through a conflict resolution model; and, if the conflict is minimal, the teacher will require students to go through a conflict resolution model without her guidance.

Some conflicts have an element of immediacy attached. These conflicts are student-to-student disputes that could abruptly become major problems. In these situations, the teacher has little time to lead students through a problem solving process. Ms. Karris explains,

Sometimes when there's something that is escalating quickly, you might not have time to talk to the child. Sometimes, you just have to get them separated right away and handle it later. ... Sometimes

you just have to single them out and say, 'That has to stop right now.'

Thus, the discipline policy that is enacted calls for a change in the normal routine because typically problem solving and conflict resolution strategies are used to address conflicts. If the teacher judges the situation as one "that is escalating quickly," students will be separated and "singled out" instead of given time to discuss the conflict.

The nature of the conflict coupled with how the conflict unfolds determine how teachers handle conflicts during the enactment of discipline policies and, consequently, determine the content of the discipline policies. Clearly, many classroom discipline policies are enacted because teachers anticipate conflicts from specific students. Teachers enact discipline policies by understanding the nature of the conflict, addressing opposing opinions from students through posing questions that prompt students to retract challenges, deflecting contests for power by not arguing with students, and taking a stance of intolerance of student-to-student revenge. Furthermore, teachers enact discipline policies by being cognizant of how conflicts unfold, requiring students to resolve their own conflicts when the conflict is considered minimal, intervening by modeling problem solving strategies when conflicts are beyond minimal, and separating students when conflicts are escalating too quickly to model problem solving and conflict/resolution techniques.

Compromise. Other times, to deal with and to attempt to prevent conflicts in the classroom, teachers in this study turn to compromises, bargains, and negotiations during the enactment of classroom discipline policies. Most notably, teachers offer compromises by giving chances and warning signals to students.

Chances. While the behavior calendars utilized in Ms. Karris' classroom offer an opportunity to reward or punish students who do not comply with the discipline policies, they also provide the teacher with an outcome that can be negotiated at any given time that the teacher elects. Ms. Karris explains:

If they have difficulty on a day. . . . If it looks like they are not going to get a sticker, I give them a chance to talk about what's going on and what they can do to improve . . . so they can earn that sticker back. After that [one] chance, that's usually it.

Students are given this second "chance" to earn the reward for following the classroom expectations. The chances initiated during the enactment of classroom discipline policies become informal classroom discipline policies because they become dominant patterns of practice in the classroom.

Similarly, Ms. Patrick offers her students chances to comply with the social order expectations of the classroom using the pocket chart cards. Ms. Patrick remarks, "Usually I don't put it [yellow card] in right away . . . I say next time is a yellow card . . . So they know." Thus, compromises are utilized to help students comply to discipline policies. Compromises can also be described as "treaties" between teachers and students that become specific discipline policies.

Offering students chances to comply is sometimes accompanied by offering students chances to explain. Ms. Patrick states, "I listen to the kids and try to get into what exactly was going on." Finding out the complete story is important because teachers then have the opportunity to characterize each problem and adjust the discipline code accordingly. The fact that students in Ms. Patrick's classroom are given a chance to be heard prior to punishment or reward is part of the pack of rules in the classroom and thus, is part of the set of discipline policies enacted.

Other compromises and bargains utilized to implement classroom discipline policies come in the form of chances or accommodations for specific students. Ms. Karris notes,

When I get to know the kids better, there might be things that I may let happen. . . . For most of the kids, I expect them to do what the majority is doing, but for someone like Toby, I have to let him do certain things because of his Tourette syndrome . . . he may

stand. That is permissible, because it is very difficult for him to sit for long periods of time. He will start twitching or shaking. . . . It's better when he standing and stretching out his whole body. . . . This [accommodation] is written in his plan [IEP]. But for Roth, it's more of a subtle thing. I always let him sit in the back. He's a big kid . . . and he needs room. It's hard for him to cross his legs, because he would try [but could not]. Eventually, I just let him sit back there.

"Letting" specific students do things that other students are not expected to do is a bargain teachers strike with students. Whether these agreements are formal (as in the IEP for Toby) or more informal (as in the "subtle" agreement with Roth), they are compromises that redefine or amend the rules in the classroom. Thus, these accommodations and compromises are not only utilized to enact discipline policies, but they also become individualized discipline policies in the classroom.

The chances offered by teachers to students are part of the enactment of discipline policies in the classroom. Characterized as chances to comply, chances to explain, and permission to disobey, these compromises serve to minimize conflict in the classroom. Each compromise offered to students is a mechanism for advancing discipline policies, in that compromises help teachers enforce policies, and is an informal discipline policy in and of itself.

Warning signals. Other compromises and bargains present during the enactment of discipline policies in the classroom come in the form of public and private warning signals. While some children may interpret the yellow cards placed in the pocket chart in Ms. Patrick's classroom as punishments, the yellow cards are actually called "warning cards." The purpose of the yellow card is to give the student a "warning signal" that something related to the social order has gone astray. The responsibility to adjust to the teacher's expectations rests with the child. Essentially, the student is warned that possible punishments (red card and note home) are pending.

The warning cards are an official, public warning signal built into the formal discipline policy.

Other warning signals utilized during the enactment of discipline policies may be more informal and individualized, but they are far from coincidental. For example, Ms. Karris explains,

Krissy and I have a silent signal. When I put my finger to my nose that means she needs to get herself under control again. . . . She and I are the only ones who know about it. It [silent signal] helps her throughout the day . . . I don't have to say, 'You're getting close to losing your sticker.' We just have the silent signal and she knows to start working.

This private warning signal offered to Krissy serves as an individual accommodation to the formal discipline policies, perhaps offered because Krissy has ADHD, a biochemical condition. Krissy receives an extra opportunity to comply with the classroom behavior policies. The warning offered to Krissy is a secret between Krissy and Ms. Karris. According to Ms. Karris, other students are not formally informed about the special accommodations that Krissy receives "throughout the day." Thus, Ms. Karris enacts a specialized discipline policy, that is a warning signal for Krissy.

However, other individual students in Ms. Karris' classroom also bear the fruits of warning signals. Ms. Karris explains,

Usually, if they have been talking in the morning, I might say, 'You need to earn your sticker. You're having problems right now. Do you know what you are doing?' And they will say, 'I'm talking too much?' and I say, 'Yeah. Stop talking so much' and they do. They improve.

The warning signals, in this case, are public. The verbal exchanges between the teacher and the student are not concealed. Yet, the warning signal is not necessarily offered to everyone, deeming the signal as individualized in nature. The extra warning is offered at the teacher's discretion to anyone who at the moment "deserves" such

accommodation and serves as a publicly expressed and individually dispensed compromise to the classroom discipline policies. Ms. Karris views these compromises as effective because the students "improve." In this way, Ms. Karris reveals why compromises are used.

Protection

The protection of students and the protection of teachers are factors that play into the enactment of discipline policies in the classroom. The goals of the enacted discipline policies are overtly connected to the protection of students through issues of safety. Formal policies such as "keeping hands, feet, and objects to yourself" (Green Leaf's school rule) and "developing in children general standards of safety" (Hampton Manor's school rule) are aimed at keeping students from physical harm. Other classroom discipline policies include more ambiguous mechanisms for protecting students and teachers. These aspects of protection are centered around sensitivity toward students, and teachers attempting to ensure justice.

Sensitivity toward students. The teachers in this study report that sensitivity toward students is a major concern in the enactment of discipline policies. At the heart of this notion is a projection of "fairness" by the teacher. As Ms. Karris notes, "I think that being fair is one of the most important things in discipline. . . . I'm strict and they know it, but I'm fair . . . I don't have favorites!" In this light, being fair involves the teacher's attempt at even-handedness and equal treatment. By Ms. Karris' account, the students are protected from discriminatory practices when it comes to social order expectations. However, given all the exceptions to the rules allowed through compromises and bargains, this notion of equal treatment is perhaps best understood as equitable treatment. In this way, teachers attempt to express sensitivity toward students during the enactment of discipline policies in the classroom.

Another form of protection found in this study involves equal opportunity given to students. At the beginning of the school year, Ms. Patrick keeps a private list of star players of the day, so that each child is ensured a chance to be the star player of the day at least once or twice during the onset of the school year. This private record protects children from being left out or labeled as non-deserving. Clearly, Ms. Patrick desires all children to have the opportunity to be "star player of the day," but wants the opportunities to appear to be based on individual adherence to the formal and informal classroom discipline policies. Essentially, Ms. Patrick wants to offer opportunities for all students to be in the limelight.

These acts of protection, including equitable treatment and equal opportunity, are ways in which teachers attempt to display sensitivity toward students as classroom discipline policies are enacted.

Ensuring justice. Another interesting form of protection involves the teacher attempting to ensure justice as the discipline policies are enacted in the classroom. This notion is evident as Ms. Patrick incorporates the "Are we doing our best?" behavior modification policy because she regulates the system to ensure justice. To do so, she uses different types of paper for red and green tickets to protect against mathematical probability. Ms. Patrick explains,

With the tickets, I can tell the difference between the reds and the greens. . . . I know that I'm supposed to do it by chance, but what would happen [last year] is they would have a really awful week, where they weren't doing their best at all and I'd pull a green ticket . . . I've done it . . . so I made them out of two different types of paper. The greens are out of card stock and the reds are out of construction paper . . . I know it's terrible, but . . . I try to teach the whole child and rewarding them for going off the wall is just not right.

Because Ms. Patrick can feel the difference between red tickets and green tickets, she can choose the ticket that best represents how the students behaved during the week.

Thus, Ms. Patrick protects herself from the possible, but not probable, mathematical odds. She also protects the students from receiving mixed messages about behavior and rewards as she alters the outcome to reflect what is "right." In so doing, Ms. Patrick ensures justice because the students receive the outcome they deserve. In this way, Ms. Patrick serves as a magistrate deciding if reward is merited. This method of ensuring justice is a hidden part of the "Are we doing our best?" discipline policy.

While ensuring justice and being sensitive toward students are intended to protect students in the classroom, these facets of protection also serve to shield the teacher from potential accusations of inequitable treatment, unequal opportunity, and not "doing what is right." Thus, as classroom discipline policies are enacted, teachers protect themselves while protecting students.

Synopsis of the Enactment of Discipline Policies

The discipline policies enacted in Ms. Patrick's and Ms. Karris' classrooms can be described in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction. Specifically, the ways in which and reasons why teachers enact discipline policies involve the setting, power, conflict, compromise, and protection. Teachers consider the classroom setting when they enact discipline policies, in that they attend to the physical layout of the classroom, use outside influences, elevate student expectations, and attempt to establish a community in the classroom. Teachers enact discipline policies by considering power, in that they seek to preempt problems, try to empower students, yet control student behavior through the use of behavior modification techniques. Teachers also enact discipline policies by addressing the nature of disputes and by being cognizant of how conflicts unfold. They attempt to anticipate conflicts and deflect contests for power. Furthermore, to help students comply, teachers amend discipline policies by offering chances to comply, chances to explain, permission to disobey, and public and

private warning signals to specific students in specific situations. Finally, teachers enact discipline policies to protect students and themselves by being sensitive to students and by ensuring justice in the classroom.

Revealing how and why teachers enact discipline policies in the classroom illuminates the aggregation of stated rules and dominant patterns of practice and, consequently, serves to define many of the distinct formal and informal discipline policies enacted. These policies are influenced by the micropolitical factors. Students are required to adhere to "quiet times" and to follow the notion that "everyone helps." Simply put, students are to work quietly, help others, respect others, and work together as a team. The behavior modification procedures used in the classroom are formal policies because they are publicly displayed and involve the systematic deployment of rewards and punishments. Specifically, students need to work to receive stickers on their behavior calendars, avoid the placement of yellow and red cards in the pocket chart, behave in ways that earn green tickets and chance cards, avoid red tickets, and earn opportunities to be star player of the day. To obtain the rewards and avoid the punishments associated with these discipline policies, students need to "follow the teacher's directions." Students are also required to refrain from challenging the teacher or engaging in conflicts with each other. However, if students break these discipline policies, other discipline policies are evoked as the teacher addresses each particular situation. Extra chances and warnings that are given to some students in some situations are special concessions or bargains that become informal, individualized discipline policies. Finally, there are discipline policies aimed at shielding students from harm; specifically, students are to respect others and refrain from causing physical harm to others. These specific discipline policies are enacted by teachers in the classroom. However, as subsequent sections will reveal, there are yet more formal and informal discipline policies used in the classrooms of this study.

Conveying Classroom Discipline Policies

The conveyance of discipline policies involves how teachers and students implement formal and informal discipline policies in the classroom. This phase also includes how the process of conveyance shapes and reshapes the content of the classroom discipline policies. In this section I will address Research Question Two: How do teachers and students convey and implement classroom discipline policies? and Research Question Three: How does the process of conveyance shape and reshape the content of the discipline policies in the classroom? The findings related to conveyance will be organized around the categories of the micropolitical model of interaction, beginning with the classroom setting.

Classroom Setting

How teachers and students convey and implement discipline policies is influenced by the classroom setting. While some factors of the micropolitical classroom setting are explicit, others are more implicit. Most of the explicit factors observed center around the immediate environment, while many of the implicit factors involve outside influences.

Explicit factors. While there are numerous potential explicit factors, the observation data collected from the two classrooms in this study show two consistent environment-related themes; sitting in the back and noise.

Sitting in the back of the group is a privilege given to few and taken by some. For example, Ms. Karris noticed early in the year that Roth had difficulties sitting with his legs crossed in the meeting area. She eventually "let" him sit in the back to accommodate his size and help him be comfortable. Other students consistently take the freedom to sit in the back of the group without the teacher's official consent. These students are typically the students who are the most distracted and least apt to be in compliance with formal and informal discipline policies. For example, in Ms. Karris'

classroom, Anetta, Sigmund, Jamal, and Andy usually join Ronald in the back of the group. Sometimes Peggy sits in the back of the group as well. The following three vignettes exemplify the contention that the students who sit in the back are usually less engaged academically and more distracted by people or things around them.

In Ms. Karris' classroom, during a whole group, language arts/social studies activity, the teacher reads a story to the students seated on the floor in the meeting area. As Ms. Karris opens the lesson with rich prediction and content prompts, most students are quiet and looking at the teacher. Other students, such as Anetta, Sigmund, Jamal, and Ronald, who are seated in the back are distracted. Anetta crawls around other children, plays with the hair of the child in front of her, looks around the room, crawls around the child again, plays with the hair of the child in front of her again, and puts her head in her hands. These behaviors are precisely timed to occur just as Ms. Karris looks at the written text to read to the group. Each time Ms. Karris looks up Anetta stops crawling or touching the other student. During this activity, Sigmund sits with his back arched over, essentially hiding his face from Ms. Karris' view. Sigmund keeps his fingers in his ears while the story is being read and gently rocks his body back and forth. Sigmund occasionally takes his fingers from his ears and appears to "listen" when Ms. Karris stops reading and asks the whole group content questions. Half way through the lesson (approximately ten minutes), Ms. Karris calls Sigmund's name and points to an empty place beside her. Sigmund walks over to the space, sits down, and does not put his fingers in his ears for the rest of the story. Ronald, who remains seated in the back, plays with his shoelaces and changes positions several times, bumping a child once in the process.

Upon another classroom visit, I observe that Jamal is seated in the back with Sigmund and Peggy. Jamal shuffles papers, stretches his arms, and plays with the supplies on the shelf next to him. Sigmund plays with the leg of a desk, lifting the desk

occasionally. Peggy sits up on her knees and back down every minute or so. When the desk leg that Sigmund lifted comes down on Peggy's foot, Sigmund and Jamal laugh. Immediately following the laughter, Ms. Karris states, "OK, are we ready? I am waiting for quiet (pause). Now I see a problem here. What's the general rule?" Ms. Karris motions the group closer with her hand. Five students, including Sigmund, Jamal, and Peggy move closer to the teacher.

In Ms. Patrick's class, Kimmy, Nina, and Miles usually sit in the back of the group during whole class instruction in the "gathering area." Allen occasionally sits in the back as well. Kimmy is usually by the back wall; Nina is almost always between the back wall and the chart; and Miles is usually to the right and on the "outskirts" of the group. During a whole group mathematics lesson on data analysis and organization, the teacher poses questions about how to organize the information collected. During this question and answer period, Miles, who sits in the back, plays with a paper ball. Miles throws the paper ball up six to eight inches and catches it. Over the duration of the lesson, Miles throws and catches the paper ball approximately twelve times. Nina is repeatedly up on her knees and down again. Nina stretches her arms and moves her body to the right and then back again several times. Kimmy puts on lip balm and rolls the lip balm container in her hands. Kimmy looks around the classroom and gently rocks back and forth. When Miles' last throw of the paper ball exceeds eight inches, the teacher sees this behavior. Ms. Patrick holds out her hand toward Miles as she continues to address the class with math content questions. Miles moves closer and places the paper ball in Ms. Patrick's hand.

As the vignettes depict, the students sitting in the back do not cause blatant turmoil, but they are more likely to display behaviors that breach the classroom discipline policies on social order by "fidgeting," "fooling around," "playing," and "failing to pay attention" during the direct instruction time than are students who are

not sitting in the back. One of the frills for students sitting in the back is that the teacher is less likely to spot their inattentiveness, at least for a period of time. Hence, the classroom setting during whole group instruction involves "sitting in the back" as an explicit factor that serves as a potential distracter to the conveyance of discipline policies. Moreover, by sitting in the back, students redefine rules related to "being on task."

Another setting theme present during the conveyance of discipline policies is noise. There appear to be different noise types: productive noise, nonproductive noise, and loud noise. The informal discipline policies are that productive noise is acceptable; nonproductive noise is unacceptable; and loud noise will quickly gain the teacher's attention.

Productive noise in Ms. Patrick's classroom is common. Students are often working at centers and/or with partners or in cooperative groups. The noise can be categorized as productive because the students are working on a task and talking about the task (i.e., actively learning). This type of noise is accepted by the teacher even though noise violates the classroom rules. There are times, however, when Ms. Patrick deems the noise level too loud and offers a signal to "lower voices." This signal is usually a "count down" and a verbal reminder to decrease the level of noise.

It is also common in Ms. Karris' classroom to hear productive noise. These times are usually manifest during mathematics games, read-aloud activities, and other paired or cooperative group assignments. Like Ms. Patrick, Ms. Karris accepts the noise level until it reaches a point when she considers it to be "too loud" or "out of control." When the productive noise is replaced by loudness, Ms. Karris usually signals the group by turning out the lights and offering a verbal reminder of the activity directions and appropriate noise levels.

Other noise in Ms. Karris' classroom and in Ms. Patrick's classroom is considered nonproductive. This noise is usually present during independent working time. For example, in Ms. Karris' classroom, during a lesson on cursive writing, students are working on forming the letter "H" on paper at their desks. When the student noise level escalates, Ms. Karris turns off the lights and announces, "I am concerned about the talking. If we are working on cursive writing, we don't have time to talk. Be on task." These announcements and lights off/on signals are followed by thirty seconds of silence, but are thereafter replaced by student noise. Ms. Karris immediately says, "Table Two, nice job." However, because the student noise appears unaffected by the praise given to those in compliance, Ms. Karris' voice becomes stern as she declares, "Ah, there is too much noise in this room. I'm going to tell you right now that you know better. Too much talking." After a brief exchange of coughs, the "nonproductive" noise subsides.

Nonproductive noise seems to impede the duties of the teacher. For example, during a writing assignment, after offering two lights-off signals and verbal reminders of the directions to her class, Ms. Karris states, "In order for me to get your class letter ready, you need to get started and get quiet and RIGHT NOW I HEAR NOISE!" This statement in this tone causes the students to immediately become quiet. Thus, the crux of the discipline policy of "nonproductive noise will not be acceptable" is conveyed by a loud verbal statement from the teacher.

Another clear theme present throughout the data is that loud noise will almost always gain the teacher's attention. Regardless of activity type and group structure, the student or students who are the loudest will receive some type of response from the teacher. The following vignettes illustrate this theme.

While Ms. Patrick works with an individual student during "paired reading time," Nina and Cleo laugh loudly from behind the stationary wall. Ms. Patrick asks

from across the classroom, "Girls, what are you supposed to be doing? Get a book." Later, Nina and Mandy are in the same cubbie area, behind the stationary wall. A stack of books falls and Nina screams. Ms. Patrick asks from across the classroom, "Girls, where's the story center? I'd like for you to check yourselves." Five minutes pass and Carlton who is walking to get a book bumps Otis. Otis loudly responds, "Ooww!" Ms. Patrick looks up from her work with Kyle and addresses the class, "Boys and girls, I'm expecting that each person is making a smart choice. Otis and Carlton, come over here." As Ms. Patrick speaks privately with Otis and Carlton, Risa talks loudly to Maris and Mandy. Ms. Patrick finishes speaking with Otis and Carlton and walks over to Risa. Ms. Patrick says to Risa, "I'd like for you to check yourself." Risa, Maris and Mandy sit together and begin reading. Four minutes into the activity, their conversation becomes loud. Ms. Patrick summons the loud students (Risa, Maris, and Mandy), offers a slight reprimand, and the students return to the task of quiet reading. Each loud noise that surfaced during this fifteen-minute slice of a day was given a response by the teacher.

In Ms. Karris' classroom, loud noises are typically followed by the teacher announcing the specific student's name. For example, Krissy shouts "Give me that" to Peggy during a spelling test and Ms. Karris responds, "Krissy." Later, when students are preparing to go to lunch, Toby calls out to Jake. Ms. Karris firmly states Toby's name. While in line in the hallway, Ambar asks a question of a student in a loud voice and Ms. Karris calls back, "Ambar!" Each of the teacher responses is followed by student compliance (i.e., the student ceases using a loud voice), at least for the moment. Throughout the day, as she deems necessary, Ms. Karris addresses loud noises by calling the culprit's name.

Noise is a factor which affects how discipline policies are conveyed. Productive noise is not only tolerated, but also encouraged by the teachers through the activities

and group structures employed. Nonproductive noise is addressed as teachers offer signals such as turning out the lights and issuing verbal reminders of the rules related to "working quietly." Loud noises elicit immediate attention from the teacher. As the micropolitical context of the classroom unfolds, students and teachers convey, shape, and reshape these specific discipline policies affected by and related to noise. Essentially, noise in the classroom prompts and redefines discipline policies.

Implicit Factors. The implicit factors of the classroom setting found in this study are student teachers and parents. Because these people shape discipline policies, but are not permanent and direct members of the classroom, they are considered outside influences. Ms. Patrick and Ms. Karris worked with student teachers over the course of this school year. The student teacher in Ms. Karris' classroom (Mr. Hank) joined the class for six weeks during October and November. He taught the class by himself for the last two weeks of his stay. The student teacher in Ms. Patrick's classroom (Miss Sandy) taught during the months of March and April. She taught on her own for the last two weeks of her stay.

As Ms. Karris reflects upon the student teacher's stay in her classroom, she details some problems,

I had a situation when the student teacher started taking over, things were getting out of control. My kids that usually work nicely together started bickering and arguing and some really hurtful things went on at one particular table . . . Things kind of fell apart when I wasn't in the classroom. So we're still [three weeks after Mr. Hank's departure] working toward the point where we were before all that happened . . . we kind of slid backwards . . . he just didn't expect the same things that I expect.

Not only do the expectations of the teacher and the student teacher differ by Ms. Karris' account, but Ms. Karris interprets the time Mr. Hank was in charge as counterproductive because things "fell apart," the students "slid backwards," and the students who "usually work together nicely" began to breach the discipline policies.

While the student teacher experience in Ms. Patrick's classroom was not as severe as Ms. Karris' experience, Miss Sandy's presence affected the discipline policies. Specifically, Miss Sandy reprimanded students for different reasons and in different ways than Ms. Patrick. For example, upon one visit I observed Miss Sandy as she charged Kimmy with a yellow card for playing with the chain links during group time. After this episode, Ms. Patrick privately revealed that she would not have given Kimmy a yellow card for playing with the chain links because Kimmy was paying attention during the lesson. Miss Sandy also frequently asked the students to "calm down" without giving specific directions on how or why to do so. Ms. Patrick does not use the phrase "calm down" as a response to a breach in classroom discipline policies. Essentially, the classroom discipline policies are reshaped by the expectations and commands conveyed by the student teacher that are different from those conveyed by Ms. Patrick.

Clearly, both student teachers conveyed discipline policies that were not in complete alignment with the classroom teachers' policies. Miss Sandy's expectations and signals were different from those applied by Ms. Patrick. Likewise, Mr. Hank's expectations in the classroom were different from Ms. Karris' expectations. Mr. Hank did not "control" the classroom as Ms. Karris does. Consequently, Ms. Karris had to pick up the pieces after Mr. Hank left. The fact that there were differences in conveyance styles affected the discipline policies at the time of the student teacher's presence and left after-effects when the student teacher was gone. Essentially, students were faced with a different set of discipline policy conveyance signals to decode and a different set of expectations to meet while the student teachers were in charge of the classroom.

Another outside influence that affects the conveyance of discipline policies in the classroom involves parents. As Ms Karris explains,

There are six students in my class who have parents that want to run the show . . . They are just very outspoken . . . they watch everything that you do. You better have everything written down or they are going to call you on it . . . Now no one has ever gone to the principal. They always come to me first and usually end up apologizing because they see how they were wrong . . . It's the same in my classroom. I have bossy kids and their parents are the same way.

The influence parents have on the classroom discipline policies is apparent even though the parents are not physically in the classroom. Not only do these parents want to "run the show," but they are also sitting in the wings waiting for the teacher to make a mistake. By Ms. Karris' account, she needs to have "everything written down," otherwise the parents will "call her on it." This tension between what the teacher does and what the parents want or expect her to do affects how discipline policies are conveyed. The discipline policies utilized in the classroom must be far from haphazard. Expectations for social order need to be precise and reprimands need to be explained. Basically, this tension prompted Ms. Karris' use of behavior calendars that have written comments and notes home attached.

While Ms. Patrick did not share such vivid descriptions of the potential influence parents have on classroom discipline policies, she did explain that some parents have difficulties working with their children. Ms. Patrick says, "Their parents can't control them . . ." and "his mother has a lot to do with why he has so many [behavior] problems." Since students behaviors are connected to prior experiences, what happens at home can affect how the child behaves in the classroom. To explain, if the parent has not or cannot convey effective disciplinary practices at home, then the child's acceptance or even comprehension of discipline policies in the classroom may be delayed or constrained. Thus, parents indirectly influence classroom discipline policies.

Clearly, the classroom setting within which discipline policies are conveyed is affected by outside influences, such as parents and student teachers and immediate

environmental factors, such as seating and noise. Each of the implicit and explicit factors influences the teachers' decisions related to how, when, and why to convey discipline policies and the students' decisions related to how, when, and why to accept, challenge, and/or redefine discipline policies in the classroom.

Power

To further understand how teachers and students convey discipline policies, the micropolitical forces related to power will be addressed. The data indicate that teachers vie for and assert power through "the look," commanding language, and trivial to grandiose reprimands and rewards. There are also students who skillfully gain and maintain attention from teachers and classmates. These students vie for and attempt to assert power through covert behaviors; the attention-power-revenge-pity sequence; partial or delayed compliance; and the last in line position.

The look. One of the many, perhaps more subtle, but ever common assertions of power presented by teachers is "the look" directed toward students who are not complying with the informal and formal discipline policies in the classroom. This look, which Ms. Patrick refers to as "the eye bulging out thing," involves the teacher's eyes peering as if in a state of disbelief, coupled with the notion that the teacher has spotted and exposed the culprit. The added eyebrow arches send messages that the behavior must stop immediately and social order must be restored. Ms. Karris explains the perceived effectiveness of "the look,"

You know, a lot of disciplining is done with the eyes and other signals . . . they might not pick up on some signals, but the look, well, that works. . . . I [even] give the look when I go out in stores and there are kids being [acting] nuts.

"The look" is a signal to students that the teacher is in charge and has the power to compel compliance to any given discipline policy with the look of an eye (or two, in this case).

In both of the classrooms in this study, the teacher "look" is used as a mechanism for asserting power. In Ms. Karris' classroom, Toby and Jonas receive "the look" regularly. Behaviors such as "fooling around," "calling out," using an inappropriate tone, or "talking back" cause Toby and Jonas (usually separately) to receive "the look" from Ms. Karris. During my first visit to Ms. Karris' classroom, I observe the students sitting in the meeting area with clipboards and recording sheets. As Ms. Karris finishes delivering instructions for the assigned task, Jonas taps his pencil on the clipboard. Ms. Karris stops talking and gives Jonas "the look." Jonas immediately stops tapping the clipboard.

During another observation, I notice that Kirby and Nelson are playing instead of giving each other spelling tests. Ms. Karris announces, "I hear noise, especially from Kirby and Nelson." Kirby immediately follows with, "I know. He won't give me my words!" Perhaps due to the tone in Kirby's voice or perhaps because the boys are not doing their assigned work, Ms. Karris announces, "Ah, I need to see Kirby and Nelson up here right now!" As the boys stand afoot Ms. Karris' desk (at least two feet back), Ms. Karris gives them "the powerful look." The boys look down at their feet and use only whisper voices to answer the questions that Ms. Karris asks.

"The look" is not just reserved for individuals and pairs of students. This teacher power tactic is applied to the entire class, particularly if the students are sitting close together. For example, during student report presentations in Ms. Karris' classroom, the noise level increases as Roth demonstrates Ghanaian music on his handmade drum. As Roth concludes, Ms. Karris explains to Roth where to display the drum. The students, excited over the music, engage in loud conversations. The noise

level of the student conversations overcomes the conversation between Ms. Karris and Roth. Ms. Karris turns to her students and offers them "the look." Ms. Karris holds "the look" for five seconds (to ensure that all have seen) and the student conversations cease.

Ms. Patrick uses the teacher look in her classroom, as well. After Kimmy leaves her center to join Nina, Ms. Patrick approaches Kimmy and asks, "What center are you at?" Ms. Patrick then gives Kimmy "the look." Kimmy does not verbally answer the question, but walks back to her center. On another occasion, Nina laughs loudly at something Risa says. Ms. Patrick clears her throat, gaining Nina's attention, and restores order and serenity by giving Nina "the look."

Commanding language. In addition to "the look," teachers assert power in the classroom through commanding language and through the ever constant restatement of expectations and directions. Common phrases in Ms. Karris' classroom include; "Raise your hands," "Don't call out," "Stop shouting," "The line must be quiet," "Ah, this is out of control," "That's rude!" Ms. Patrick also utilizes commanding language such as, "Check yourself," "Sit down," "Go to your center," "Come over here," "I'm not telling you again." While the language utilized by teachers may not be intentionally domineering, the reality is that many of the teachers' comments come in the form of precise directions. While the goals of these precise directions may be clarity and simplicity, the style is commanding in nature. Thus, the teacher's power to convey discipline policies is asserted through the repeated use of imperious language.

Reprimands and rewards. Ms. Patrick and Ms. Karris also assert power by offering reprimands and rewards. The reprimands range from minor acts of disapproval to more serious scenes of reproach, while the rewards range from recognition to gifts. Minor acts of censure by the teacher are typically verbal. In Ms. Patrick's class comments such as, "I'm a little disappointed today," "People are not concentrating,"

and "People are playing instead of listening," convey to the students that there is a general problem with compliance to the discipline policies. Other minor reprimands are intended for individuals. For example, having directed and redirected Mandy to independent work several times, Ms. Patrick sees Mandy lying on the floor and stretching in such a way that she nearly trips two students. Ms. Patrick states, "Mandy, I'm tired of you doing this type of thing. Now get yourself ready." Another example of a minor reprimand is found in Ms. Patrick's interaction with Nina. When Nina is "fooling around" instead of working at her center, Ms. Patrick says to Nina, "You know what to do, there's no excuse." The comment is not loud enough for other students to hear. Nina accepts the minor reprimand and walks over to the appropriate center. Later, when Ms. Patrick hears an escalation of noise, she restates the new task's directions and announces, "I'm going to give yellow cards to whoever is not following directions. Red cards, if necessary." Immediately following this threat, the students scurry to gather supplies for the assigned task.

Other reprimands are more solemn episodes. For example, while students are preparing to leave for lunch, Ms. Karris passes out lunch tickets. Students are instructed to form a line at the door. When the noise level increases, Ms. Karris announces, "There are people in line who shouldn't be because they did not push in their chairs." Essentially, the students ignore Ms. Karris' direction because all students remain in line and the student conversations continue. Clearly annoyed with the noncompliance, Ms. Karris orders, "Ah, everyone go sit down!" The students leave the line immediately to go to their desks. Some students, particularly Jake and Jonas, look angry. Some students offer comments such as, "Aw!" "Man." "Oh, no." "See!" as they return to their seats. After all students are seated, Ms. Karris explains, "I saw people pushing and shoving and people were not staying quiet. That's not the signal. You know better. Now, when I call you, line up. This time remember to push in your

chairs and be quiet." All students comply with the discipline policy (i.e., lining up quietly) and the management expectation (i.e., pushing in chairs).

In the latter scenario, there is a recovery of power in the teacher's actions and words. Amid the noise, the students fail to comply with the directions given to them. This failure to comply, coupled with the noise, signals to the teacher that students are "out of control." Consequently, the teacher tries to recover her power in some manner. In this case, the teacher imposes her agenda upon the students by having the class return to their seats. Perhaps it is assumed that when the students are at their desks, the teacher can give directions that can be heard and followed. Perhaps having the students go back to their desks is a punishment for noncompliance. Perhaps the teacher deems it necessary to assert the power to delay. Perhaps all of the above reasons are germane. Nonetheless, it is clear how the discipline policy related to quietness in line is conveyed. Only quiet lines can go to lunch. More importantly, it is crystal clear how the discipline policy related to following the teacher's directions is conveyed. If you do not follow the teacher's direction, you will be quieted, punished, and/or delayed.

The recovery of power through delay is present in several other examples. While students are in line to leave for lunch (on a different day from in the above example), they are not quiet. Ms. Karris turns off the lights and states, "Excuse me!" to the class. The lights are turned on. Some students become silent; others continue their conversations. Ms. Karris interjects, "Ah, students in the front of the line are quiet, students in the back are not." With this comment, the students in the front of the line begin to tell the students in the back of the line to "be quiet," which makes for a louder line. Ms. Karris turns off the lights again, walks to her desk, sits down, and straightens two piles of papers. All students become silent and watch Ms. Karris. Ms. Karris looks up at the students and uses a whisper voice to ask, "Does everyone have a

coat?" The students answer softly in unison, "Yes." Ms. Karris walks to the front of the line and leads the students out of the classroom.

Another day students are preparing to leave for lunch. The students who have brought lunch from home are in line; other students are waiting to be called. The noise level increases. Ms. Karris turns out the lights stating, "Not all directions have been followed. The line is too noisy." When the students in line and the students at their desks continue talking, Ms. Karris announces, "Well, I'll just wait!" With this comment, Ms. Karris walks to the reading table and sits down. Ms. Karris gives the students in line "the look." The students tell each other to be quiet. The noise level subsides and the room becomes silent. Ms. Karris states, "OK. Follow directions and we can go." Ms. Karris then calls the rest of the class and leads the line out of the classroom.

It is interesting that all three examples of the teacher's recovery of power through delaying the students happens to be when students are leaving for lunch. It is possible that context issues, such as students being hungry (and perhaps less compliant due to hunger pains), play a part in the need to assert power. It is also possible that the teacher knows that the students want to go to lunch. Thus, withholding this desired event from the students serves as a punishment. In the preceding vignettes, the power to delay students is asserted by the teacher when students do not follow the related discipline policies implemented in the classroom.

Usually, Ms. Patrick's recovery of power involves one of the behavior modification punishments (i.e., yellow cards, red cards, red tickets). During the first classroom visit I notice that Ms. Patrick uses yellow cards to recover power. For example, when the students fail to comply after two series of countdown warnings, Ms. Patrick announces, "OK. I'm going to have to start giving yellow cards because we have gotten to that point." The noise immediately ceases and many students appear to

be back on task. Thus, after the warnings (countdowns) prove ineffective, Ms. Patrick recovers power via a threat of impending yellow cards.

In another situation, Ms. Patrick restates the directions for the assignment but notices that there is an increase in student noise. Some of the students, particularly Nina, Otis, and Allen, are not on task. Instead they are chatting about pizza. Ms. Patrick announces, "I'm going to have to start placing yellow cards." Nina, Otis, and Allen appear unaffected by the teacher's threat and continue their conversation. Ms. Patrick walks over to the pocket chart and places a yellow card in each of the three students' pockets (Nina, Otis, Allen) and looks at them stating, "You know what you are supposed to do. . . . Nina, I'm going to give you a red card if you continue to play." The three students immediately stop talking and begin reading. All other students are silent as well. Through the threat and imposition of punishment, the teacher restores order in the classroom.

Upon another occasion Ms. Patrick states, "Kimmy, I'm going to give you a red card if you do not do what you are supposed to be doing!" Kimmy walks toward her center. Arden declares to Cleo, "Boy, she's getting a lot of cards." While Arden's comment is inaccurate (because Kimmy only has one yellow card, the maximum possible), it is a telling sign that other students notice when one student has been repeatedly warned (each warning serving as a potential reprimand or punishment) about the imminent yellow and red cards.

Essentially, a policy in Ms. Patrick's classroom is that if students are not following the teacher's directions or not focusing on the assigned task, they may receive a yellow warning card. If students continue to have problems following the teacher's directions, then a red card may be charged to the student. This two-fold discipline policy is conveyed every time Ms. Patrick issues a yellow or red card. During the process of conveying this policy, the policy is actually shaped and reshaped every time

that Ms. Patrick issues a warning about yellow cards but does not follow through. Warnings about potential yellow/red cards are assertions of power that reshape the potential outcome because a student may receive a yellow card or may receive a warning about a yellow card. Thus, this formal discipline policy is constantly modified.

The teachers also assert power through rewards. Sometimes students are given public recognition for complying with the discipline policy of the moment. For example, when the noise level increases while students wait for Marty to find his report, Ms. Karris says, "I like the way Sally and Jamal are waiting quietly." The exchange of smiles between Sally, Jamal, and Ms. Karris indicates that the recognition given to these two students is a type of reward. In this way, the teacher asserts power because she decides when and to whom to offer the reward of recognition. Likewise, in Ms. Patrick's classroom, students are offered recognition. For example, when Ms. Patrick is dyeing eggs with her students, some of the students continue to move closer to the cups of dye. After several reminders to move back, Ms. Patrick states, "Thank you, Remy, for moving back. Thank you, Kimmy for stepping back. Good job." In this situation, Ms. Patrick verbally recognizes and praises the students who follow the given directions. The rewards prove effective because other students start to join Remy and Kimmy by moving back.

Other times students are offered rewards of stickers, popcorn parties, and various treats. In Ms. Patrick's classroom students are sometimes offered chance cards and green tickets when they comply with the classroom discipline policies. The students write their names on the backs of the chance cards and Ms. Patrick places them in a jar. At the end of the week, Ms. Patrick draws a chance card from the jar and gives a reward to that student. The more chance cards that a particular student has in the jar, the more likely that student's ticket will be drawn at the end of the week.

Similarly, Ms. Patrick offers "Are we doing our best?" green tickets to the class as a reward. These tickets are placed in a different jar. At the end of the week, if the favorable green ticket is drawn, the entire class receives a reward (popcorn, free time, etc.). As the teacher offers rewards to the students, be the rewards recognition or gifts, students are honored for being in compliance with the classroom discipline policies. The power behind the reward is that it is the teacher who decides when students will be rewarded, how students will be rewarded, and the specific student behaviors that will be rewarded.

In sum, the discipline policies in each classroom are conveyed and re-conveyed as the teacher asserts her power. Each student behavior that is in opposition to the formal or informal policies is met by an act of disapproval from the teacher (e.g., the look, commanding language or reprimand), while student behavior that is in compliance with the classroom discipline policies is sometimes rewarded. Essentially, reprimands and rewards are tactics aimed at reminding students where the power resides. However, some students vie for power in and around issues concerning classroom discipline policies. Most of their efforts seem to be acts to gain self-gratification. These behaviors include doing something when the teacher is not looking, that is, displaying covert behaviors; seeking attention, power, revenge, and pity; offering partial or delayed compliance; and being last in line.

Covert behaviors. Many students find power and satisfaction in behaving a certain way when the teacher is not looking. Usually when students are engaged in this mini-power play, they check to make sure that the teacher is not looking prior to displaying the "sneaky" behavior. For example, during a mathematics game in Ms. Karris' classroom, the students are working with partners and using dice to practice number sense skills. Marty accidentally drops the dice on his chair. The action produces loud echoing sounds. Marty smiles, picks up the dice, looks at the teacher

(who is not looking at him), and drops the dice again. Marty continues to drop the dice three more times. On the fourth drop, Ms. Karris asks, "What's that noise?" Marty smiles as he ducks behind the chair. Ms. Karris walks over to Marty, points at his desk, and gives him the "look." Marty sits down and begins to play the mathematics game again.

In Ms. Patrick's class, Otis vies for power and self satisfaction by exhibiting certain behaviors when the teacher is not looking. For example, during independent reading time, Otis walks around the classroom, walks to his desk and lays down his head. The instructional assistant tells Otis to start reading. Otis lifts the book. The instructional assistant attends to the small group with whom she is working. Otis begins spinning the book on his desk. He looks at Ms. Patrick and finds that she is not looking at him. Otis spins the book again. Otis again looks to see if Ms. Patrick is watching. When he sees that Ms. Patrick is busy working with another student, he strikes the book with his fist, again looking up to see if Ms. Patrick notices. Otis bangs the book with his fist five more times. After each blow he looks at Ms. Patrick. The noise is loud, yet Ms. Patrick does not look at Otis (most likely asserting her power to ignore his behavior). Clearly dissatisfied with the lack of teacher attention that his acts are receiving, Otis picks up the book and slaps it on the desk. Ms. Patrick calmly walks over to Otis and gently opens his book, stating, "It's time to read." Ms. Patrick sits down beside Otis and finishes reading the paper that she has in her hand. In this scenario, Otis eventually receives the attention that he desires because Ms. Patrick sits beside him. However, the attention given to Otis is minimal. His efforts to achieve attention and power prove successful, but far from satisfying. Ms. Patrick uses power strategies (ignoring and proximity) to help Otis comply with the discipline policies at hand (i.e., reading quietly and following teacher directions).

The attention-power-revenge-pity sequence. Other times Otis is not pulled into compliance so easily. In fact, he travels through the attention-power-revenge-pity sequence almost perfectly. After screaming across the classroom, Otis is reprimanded by the instructional assistant (it is Otis' scheduled time to work with the instructional assistant), who tells him to sit on the floor beside the wall. Otis' failed attempt at further attention invites him to vie for power by not completely complying with the command. Otis lies on the floor. The instructional assistant sternly states, "I told you to sit on the floor. You are six years old. Sit right here, away from the dirt." Otis sits up. Allen approaches Otis and asks, "Why are you sitting there?" Otis replies, "I'm not telling you." Otis looks up at the instructional assistant who is working with a small group of students. Otis slides over to the dirt and begins what can be interpreted as revenge. Otis crushes clumps of dirt into the carpet. After each clump of dirt is crushed, he looks at the instructional assistant to ensure that she is not looking. When Otis runs out of dirt clumps, he picks some dirt off his boot and uses his heel to drive the dirt further into the carpet. After three minutes, Otis (perhaps realizing that the instructional assistant does not know what he has done) walks over to the instructional assistant who announces, "Go sit where I told you. Away from the dirt!" Otis saunters back to his place on the floor. His attempts at revenge have proven unsuccessful. Otis lies on the floor and appears to fall asleep. Six minutes pass and the instructional assistant calls Otis back to the group. Otis asks to go to the bathroom. The instructional assistant responds, "If you need to go, OK. But don't play around. Ms. Patrick is out there."

This vignette illustrates that aspects of power are ever present in the classroom. Otis seeks attention by calling across the classroom; Otis seeks power by lying on the floor instead of sitting. He also seeks power by not telling Allen why he is on the floor; Otis seeks revenge by crushing the dirt clumps into the carpet. After his attempts for

attention, power, and revenge fail, Otis appears to give up by lying on the floor to sleep. Thus, one way that some students vie for power and control in the classroom involves the attention-power-revenge-pity sequence.

Partial and delayed compliance. Another way that students vie for power in the classroom is through partial compliance. In these situations, students do not completely comply with the teacher's directions. These acts of power send messages that the student will do what s/he is told, but only in a limited fashion. For example, during a whole group lesson, Ms. Karris is reading a story to the class. Sigmund is sitting in the back beside Anetta. Anetta is fidgeting and playing with her shoe. Ms. Karris notices Anetta and states, "Anetta, I need you to move up here where I can see you. And Sigmund, too." Anetta moves closer, but Sigmund is clearly annoyed that he is falsely accused. Sigmund does not move. Consequently, Ms. Karris gives Sigmund "the look." Sigmund slides over less than two inches. Ms. Karris accepts the minimal compliance and continues reading.

In another situation, Ambar is among nine students waiting in line to have her work checked by Ms. Karris. As the noise from the line increases, Ms. Karris announces, "Um, you can't be in line if you are talking; Ambar, go sit down." Ambar leaves the line and walks to her desk. The expression on Ambar's face indicates that she does not want to accept the fact that she is the only wrongdoer that was reprimanded. Ambar places one knee on her chair, shifting her weight to the leg that remains standing. Ms. Karris peers over the heads of the students still in line and nods her head in a consenting fashion to Ambar.

In these brief exchanges, it is clear that students offer partial compliance and the teacher accepts these offers. This partial compliance gives control to the student because s/he retains power by only partially or minimally doing what the teacher has requested. The partial compliance also gives control to the teacher because the student

has followed the given direction. Thus, because both parties give a bit, there is no cause for blatant student defiance or further teacher reprimand. The power is, essentially, shared.

Mandy's partial compliance typically comes in the form of delayed compliance in Ms. Patrick's classroom. When asked to stop talking, Mandy whispers one last comment to Nina. When told to line up, Mandy first gets a drink. When told to move, Mandy finishes reading to Risa before moving. When asked to rejoin the group, Mandy sits for a time (three minutes) with her back facing the teacher. Each incident is marked by delayed compliance which is accepted by the teacher.

The notions of partial compliance and delayed compliance actually serve to reshape the discipline policy on following the teacher's directions. To explain, it is conveyed and re-conveyed that students must follow the teacher's directions. This regulation is an unwritten but very important classroom discipline policy. Teachers state and restate this rule and continuously convey the message through deeds, interactions, and reactions. One could argue that partial compliance and delayed compliance are breaches of the well-known discipline policy. Not complying fully is not following the teacher's directions. But partial and/or delayed compliance is accepted in many cases. Thus, the teacher's acceptance of partial and delayed compliance serves to reshape of the content and potency of the discipline policy. In these cases compliance need not be complete or immediate.

The last in line position. While one may think that being first in line is the ultimate pleasure for elementary aged students, this study found that there is a great deal of student influence associated with being last in line. Nearly every time the students left the classroom (during observations), there was some type of student discussion involving the desire to be the last student to leave the classroom. One day, Nina and Kimmy argue over being the last in line as students leave the classroom to go

to lunch. Later that same day when students are leaving for music class, Kimmy and Allen discuss being last in line. Kimmy is standing in the end of line position and Allen moves behind her asking, "Can I be last? I've never been last." Kimmy responds, "Yes, you have." Allen's lobby proves ineffective and he moves ahead of Kimmy. Kimmy retains the last in line position.

Another day Allen campaigns for the back of the line position. Allen moves behind Nina as the line begins to leave the classroom. Nina states, "No, I'm last." Allen moves ahead of Nina. Nina smiles. Slyly, Allen stops to tie his shoe. Nina stops moving and stands behind Allen. All other students leave and Ms. Patrick peers around the corner asking, "What's going on?" Nina walks around Allen. Allen finishes tying his shoe and leaves the classroom in the preferred last position.

One day in Ms. Karris' classroom, Roth and Toby enter into a contest for the line ending position. Roth puts out his hand, motioning to Toby to move ahead. Toby follows suit and does the same to Roth. The boys repeat this exchange of hand motions (looking like Chip and Dale) as they move through the classroom following the line. When they reach the door, Ms. Karris calls back, "What's the hold up?" Neither student answers. Roth goes through the doorway first. Toby smiles and leaves the classroom. Another day, Anetta and Jamal vie for the last in line position. Anetta tells Jamal, "You go." Jamal shakes his head but moves ahead of Anetta. Thus, Anetta's commanding language affords her the power to be last in line.

Holding the last in line position suggests that you are one of the power players in the classroom. Many of the students who desire the last in line position are the same students who sit in the back during whole group instruction (e.g., Kimmy, Nina, and Allen in Ms. Patrick's class and Roth, Anetta, and Jamal in Ms. Karris' class). Being last in line is viewed by some students as desirable. Accomplishing the last in line position is an assertion of student power because the student advances his/her interest.

most apparent themes associated with conflict during the conveyance of discipline policies include challenging the teacher, breaking a rule, and using problem solving techniques.

Most of the student-to-teacher conflicts that surface in the classroom are related to a student challenging the teacher. For example, one day in Ms. Karris' classroom, Peggy fails to line up when her table is called. Ms. Karris calls her name twice. Peggy replies, "Yeah. Yeah. I'm coming." Ms. Karris says, "Peggy, that is rude! Come here." Peggy walks over to Ms. Karris. Ms. Karris' speaks to Peggy in a private manner. Most other students do not hear Ms. Karris as she explains, "Peggy, I know that you were just kidding, but some people would think that the way you said that is rude. So don't do it!" Peggy nods her head to affirm Ms. Karris and joins the line. This exchange between Ms. Karris and Peggy involves the tone of voice used by Peggy to address Ms. Karris' request. Clearly, Ms. Karris does not want "other people" to view Peggy's comment as "rude." If so, the teacher's power may be in temporary jeopardy. Therefore, Ms. Karris publicly announces that Peggy's tone of voice and words chosen are unacceptable. Ms. Karris explains the problem to Peggy through private consultation. The informal discipline policy in this case is that "talking back" to the teacher will not be accepted. The nature of the disagreement involves Peggy's apparent irritation with the command and subsequent assertion of power, which is met by Ms. Karris' power advantage tactic (reprimanding and privately re-transmitting the discipline policy).

Other conflicts in Ms. Karris' classroom surface as the discipline policies are employed. These conflicts involve breaking school rules. One day Jonas exits the classroom inappropriately. The school rule (not written, but verbally expressed to students) is that all upper grade students will leave classrooms to the left and exit at the far door to allow younger children to exit without the older students' presence at the

door to the right. Because Jonas chooses to exit through the closest door (to the right), Ms. Karris tells Jonas that he will need to miss part of recess on the following day. While the nature of the disagreement is clearly school safety rules, the reasons why Jonas chooses to break the rule are more obscure. Perhaps he was "trying to get away with it." Perhaps, Jonas simply forgot the rule. In either case, the act produces a conflict. The teacher responds by imposing a punishment (i.e., missing half of his recess). The most interesting aspect of this conflict, however, is what follows the next day. When lunch time approaches there is an announcement in Ms. Karris' classroom. Jonas' mother is in the office requesting that Jonas leave school to go out to lunch with her. Jonas' mother's request is granted and Jonas leaves school for the lunch period and the recess period. Consequently, Jonas does not serve his recess time in purgatory. In fact, as Ms. Karris and I finish our lunch, Jonas returns to school with just two minutes left of recess. Jonas smiles as he walks into the classroom. Ms. Karris responds, "Jonas, don't smile. You know that you are late. Go outside and you can give me half of your recess tomorrow." This exchange is highly related to power and confrontation. The parent's influence is ever present. There is no doubt in Ms. Karris' mind that Jonas' mother intentionally kept him from serving his punishment. "Oh, she knew," Ms. Karris later told me. The nature of the conflict is complex in this case. Jonas breaks the school rule; Ms Karris offers punishment and the parent offers a power play by making it impossible for Jonas to serve his punishment, at least for a time. Thus, the punishment is delayed because the parent asserts her power over the situation.

Many student-to-teacher disagreements that surface in Ms. Patrick's classroom are related to breaking the rule on following the teacher's directions. Some students fail to follow the teacher's directions because they appear distracted or perhaps choose to be distracted. Some students fail to comply with the teacher's directions as a way to challenge the teacher. For example, when Ms. Patrick tells Nina to go to her center,

Nina walks over to chat with Risa. Ms. Patrick redirects Nina by providing her with a reminder of what she is supposed to be doing (i.e., following the teacher's directions). Otis receives this type of redirection often. Comments such as "Otis, it's reading time," "Otis, it is time to write," "Otis, focus," "Otis, go sit down," reveal the nature of the disagreement, which is that Otis is not following the teacher's directions.

Other conflicts in Ms. Patrick's classroom involve breaking classroom safety rules. One day the students create science projects (fossils) using shells, plaster, and clay. While exploring the properties of the fossils, Kelvin decides to roll the clay in a ball and toss it. Kelvin tosses the clay three times. On the third toss, the clay hits the ceiling light and makes a loud noise. Ms. Patrick turns to see Kelvin catch the clay. Ms. Patrick says, "All right, that's it. Come here!" Kelvin hangs his head as he walks toward Ms. Patrick. Ms. Patrick asks several rhetorical questions. "What were you doing? You were throwing the clay at the ceiling? What did you think would happen?" Kelvin does not answer. Ms. Patrick states, "You have lost the privilege to be in this classroom and I don't know if you can have your fossil and clay. Follow me." Ms. Patrick leads Kelvin out of the classroom to another classroom where he must sit quietly.

In this situation, the nature of the dispute involves classroom safety (i.e., the light could break or someone could get hit by the tossed clay, which is a breach of the formal school "standards of safety"). Additionally, there is an element of "out-of-control" student behavior present. Throwing things is clearly unacceptable to the social structure of the classroom. Moreover, by throwing the clay, Kelvin creates a conflict with Ms. Patrick's authority in the classroom. Consequently, Kelvin is removed from the classroom.

Other conflicts are directly related to students confronting the teacher's power and authority. One day, Mandy receives a yellow card for not following directions.

Ms. Patrick talks with her privately about the problem. Mandy walks away pouting. When the group is called to the gathering area, Mandy faces the opposite direction. Ms. Patrick does not accept this behavior and announces, "Mandy, turn around. You're not going to do this today." Mandy slowly turns around. As she cries, Mandy proclaims, rather defiantly, "I'm not coming back to school!" Ms. Patrick states, "Fine," and raises her hand to signal that she will no longer discuss this matter with Mandy. The nature of this confrontation is clearly power. Mandy exerts her power and Ms. Patrick repudiates the maneuver. The conflict is over when Ms. Patrick holds up her hand indicating that she will no longer entertain Mandy's attempts at power.

In Ms. Patrick's classroom other blatant student conflicts with the teacher are often met with the dispensing of yellow cards or red tickets. If a student displays a behavior that is not in compliance with any given discipline policy, Ms. Patrick gives a warning of the pending yellow/red card, the actual yellow/red card, or red tickets as the reprimand or punishment. As seen in several of the previous excerpts from Ms. Patrick's classroom, students are typically warned and if they continue to "talk," "fool around," or "disrupt the classroom" they are given a yellow/red card. Likewise, in Ms. Karris' classroom, students who confront the teacher and attempt to rock the power structure of the classroom are verbally reprimanded (e.g., "Annabel, you are not the teacher!" "Ambar, go sit down!") and/or punished (e.g., "No sticker today, Toby!" "Jonas, you have been fooling around, so you'll have to finish that at recess!").

In other situations, Ms. Karris and Ms. Patrick combat conflict by highlighting those students who are at the moment in compliance with the given discipline policy. For example, when Ms. Karris asks the students to join her in the meeting area, only some of the students immediately comply. Ms. Karris announces, "OK. I see six people here. That's good." As a result, the rest of the class joins the group. The verbal reward and recognition offered to the first students in compliance with the

teacher's direction serves as a call for others to comply. Essentially, the first six students are rewarded for their compliance to the rule that all teacher directions will be followed immediately. This tactic is a common form of addressing the conflict caused by students failing to comply in Ms. Karris' classroom. Comments such as, "I see that Table One is ready," "Thank you, Table Three, for cleaning up so quickly," "Nice job, students working by the rocker," and "I see Andy, Mason, and Sally are ready," indicate that Ms. Karris utilizes the strategy of highlighting those in compliance to motivate those who are not in compliance with the teacher's directions.

Ms. Patrick, too, verbally rewards students who are "doing the right thing" or "following directions." For example, when the noise begins to escalate, Ms. Patrick announces, "Oh, I like the way Arden and Yale are working so nicely. Really, the whole sea horse table." The comments from Ms. Patrick are intended to reward and highlight the students who are working quietly so as to encourage the students who are not working "nicely" (synonymous with quietly). These verbal rewards are used to help the teacher convey the discipline policies, while diverting the conflicts posed to the social order of the classroom.

In both classrooms, student-to-student conflicts usually result in the teacher guiding or directing the students through/to a communicative approach to problem solving. As seen in several of the previous examples in the section on conflict, students are given time to work through these problems. Ms. Karris often urges her students to "Go work it out," "work together as a team," and "solve the problem." Similarly, Ms. Patrick encourages students to "talk through" problems and conflicts, enforcing her broad classroom discipline policy of "everyone helps."

Many student-to-student conflicts in the classroom include a request by one student for teacher intervention. In Ms. Karris' classroom the nature of the student-to-student conflict is typically that one student perceives that another has broken a

discipline policy. For example, Kirby announces to Ms. Karris as the students enter the classroom, "Annabel was pushing in line." Annabel responds, "I thought that we were going in." Ms. Karris interjects, "Ah, Kirby and Annabel, go over to the reading table and work this out." Kirby and Annabel walk over to the reading table and engage in private discussion. Three minutes later, Kirby and Annabel return to the group. The following dialogue ensues;

Ms. Karris: Kirby, did you work it out?
Kirby: Yes.
Ms. Karris: What happened?
Kirby: She said that she wasn't paying attention.
Ms. Karris: Oh, so it was an accident?
Kirby: Yes.
Ms. Karris: And what about you?
Kirby: I said that I accept your apology.
Ms. Karris: See, boys and girls? We should all listen to this, because this kind of thing happens all the time when you are in line. People don't watch. Then a person bumps into someone and they get mad or angry.

In this situation the conflict involves the breach of the "no pushing" informal classroom discipline policy and a breach of the formal school policy on "keeping hands, feet, and objects to yourself" and "show[ing] respect for [to] . . . classmates." Although Kirby requests the teacher's intervention, Ms. Karris directs the students to privately resolve their conflict. The conflict-resolution and communication strategies are shared with the class and Ms. Karris praises the process.

When Marty and Jonas do not follow the paired reading assignment, Ms. Karris asks, "Marty, did you read this?" Marty responds, "No. He won't let me." Ms. Karris replies, "Marty and Jonas, this is a team effort. You have to work it out." Again, in this brief exchange, the students are charged with the task of resolving their own student-to-student conflicts. Likewise, when Krissy reports, "Annabel was following me and calling me names at recess," Ms. Karris responds, "This name calling is hurtful.

These things are supposed to be worked out at recess. You need to work them out on your own . . . Go talk to each other." Later, Krissy and Annabel report to Ms. Karris that the recess conflict related to name calling is resolved.

Other times Ms. Karris appears to guide the communication and/or problem solving process. For example, when Annabel's pencil rolls onto the floor behind Jonas' desk, the following dialogue and behaviors take place;

Annabel: Jonas, give me my pencil!
(Annabel moves closer to Jonas)
(Jonas offers no response)
Annabel: Give it to me! (stomps foot)
Jonas: OK. It's on the floor.
(Annabel picks up the pencil and walks back to her desk)
(Jonas moves his desk to bump Annabel's desk)
(Annabel looks up at Jonas)
(Jonas makes a face at Annabel)
Annabel: Ms. Karris, Jonas just gave me the retard sign.
Ms. Karris: I think that we need a conference right now!
(Ms. Karris walks over to the table and bends over to initiate a private conversation between Jonas and Annabel)
Ms. Karris: How can we work better together?
Jonas: Ignore.
Ms. Karris: Annabel, can you handle that?
Annabel: Yes.
Ms. Karris: Jonas?
Jonas: Yes.
(Ms. Karris walks away)

Clearly, the nature of the disagreement between Jonas and Annabel is related to the discipline policy of treating others with respect. Jonas fails to comply with this policy when he teases Annabel by bumping her desk and by giving her the "retard sign." Annabel cannot handle the situation any longer; therefore, she requests Ms. Karris' assistance. The teacher intervention is minimal and essentially serves to halt the conflict rather than to resolve the conflict.

In Ms. Patrick's classroom, student-to-student conflicts are often ignored by the teacher unless one of the students requests teacher involvement. For example, when

Risa is passing out the basket of supplies, Otis shouts to her, "Not that one." Ms. Patrick ignores Otis' remark. Risa responds by placing the book on Otis' desk. Otis picks up the book, places it back in the basket and takes a different book. Risa calls to Ms. Patrick, "Ms. Patrick, Otis won't take the one that I gave him!" Ms. Patrick says, "He can use that one." With that comment, Otis looks at Risa and smiles, declaring his victory. Risa states, "Umh!" declaring her dissatisfaction with the conflict outcome and the teacher's intervention. The teacher's position in this conflict is to restore social order. The teacher's decisions are that Otis can use the book that he desires and that Risa's preferences are denied.

Other student-to-student conflicts do not involve the teacher's direct intervention. For example, as Allen sits in the gathering area during whole group instruction about sea creatures, he hits himself in the thigh, then mildly punches Carlton in the back. Carlton raises his hand, indicating that he plans to tell Ms. Patrick about the conflict. Allen whispers, "Sorry," to Carlton. Carlton ignores Allen's apology and continues to raise his hand. Allen leans forward and whispers, "Don't tell," to Carlton. Carlton puts his hand down and Allen says, "Thanks." The nature of this conflict involves a breach in the formal discipline policy of the school involving safety and the informal classroom discipline policy of "no hitting." Carlton is the victim and Allen is the perpetrator. Both parties assert power (i.e., Carlton has the power to tell and Allen has the power to resolve the conflict by apologizing and pleading his case). The conflict is over when Carlton decides that it is over.

In sum, there are several types of conflicts present in the classroom. Some conflicts involve teachers and students; other conflicts involve only students. While the nature of the conflict that surfaces during the conveyance and implementation of discipline policies in the classroom is varied, the overt themes entail students challenging the teacher, breaking school/classroom rules, and using problem solving

methods. Conflicts serve as vehicles for conveying discipline policies in the classroom. When students assert power (by talking back, breaking rules, and/or not following the teacher's directions), teachers reprimand, punish, highlight those who are in compliance, or in some way re-instate the discipline policy at hand. This process reshapes the content of the policy because consequences for not following the policy are now attached. In a sense, the policy has been elaborated. The student-to-student conflicts also serve as vehicles by which discipline policies are conveyed and reshaped, in that each conflict serves to minimize or strengthen the related discipline policy. To fortify community-focused discipline policies, teachers attempt to teach students how to solve their own problems.

Compromise

To deal with classroom conflicts, teachers regularly offer compromises and bargains to students. These acts of concession can take a variety of forms including, compromises offered to the entire class, to individuals, and to groups of students. Most of the classroom compromises are evident in countdowns, signals, and extra chances. These compromises influence discipline policies by redefining the content of the policies.

Countdowns. Countdowns or counts are utilized by the teacher to eliminate or calm conflicts by smoothing transitions, offering warnings, or buying time prior to compliance. For example, during a whole group lesson at the gathering area, students listen as Ms. Patrick reads. Maris and Joel enter the classroom talking to each other. Ms. Patrick continues to read. Maris sits down beside Risa. Risa sticks out her tongue at Maris and declares, "I don't like you." Maris ignores Risa. Ms. Patrick stops reading and announces, "I'm going to give you a count of three and you make sure that you are sitting next to someone who helps you concentrate. Make a smart choice.

One. Two. Three." During the count, Risa and Maris move slightly further apart and two other students adjust their seats. Essentially, the class is given an opportunity to relocate, thereby smoothing the transition for the students who entered the classroom.

Other counts or countdowns are directed toward individuals. For example, one day when Ms. Patrick sees Mandy lying on the floor during whole group instruction, she says, "I'm going to count to three for you to get back to where you are supposed to be. One. Two. Three." Mandy sits up and slides back toward the group. Mandy is not reprimanded, instead she is given a count which serves as an act of compromise. The count allows Mandy to follow directions and join the social order expectations of the classroom.

In another example Ms. Patrick offers a countdown to the entire class. When the class needs to leave to go to music, Ms. Patrick states, "OK. I'll give you a countdown of five to line up. Five. Four. You should be in line by zero (pause). Three (Ms. Patrick gathers a few supplies from her desk). Two (pause). One." Allen announces to the class, "She's on one!" The students scurry to find a place in the line. Ms. Patrick walks to the front of the line and announces, "Zero. Everyone should be in line." Allen and Kimmy move up and the line is complete. In this vignette, the countdown serves to buy time for the teacher to finish last-minute details before leaving the classroom. The countdown also allows students a few moments to move from independent work to the line. The countdown provides a warning as to when full compliance is expected, which is at the tone of zero).

While many countdowns are given to the entire class, other countdowns are offered to specific students. For example, after giving the transition directions to the class, Ms. Patrick notices Kimmy playing with her folder. Ms. Patrick remarks,

Kimmy, go to your seat and start writing. You have a countdown from three. Three (pause). Two (pause as Ms. Patrick collects a paper from another student). Kimmy, I'm on two, you need to be

starting by zero. One (pause, as Ms. Patrick talks to Mandy). Kimmy, I'm on one, you need to be starting (pause as Ms. Patrick looks at Kimmy). Zero.

Just prior to Ms. Patrick's declaration of "Zero," Kimmy opens her folder. The countdown bought Kimmy an extra two and one half minutes to comply with the teacher's directions. The countdown also allowed Ms. Patrick to finish collecting papers and to address Mandy's question about the assignment. This bargain serves as a prelude to compliance that recasts the classroom discipline policy related to following the teacher's directions. To explain, the informal, yet explicit classroom discipline policy on immediately following the teacher's directions is essentially modified for any given student if the teacher offers the individual student a countdown. This student is given extra time to comply with the directions. Thus, the meaning of immediate compliance is redefined through countdowns.

Signals and chances. Ms. Karris offers compromises to students by offering a lights out signal, giving verbal warnings, and providing extra chances for students to earn stickers. When the student noise in the classroom increases to a level that Ms. Karris deems nonproductive, she typically turns the lights out and offers the students a verbal warning followed by a restatement of the directions. This procedure is a type of compromise because students are not punished for engaging in nonproductive noise and subsequent off-task behavior (i.e., breaching the classroom discipline policy on following the teacher's directions). Instead they are warned. In another situation, after the lights-out signal fails to produce silence, Ms Karris offers the following warning; "I know that this is a game, but we cannot use a game to break the rules." In this situation Ms. Karris is referring to the formal school discipline policy (follow directions the first time they are given) and informal classroom discipline policies (nonproductive noise is not acceptable).

Another type of compromise used by Ms. Karris involves extra chances given to individual students. For example, when Ambar talks to Andy instead of working on her individual assignment and when Brice looks around the classroom instead of reading, Ms. Karris states, "Ambar, you need to get settled. Brice, what are you doing? You need to get settled. Remember you want to earn that sticker." Although Ambar and Brice (and Andy) should not receive stickers on their behavior calendars because they did not follow the teacher's directions and they did not focus on the task, Ms. Karris offers them a second chance to earn the stickers. Second chances serve as bargains that not only revise discipline policies, but create informal individualized discipline policies in the classroom.

Similar bargains occur in Ms. Patrick's class involving warnings about yellow cards. For example, one day Owen receives some reading material that is intended to "challenge him, because he is ready for it." Owen does not respond favorably to the challenge. Owen lays his head on his desk. Ms. Patrick asks, "Owen what are you supposed to be doing?" Owen does not respond verbally, but raises his head up. Ms. Patrick returns her attention to the group with whom she is working. Two minutes later, Ms. Patrick looks at Owen who is not attempting to read. Ms. Patrick states, "Owen, I'm going to have to give you a yellow card if you don't follow the directions. Start reading." Owen puts his head back down on his desk. Ms. Patrick says, "Owen, come here." Owen stands and walks slowly toward Ms. Patrick. Ms. Patrick talks privately with Owen and then states, "Right here," pointing at the seat beside her. Owen sits down in the seat and begins to cry softly, hiding his face in his hands. Ms. Patrick pats Owen on the back and gives him a few moments to himself. Then Ms. Patrick tells Owen to get a tissue and begin reading. Owen complies with the teacher's directions.

In this vignette, Ms. Patrick offers Owen many chances to comply with the classroom discipline policy of following the teacher's directions. Owen receives a bargain because he is not given a yellow card. Owen is given a chance to "get himself together." Owen is comforted, yet Ms. Patrick does not give up on the expectations set for him. Ms. Patrick encourages Owen to comply with her directions through a series of bargains and compromises, thereby offering Owen an individualized, informal discipline policy.

Influencing policies. Some bargains struck in the classroom help the conveyance of discipline policies and other bargains hinder the conveyance of discipline policies. However, all compromises shape and reshape the content of the discipline policies used in the classroom. Sometimes countdowns support and sometimes countdowns impede the conveyance of discipline policies in the classroom. The countdowns enforce discipline policies by offering time to comply and the countdowns impede the discipline policies by the sheer factor of delay. To explain, the countdowns utilized by Ms. Patrick typically take two to three minutes to complete. During this time students are free to finish up tasks; thus there is an acceptable, in fact, encouraged delay given by the teacher. The delay may help smooth the transition from one place/activity to the next for the students; but, it may also increase dawdling and encourage loitering among the class members. In any case, the lag time serves to reshape the content of the informal discipline policy of immediately following the teacher's directions. Immediacy is no longer the order, although compliance is still expected. When the countdown is given, some students dillydally until the countdown is nearly complete. Student comments such as, Allen's "She's on one!" and Ms. Patrick's comments such as, "I'm almost on zero" and "I'm on two" send messages that compliance time is close at hand. Therefore, countdowns reshape and revise when and how students "follow the teacher's directions."

Interruptions in countdowns further modify classroom discipline policies. For example, when the students are displaying inappropriate behaviors during a writing assignment, Ms. Patrick stands at her desk and announces, "Boys and girls, I don't know why anyone is up and walking around. We need to talk about this. A countdown from ten to finish up and meet me in the gathering area. Ten. Nine. Eight. Seven (Ms. Patrick walks across the classroom). Six. Five (Ms. Patrick talks with Otis). Four. Three (Ms. Patrick speaks privately to Mandy). Two (Ms. Patrick tells Owen, 'OK.'). One. Zero (Ms. Patrick sits in the rocking chair). When the countdowns are interrupted by the everyday classroom happenings, more time is offered to the students to comply with the direction given. Not only is the content of the discipline policy on following the teacher's direction reshaped, but so is the policy of complying by the time the countdown is complete because it takes varying amounts of time to complete countdowns. Thus, countdowns permit and at times confound the delays.

Other discipline policies are reshaped through compromises and bargains offered in the classroom. One discipline policy present in both classrooms centers around the idea that students must raise their hands and take turns speaking in the whole group settings. Constant reminders such as "Raise your hand," "Don't call out" are given by the teacher. In one situation, Ms. Karris poses questions to the class about opportunity costs. When students begin "calling out," Ms. Karris raises her hand to model the discipline policy and asserts, "Raise your hand before you speak." Peggy raises her hand and begins to speak. Ms. Karris interrupts, saying, "Peggy, I can't call on you because you are talking while your hand is raised. Now, you know better. I can't call on you." Peggy stops talking and keeps her hand up. One minute later (after another student is called), Ms. Karris calls upon Peggy, saying, "OK. Peggy. Now

you've got it right and I can call on you." The discipline policy is reaffirmed and the student complies.

However, raising your hand to be called upon before speaking is a discipline policy that can be revamped at any given time in the classroom. For example, when Ms. Karris is reading to the class, Jake asks a question about the content of the story. Ms. Karris replies, "That's a good question. . . ." and proceeds to answer Jake's question. Later, Mary interjects a comment and Ms. Karris entertains Mary's idea. Nora adds a further content-related comment and Ms. Karris talks with Nora. Essentially, the teacher allows the hand raising discipline policy to be replaced by conversation between the teacher and the students.

Similar situations occur in Ms. Patrick's classroom. During a whole group language arts lesson, Ms. Patrick poses questions to the class. After each question, the students answer with one-word responses in unison. As the questions become more complex, some students raise their hands. Ms. Patrick calls upon students to answer some questions and accepts student answers that are "called out." As long as the comments or questions offered by the students are content related, Ms. Patrick welcomes and affirms all student responses with or without students raising their hands during this particular lesson. However, when Nina asks, "Can we go to centers now?" Ms. Patrick responds, "Nina, I have a good mind not to send you to centers because you are not paying attention to what we are doing." Clearly, the hand raising discipline policy has been reshaped and is not near as important as the "paying attention" discipline policy at this specific time in Ms. Patrick's classroom.

In sum, compromises are used during the conveyance of discipline policies in the classrooms of this study. Compromises and bargains influence specific discipline policies, such as hand raising and general policies, such as following the teacher's directions. Compromises and bargains also create informal, individualized discipline

policies for some students. Teachers offer countdowns, signals, and chances to students as ways to prod students into compliance. However, some compromises serve to impede or delay student compliance.

Protection

Many of the classroom discipline policies protect students and teachers. Students are protected from physical and emotional harm. Teachers are protected from classroom chaos and loss of authority.

The school "standards of safety" (Hampton Manor Elementary) and the policies on "showing respect to classmates" and "keeping hands, feet, and objects to yourself" (Green Leaf Elementary) are aimed at protecting students. The discipline policies push forth the notion that the school environment needs to be safe. Ms. Karris explains,

Children need to feel safe in the classroom. That's why we talk about keeping your hands, feet, and objects to yourself. . . . It really upsets me when kids are mean to other kids . . . I'm pretty sensitive about that . . . Safety involves [students] feeling good in the classroom about themselves [having] a good [self] concept . . . having basic emotional needs met.

Safety in the classroom involves students being free from physical harm and emotional trauma. The basic premise behind these policies is that students cannot engage in academic learning endeavors without safe and secure ground upon which to build academic knowledge. Ms. Patrick illustrates this notion,

When there is a physical problem in the classroom, it makes me very upset. The children are supposed to be safe here. They are supposed to feel safe. We are a team . . . I let them know, if anyone is making you upset or hurting you in here, they [the student causing the problem] will have to leave the classroom . . .

In Ms. Patrick's classroom students are given a safe environment through a policy that requires the removal of any student who physically hurts another student deliberately. According to Ms. Patrick, Kelvin has been "taken to the office a couple of times

because he was pushing, hitting, and kicking" and Otis has been removed from the classroom "because he couldn't stay in . . . if he is going to treat other students that way, it's just not fair." The discipline policy is conveyed through the teacher verbally stating the policy and through the teacher acting out the policy. Through conversations with students Ms. Patrick clarifies the discipline policy by adding "We talk about the difference between accidents and [intentionally] hurting someone." These conversations convey the message that the physical harm must be deliberate if the student is to be extracted from the classroom. In this way, all students are protected, even the students who may inadvertently hurt other students.

Teachers also protect students by giving them time to respond to a question. To explain, in Ms. Karris' classroom students are encouraged to share comments during whole group discussions without distractions and interruptions from other students, because Ms. Karris contends that "it's hard to think when it's not quiet." For example, during a whole group lesson on mathematics, students are raising their hands to answer the teacher's questions. When Ms. Karris calls upon Jonas to answer, he does not respond right away. Other students raise their hands to offer the answer. Ms. Karris announces, "Put your hands down. I'm going to let Jonas think about this one. It's fair to give someone else thinking time. Put your hands down." In this way, Ms. Karris protects Jonas from his classmates by offering him quiet time to think.

Another example of this type of protection occurs as Ms. Karris calls upon Mary during a social studies lesson. Ms. Karris remarks, "Mary, what do you think? Hands down while she thinks because it makes people nervous while they are thinking." Interestingly, these examples of student protection contradict the discipline policy on hand raising. As earlier noted, students are to raise their hands when they desire to share information or ask questions, particularly during whole group instruction. This policy is adjusted when Ms. Karris decides someone needs "thinking time." Students

are then told to put their hands down, which is a direction that amends the previous rule.

Discipline policies such as "not hitting, pushing, or fighting" and "not saying hurtful things to others" are clearly aimed at protecting students. However, these very discipline policies also protect the teacher because classrooms that are marked by malice and aggression are typically "out of control," which is an undesirable end for the teacher. Essentially, policies such as following the teacher's directions, showing respect to teachers and classmates, and displaying general standards of safety and courtesy protect the teacher by ensuring her position of authority. Informal policies such as raising (or lowering) hands, remaining on task, and not saying hurtful things, provide further assurance that the teacher's authority in the classroom is protected because the social order of the classroom is protected.

In sum, teachers protect students from physical and emotional harm by removing students who jeopardize the safety of others and offering thinking time to students. Through the use of these and other policies, teachers attempt to protect themselves from classroom chaos and loss of authority.

Synopsis of the Conveyance of Discipline Policies

Classroom discipline policies are conveyed, shaped, and reshaped by the words and deeds of teachers and students. The micropolitical model of interaction, including context/classroom setting, power, conflict, compromise, and protection, uncovers these processes.

When conveying policies, teachers and students consider the classroom setting which includes explicit factors such as seating position and types of noise and implicit factors such as student teachers and parents. Teachers assert power using "the look," commanding language, reprimands, and rewards. Students assert power through

displaying covert behaviors, seeking attention, offering partial or delayed compliance, and being last in line. Conflicts arise when one or more of the students attempts to assert power by confronting the teacher, breaking rules, or engaging in disputes amongst themselves. Compromises which include countdowns, signals, and chances are utilized by the teacher to smooth transitions, buy time, or to warn students of when full compliance is expected. Teachers attempt to protect students from physical and emotional harm and protect themselves from chaos and loss of power. Teachers seek to protect students by removing from the classroom those students who cause physical danger to others and protect themselves from loss of control in the classroom. The reoccurrence of all of these related exchanges between teachers and students defines the content of discipline policies as addenda and alterations are conveyed.

Realizing Classroom Discipline Policies

The realization phase of the policy process involves revealing the general imprint and the perceived outcomes associated with the discipline policies employed in the classroom. Returning to the micropolitical components of context/classroom setting, power, conflict, compromise, and protection helps characterize the realization of classroom discipline policies. Thus, in this section, I will address Research Question Four: What is the general imprint on the classroom and what are the perceived outcomes associated with the discipline policies employed in the classroom?

Classroom Setting

To reveal the general imprint and perceived outcomes of classroom discipline policies it is necessary to examine how the classroom setting affects the policies. Two major themes related to classroom setting were found in the data: transition times and teacher talk.

Transition times. Elementary school classrooms are marked by movement and frequent changes in activity and group structure. In any given day, students may participate in more than a dozen different activities (assertion based upon data and experience). Participation in these various activities involves making transitions from one activity and group structure to the next activity and group structure. During these transition times, students are in academic limbo, in a sense, because they are wrapping up one task and preparing for the next task. This time of limbo is often characterized by high levels of student noise and assertions of student and teacher power.

The data show that transition times serve to reinforce the discipline policies employed in the classroom (e.g., following the teacher's directions, respecting others) when the teacher successfully employs the following four major strategies; (1) gaining the students' attention; (2) giving the directions; (3) calling clusters of students, instead of all the students at once; and (4) monitoring the transition. Conversely, transition times serve to block the discipline policies employed in the classroom when the teacher does not successfully employ one or more of the four major strategies. An example of the transition process is offered in the following vignette.

Ms. Karris turns out the lights and stands by the door announcing, "OK. Boys and girls, we are ready to play mystery number (students become quiet). Clear your desks (Ms. Karris pauses). Which table will be ready? Will it be table one, two, three, or four?" The noise in the classroom increases. There are sounds of papers rustling and low to medium chatter from the students. Ms. Karris announces, "Now, some tables are cleaning quietly. Wow, table three, spic and span! Table four still has some things to put away." After the students seated at table four put the supplies away, Ms. Kanis announces, "OK. Tables, no, not all tables are ready (students at table one stop talking). Table three, you can come up to the floor (pause). Table two come up. Tables one and four, you are ready, but I want you to stay at your desks, because you

can see the screen (for the overhead projector) better from your desks. Now we are ready."

Another example of transition in Ms. Karris' classroom involves students changing from paired spelling assignments to whole-group teacher-directed instruction. While working with an individual student, Ms. Karris says to the class, "OK. Let's clean up." Students continue working with partners (it is likely that most students simply did not hear the directions). Ms. Karris walks to the door and turns the lights out. The student noise level subsides and Ms. Karris announces, "Ah, a minute ago I asked you to start cleaning up. And no one is clean and ready to meet me at the rocker." The noise level increases slightly as students begin putting away supplies and moving to the meeting area. Ms. Karris walks directly to her rocking chair and watches the students as they finish cleaning and begin joining her in the meeting area. The transition process concludes in four minutes.

As seen in these examples, to gain student attention prior to transition times, Ms. Karris typically turns the lights out in the classroom. Anticipating the teacher's directions, the students usually stop what they are doing and become quiet. If the students give Ms. Karris immediate attention, the teacher offers directions for the transition. If the students do not give her immediate attention (evident in the noise level remaining constant or increasing), then Ms. Karris raises her voice or begins the direction giving process with "Ah, . . ." The tone and word "Ah" serve to gain the attention of those students that are still engaged in conversation or some other type of activity that produces noise. Students are not necessarily required to look at Ms. Karris, but they are required to be quiet when she is giving the transition directions. After the directions are given, Ms. Karris usually calls clusters of students to move to the next group structure and location in the classroom. Finally, Ms. Karris monitors

the transition by watching students. The four major transition strategies contribute to a successful transition, which is evident in low noise, little time, and calm movement.

During transitions, Ms. Patrick typically offers her students an attention signal (timer or voice), followed by directions, and teacher monitoring. For example, when the students are in the hallway returning from recess, Ms. Patrick announces, "One, two, three, eyes on me." The students reply in unison, "One. Two. Eyes on you." Ms. Patrick states, "Remember yesterday we talked about how to enter the classroom quietly? We will do it today. Check yourself." The students enter the classroom, putting away coats, getting a drink, and/or sitting down. Ms. Patrick walks over to the chance card jar. The noise level is low and students appear to be displaying orderly conduct. Mandy, Cleo, and Owen sit at their desks with their heads down on the desk. Ms. Patrick announces, "Mandy, Cleo, and Owen, come over here and get a chance card. I'm looking for those following directions." Students sit down at their desks and the noise level reaches silence. The transition is smoothly accomplished through the use of the verbal attention signal, clear directions, precise teacher monitoring, and rewards (i.e., chance cards) for those in immediate compliance.

Because the realities of the classroom include limited time, not all transition times are consistent with the desired behaviors. For example, one day in Ms. Karris' classroom, the students are involved in an independent writing activity. When Ms. Karris notices the time (11:53), she announces, "Oh, we need to get tickets out for lunch. Leave your papers on your desk. We will finish when we get back." Students stand, hurry to cubbies, and talk with one another. Ms. Karris walks to the door and announces, "Students who have brought their lunch, line up." The student noise level increases to high and students bump into each other as they line up and retrieve supplies (lunches, jackets) from their cubbies. Ms. Karris asserts her power upon the mild chaos, "Not all directions have been followed. The line is too noisy." The

students continue to talk and Ms. Karris inevitably turns off the lights and requires the students go back to their desks. When students are at their desks, Ms. Karris gives the directions and calls tables to get lunch tickets and line up. The line leaves at 12:00.

Ironically, the transition problems which were initiated by the perceived lack of time (only two minutes left to shift activity and place, because lunch begins at 11:55 in the cafeteria), wind up causing a further delay (leaving late for lunch). Students were not given an attention-gaining signal or clear directions at the onset of the transition. Students were not called in clusters. Thus, the transition does not reinforce the informal discipline policies involving social order and following the teacher's directions. However, Ms. Karris does monitor the students, which allows her to regain order through revising the transition process (i.e., offering the lights-out attention-gaining signal, offering precise directions, calling children to line up by way of small groups) and thus re-imprinting the classroom and modifying the perceived outcomes.

In Ms. Patrick's classroom, there are also transition times that serve to block the discipline policies used in the classroom. For example, when the time for the students to read independently is over, the timer that Ms. Patrick has set goes off (9:58). Ms. Patrick announces, "OK. Boys and girls (Ms. Patrick is interrupted by students getting up and beginning to move around the classroom). Wait. Wait. Listen (students sit back down and become quiet). Ms. Frank's (instructional assistant) students will get their dry erase boards, other students will work with me." The noise level increases as students begin moving and talking. Otis runs behind the stationary wall where the cubbies are located and drops a basket of books. Ms. Patrick walks behind the wall and speaks privately to Otis. Ms. Patrick announces, "Remember, the rest of you are meeting me in the gathering area." Ms. Patrick walks to the chart to prepare the paper for the forthcoming lesson and then sits in the rocking chair. Kimmy lies on the floor by the stationary wall (Ms. Patrick's view of Kimmy is blocked by the wall). Nina

approaches Kimmy and joins her by lying on the floor. Ms. Patrick chats with the students who have joined her in the gathering area. Nina and Kimmy laugh aloud. Ms. Patrick says, "Girls, what are you supposed to be doing?" Kimmy and Nina stand up and walk to the gathering area. Ms. Patrick begins the lesson at 10:05.

In this transition, the attention-gaining signal utilized was the timer. Although students initially started to move without complete directions from the teacher, Ms. Patrick regains student attention by stating "Wait, wait." Although Ms. Patrick directs clusters of students to different areas of the classroom (some to the gathering area and some to Ms. Frank's table) the transition time is still marked by increased levels of noise (some productive and some nonproductive) and noncompliance. Otis, Kimmy, and Nina do not follow the teacher's directions. Ms. Patrick's ability to monitor students during the transition is clearly impeded by the stationary wall and the necessity of lesson preparation in the classroom. Thus, the transition takes a full seven minutes.

Teacher talk. The classroom and related discipline policies are affected by "teacher talk." Teacher talk includes the words and tones expressed by the teacher and the definitive or underlying meanings that are attached. Throughout the day teachers address students in soft voices and loud voices. Voice inflection and tone vary as well.

Ms. Patrick often uses a soft voice to address the class. Sometimes her voice becomes so soft that the students appear to quiet themselves to hear her. Clearly, this is a tactic that can successfully muster student attention. For example, when the students at the gathering center are distracted by a conversation about ice cream, Ms. Patrick turns the book back toward her and continues reading now using a whisper voice. Nina says, "Sh! Sh!" and the four students talking (including Nina) become quiet. This simple maneuver by the teacher allows the students to bring themselves back on task and into academic focus. In essence, the teacher's whisper voice sends messages to the students that they need to become quiet and listen.

Other times, Ms. Patrick begins with a soft voice and increases the sound and intensity if the original voice level is unsuccessful at gaining student attention. For example, during independent work time, some students are working on task cards and others are working in centers. Anita is talking loudly to Lana as she retrieves a task card from the basket. Ms. Patrick (who is on the other side of the classroom) calls to her in a non-whisper, yet soft voice, "Anita (pause). Anita." Anita does not turn around. Perhaps Anita does not hear Ms. Patrick. Perhaps Anita chooses not to hear Ms. Patrick. Nonetheless, Ms. Patrick chooses to raise her voice, declaring, "ANITA!" sending the message, "I want your attention now." Anita turns to face Ms. Patrick. Ms. Patrick uses a hand motion to call Anita over. Anita complies with the teacher's summons. Ms. Patrick says in a calm, quiet voice, "Anita, what are you supposed to be doing? Go to your desk and work on your task card." Anita complies with the teacher's directions. In this case, Ms. Patrick perceived the necessity to increase her voice level and to strengthen her tone to gather Anita's attention and/or to assert her authority (particularly if Anita was actually ignoring her teacher's call). By gaining Anita's attention, Ms. Patrick restores the social order and power structure of the classroom. Afterwards, Ms. Patrick returns to her normally soft voice.

Ms. Karris uses various voice levels in the classroom. When mustering student attention, her voice is typically loud. When working with individual students, her voice is usually soft. When dealing with infractions to the classroom/school discipline policies, her voice is uniformly loud so the entire class can hear. For example, while playing a mathematics game, Krissy calls out, "Oh, God!" Immediately, Ms. Karris interjects, "KRISSEY, COME HERE!" Krissy walks over to her teacher. Ms. Karris states, "I do not want to hear that. It's not appropriate for school." The entire class watches the exchange between Ms. Karris and Krissy. Krissy humbly replies, "OK," as she hangs her head and walks back to her desk. In this brief exchange, Krissy is

reprimanded for breaking the school discipline policy on "using appropriate language." Ms. Karris' messages and efforts to enforce the policy are clearly projected through the immediacy and intensity of her response. Furthermore, the entire class is invited to witness the encounter because the conversation takes place in the middle of the classroom and because Ms. Karris uses her attention-gaining loud voice and serious tone.

Other messages from teachers are more obscure. For example, when Jamal is talking to Marty while Ms. Karris is giving directions, Ms. Karris concludes her directions by stating, "Right, Jamal!?" Jamal answers "Yes," but most likely has no idea what he has just affirmed. Ms. Karris' comment/question was directed to Jamal to gain his attention and to stop him from talking above her when she is giving directions, thereby correcting Jamal's breach of the policy. Jamal receives the message and stops the problematic behavior, although he was never directly told to stop talking or to listen to the teacher's directions.

Directions such as "get settled," "start working," "focus," and "be on task" usually mean stop "fooling around" and/or "be quiet." Ms. Karris delivers these comments to individual students who are, at the moment, the loudest in the classroom or who are displaying too much movement. Typically, the messages are received, as noted by immediate student compliance. Specifically, "fooling around" stops and/or the student becomes silent. However, sometimes the teacher's messages are unclear or simply not followed by the students. For example, when Ms. Karris tells Brice to "get settled," he continues talking to himself. Ms. Karris walks over to Brice and announces, "Read." Brice complies with the teacher's second direction and begins reading. Perhaps Brice did not know that "get settled" means stop talking to yourself and read. Perhaps Brice decided to assert power by following his own directions. Perhaps Brice was too involved in his own conversation to notice the teacher's subtle

command. Nonetheless, the second message is very clearly understood because Brice immediately begins to read.

Other examples of veiled messages are present in the classroom. For example, when Ms. Patrick is directing students to choose centers, the noise level of the student conversations increases. Ms. Patrick states, "Ummm. I'd like to give out chance cards, but not one single person is watching what others are doing." In this comment, Ms. Patrick desires to reward students for "watching what others are doing." However, there are students watching other students. The problem is the noise level. Thus, Ms. Patrick's comment really means, "I would like to reward quiet students." This message is brought forth when Ms. Patrick offers Owen (the only student sitting quietly) a chance card. The message of quiet is also apparent in the compliments given to students who are in compliance with the teacher's expectations. When Ms. Patrick says, "I like the way Mandy and Nina are working so nicely," the message recognizes that Mandy and Nina are academically engaged and they are quiet because Mandy is whisper reading to Nina. Thus, the adverb "nicely" also means "quietly" in teacher talk.

Clearly, the classroom setting affects the realization of discipline policies. Teacher talk and transition times can reinforce the discipline policies employed in the classroom. Teacher talk and transition times can also offset the discipline policies employed in the classroom. Thus, the classroom dynamics related to transition times and teacher talk affect the ways that discipline policies imprint and re-imprint the classroom.

Power

Understanding how discipline policies imprint the classroom and uncovering the perceived outcomes associated with these policies call for an exploration of who commands the classroom and how specific parties are afforded power. While teachers

hold the greater leverage because they are given authority through the power structure of the classroom, some students, at times, attempt to command the classroom.

Controlling the classroom. Most of the time teachers directly or indirectly control the classroom. Utilizing power chips such as knowledge and personal characteristics, teachers take charge of the classroom. The teachers in this study clearly have greater academic content knowledge than the (first and third grade) students with whom they work. The teachers also know how to "control" the classroom through behavior modification techniques, authoritarian rules, problem solving techniques, and communicative processes. These strategies of control serve as the means by which teachers attempt to establish social order and student compliance in the classroom.

However, an interesting aspect of these methods of "controlling" the students is found as policies are realized in the classroom. There are times when teachers actually attempt to "make up" to students whom they have disciplined. The teachers display efforts to come together or to make matters up with students. For example, when Ms. Karris requires students to sit back down because the line is too noisy, she pauses and states, "Now when you have to sit back down, I am not happy (another pause). Can you do it better next time?" As Ms. Karris asks the question, her voice becomes calm and sincere. She invites students to come to terms with the problem and put it behind them. In another situation, Ms. Karris states, "I am not giving extra time to people who are playing." This comment is shared with the entire class, but particularly directed to Toby who is rolling his pencil across his desk while lifting the desk with his knees to produce an incline. Ms. Karris states, "Toby," to gain his attention. Because Toby does not look up at Ms. Karris or stop playing with the pencil, Ms. Karris declares, "No sticker today, Toby." Two minutes later Ms. Karris announces, "Toby, if you need to work in the hallway, it's OK with me. It might help you concentrate." In

the final comments, Ms. Karris' voice is tranquil and earnest. In essence, Ms. Karris makes matters up with Toby after she takes his sticker.

Later in the day, when the students return from recess, Jake announces, "Ms. Karris, at recess . . . " Ms. Karris interrupts Jake saying, "Ah, I am not talking about recess stuff because I was not there . . . " Jake attempts to interrupt Ms. Karris saying, "But . . . " Ms. Karris firmly interrupts saying, "No, Jake. I'm not talking about it!" Ms. Karris turns and walks away from Jake. Ms. Karris begins calling quiet tables to get a drink and use the rest room. During this time (five to six minutes), the classroom is quiet, barring a few whispers and paper shuffles. Ms. Karris asks, "Jake, does your mom know that you wore that shirt with a rip in it?" This question is not sarcastic nor intended to be a put down. Instead the question is intended to be a conversation invitation. Jake answers, "What rip?" Ms. Karris answers in a voice that can be described as affectionate, "Right there. Or is it supposed to be ripped? My son wears shirts with rips all over them." Jake smiles at Ms. Karris and comments, "It was ripped before, but I like it." This exchange between Ms. Karris and Jake is friendly. In a sense, Ms. Karris and Jake shake hands with words.

Similarly, there are times when Ms. Patrick makes up with students after she exerts power. One day when Kimmy and Nina are talking to each other, walking around the classroom, and distracting other students, Ms. Patrick gives each of them a yellow card. Nina and Kimmy are so busy "fooling around" instead of "following directions" that they do not realize they have received the warning/punishment. Ms. Patrick announces, "Kimmy and Nina, look at the pocket chart." Nina walks over to the chart and exclaims, "A yellow card?" Ms. Patrick answers, "I gave you one. Go do what you are supposed to be doing [following directions by reading quietly]." Nina pouts and walks to her desk. Nina opens her book and then closes it. She looks at Ms. Patrick and makes an angry face. Ms. Patrick does not see Nina's revenge. Nina opens

her book and "reads." During the next several minutes, Nina periodically looks at her yellow card in the pocket chart and pouts. When the timer goes off and the teacher moves the students to the next independent activity (centers), Nina stays at her desk. Ms. Patrick walks over to Nina, asking, "What's wrong?" Nina sighs, "Nothing." Ms. Patrick looks at the book that Nina has on her desk and asks in a friendly tone, "Where did you get this book?" Nina replies, "It's mine." Ms. Patrick responds, "Oh, it's yours? It's nice." With this comment, Ms. Patrick opens the book and begins to read to Nina. Nina smiles and moves closer to Ms. Patrick. Ms. Patrick's individual attention to Nina appears to be an effort to restore the perceived damage to Nina's happiness and classroom harmony after the sting of the yellow card. Nina accepts the attention and both parties "let bygones be bygones" for the time being.

Therefore, following displays of power, teachers try to restore tranquillity among the classroom inhabitants. There are times when the teachers in this study perceive the need to apologize for exerting power over students. The process of asserting power over and then "making up" with students is a way that teachers take control, yet restore harmony in the classroom. Furthermore, the processes of "making up" serve as ways to reduce possible resentments that might otherwise resurface as incentives for students to misbehave.

There are also students, who, at times, control or attempt to control the classroom. These students hold power resources (particularly personal characteristics) that make their attempts to exercise power more likely to be successful. As Ms. Karris notes, "I have quite a lot of strong personalities in my classroom . . . [these students] want to be the boss." Among the most vigorous power players in Ms. Karris' classroom are Jake, Krissy, Ambar, and Toby. In Ms. Patrick's classroom, the power players include Mandy, Nina, Otis, and Kelvin. At times each of the student power players takes command of the classroom in a variety of ways.

Some students assert power. Students who command or attempt to command the classroom display particular behaviors that afford them a temporary position of power in the classroom. These behaviors include acting like the teacher and utilizing personal characteristics for the advancement of individual interests.

Students who seek the power position at times act like the teacher. Sometimes students use a "teacher voice." For example, when the students in Ms. Karris' class enter the classroom after art class, Jonas walks to the meeting area and sits down. From her desk, Ambar declares, using a very teacher-like voice, "To your desk, Jonas!" Jonas responds, "I thought she said rocker." Ambar answers, "No. Desks." Jonas looks around the classroom and walks to his desk. In Ms. Patrick's classroom, Mandy and Nina regularly use a teacher-like voice when addressing classmates. One day, Mandy approaches Nina and Lana as they share journal entries. When Lana laughs aloud, Mandy offers her "the look" (at least as close to the look as a novice can get) and asks, "What are you supposed to be doing?" Nina answers, "We are reading this. Sit down with us." Mandy replies, "OK, but I get to read." Nina shakes her head and Lana passes Mandy the journal. Ambar's command (To your desk) and Mandy's question (What are you supposed to be doing?) are phrases that their respective teachers use often. Thus, using the teacher's words, voice tone, and mannerisms is how some students assert power. However, this power is temporary and situational.

Some students attempt to exert power in the classroom by sitting in the teacher's chair. Krissy usually sits in Ms. Karris' rocking chair when students have a choice of working locations. In fact, one day when Krissy leaves the "rocker" for a moment to ask Ms. Karris a question, she is quite offended to find Peggy sitting in the rocking chair upon her return. Krissy declares, "Get up!" Peggy stands, remarking, "OK. But I get a turn later." Krissy replies, "We'll see." Peggy consents to Krissy. Use commanding language, Krissy regains the position in the rocking chair. While the

rocking chair in Ms. Patrick's classroom is not typically occupied by the same person, there are a select few power players (i.e., Mandy, Nina, Kimmy, and Otis) who attempt to command the classroom by sitting in the teacher's chair. In essence, sitting in the rocking chair is a way for students to imitate the teacher.

Jake asserts his power in Ms. Karris' classroom through charisma and charm. Typically when students need to call upon someone to help with a difficult academic issue, students choose Jake. During one classroom observation, Jake was asked by his peers to help five times during a fourteen-minute segment of classroom interactions. Clearly, Jake's classmates respect Jake's knowledge and academic ability. However, Jake's clearest power advantage in the classroom stems from his connection with Ms. Karris. Jake positions himself strategically during whole group lessons. He is nearly always seated in the front middle of the group where Ms. Karris can see him plainly and call upon him often. Even during times when Ms. Karris is not entertaining student questions/comments, Jake feels free to raise his hand if he has something to share. One day, when Ms. Karris reads to the class, Jake raises his hand. Ms. Karris continues to read. Peggy follows Jake's lead and raises her hand. Two minutes later Peggy puts her hand down. Jake continues to hold his hand up. One more minute passes. Ms. Karris stops reading and states, "OK, Jake." Jake shares information that is indirectly related to the content of the book with Ms. Karris and the class. Later, Jake leaves the group to get a tissue. Peggy follows Jake and retrieves her own tissue. After the lesson, Ms. Karris moves the students to a mathematics game on the overhead projector and models the activity. Ms. Karris asks, "Who can write the answer?" Jake's hand is the first one up. Jake holds his hand up high and firm. His efforts are rewarded because Ms. Karris calls on him. Jake writes the answer. Five students actually applaud him. Jake uses power resources (e.g., charisma, charm) to achieve his agenda. He knows how and when to buy the teacher's attention. He also knows how to muster attention

and acclamation from peers. He is a leader in the classroom. Jake does not need to break classroom discipline policies to gain attention and power because he uses classroom discipline policies (e.g., following directions, raising his hand) to his advantage.

Mandy plays the power game a bit differently than Jake. Mandy seeks attention and power through "showing off" and "taking charge." Mandy can walk up to a group of students who are working together and within three minutes be directing the group's activities. Mandy uses verbal comments to show off and to put other students down. Mandy often declares, "You don't know that?" "That is really annoying," "I know how to do that!" These comments are intended to place Mandy at a higher level than her classmates. As Ms. Patrick says, "She's smart, cute, and basically, she knows that and sometimes that [confidence, superiority] is portrayed in her treatment of other people." In addition to asserting her power over classmates, sometimes Mandy attempts to assert power over Ms. Patrick. For example, Mandy will choose not to follow Ms. Patrick's directions (occurred seven times during observations) or Mandy will partially comply with Ms. Patrick's directions (occurred six times during classroom observations), or Mandy will turn her back to Ms. Patrick when she is upset or angry (occurred three times during observations). Obviously, Mandy challenges some of the classroom discipline policies as she jockey for position in the classroom.

Nina asserts power in the classroom. According to Ms. Patrick,

She [Nina] totally wants attention and she doesn't care how she gets it. She will call out any foolish answer that she knows has nothing to do with what we are talking about. But she will say it anyway, just so she can have her hand up. Just so we can all look at her.

In this light, Nina's attempts at power are asserted to fulfill her need for attention. Sometimes her answers/comments are minimally related to the task or academic

content, but they are still driven by the need to be heard and seen. In another example, Ms. Patrick gives directions and Nina comments after each direction with statements such as, "Oh, Ms. Patrick, you're so tricky today," "Look at all this stuff we can do," "What a lot of stuff!" During the exchanges, Ms. Patrick smiles at Nina and is seemingly amused, as is the rest of the class. Later Nina bounces around the classroom asking students to assist her with the assignment. Her pleas for help are apparently calls for attention. As Ms. Patrick explains, "Nina often lowers her standards to get attention," meaning Nina pretends not to know or understand. Nina achieves individual interests through the attention she gains from her classmates and her teacher.

Other students achieve "negative attention" in Ms. Patrick's classroom. These students receive the most reminders, reprimands, and punishments. Otis is a prime example. According to Ms. Patrick,

Otis is thirsty [and] hungry for attention, any kind of attention. He's hungry for someone to help him work through the problems he's had in his life and the problems he has in learning. But I think that the problem is that he wants someone to do it for him. . . . I believe that he has either a learning disability or ADHD or he has both. I'm not trying to label him, but he needs more help than I can give him . . . He doesn't comprehend things, but what's interesting is he's not so out of it that he can't cop an attitude and roll his eyes at you because you are telling him something that he doesn't want to do. I mean, he knows enough about how to push somebody's buttons, but not about how to read or do math, which is very sad for me.

Otis' participation in any given classroom academic activity is usually minimal. In fact, during the observations, I witnessed only one instance when Otis was independently engaged in an academic task longer than five minutes. Usually Otis is walking around the classroom or distracting other students. Otis finds his way behind the stationary wall in the cubbie area several times each day. He is usually "playing around" or causing some other disruption. Since Otis has a very loud voice, when he tells another

student something (e.g., "Give me that book." "Stop looking at me"), he gets the teacher's attention by way of a reminder, reprimand, or punishment.

In the whole group structure, Otis often distracts the teacher and other students. For example, one day when Ms. Patrick is reading to the class, Otis chews his shoelace, plays with a nearby folder, lies back on the floor, shakes his head, repeats the teacher's words from the story, and interjects periodic questions about the story. Ms. Patrick ignores most of Otis' attention seeking behaviors, although she tells him "the shoelace is not to be chewed on" and "you need to raise your hand." Otis' last comment is very loud, and Ms. Patrick asserts, "Otis, that's the last time. I've been ignoring your behavior. I really like the way most people are predicting and using background knowledge. You [Otis] need to do the same." Essentially, Otis finally receives the attention he desires because Ms. Patrick stops the lesson and offers comments (reminders and reprimands) directed to him. Otis uses his power to distract others (including the teacher) from the academic curriculum.

Kelvin's quests for power and attention typically come in the form of aggression or violence to other students. While I did not witness any of these behaviors during the classroom observations (Kelvin was often absent or working with another teacher), Ms. Patrick explains,

Kelvin craves attention, but he has found a way to get it in a negative way. His mother has a hard time dealing with him. She talks to me, but I don't know how to help her. He just laughs at me. He injures other children. I'll talk to him and he looks remorseful, but five minutes later, he does it again. I don't really understand why . . . They [counselor and pediatrician] believe he has ADHD. Evidently, he will be on Ritalin soon. I'm hoping that will help him, because he's really a neat kid. He's just highly distractible.

Kelvin's attention-seeking behaviors are marked by aggression to classmates. As Ms. Patrick attests, Kelvin's behaviors are connected to parental failures and explained by a biochemical condition.

Toby commands Ms. Karris' classroom in ways that are different from some of the other student power players. Toby has Tourette syndrome. He has multiple motor and some verbal tics. He also has difficulties concentrating and responding appropriately. In Ms. Karris' classroom, Toby is often the student who is breaking the classroom discipline policy/ies without necessarily knowing that he is doing so. Ms. Karris explains,

Toby is very talkative . . . academically, when he concentrates and focuses, which can be hard for him to do because of his medical conditions, he is bright. . . . He can be impulsive, too, but that's due to his Tourette syndrome. He'll just start talking to himself . . . and stand up. . . . Sometimes [other] kids will think he is talking to them . . . I mean, he's loud, which distracts others.

Thus, Toby's talking breaks classroom discipline policies. Yet, Toby's medical condition serves to explain and essentially excuse the problematic behaviors. The power nestled within Toby's behaviors comes by way of his, perhaps non-intentional, mannerisms that gain attention from classmates and from the teacher.

In sum, understanding how students are afforded attention and power and how teachers control the classroom allow the realization of the classroom discipline policies to be more completely portrayed. Specifically, some students act like the teacher, use charisma, show off, seek attention, distract the teacher, or use aggressive tactics to temporarily control the classroom. To restore classroom harmony, teachers engage in an interesting process of "making up" with the students upon whom they have asserted power.

Conflict

Because the policy process phase of realization involves gauging the impact of the classroom discipline policies, understanding how conflicts affect classroom discipline policies is critical. In essence, every classroom conflict should send messages to all classroom inhabitants that one or more discipline policies (and the related social order of the classroom) is in jeopardy. But some conflicts are ignored by teachers and by students. Other conflicts are given temporary or shallow attention. Still other conflicts halt the classroom activities altogether. Thus, there are degrees of conflict and degrees of responses to conflicts in the classroom. Minor conflicts are given minimal or no attention; major conflicts are given extensive or complete attention.

Minor conflicts. Teachers give little attention to minor conflicts. In fact, Ms. Patrick maintains, conflicts that are "not a big deal" are usually ignored by the teacher. These conflicts are to be worked out between the students. If necessary, Ms. Patrick will step in and guide the students through a problem solving or conflict-resolution strategy. Similarly, Ms. Karris invites students to use problem solving strategies to resolve minor conflicts. Ms. Karris states,

We talk about it [the conflict] individually and together. We discuss what we can do to make things better. They air out their feelings about what bothers them. Sometimes the other person will say, 'Wow. I didn't know that bothered you!' So it helps.

In this way, Ms. Karris guides students through a problem solving process. An example of this process occurs after Annabel bumps into Peggy. Peggy says, "Ms. Karris, she just pushed me." Ms. Karris answers, "Talk to her about it. Tell how you feel." Peggy turns to Annabel and says, "That hurt me." Annabel responds, "I'm sorry. It was an accident." Peggy says, "OK," and walks away. The minor conflict is resolved through communication of feelings and an apology. While Ms. Karris does

not guide the entire process, she directs the students toward the process and reminds them to communicate feeling.

Directing students toward or guiding students through conflict/resolution or problem solving processes actually fortifies certain classroom discipline policies (e.g., "everyone helps," "developing general standards of courtesy," and "showing respect for classmates"), after the temporary setback caused by the initial conflict.

Major conflicts. Other conflicts in the classroom are considered to be of greater intensity. Typically, these conflicts are not only larger in degree, but they also involve the teacher's authority and power in the classroom. In these situations the teacher imposes one or more of the behavior modification punishments (yellow and red cards in Ms. Patrick's classroom or withholding stickers or a poor conduct report in Ms. Karris' classroom) or a verbal reprimand.

However, in some situations, the teacher simply removes the student from the group. As Ms. Karris shares, "Sometimes, you just have to get them separated right away . . . you just have to single them out . . ." By removing the student causing the conflict, the teacher's power and authority are preserved, as is the social order of the classroom. For example, one day when Ms. Patrick designates Cody to lead the class mathematics activity, Mandy is clearly annoyed. Mandy makes an angry face as Ms. Patrick announces her decision and proceeds to ignore and then confront Cody. Mandy snaps, "No" when Cody requests her mathematical content response. Ms. Patrick proclaims, "Mandy, your [bad] attitude ends or you leave. It's your choice!" Two minutes later when Mandy attempts to correct Cody, saying "It's not thirty, it's . . ." Ms. Patrick interrupts, declaring, "Mandy, go sit down. We need to treat others with respect." Mandy stands and stomps her feet as she walks to her desk. Apparently desiring the leadership role that Ms. Patrick gives to Cody, Mandy reacts in ways that cause conflict. Since Mandy breaks classroom discipline policies, such as

everyone helps, treating others with respect, and following the teacher's directions, she is removed from the group. This action sends the message that conflict-provoking rule breakers will not be tolerated.

A similar situation occurs when Risa and Otis are "too loud" and "fooling around" instead of engaging in academic work in their center of choice. As Risa and Otis chat, Nina approaches them asking, "Can I come to this center?" Risa answers, "No." Otis answers, "No. It's full." Nina walks away and then returns, saying, "I want to come to this center." Risa responds, "Do you understand the words coming out of my mouth? No." Otis adds, "No!" Ms. Patrick asserts, "Risa and Otis, I need to meet with you." Risa and Otis walk over to Ms. Patrick. Ms. Patrick gives Risa and Otis a lecture on "treating people nicely" and "not fooling around in centers," and sends the students back to the center. Two minutes pass and Otis laughs loudly at Risa who dances around scattering the center supplies. Ms. Patrick walks over to Risa and Otis and states, "This center is a mess and you are walking around playing. Now, clean this center up and go back to your desks. You have lost your privilege to do centers with the rest of the class." Hence, after receiving an ineffective warning lecture on respecting others, Risa and Otis are removed from the group because they continue to cause conflict by not following the teacher's directions, not focusing on the task, and fooling around.

While conflicts often temporarily damage classroom discipline policies, the teachers' responses can actually serve to strengthen the classroom discipline policies, because, as Ms. Karris attests, "they know that you mean business." Removing students from the group is a robust mechanism for repairing any damage that the student's conflict has done to the classroom discipline policies. In this way, the teachers' immediate responses to classroom conflicts protect the discipline policies that

have been enacted and conveyed and allow these discipline policies to be realized in the classroom.

The teachers' reactions related to conflicts between students and teachers affect the perceived outcomes associated with discipline policies. The teachers want students to understand that if they engage in conflict, they will be reprimanded or penalized. They hope students will learn to avoid punishment by participating in the classroom without displaying conflicts.

Compromise

Various forms of compromise affect the overall classroom discipline policies in broad and distinctive manners. Generally, acts of negotiation inform students of the "treaties" between teachers and students. Specifically, compromises such as repeated directions, countdowns, and the acceptance of "called out" answers signal students that certain discipline policies are temporarily being revamped or suspended.

Repeating directions. Teachers regularly repeat directions for the entire class and for individual students. Ms. Patrick often repeats directions for Otis. Ms. Patrick notes, "He needs to hear the directions over and over, so that he can understand what to do." Because Otis is often "off task," he is given multiple chances to comply. For example, when the students are directed to complete a writing task, Otis walks around the classroom. Ms. Patrick walks over to Otis and privately repeats the directions for him. Otis walks to his desk and opens his journal. Otis sticks out his foot as Maris walks by. Maris adjusts her path and Otis laughs out loud. Ms. Patrick calls, "Otis, you need to be writing." Otis looks at his journal and begins opening and closing the cover, which produces a flapping noise. Ms. Patrick says, "Otis, it is writing time!" Otis opens his journal and begins writing for about forty-five seconds and then stands and walks to the word wall. Ms. Patrick sees Otis and asks, "Otis, Why are you up?"

Otis responds, "I need a word." Ms. Patrick responds, "Oh, next time try to see from your seat." In this situation, the teacher repeats the directions so often that she assumes that repetition is necessary even when Otis is involved in writing (i.e., getting a word to use in his writing from the classroom word wall).

Ms. Patrick also repeats directions for other students. For example, after Ms. Patrick directs the students to writing cards, Risa chooses a card, and cheers and dances around the classroom. Ms. Patrick responds by stating, "OK, Risa. It's time to write about it. I know that you are excited. You've had your chance to jump around. Now you need to write." In these comments, the teacher gives Risa the directions ("It is time to write") two additional times. Ms. Patrick excuses Risa's "inappropriate" dancing around and cheering. The teacher sends the message that noncompliance is accepted or forgiven, as long as Risa complies now.

Ms. Karris often repeats directions and questions for Toby. When Toby fails to join the group (move from independent work to the meeting area), the following dialogue develops,

Ms. Karris: Toby.

(No response from Toby)

Ms. Karris: Toby.

Toby: Ugh?

Ms. Karris: Toby. Focus.

(Ms. Karris points to the group and motions to Toby to join the group)

(Toby walks over to the group and stands beside Ms. Karris)

Ms. Karris: Is that going to be a place that will help you concentrate?

(Toby does not respond)

Ms. Karris: Is that going to be a place that will help you concentrate?

Toby: Yes.

Given his medical condition, Tourette Syndrome, the teacher notes, "he often does not know what is going on." Accommodations and compromises are warranted by the teacher.

Other students in Ms. Karris' class are also given repeated directions. During a whole group lesson in which students are using clip boards, some students tap pencils on the clipboard. After Ms. Karris reminds students to "Put pencils in the slot," Kirby and Nelson continue to tap their pencils. Ms. Karris states, "Kirby and Nelson, put the pencils in the slot." Kirby and Nelson comply with the repeated directions.

There are other times when Ms. Karris repeats the directions for the entire class. For example, when the noise in the classroom increases, Ms. Karris walks over to the door and turns the lights out, announcing, "Finish up, boys and girls." As the lights are turned on, a parent volunteer beckons the teacher. Ms. Karris answers her question and engages in a quick conversation (two minutes). During this time the noise level in the classroom increases. Ms. Karris turns the lights out again, stating, "Boys and girls, I need you to put everything on your desk away, except your math journal." The lights are turned back on and Ms. Karris calls, "Table one to the rocker." The noise level remains high. Ms. Karris again turns off the lights, stating, "Boys and girls, I need you to put everything away except your math journal. Now there are a lot of tables that I cannot call because they have not heard the directions." Ms. Karris turns the lights back on and Ms. Karris calls, "Table three." The noise level does not decrease. Ms. Karris again turns off the light. Ms. Karris declares, "Ah, boys and girls, put everything away and get quiet. NOW!" Ms. Karris turns the lights back on and walks over to the meeting area. The students comply with the directions (i.e., putting away supplies and becoming quiet). Ms. Karris calls the remaining two tables. In this situation, Ms. Karris repeats the directions three different times. Each time the directions are repeated, there is a slight modification. The class does not fully comply until Ms. Karris says "Ah," which means, "I am serious now" and states the previously implied direction which is "get quiet now!" Thus, the process of repeating directions in

this case temporarily serves to mock the discipline policy "follow the teacher's direction immediately." When the final, forceful direction is given, compliance is achieved.

Ms. Patrick also repeats directions for the entire class. For example, when Ms. Patrick directs students to clean and rearrange desks, the noise level increases greatly. Ms. Patrick announces, "When you are done, look at me with your hand on your head." No students comply with the directions, even though several are clearly "done." Ms. Patrick repeats the direction, "When you are done, look at me with your hand on your head." At this point, two students comply (as noted by the placement of their hands on their heads). Ms. Patrick again repeats the directions, "When you are done, look at me with your hand on your head." One additional student joins the group of those complying with the directions. Ms. Patrick announces, "OK. I see three people [two other students comply]. Five people [four more comply]. Nine people [all others comply]. OK." Ms. Patrick moves to the next set of directions. In this situation, repeating directions proved unsuccessful or at least minimally successful. It was not until Ms. Patrick identified the students in compliance that the rest of the class complied with the teacher's directions.

Some repeated directions are extreme cases. One case involves an assessment of the students' writing skills in Ms. Patrick's classroom. The teacher instructs the students to write two sentences that are read aloud. The teacher declares that no one should ask for help and encourages them to "do their best." Over the next ten minutes, Ms. Patrick repeats the sentences, "The bus is coming. It will stop here to let us get on," and related directions "write it down" thirty-one times. Ms. Patrick rewards the students for remaining "quiet" and "working hard" when the assessment concludes. While the repeated directions in this vignette hold varying purposes (e.g., mustering attention from individuals, particularly those who find the task difficult), the major act

of compromise involves the fact that Ms. Patrick displays the endurance and patience to repeat the directions as many times as she sees necessary.

Countdowns. Ms. Patrick often uses countdowns to move students from one activity to the next or to remind students of the directions. These countdowns supersede the directions given by the teacher. In essence countdowns tell students, "you take this time to figure out if and how you are going to comply with the classroom discipline policies." The teacher gives students the "power" to make that decision. Clearly, the "power" offered to students affects the overall discipline policies because students can decide to "buy into" the related policies, further strengthening the reality of the discipline policy at hand. For example, when Ms. Patrick sees that Kimmy is rolling on the floor instead of working at her center, she says, "Kimmy, you have a countdown of five to get to work in your center. Five. Four. Three. Two. One. Zero." At the tone of three, Kimmy stands and by the proclamation of zero, Kimmy is "working" at her center.

Other times countdowns are accompanied by a threat. For example, when students are talking and shifting locations in the gathering area during a time when the teacher is giving directions, Ms. Patrick announces, "OK. I'm going to give you a count of five and if you are not ready, we will not do centers." All students sit up and become silent, by the time Ms. Patrick announces, "One." Although Ms. Patrick completes the count, the additional four seconds that it takes for Ms. Patrick to say, "Two, three, four, five," are not even necessary. Thus, when a countdown is accompanied by a threat that is meaningful to the students (e.g., missing centers), the students comply quickly.

Slow countdowns elicit slow compliance. When Ms. Patrick counts at a leisurely pace or when the countdown is interrupted, the students tend to comply in an unhurried fashion, at least initially. For example, when Ms. Patrick states, "You have a

countdown of ten to meet me in the gathering area," she walks over to her desk as she says, "Ten." Ms. Patrick pauses between each of the numbers in the countdown as she looks for a book that she plans to read to the students. The counts of "Six" and "Five" are interrupted by individual student questions and the teacher's responses. Students begin to pick up the pace by the count of "three." When Ms. Patrick states "One," she walks over to the gathering area. By "Zero," all but four students are quietly seated in the gathering area. Ms. Patrick offers an additional chance for those students who have not yet complied when she says, "OK. That should have been enough time to get ready. But I'll give another count of three. Three. Two. One. Zero." The four students in the cubbie area join the class. In this countdown, the students do not follow the teacher's directions until the teacher is nearly finished with the countdown. The four students who failed to comply in the extensive countdown are given further time to comply. The signs offered by the teacher, such as approaching the end of the countdown and walking over to the gathering area, signal that compliance time has drawn near. It is not until these signs are made evident to the students that full compliance is realized.

I observed only one situation when the countdown was offered and not utilized. When Mandy lies down in the gathering area while Ms. Patrick reads, Ms. Patrick stops reading and states, "Mandy, I'm going to count to three." Mandy sits up and Ms. Patrick begins to read again. No count is offered, because the count is not needed. Mandy complies with the directions immediately.

Accepting called out answers. Another act of compromise that affects the overall discipline policies in the classroom involves turn taking, hand raising, and the acceptance of called out answers. As previously noted, the students are required to raise hands and wait to be called upon prior to speaking. These requirements are applicable during whole group instruction. Teachers remind students who fail to

comply with this hand raising policy. Ms. Karris states and restates, "Raise your hand" and "Don't call out." Ms. Karris also sends these messages by her behaviors. For example, when Sigmund and Nelson call out the answer, Ms. Karris ignores the correct answers given by Sigmund and Nelson and calls upon Sally because Sally is raising her hand. The policy of hand raising is also a part of Ms. Patrick's classroom. Students typically raise their hands to respond to the teacher's questions.

However, sometimes conversation begins between students and the teacher during these whole group structured lessons. During these times, if the conversation is orderly (i.e., class members take turns) and the content of the conversation remains academic in nature, the teacher may allow the conversation to continue. For example, when Ms. Karris asks questions about a portion of the book that she just read aloud to the class, Jonas raises his hand to answer. Jonas is called upon and answers. Peggy adds a brief comment, which is accepted by Ms. Karris, although Peggy did not raise her hand and wait to be called upon. Mary asks a question and Ms. Karris answers. Alonzo interjects a comment and Jodie responds. The verbal exchanges become a more free flowing conversation. Ms. Karris allows the discussion to continue and even offers a few comments until the students begin interrupting one another (approximately four minutes after the onset of free flow conversation). Some students sitting in the back begin to fidget, and Jake and Jonas try to speak above one another. Ms. Karris holds up her hand to indicate that the discipline policy is being invoked and announces to the class that hands must be raised. Ms. Karris calls upon Peggy, who is the first student to raise her hand.

Likewise, in Ms. Patrick's classroom, the discipline policy on hand raising is often replaced by free flow conversations and is only reactivated when the conversation becomes disorderly or unrelated to academic content. For example, when Ms. Patrick uses character voices and interesting accents to read a story to the class, the students

interject questions and comments. Nina asks, "Which is better, tops or bottoms?" Ms. Patrick replies, "I'm glad you are predicting. Let's find out" and then continues to read. Anita states, "I think he's going to trick him." Owen adds, "I think he will trick him, too." Ms. Patrick responds, "We will see." Cleo comments, "He's still tricking him." Students comment as Ms. Patrick turns the book so students can see the illustrations. When Ms. Patrick turns the book so she can read, the students become quiet. The exchange of ideas between students and the teacher is orderly. The hand raising rule is unnecessary because the students are taking turns and commenting only while Ms. Patrick is not reading. Thus, in this situation, the compromise or adjustment of allowing conversation affects the classroom discipline policy on hand raising by temporarily suspending it.

The tensions between keeping social order through discipline policies such as hand raising and encouraging active learning through permitted conversations are evident. While these tensions strengthen the need for compromise, they also yield accepted contradiction in the classroom.

In sum, the compromises used in the classroom affect the overall discipline policies by redefining the policies, or temporarily suspending the policies. These compromises to the classroom discipline policies are for the most part initiated by students. Students start the move from hand raising to conversation. Students display behaviors that call for repeated directions and countdowns. Yet, without the teacher's consent or willingness to compromise, the initiations from the students would be in vain. Thus, compromises are controlled by the teacher.

Protection

Teachers report that discipline policies are used to protect students. Observations suggest discipline policies are evoked to protect students and teachers.

There are also times when students protect each other from the discipline policies utilized in the classroom.

Teachers protecting students. Teachers maintain that the physical safety of students is of utmost importance to them. Ms. Patrick explains, "They [students] know that I'm going to make sure that they are OK in here. . . . Everyone is safe in here." Likewise, Ms. Karris says, "Everybody should feel safe in the classroom." Safety is clearly an important aim and perceived outcome of the discipline policies used in the classroom.

To ensure safety Ms. Patrick implements the discipline policy that students who threaten the safety of other students must be removed from the classroom. Ms. Patrick explains one such situation,

Kelvin drives people crazy. He's very ornery. . . . He really bothers other children. . . . Just the other day, he was trying to race somebody down the stairs and when he was racing to the railing, pushing and shoving, a little girl was walking up the stairs. Well, he pushed her out of the way. I could have just seen her falling all the way down the stairs. He didn't care. He just pushed her out of the way and kept racing down the stairs. He got in trouble for that. . . . I told him, 'You can't do that. It's not fair to people. Children are supposed to feel safe in school and you are not making them feel safe.' . . . I said, 'If you are not going to help people feel safe, then you are not staying with us,' and I took him to the office.

Because Kelvin caused potential danger to the physical safety of another student, he was removed from the classroom and "sent to the office." The discipline policy was invoked and the students were protected from further potential physical danger from Kelvin, at least for the time he was in the office.

Other more subtle examples of teachers protecting students are evident in rules such as "keeping hands, feet, and objects to yourself" and "not hurting others." These policies are aimed at keeping students safe in the classroom. As Ms. Karris says, "They

know I won't let them hurt other kids." In essence, teachers protect students from physical danger by maintaining an intolerance toward violent acts.

Teachers also seek to keep students emotionally safe in the classroom. Ms. Karris states, "I don't like kids to say hurtful things to another child or to me." It is important to Ms. Karris that students abide the formal discipline policy of the school and "show respect for classmates, teachers, and self at all times." Ms. Karris continues, "It really upsets me when kids are mean to other kids. I remember as a child that happening to me, and it really marks you. I'm really pretty sensitive about that." In the classroom, the protection of students is evident in the responses Ms. Karris gives to students who break the emotional protection policy. The responses typically involve verbal reprimands. For example, when Sally is responding to Ms. Karris' question during a mathematics lesson, several students seated at table four interrupt and attempt to "talk above" Sally. Ms. Karris announces, "Ah, boys and girls, I am trying to hear Sally and table four is being rude because of the noise!" Other students who break the classroom discipline policy on respecting others are reprimanded and labeled "rude" as well. When Peggy offers Ms. Karris a sassy "Yeah. Yeah. I'm coming," Ms. Karris declares, "Peggy, that is rude. Come here." Thus, being labeled "rude" and being given a verbal reprimand serve to enforce the policy designed to protect the emotional safety of students and the teacher in the classroom.

Protecting teachers. Many discipline policies protect and fortify the teacher's power and authority in the classroom. Teachers protect their position in the classroom by interjecting verbal reminders to students who attempt to challenge the teacher's power. For example, when Mandy interrupts and attempts to correct another student during a whole group lesson, Ms. Patrick asks, "Mandy, who's the teacher here? Everyone is safe to share their ideas here. Please remember that." In this case, Ms. Patrick offers a dual protection. First, by asking "Who's the teacher here?" Ms. Patrick

reminds Mandy of the power structure in the classroom. Second, Ms. Patrick reminds her that the emotional safety of students is important.

Another example occurs when Anita adds a "sassy" comment during a whole group mathematics lesson. After Owen states that the answer is eleven, Anita adds, "I know that it's eleven." Ms. Patrick asks, "Anita, guess who's talking? You need to learn." These comments let Anita know that "back talk" will not be accepted. These comments also remind Anita that she needs to respect the teacher's authority and "pay attention," so that "learning" can take place. This brief exchange exemplifies how a breach in the classroom discipline policies and the related response from the teacher serve to protect the teacher in the classroom.

Not only do teachers display behaviors that protect their positions of authority, but they also develop ways to protect themselves from parents. Ms. Karris explains,

This year I've had a lot of trouble with some parents. Not real trouble. I don't want you to think that the parents are like complaining or bitching all the time. They've just been very pushy. . . . They do complain, but they complain about things, not me. They complain about the things that their kids are doing in the classroom, like so and so did this to my child at recess or something like that. . . . They are just very outspoken. They watch everything that you do. You'd better have everything written down or they're going to call you on it. . . . Now, no one has ever gone to the principal [about anything that I've done]. They always come to me first [about any concerns] . . . They are very competitive people in my class; the kids and the parents.

Because the parents of the students in Ms. Karris' class are "very pushy" and "outspoken," the discipline policies used involve efforts to insulate the teacher from parent complaints. Therefore, the expectations of student behavior need to be clear. The teacher needs to prepare herself to defend or explain decisions regarding discipline. By Ms. Karris' account, "outspoken," "competitive" parents are adamant about

protecting their children from other children and from the teacher. Ms. Karris is equally adamant about protecting herself from the parents.

There is only one "pushy" parent in Ms. Patrick's class. As Ms. Patrick notes, "She's the one [Lana's mother] who pushes me to do hard challenges for homework." Regarding the effects parents have on the classroom discipline policies, Ms. Patrick notes, "Basically, the parents like the discipline in my classroom. They would rather have a lot of discipline, like you [the child] does this [misbehaves] and that is it [immediate punishment]. I'd say that, for the most part, I get that [a call for tougher or more punishments] from them." Clearly, the parental force in Ms. Patrick's classroom is of a different variety. Ms. Patrick's students' parents desire more intense punishments to be imposed upon their children. Thus, Ms. Patrick's protective measures involve protecting the students from their parents' desires to have more severe and more frequent punishments, all the while appeasing parents through the use of some behavior modification punishments.

Students protecting each other. Another aspect of protection involves students protecting other students from the discipline policies utilized in the classroom. For example, during independent work time in Ms. Karris' classroom, Nelson chats with Kirby and "plays" with his calculator. Nelson experiments with the repeated operation functions associated with the calculator, attempting to reach "one million," by consecutively adding one, entering = on the calculator. Nelson is engaged in his own curriculum, experimenting with the functions of the calculator for more than ten minutes. As the numbers displayed on Nelson's calculator increase, he periodically shares his progress with the people at his table, specifically, Kirby, Sally, and Sigmund. Nelson's voice level increases and Ms. Karris says, from her desk, "Ah, Nelson, I need to see you!" Kirby displays his paper and whispers to Nelson, "Here, write this." Sally leans over the desk and adds, "This too. Hurry!" Sigmund walks over to Nelson and

points at his paper, stating, "Get this on here, too. Quick!" Because Ms. Karris is engaged in an individual conference with another student and there is a line of five students waiting at her desk, she does not see the exchanges between the students at Nelson's table. The process of quickly adding work to Nelson's previously blank paper takes approximately three minutes. Nelson then walks up and joins the line waiting to confer with Ms. Karris. Upon Nelson's turn, Ms. Karris declares, "Nelson, you have done way too much talking. Now you need to go back to your desk. Close your mouth and work." Ms. Karris glances at Nelson's paper and says, "At least you have done some work. If you need to move up to the front table to finish, you can." Nelson responds, "OK" and walks back to his desk. Nelson exchanges smiles with all of his supporters (Kirby, Sally, and Sigmund) and sits down to complete his assignment. In this fascinating exchange of student behaviors, Nelson's table-mates "go out on a limb" to protect Nelson from the likely outcomes of not having done his assigned task. The acts of protection are effective because when Ms. Karris sees the work on his paper, she offers Nelson the accommodation of sitting at a different table rather than more stern consequences associated with off-task behavior.

Students also protect each other from the discipline policies in Ms. Patrick's classroom. When Allen lightly punches Carlton in the back during a whole group lesson in the gathering area, Allen appeals to Carlton not to tell Ms. Patrick about his act of aggression. Seemingly, Allen knows the safety policy in the classroom and assumes that Ms. Patrick may punish him. Thus, Allen begs pardon from Carlton stating, "I'm sorry" and "Don't tell." Carlton decides not to "tell on" Allen, essentially protecting him from the potential ire of the teacher. Other times, the protection offered by students to other students is more subtle. When Lana offers to help Otis by allowing him to sit beside her during writing time, Otis is protected from being "off

academic task." Because Otis often disrupts the class when he is working alone, Lana protects Otis from himself.

In sum, discipline policies protect students and teachers. Students are protected from physical and emotional harm imposed upon them by other students. Teachers use the discipline policies to reinforce the notion that students are safe in the classroom, thereby offering safety to the students and parents. Teachers also protect their positions of authority. Students protect one another from the potential acts of reprimand or punishment issued by the teacher.

Synopsis of the Realization of Discipline Policies

Classroom discipline policies are realized through: (a) classroom setting factors including transition times and teacher talk; (b) the power asserted by teachers and select students; (c) the types and degrees of conflicts and the accompanied responses from teachers; (d) specific compromises including repeated directions, countdowns, and acceptance of "called out" answers; and (e) the protection of students and teachers in the classroom. Each of the aspects of the micropolitical model of interaction combine and intermesh in ways that reinforce or redefine discipline policies. These interactions explain how the discipline policies imprint the classroom, ranging from discord to tranquillity, and create the perceived outcomes held by the classroom inhabitants, which range from chaos to social order.

Evaluating Classroom Discipline Policies

The evaluation phase of the policy process involves analyzing how teachers appraise classroom discipline policies and gauging the degree of congruence between "intended" and "actual" discipline policies employed in the classroom. In this section, I will address Research Question Five: How do teachers appraise classroom discipline policies? and Research Question Six: What is the degree of congruence between the

teacher's "intended" discipline policies and the "actual" discipline policies employed in the classroom? In so doing, I will use the micropolitical model of interaction, specifically context/setting, power, conflicts, compromise, and protection.

Classroom Setting

The data gathered in this study reveal that, for the most part, the impact of the classroom environment on discipline policies is monitored and evaluated through the appearance of the classroom and the sound of the classroom. Teachers intend for the classroom to appear orderly and comfortable, and to sound quiet.

Appearance. Teachers monitor and assess the physical layout of the classroom. Both teachers in this study revised the student seating arrangements several times during the school year. In March., Ms. Patrick remodeled the gathering area. Ms. Patrick explains,

I moved everything . . . because they [students] didn't have enough room in the gathering area. A lot of times, kids were pushed out, like Miles. Ofttimes, he [Miles] would sit on the outskirts of the classroom. You know, as far as he can get [on the outskirts], he will sit. So I turned everything around the other way, so we have more room. Now he doesn't sit way out there. He's almost in the front row. That helped him a little bit . . . I didn't like where they were sitting [before].

Ms. Patrick rearranged the gathering area by relocating her rocking chair and moving the chart to where her rocking chair was previously located (see Figure 2). Because the students face the teacher when in the gathering area, moving the rocking chair changes the position of the gathering area completely. Ms. Patrick made the change because she wanted the students to "have more room" and she wanted to encourage students, particularly Miles, to sit closer to the group.

In April, Ms. Patrick allowed her reading group students (nine students from her class of twenty) to move their desks. Ms. Patrick explains,

I had them all move their desks and I let them choose where to sit. . . . We talked about where are some good places for people to be? . . . They knew who you should sit by and who you should not sit by. Like who will help you concentrate. Do you want to sit by your friends? Is that a good idea? No, that's not a good idea because you will just keep talking and you won't concentrate. You want somebody next to you that will help you concentrate . . . And they knew . . . They really liked it [deciding upon desk arrangements] and they actually picked really good places. I was impressed.

When asked what prompted this change in the physical layout of the classroom, Ms. Patrick explains that the decision was inspired by a parent. Mandy's father told Ms. Patrick that Mandy was complaining that she could not see Ms. Patrick when Ms. Patrick was at her desk. Thus, Ms. Patrick allowed the students to relocate and Mandy did choose a desk that allowed her to directly view Ms. Patrick's desk.

Ms. Karris also revamped the physical layout of the classroom. At the end of May, Ms. Karris decided to place all of the student desks in rows. Ms. Karris explains,

I moved all of the desks into rows . . . There are three main rows of seven or eight and an additional row. It is really traditional. I did it just for the heck of it, to see what would happen. It's really working!

When asked to describe "working," Ms. Karris shares,

They are quiet. They are quiet because they are thrilled to be sitting next to people. It's working out great, but it is very rigid. When we do math games or group work, they have to get up and move. But a parent came in and saw it [the rows of desks] and said 'Oooh, this looks good.' She's right from the old school, traditional . . . But the kids were thrilled when they saw it. They think it's cool. Now they can all see the blackboard and the overhead [projector screen]. . . . They just think it is cool. I don't know why. Maybe because it is just different . . . Maybe it will just be my end of the year treat for them from now on; the traditional way for the last two weeks of school.

The change from "contemporary" cooperative group structure to the "traditional" student desk rows is an adjustments Ms. Karris decided to make "just for the heck of it" and "to see what would happen." Ms. Karris evaluates the change as "great." She thinks the new arrangement of desks helps keep students quiet. Even though the arrangement of desks is "rigid," Ms. Karris is willing to forfeit the more "contemporary" arrangement. In Ms. Karris' opinion, the "traditional" organization reaps a "quiet" classroom.

The students appear to appraise the teacher-initiated context adjustments favorably. As Ms. Karris explains, the students "think it is cool," perhaps because of the novelty. By Ms. Karris' account the students enjoy sitting beside one another in rows and view this new classroom arrangement as a "treat." Additionally, Ms. Patrick's students "really liked" deciding upon the new desk locations and "actually picked really good places." Thus, the students and the teachers find the classroom modifications favorable.

Sound. Both teachers' accounts of the seating arrangement adjustments include the second major criterion by which teachers monitor and evaluate how the setting affects discipline policies. That criterion is noise level. Ms. Patrick prompted students to consider that if they sit by their friends, they "will just keep talking" and fail to "concentrate." Likewise, Ms. Karris appraised the new arrangement as effective because the classroom is "quiet." Certainly, how things sound is an important factor in the rearrangement of the classroom.

The amount of noise during any given time in the classroom serves as a device for monitoring and evaluating the "effectiveness" of the discipline policies. For example, when students interrupt Jonas' thinking time, Ms. Karris declares, "It's hard to think when it's not quiet." When the noise level in the classroom increases, Ms. Karris requests, "Work just a little more quietly." When students enter the classroom

loudly, Ms. Karris asserts, "Boys and girls who just came in are too noisy." When the noise in the classroom is too high, Ms. Karris declares, "There shouldn't be talking back and forth like I am hearing." When Peggy is talking during a teacher-directed lesson, Ms. Karris says, "No, I can't call on you because you are making noise." When the students chat during a handwriting lesson, Ms. Karris says, "I'm a little concerned about the talking. If we are working on cursive writing, we don't have time to talk. Be on task." When a specific group of students increases their level of noise, Ms. Karris exclaims, "Ah, I called table two for journals, not tables one, three, and four to talk."

Similarly, when the noise increases, Ms. Patrick declares, "Buddy reading is quiet time." When the students continue to talk during a teacher-directed lesson, Ms. Patrick announces, "OK. We will wait until it is quiet." The teachers' comments include an assessment of the discipline policies employed in the classroom. Particular policies such as following the teacher's directions and being on academic task are appraised using the level of noise in the classroom. Obviously, if the noise is too high (as judged by the teacher), then there is a problem with social order in the classroom.

In the classroom, "being ready" means "being quiet." For example, when the noise level in the classroom increases, Ms. Karris announces, "OK, I cannot pass out [lunch] tickets until you are ready." When the talking persists, Ms. Karris declares, "Boys and girls, I am ready and you are not." When the transition from one activity to the next is marked by noise (which is often the case), Ms. Karris asserts, "Boys and girls, you need to get ready." In these examples, the word "ready" is a term used to imply "show me that you are ready by being quiet and giving me your attention." When Ms. Karris declares, "Ah, table two is ready. They are quiet" and when Ms. Patrick states, "You need to listen to me and be ready to learn," the implied meaning is brought to the forefront. The way for students to show that they are "ready to learn" and in compliance with the classroom discipline policies is for the students to be quiet.

Not only does "be ready" mean be quiet, but "Excuse me!" means "I am not pleased with the noise." Both teachers use the phrase "Excuse me" to gather student attention during particularly noisy times in the classroom. Sometimes the phrase is followed by an explanation. For example, when a specific group of students is talking too loudly, Ms. Patrick says, "Excuse me. I have heard constant talking from that area (Ms. Patrick points at a group of students). Check yourselves, please." Teachers use the phrase "Excuse me" to signal there is something wrong with how things sound in the classroom.

As teachers monitor and evaluate the impact the setting has on discipline policies, they address the appearance and sound of the classroom. By rearranging the physical design and continually addressing the noise level, teachers attempt to improve social order in the classroom.

Power

To appraise their abilities to assert control in the classroom, teachers evaluate the effectiveness of rewards and punishments in the classroom. They send notes and reports to parents regarding problems with student behavior and create new behavior modification plans. As teachers interpret their control in the classroom, they express a desire to offer some control to students, but they are cautious about how much control is given to students.

Notes to parents. Ms. Karris maintains that the class was "still having trouble," after the student teacher completed his term. To address this "trouble," Ms. Karris created a new behavior modification plan involving notes to parents. Ms. Karris explains,

A month after he left . . . I was still having trouble with this unkindness and talking. They [students] were real talky . . . believe me, they were. For this group, they were pretty talky. But that has

shaped up because of the new behavior reports. Yes. It has shaped up tremendously. Not just the behavior toward each other [kindness], but the regular behavior of those who talk too much. The behavior reports go home that day. . . . That was the best thing that I've ever done. It's just a form letter and it's so immediate that it scares them to death. It goes home that night and has to come back the next day. And I always get a thank you letter from parents letting me know [that they have discussed the matter]. Believe me, it really makes a difference with behavior. I have not written one of those, except for Toby, in about three weeks . . . And I don't really keep up with those stickers on the calendar anymore. They [students] do it. I let them do it. I mean if somebody gets a behavior report then they're not going to get a sticker. But somebody could still lose a sticker if they do some talking and it's not enough for a behavior report, like I might take the sticker away. But I'm not closely monitoring that like I used to. . . . I don't really think it [behavior calendars with stickers] worked. It did last year, but this is a different group and it doesn't work for them . . . It's the other thing [behavior report] that works well for this group!

The new behavior reports are officially titled "Poor Conduct Reports." Figure 4 is a replica of the behavior report.

This report is a statement of power exerted by the teacher. Students do not want to take home this message. The punishment is swift and comprehensive. The teacher's power is evident in the ability to dole out this severe reprimand. The classroom inhabitants interpret this behavior report as the teacher's ability to punish those students who do not comply with "classroom expectations." By Ms. Karris' account, specific behaviors such as "talking too much" and treating others with "unkindness" top the list of potential offenses.

POOR CONDUCT REPORT	
date _____	
Dear _____,	
I regret to inform you that your child's behavior today did NOT meet our classroom expectations. _____ had difficulty with _____.	
I have discussed this matter with _____ and would like to make you aware of this issue. I expect that _____'s behavior will improve tomorrow.	
Thank you for your support.	
Sincerely, Ms. Karris	
Please sign and return this bottom portion.	

I am aware of my child's behavior and have discussed the matter with my child.	

Parent Signature	

Date	

Figure 4. Poor conduct report

Essentially, Ms. Karris found that the behavior calendars and associated stickers were "not working" and that she was "not closely monitoring" the behavior calendars anymore. After appraising the situation, she replaced one behavior modification policy with a new behavior modification policy that imposes swift punishment that "scares them to death." There appears to be a deterring effect because after the first reports were doled out, there were only intermittent times when students were required to take home the report. By the end of the year, only reminders or threats about the possibility of the reprimand were needed. Thus, Ms. Karris evaluates the new Poor Conduct Reports as "the best thing" that she has "ever done." In this case, the act of immediate

punishment appears to afford the teacher greater control in the classroom. Students interpret the Poor Conduct Report as a vigorous way for the teacher to assert her power to compel students to follow discipline policies (as noted by Ms. Karris' account and by observation of immediate student compliance when the threat of Poor Conduct Reports loomed in the classroom).

Using the behavior calendars offered Ms. Karris a minimal degree of congruence between the intended discipline policies and the actual discipline policies. However, the intentions and realities became more closely aligned with the employment of the Poor Conduct Reports. This realignment of intentions and realities was due to the rejuvenated ability of the teacher to maintain control in the classroom.

With regard to the evaluation of power and control in the classroom, Ms. Patrick notes the importance of the teacher's authority. Ms. Patrick reflects,

You know, I don't think that I am perfect or anything, but maybe some of these children have had too much control at home. . . . I learned in college, you have to find a balance between student control and teacher control. You draw a line and for a lot of these children, a lot of the control is toward them, at least at home, when it's the parent and child. . . . I can see asking children, 'Do you want to do that?' but a lot of that is overdone with the parents . . . like Owen. He's very mean to his mother. . . . I witnessed it. He was yelling at her. I don't need that kind of stuff . . . because when they come in my class, they see that they can't do that and they don't like it very much. . . . They are always trying to get more control. Well, I like it in the middle. I have control and they have control. We share it . . . But ultimate control is mine, because I am the teacher.

Ms. Patrick's assessment of the control students desire and the control teachers assert in the classroom is marked by theories of blame, particularly parents and students. Understanding that some students experience greater levels of control at home than they do in the classroom offers Ms. Patrick an explanation of why some students are disgruntled with both teacher-based control in the classroom and the discipline policies.

Ms. Patrick's account also reveals her desire to share control with the students (intended discipline policy), yet take "ultimate control" at any given time because she "is the teacher" (actual discipline policy). Theoretically, the intended policy of sharing power cannot be fully actualized in the classroom if "ultimate control" lies with the teacher. However, the classroom hosts not one but multiple contests for power. Ms. Patrick can share power in some situations and exert ultimate power in other situations.

One way that Ms. Patrick exerts ultimate power is to charge a student who consistently violates the classroom discipline policies by giving a "red card." The red card indicates to the students that the offending child will take a note to her/his parents explaining the problematic behavior. Figure 5 is a replica of the note sent home to the parent/s of the child who receives a red card. Ms. Patrick explains, "I resorted to this last year. I didn't want to have anything like this. I wanted to help children find it within themselves to do the right thing. But it didn't work, so I had to start doing this stuff." When asked how often this note is sent home, Ms. Patrick responds, "This year, I haven't sent very many home. Maybe just a couple. Mostly when we start falling back from the rules, we have to tighten up a bit with things like these notes." Therefore, the notes to parents concerning the red cards and associated problems with disciplinary compliance serve to strengthen the teacher's power and control when students "start falling back from the rules" in the classroom.

Date: _____

Today, _____
 received a red card for behavior.
 Two behaviors that occurred were:

- ☐ Talking
- ☐ Walking around
- ☐ Not paying attention
- ☐ Not following directions
- ☐ _____

The rest of the day was _____.

Please sign and return.

Figure 5. Parent note

The notes used by Ms. Patrick and Ms. Karris serve as ways to inform parents of the specific misbehaviors in the classroom. Both notes include a place for parents to sign which serves as a verification that parents receive the news. Essentially, the notes get parents into the game. Evidently, involving parents serves as an efficient way to reinstate the teacher's control in the classroom.

Interpreting control. To further depict the teachers' interpretations of control in the classroom, each teacher placed a mark on a scale of control indicating the desired level of control. Figure 6 is an illustration of the teachers' responses to the self-

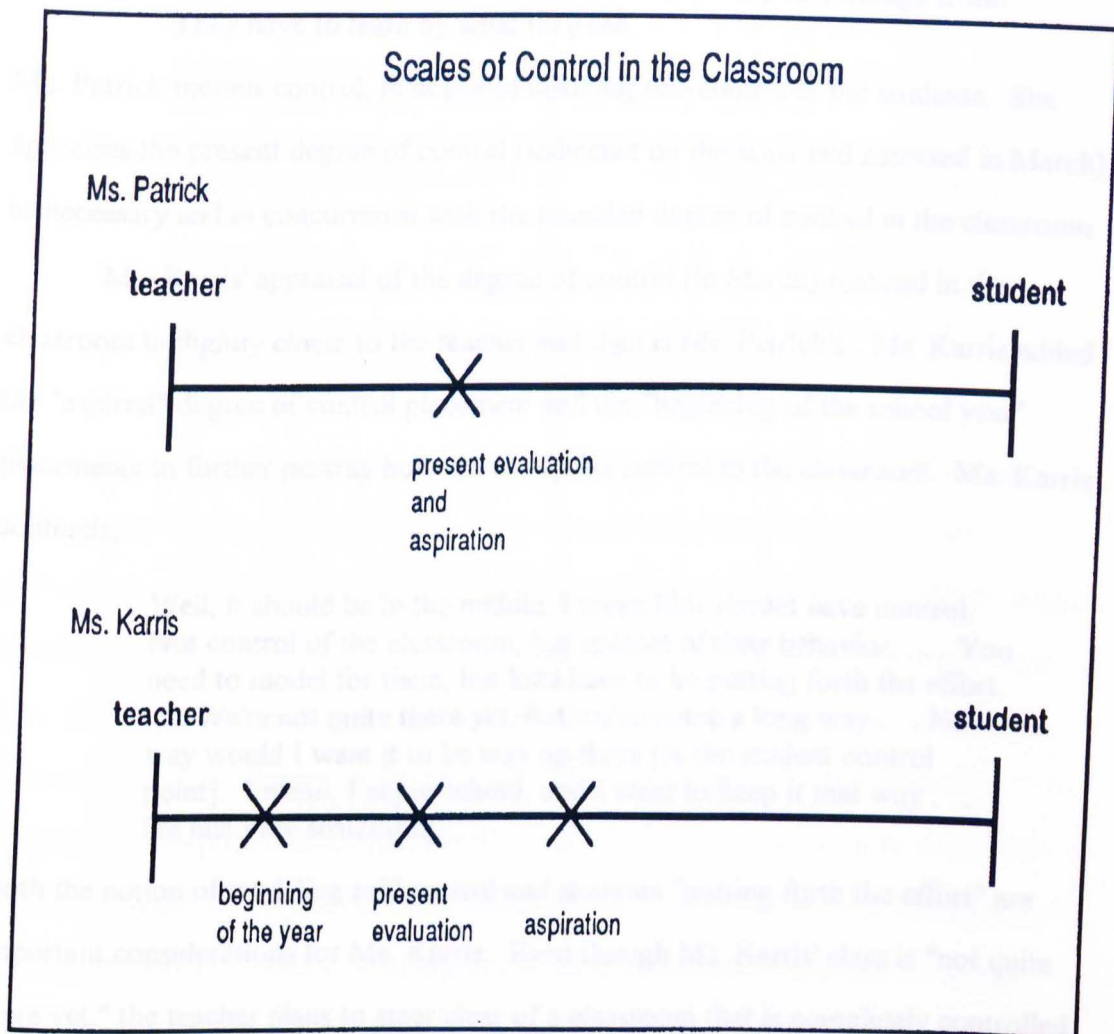


Figure 6. Scales of control in the classroom

Ms. Patrick's placement is closer to the teacher's control, but situated near the middle range. Ms. Patrick evaluates the present (in March) degree of control as in complete congruence with her intended degree of control. As Ms. Patrick shares,

I don't like the whole control thing. I was very into control [earlier in my teaching career], but now I try to give them more and more. But if you give them all of the control, especially in the beginning [of the school year], then what do they have to learn from? I mean,

where is their example? Where are they pulling knowledge from?
They have to learn by what they see.

Ms. Patrick models control, in hopes of instilling self-control in the students. She appraises the present degree of control (indicated on the scale and assessed in March) as necessary and in concurrence with the intended degree of control in the classroom.

Ms. Karris' appraisal of the degree of control (in March) realized in the classroom is slightly closer to the teacher end than is Ms. Patrick's. Ms. Karris added the "aspired" degree of control placement and the "beginning of the school year" placements to further portray how she interprets control in the classroom. Ms. Karris contends,

Well, it should be in the middle, I mean kids should have control. Not control of the classroom, but control of their behavior. . . . You need to model for them, but kids have to be putting forth the effort. . . . We're not quite there yet, but we've come a long way . . . No way would I want it to be way up there [at the student control point]. I mean, I enjoy school, and I want to keep it that way . . . I'm just very structured . . .

Both the notion of modeling self-control and students "putting forth the effort" are important considerations for Ms. Karris. Even though Ms. Karris' class is "not quite there yet," the teacher plans to steer clear of a classroom that is completely controlled by students, noting that she would not "enjoy" school if that were the case.

Both teachers intend to give more control to students as the year progresses. Ms. Karris explains, "We're working to get to that middle, where the students can have some control by the end of the year." Ms. Patrick says, "I try to work it so they have more control and responsibility as the year goes on." It appears that teachers hope to offer more control to students as the year progresses.

As evidence of providing more control to the students as the year progresses, Ms. Patrick phases out the use of her four major behavior modification policies and interrelated deployment of rewards and punishments. Ms. Patrick explains,

I don't do these things [pocket chart, Are we doing our best? tickets, chance cards, star player] as much anymore. It's getting near the end of the year and so I'm fading them out. . . . I'm more concerned about, well really hoping that more of it is coming from them; the internalized motivation . . . I'm hoping that by me doing it less and less that they will be thinking more about themselves and personalizing it. . . . I don't want them to think every time you do something good you should get a reward for it. I want them to realize the inner reward, which should be better. I still reward them with green tickets and popcorn or whatever, but it's just not as often now.

The observation data indicate a decline in the use of these behavior modification policies. To explain, during the first classroom observation, the pocket chart yellow/red cards, tickets, and chance cards were mentioned, collectively fifteen times. Specifically, five yellow cards were given, six threats concerning yellow cards were used, one threat concerning red cards was used, two threats concerning red tickets were used, and one chance card was given. However, during the last classroom observation, the pocket chart yellow/red cards, tickets, and chance cards were not mentioned at all. Clearly, if the observation data are indicative, there is consistency between the intended policy of fading out these external motivators and the actual policy of not using these motivators as the year concludes. However, this congruence is not to say that near the end of the year the classroom is without conflict and disruption. During the final observation, students still received punishments (e.g., being removed from the classroom and receiving verbal reprimands) and rewards (e.g., verbal and non-verbal pats on the back) related to noncompliant and compliant student behaviors in the classroom.

In Ms. Karris' classroom, the end of the school year was marked by a move toward a traditional classroom arrangement. Ms. Karris interprets the switch to rows as a strategy that "works" at keeping students "quiet" in the classroom. The replacement of the behavior calendars with the behavior reports also indicates an

increase in the perceived need for teacher control in the classroom. Thus, Ms. Karris readjusted the mechanisms for achieving greater teacher power in the classroom in the latter part of the school year. This adjustment is not consistent with the aim of giving more control to students (i.e., "trying to get to that middle") as the school year progressed.

In summary, the teachers' interpretations of control in the classroom are evident in the punishments and rewards utilized to enact, convey, and realize discipline policies in the classroom. The constant monitoring and evaluating of the punishments and rewards allow the teachers to make adjustments and reassess the extent to which discipline policies are "effective." To be appraised by the teacher as "effective," discipline policies and mechanisms for advancing discipline policies must support the teacher's power position in the classroom and produce student compliance.

The reactions of the students to the teachers' adjustments of power (i.e., more control through arranging desks in rows and imposing the Poor Conduct Reports in Ms. Karris' classroom and the attempt at displaying less control with the fading out of formal punishments and rewards in Ms. Patrick's classroom) bring student interpretations of the teacher's power and control to light. Students in Ms. Karris' classroom appear to accept the regime, because, according to the teacher, students think it is "cool" to sit in rows and students quickly come to order when she offers a threat of the Poor Conduct Report. How the students in Ms. Patrick's classroom interpret the adjustment of teacher power is less apparent. It is evident that the formal punishments and rewards used in Ms. Patrick's classroom are phased out as the year progresses, but there are other punishments and rewards that still exist. Thus, it may be that the more formal punishments and rewards are simply replaced by the new, less systematic punishments and rewards (e.g., removal from the classroom or pats on the back), causing little change in how students interpret the power and control of the

teacher. It appears the "ultimate power" still belongs to Ms. Patrick, regardless of which punishments and rewards are utilized to achieve this end.

Conflict

While teachers aspire to the absence of conflict, the realities of the classroom include conflicts of varying degree. The degree of conflict in the classroom is one of the criterion teachers use to appraise the potency of discipline policies. In so doing, teachers determine the extent to which interactions in the classroom strengthen or disrupt social order and the teacher's power structure.

Ms. Patrick explains how she discerns discipline policies as "effective,"

Well, I see it work when I hear them say to each other, 'Don't do that to her' or 'Don't treat them that way.' It is when I hear them doing these types of things that I know that it is working. . . . One time there was a little girl who is just an angel, but her and her little friend were just talking during book basket time. Well, I gave them yellow cards. Later, she apologized, saying, 'I'm really sorry that I got a yellow card.' I was flabbergasted. This is what I want! I want the students to take responsibility and ownership. I have told this story to many other students, because they need to know. . . . When things like that happen, I know that I'm doing something right.

In Ms. Patrick's account, the "effectiveness" of classroom discipline policies is evidenced by the students taking the responsibility for helping those engaged in student-to-student conflict. Discipline policies are considered effective when students accept ownership of their misbehaviors. Social order is achieved when students attempt to help curb conflicts by telling other students "Don't do that to her" or "Don't treat them that way." Ms. Patrick takes these actions as signs that classroom discipline policies are fortified by the students, themselves. Likewise, when students accept a punishment and submit an apology, Ms. Patrick interprets this as the students understanding the power structure and associated discipline policies in the classroom.

Assessing the degree of conflict involves evaluating and "re-teaching" the techniques used in the classroom to enhance student compliance. Ms. Patrick explains,

There are sources of dissatisfaction with the classroom discipline. Like when I'm counting and they get six red tickets, I think, what am I doing wrong? We go back and I re-teach. Sometimes it takes a couple of days. Maybe the next time it is only five tickets. Well, that's progress.

Focusing on the specific strategy, "re-teaching," and reinstating the policies afford an increase in "effectiveness" or at least "progress" towards that end.

In Ms. Patrick's classroom, conflicts serve to break down the broad discipline policy of the classroom (i.e., Everyone helps), because when students are engaging in confrontation they are not "helping" the classroom community. However, each teacher and student reaction to each conflict can serve to repair the potential damage that the conflict creates. Thus, the ways in which conflicts are handled can make classroom discipline policies stronger. Evaluating the extent to which the broad "Everyone helps" discipline policy is constantly damaged, mended, and re-fortified in the classroom is complicated. Ms. Patrick reflects,

I'm a perfectionist and the reality is that it's never perfect in the classroom. There are some days when the policy's working. Everyone is working together and the team is strong. But there is more often when it's not working. On those days sometimes I think that the whole idea of them working together and caring for each other is just not working . . . It's really just a few of them that have the most difficulties . . . I'm not giving up, I just have to be realistic. I want to get there, to that point where everything is perfect . . . You know, the ideal, where I wouldn't need to say anything to them, they would just do it. A place where kids are treating each other right because they want to, not because they are going to get something for it . . . I see little bits of my ideal coming out all the time.

Ms. Patrick explains that the ideal classroom is a community in which no reminders of social order and kindness are necessary. Specifically, in these classrooms the teacher

"wouldn't need to say anything to them" about behavior. In this notion, students are "treating each other right" without rewards and punishments to entice them to do so. Ms. Patrick evaluates that "some days it's working" because she sees "little bits" of her ideal "coming out." However, there are more often times when the ideal is not present. The congruence between the "intended" discipline policies and the "actual" discipline policies is fragile. The notion of "everyone helping all the time" appears unrealistic. However, the idea that students can "strive toward helping others" is an attainable goal.

Ms. Karris appraises her classroom discipline policies and classroom conflicts by rating her "approach to discipline." Ms. Karris reflects,

Oh, I wouldn't call my classroom discipline approach the best. I mean, I still have things to learn. I think that my kids are well behaved, and for the most part I think that that is due to my expectations of them. So I'd say, (laughing) I'm good! I just don't think that I'm like fantastic or anything. . . . I get compliments on my class when we are walking through the halls or at assemblies, or when people walk into the room . . . So I think that I'm doing a good job. But like I said, I don't know all the answers yet, so I'm still working on it . . .

Ms. Karris' appraisal of her approach to classroom discipline includes humble notations of continual improvement and expressions of particular ways in which the overall expectations of the teacher are realized. Even though Ms. Karris does not deem her classroom discipline policies "the best," there are expressions of specific criteria used to judge her discipline policies as "effective." Ms. Karris "knows" that the discipline policies are "working" when other teachers and adults compliment the student displays of social order and nonconfrontational behavior. Thus, the absence of conflict indicates that discipline policies are effective.

While there are times when students refrain from confrontation and disorder, conflicts remain part of the daily interactions. Ms. Karris says, "Even though they are great kids, there are still times during the day when they have conflicts and I have to

say things to them. They are not perfect. Neither am I . . . That's life." In this sense, a conflict-free classroom is not an obtainable reality because students and teachers are "not perfect." As in Ms. Patrick's earlier account, the ideal of students behaving "perfectly" is simply dismissed as unrealistic. However, this is not to say that the classrooms in this study were branded by pandemonium. Order was observed during the majority of the time and from a majority of the students. Therefore, it is important to consider that the non-perfect classroom includes a select few students that, in Ms. Patrick's words, "really have the most difficulties."

By the teachers' accounts and as observed in the classroom, only a select group of students typically engage in confrontation in the classroom. These students are the power players that vie for attention in the classroom by displaying defiance and aggression. In Ms. Patrick's classroom, Otis and Kelvin are the two major offenders. Ms. Patrick explains,

It is Otis and Kelvin who cause most of the problems. . . . I'm not trying to blame anyone and I am glad that they were in my class, because it gave everyone a chance to learn how to deal with different people. You know, throughout life, you will have a lot of different kinds of people to deal with. But, there's sort of a disservice done to other children because of the amount of time that was taken away from them [other students] . . . And the truth is that I haven't found anything that works for them [Otis and Kelvin]. I mean, it's the last week in school and I'm sitting there at my desk. And there they are again fighting, messing around, yelling at each other, using loud voices, and everything. I just looked at them and said, 'I am so sad that it's the end of first grade and you are still not remembering how to treat each other.' . . . They just looked at me. It is just sad for me, because you pour so much into somebody and then you just don't see change.

The frustrations associated with working with children who constantly cause conflict and disrupt the social order of the classroom are apparent in Ms. Patrick's account. Otis and Kelvin break the discipline policies of the classroom by "fighting," "messing

around," "yelling at each other," and "using loud voices" over and over again. These conflicts are assessed by Ms. Patrick as problematic. Furthermore, the problems are continual because Ms. Patrick has not "found anything that works for them," meaning the punishments and rewards that serve to define and employ the discipline policies for the rest of the class do not "work" for Otis and Kelvin.

In Ms. Karris' classroom, Toby is the major offender, but Toby is often given special accommodations due to his Tourette syndrome. Thus, Ms. Karris assesses the biggest problems with conflicts and confrontation as coming from the parents of the students with whom she works. Ms. Karris reflects,

If I was going to summarize my year with problems and conflicts, it would be from the parent point of view more than from the kids. The only thing I can say about my kids is that some of them are laxed, and should work a little harder . . . But my biggest problems were more with the parents. They are just unhappy all the time, complaining all the time . . . like 'Why didn't you put my child's name on the bulletin board for Good Samaritan? You put so and so's name up there.' or 'My child says that this child is talking too much.' . . . I recently had a problem with Jonas' mother which gives an example of what I'm talking about. His mother came straight into my classroom at nine o'clock. She didn't even go to the office. She comes in here and accuses me of lying. Right in front of the kids. When, in fact, it was her son who was lying. Now that upsets me. . . . Evidently, he told his mother that I said he couldn't get drinks at school and he should bring a water bottle from home. Well, the fact is that I let him and all the students get four drinks a day from the water fountain, but if they feel they need more, they should bring a water bottle or something. So she sends in a water bottle and a nasty note. So I write back that 'Jonas did not tell you correctly' and that's why she came marching in here to complain that I called her son a liar. . . . Well, he ended up admitting to it, but the whole thing was so embarrassing for him. . . . I said, 'I think that there's a communication problem between you and Jonas.' She said, 'I think that there's a communication problem between you and the office.' I just said, 'Whatever,' and the whole thing was over. . . . So it's those kinds of things that have been the major problems this year.

The conflicts between the parents and the teacher outweigh the student initiated conflicts, according to Ms. Karris. The major problems revolve around the parents "complaining" and attempting to assert power over the teacher. According to Ms. Karris, the procedure of allowing four drinks per student is an attempt to minimize the student movement in the classroom. The message that Jonas relays to his mother indicates that he is not allowed to get drinks at all. The parent appears frustrated with the messages she received from her child concerning the teacher's behaviors. The parent charges into the classroom and confronts the teacher in front of the entire class. The parent and the teacher exchange words concerning "communication problems," and the teacher ends the quarrel by saying "Whatever." This confrontation has the potential to break many discipline policies, because the students who witness this situation could alter their perceptions of the teacher's power and authority. The attack from the parent could also serve to better establish the teacher's power and authority if the students who view the skirmish consider the teacher as the victor. Without talking with the students directly, the extent to which this particular situation minimized or fortified the teacher's power and authority in the classroom is only speculative. However, it is clear that Ms. Karris evaluates this type of conflict as her "biggest problem."

Therefore, each conflict in the classroom has the potential to break down classroom discipline policies, by reducing the potency of the policies; or shore up classroom discipline policies, by increasing the strength of the policies, via the responses, reactions, and interpretations of classroom inhabitants. In both classrooms, there are select groups of people who are more apt to participate in confrontational displays [Otis and Kelvin in Ms. Patrick's classroom and some of the parents (especially Jonas' mother) in Ms. Karris' classroom]. While teachers seemingly prefer conflict-free classrooms, conflicts are ever-present. Some of the conflicts have greater intensity and

others are the basic daily trials of classroom life. However, each conflict presents an opportunity for teachers to evaluate, reinforce, or revise policies.

Compromise

Compromises are utilized in the classroom to reduce conflicts and ultimately to help students comply with discipline policies. The extent to which compromises and bargains accomplish these goals varies depending upon the type of compromise and to whom it is directed.

Appraising common compromises. The common compromises in this study include countdowns, warnings, extra chances, and repeated directions. Teachers intend for these compromises to "help students" by minimizing potential conflicts and assisting students to comply with the classroom discipline policies. Ms. Patrick notes, "I'm just trying to help them do what they are supposed to do." Likewise, Ms. Karris says, "I give them a chance to improve." Essentially, the teachers offer students chances and warnings to encourage the students to "do what they are supposed to do," which means comply with the classroom discipline policies.

However, many compromises provide students with additional time to comply with the pending discipline policies and provide the teacher with extra time to prepare for the next activity. While the "buying of time" may not be the intentional purpose, it is certainly one of the results of the chances, countdowns, warnings, and repeated directions offered to the students. Therefore, in this way, the "intended" use of these specific compromises is different from the "actual" effect of the specific compromises in the classroom.

Appraising compromises given to specific students. Some compromises are offered to individual students. For example, in Ms. Patrick's classroom, Otis is given a

great deal of attention from the teacher and many chances to comply with the classroom discipline policies. Ms. Patrick shares,

We [the instructional assistant and I] usually have to explain it several times to him. . . . We really have to break it down. Directions are given one at a time, sometimes you have to break down the one. . . . You have to ask him to look at you, which he does not do very easily. His eyes are everywhere except where they are supposed to be. . . . Working with him takes a lot of time and patience. . . . But, I can't expect the same things from apples and oranges. I mean, I have high expectations for all of them, but he just can't do what others can do. Take Lana for example. She has both parents living with her, reading to her every night. His [Otis'] mom doesn't know how to read. . . . How can I expect the same things from him [as I do from Lana]? I have to help him get there. I can't expect him to get there without help.

By means of the accommodations given to Otis, Ms. Patrick considers the theories of blame, specifically misguiding parents and academic failure, that explain Otis' need for modified expectations. Because Otis "just can't do what others can do," Ms. Patrick offers compromise, modified expectations, and extra teacher attention. Ms. Patrick appraises these compromises as mechanisms used to help Otis be successful in the classroom. Ms. Patrick explains,

I am not doing it [offering compromises and accommodations] because he's trying to get something and I'm trying to get something. I see it as I'm trying to help him where he needs to be helped. And most of the time he has no idea why I'm doing it. . . . I'm not trying to compromise with him, I mean compromises go on in the classroom, but it is not usually because they're going to get something and I'm going to get something.

The interpretations of compromise offered by Ms. Patrick are interesting. In Ms. Patrick's opinion, compromises are not intended to offer "something" to the student and "something" to the teacher. Instead, compromises are ways that she can "help" students. However, students, such as Otis, need "help" complying with classroom discipline policies. The "help" offered comes in the forms of extra time, repeated

directions, extra chances, and modified expectations. Thus, Otis does receive "something." His actions, consciously, or subconsciously afford him additional attention, time, and chances in the classroom.

In Ms. Karris' classroom, Toby receives many accommodations. Toby is allowed to stand when other students are directed to sit. Toby has a special place in close proximity to the teacher in all of the group structures. Toby is often given extra chances to comply with the teacher's directions and other discipline policies of the classroom. The teacher makes these accommodations because of Toby's Tourette syndrome. Ms. Karris appraises the compromises given to Toby in the following manner,

I hear that Toby is having a fantastic year according to the principal. He [principal] thinks that this year is good because I am so structured in my teaching and discipline. So Toby's having a much better year than last year. So it's working out really well for him. . . . Not that I'm the best disciplinarian in the world, because I'm certainly not, but I am a very structured teacher. . . . I think that kids need that and although there are flex times with the math games and group work, I am still pretty structured. I go quickly from one task to another so that they don't have a chance to get distracted or be loud . . .

Interestingly, in her appraisal of Toby's ability to comply with the discipline policies in the classroom, Ms. Karris focuses on the structure, rather than the accommodations to the structure that are given to Toby. Toby is "having a fantastic year" because Ms. Karris is "so structured." Strategies such as moving "quickly from one task to another" offered to Toby and to the rest of the class enable the students, including Toby, to refrain from being "distracted" and from being "loud," which are breaches to the classroom discipline policies. The appraisal offered by Ms. Karris highlights the overall tactics offered to all students rather than the specific bargains given to Toby.

The extent to which compromises or bargains between teachers and students reduce conflicts and promote student compliance is somewhat obscure. As the teachers report, compromises are offered to "help" students comply with the discipline policies. However, the "help" rendered often delays or modifies compliance. Moreover, many of the students who receive the most compromises are the very students who continue to have the most difficulties complying with the discipline policies. While delayed or modified compliance may be viewed as better than no compliance at all, it is difficult to ascertain the real benefits of compromise. Thus, there exists a gap in the relationship between what the compromises are intended to accomplish and what the compromises actually accomplish in the classroom. Interestingly, other information related to the appraisal of compromises in the classroom was not found, which is perhaps significant in and of itself. Could it be that the classroom compromises and bargains dispensed to students by teachers are often practiced yet minimally evaluated?

Protection

Protection is given to students and teachers through the discipline policies employed in the classroom. Teachers intend to offer students physical and emotional safety by way of specific discipline policies. It is indirectly intended that the classroom discipline policies offer the teacher protection by preserving her authority in the classroom. The extent to which the intentions are achieved is evident in how teachers evaluate the protection granted by classroom discipline policies.

Evaluating the protection of students. Both teachers revealed a need to protect students physically and emotionally in the classroom. Aligned with the school "standards of safety" (Hampton Manor Elementary School) and the policies on "showing respect to classmates" and "keeping hands, feet, and objects to yourself"

(Green Leaf Elementary School), the classroom discipline policies are aimed at protecting students. Ms. Karris shares,

Children need to feel safe in the classroom. That's why we talk about keeping your hands, feet, and objects to yourself. . . . It really upsets me when kids are mean to other kids . . . I'm pretty sensitive about that. . . . Safety involves [students] feeling good in the classroom about themselves.

The aim of the discipline policies in the classroom is to protect students from physical and emotional injury. "Feeling safe" and being safe are the purposed goals.

Ms. Patrick concurs, "When there is a physical problem in the classroom, it makes me very upset. The children are supposed to be safe here. They are supposed to feel safe. We are a team." Ms. Patrick surely wants students to feel safe in the classroom.

While the intention of protecting students through discipline policies is fundamental, the realities of the classroom are more complex. Ms. Patrick explains,

It is Otis and Kelvin who cause most of the problems. . . . I'm not trying to blame anyone and I am glad that they were in my class . . . But, there's sort of a disservice done to other children because of the amount of time that was taken away from them [other students] . . . Or the fact that they [other students] could not feel safe at certain times because of other children [particularly Otis and Kelvin] in the classroom . . . and maybe it's just me, from the teacher's standpoint. It's very possible that they felt fine. But . . . I had promised them a safe room and I had said, 'This is where you are going to be safe.' And with those two [Otis and Kelvin] it's hard . . .

In her evaluation of the extent to which students are protected by discipline policies in the classroom, Ms. Patrick reveals the lack of congruence between the intentions of protection and the realities of the classroom. One of the "disservices" that are "done to other children" involves the time Ms. Patrick has to devote to Otis and Kelvin, leaving less time for other students. Another "disservice" is that students "could not feel safe

at certain times in the classroom." In Ms. Patrick's opinion, she made a promise of safety to all of her students and a select few of her students obstructed that promise by periodically causing physical and emotional injury to other students.

Ascertaining how students appraise the protection offered to them is difficult because the data do not include interviews with students. Even within Ms. Patrick's interpretation it is difficult to interpret if students "feel" protected because Ms. Patrick says that it is "very possible that they felt fine," meaning they did not "feel" threatened by Kelvin and Otis. Nonetheless, students are not always free from physical and emotional harm in the classroom, because there are times when other students break discipline policies that are designed to protect students. The very fact that some students break these discipline policies in the classroom contributes to the discord between the "intended" discipline policies and the "actual" discipline policies related to protection in the classroom.

Evaluating the protection of teachers. The teachers never stated an intention of protecting themselves in the classroom. In fact, when I asked Ms. Karris if protection plays a part in the classroom discipline policies, she laughed and replied, "Do you mean am I worried in here? I mean, the students need to feel safe . . . But as for me, I'm not fearful, at all." Clearly, Ms. Karris is not afraid, in terms of physical safety, in the classroom. However, many of the classroom discipline policies employed do offer protection of the teacher's authority in the classroom. For example, one of the most prevalent classroom discipline policies is "following the teacher's directions." As Ms. Patrick says, "My big thing is, let's follow directions." This basic discipline policy may have indirect connections to safety for students; that is, the directions that the teacher gives may be related to safety. For the most part, however, this policy enhances the teacher's control. The "following directions" policy allows the teacher to "direct" students toward social order, thereby reinforcing the teacher-based power structure in

the classroom. Other discipline policies such as "showing respect" and "displaying general standards of courtesy" also protect the teacher's authority in the classroom. Certainly, if a student is "disrespectful" to the teacher, the teacher's authority is in momentary limbo. At that instant the student is challenging the teacher's power. Therefore, while protecting the teacher's power and authority in the classroom may not be the publicly stated aims, they are components of the "real" policies in the classroom.

Each time the teacher assesses the degree to which any or all of the discipline policies are "working," she is actually, in some ways, evaluating the degree to which her power and authority are intact. For example, when asked if she had any concerns about the overall classroom discipline, Ms. Patrick explains,

Yes. Kelvin. I would like to find a way to help him conform, to help him be a part of the team without hurting others, yelling out, and not following directions. And Otis, too. Sometimes, I think, what am I doing wrong? Why don't they listen? You talk to them. You look for other ways to help them. You are more patient. And it's still the same . . .

Helping Kelvin "conform" to the classroom team involves finding a way to inform Kelvin of the important discipline policies of "listening to the teacher" and "following the teacher's directions." Essentially, the message is, If you do not listen to the teacher, follow the teacher's directions, refrain from hurting others and avoid yelling out, then you are not part of the team. Clearly, the evaluation of the discipline policies employed in the classroom is intermeshed with the evaluation of the power, control, and authority of the teacher.

As Ms. Karris reflects upon the overall classroom discipline policies and any accompanying concerns, she states,

When I think about this year, I feel that we ended up a family, which is my goal every year. . . . I always feel really close to my students toward the end of the year. You work all year to get them to be your little family . . . I basically feel that the year went well

. . . I think it was more my parents who gave me more trouble. I had six parents that were very strong and they wanted to be a pain . . . They were always involved and always had a complaint.

The accomplishment of the class being Ms. Karris' "little family" is a critical piece in the overall evaluation of the classroom discipline policies and the interrelated protection of the teacher's power and authority in the classroom. The clear message in Ms. Karris' account is that it was a select group of parents who caused problems to the power structure and hindered the "little family" in the classroom. These parents were "strong," "always involved," and "always had a complaint," which interrupted or intermittently overturned the power position of the teacher.

The evaluations of the extent to which students and teachers are protected by the discipline policies employed in the classroom vary. By some accounts students "feel" safe in the classroom. By other descriptions, students may not always "feel" safe in the classroom. Sometimes the discipline policies carefully protect the teacher authority in the classroom. Other times discipline policies are unable to protect the teacher due to the behaviors of select students and some parents, creating a gap between the intentions of teachers and the realities in the classroom.

Synopsis of the Evaluation of Discipline Policies

Each of the components of the micropolitical model of interaction helps uncover how classroom inhabitants appraise classroom discipline policies and helps gauge the degree of congruence between the "intended" discipline policies and the "actual" discipline policies in the classroom. Discipline policies are evaluated by the appearance (the teachers' desires being order, structure, and comfort) and sound of the classroom (the teachers' desires being low levels of noise). The interpretations of the power and control given to teachers by way of the discipline policies utilized in the classroom are specific to the situation and people involved with the situation at hand. Sometimes the teacher views her power (as seen in her ability to dole out reprimands,

for example) as having less impact on the conditions in the classroom than what is desired. To remedy this situation, the teacher may re-impose a new form of reprimand. While teachers aspire to give students power in the classroom, this aspiration is only moderately attained because of the teacher-based control fortified by many classroom discipline policies.

Each classroom conflict has the potential to reduce the potency of the policies and to increase the strength of the policies, through the responses, reactions, and interpretations of classroom inhabitants. Both teachers seek the absence of conflict, but do not expect to achieve it because of the "non-perfect" conditions and realities of the classroom. Compromises may help reduce conflicts and produce student compliance to the discipline policies in some cases; but many compromises promote delayed compliance. Hence, compromises undercut the immediate compliance associated with discipline policies. The evaluations of the extent to which students and teachers are protected by the discipline policies employed in the classroom are diverse. The notions of students "feeling" safe and teachers having their power and authority protected are intended, but not always realized, in the classroom.

Evaluating classroom discipline policies is complicated and somewhat cumbersome. As Ms. Karris states at the close of our interview, "I've never done so much reflecting in all my life," the effort needed to understand the complexities associated with classroom discipline policies is intense. The congruence between what is desired and what is achieved is a humbling reality. Ms Patrick's reflection summarizes this notion,

I think that I have a long way to go. I think that I will never get it just right. Every year you get a class where you say, 'I've never had a class like that before.' Every class is different. Sometimes you think that you will never be able to master it. You have to try this,

this, this, and this, because it is never the same. . . . My approach is that I care about you [student] and that is why I'm doing this . . . I'm human and I make mistakes . . . I try to be a reflective teacher. I have to always change.

Summary of Chapter Four and Preview of Chapter Five

Chapter Four has broadly examined the ways in which the dynamics of classroom discipline can be described in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction. Using this model has helped to uncover many of the strategies, mechanisms, intentions, and results associated with classroom discipline policies. Specific ways in which teachers consider the classroom setting; their levels of control; the nature of potential conflicts; compromises offered to students; and the protection of students and themselves when enacting, conveying, realizing, and evaluating discipline policies were revealed through the use of this conceptual framework.

Chapter Five will be dedicated to summarizing the findings, rendering the conclusions, and offering suggestions for further research and practice prompted by this exploratory case study of the formal and informal discipline policies used in selected elementary school classrooms.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS

This chapter includes a review of the purpose of this research, a summary of the findings, a discussion of the conclusions, and several suggestions for further research and practice related to this exploratory case study of the formal and informal classroom discipline policies used in selected elementary school classrooms.

Reviewing the Purpose of this Case Study

The purpose of this case study was to examine the ways in which the dynamics of classroom discipline can be described in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction. Few preceding research endeavors have addressed the classroom as the paramount unit of analysis in the study of policy and even fewer research endeavors have been directed toward the connections between classroom discipline and policy. This case study depicts a fresh perspective on the dynamics of enacting, conveying, realizing, and evaluating discipline policies in selected elementary school classrooms.

Summary of Findings

To succinctly recount the major findings of this study, I will summarize the specific discoveries related to the dynamics of classroom discipline as described by the micropolitical model of interaction. In so doing, I will explain how and why teachers enact discipline policies; portray how teachers and students convey discipline policies; explain how the content of discipline policies is shaped and reshaped; offer the general

imprint and the perceived outcomes related to the discipline policies employed; explain how teachers appraise discipline policies; and discuss the degree of congruence between the "intended" and "actual" discipline policies employed in the classroom.

The Micropolitical Model

The micropolitical model illuminates how discipline policies are enacted, conveyed, realized, and evaluated. The findings associated with this model are the ways in which power often serves as a means and an end in the complicated dynamics of classroom discipline. Other findings associated with this model are the ways in which classroom inhabitants broker policies through conflict, use compromises, and the setting within which they do so. The specific findings relate to how and why teachers enact discipline policies; how teachers and students convey, shape, and reshape discipline policies; how discipline policies are realized; and how discipline policies are evaluated in the classroom. These findings delineate the specific ways in which classroom dynamics can be described by the micropolitical model of interaction.

Enacting Discipline Policies

Teachers consider the classroom setting and potential interactions between classroom inhabitants regarding control, conflict, compromise, and protection when enacting discipline policies. To distinctively address the issues of how and why, a summary of how teachers enact discipline policies will be given, followed by a summary of why teachers enact discipline policies in the classroom.

First, teachers enact discipline policies by considering the physical layout, outside influences, expectations, and group structure of the classroom setting. Teachers arrange the classroom furniture in an organized manner and place some students' desks in locations where these students cannot readily initiate disruptive activity. Teachers consider outside influences such as the formal discipline policies of

the school and utilize ideas and insights from colleagues. Teachers encourage students to express expectations of social order and guide students through a process of tweaking and modifying these expectations to reach the higher level expectations of the teacher. Teachers address the group structure in the classroom by attempting to establish a cooperative community.

Second, teachers enact discipline policies in order to establish teacher control in the classroom. To do so, they rely heavily upon behavior modification plans and programs. Teachers also attempt to control student behavior using vehicles such as humor to soften the play of power in the classroom. Amidst the teacher-based power structure, teachers strive to empower students to use intrinsic motivation (i.e., inner goodness) and to take ownership of their behavior in the classroom. Teachers also attempt to model social order behavior and concern for well being in the classroom.

Third, teachers enact discipline policies by considering the nature of conflicts and by being cognizant of how conflicts unfold. Specifically, teachers address contests for power from students by repeating directions and offering signals, instead of arguing with students. Teachers place specific students in close proximity to the teacher. They strategically address opposing opinions from students (such as talking back and arguing) by posing questions that prompt students to retract their confrontational positions. Teachers display intolerance toward student-to-student conflicts that are motivated by revenge. Teachers require students to resolve conflicts among themselves when the conflicts are considered minor by the teacher. Teachers model or guide problem solving strategies when the student-to-student conflicts are of greater intensity. Teachers separate students when conflicts are escalating quickly.

Fourth, teachers attempt to help students comply with discipline policies by offering them compromises. Specifically, teachers give extra chances for students to reach full or modified compliance. They offer chances for students to explain behaviors

or give permission for specific students to disobey certain policies in certain situations. They also use public and private signals to warn students of impending problems related to student behavior in the classroom.

Fifth, teachers enact discipline policies because they seek to offer protection to students in the classroom. Teachers attempt to be sensitive toward students. Teachers strive to ensure equitable treatment of students and try to guarantee equal opportunities for students to be praised and rewarded. Teachers also attempt to ensure justice when they deem it appropriate to do so, protecting themselves in the process.

While many of the reasons why teachers enact discipline policies are embedded in the ways they enact discipline policies, there are several specific explanations worth summarizing. As described in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction, teachers enact discipline policies because they (a) desire an orderly, harmonious classroom community; (b) seek to preempt problems, help students "meet classroom expectations," establish teacher-based control, get/keep "things under control," and empower students; (c) anticipate conflicts from specific students and try to deflect contests for power; (d) hold fast to the notions that compromises such as chances and warnings help prevent or subdue conflicts, enable students to comply with discipline policies, and "improve" student behavior; and (e) desire to protect students by providing physical safety, equitable treatment, and equal opportunity for rewards, while protecting themselves.

Conveying Discipline Policies

Teachers and students convey discipline policies by considering the classroom setting/context factors and interactions between and among themselves. These factors and interactions are related to control, conflict, compromise, and protection.

First, teachers and students convey and implement discipline policies by taking into account the immediate environmental factors such as students sitting in the back and classroom noise. Some students sit in the back during whole group instruction. These students are more likely to be distracted or to distract others, thereby conveying their own agendas rather than following the teacher's directions. In the classroom, students engage in three types of noise; productive noise, nonproductive noise, and loud noise. Teachers encourage productive noise, redirect or reprimand students who engage in nonproductive noise, and give immediate attention to loud noise.

Second, teachers and students convey and implement discipline policies by asserting power and control in the classroom. Teachers give "the look," use commanding language, and offer trivial to grandiose reprimands and rewards. Students display covert behaviors; exhibit the attention-power-revenge-pity sequence; offer partial or delayed compliance; and attempt to secure the last in line position.

Third, teachers and students convey and implement classroom discipline policies by dealing with various types and degrees of conflicts. Student-to-teacher conflicts involve students challenging the teacher's control. Teachers deal with these conflicts by reprimanding and/or punishing students and praising those students who are in compliance with the relevant rule. Student-to-student conflicts involve students confronting other students. To deal with these types of conflicts, teachers require that students independently resolve conflicts or they guide students through a problem-solving process. Students deal with student-to-student confrontations by requesting the teacher's intervention or resolving conflicts on their own.

Fourth, teachers and students convey and implement discipline policies by utilizing compromises. Teachers offer countdowns intended to smooth transitions, to buy time for themselves or for students, and to warn students of when full compliance is expected. Other compromises are directly prompted by student misbehaviors. These

compromises include offering students signals aimed at helping students comply, offering students extra chances to comply, and allowing students to suspend policies such as hand raising when conversations remain orderly.

Fifth, teachers convey and implement classroom discipline policies by protecting students and themselves. To protect students, teachers remove from the classroom children who behave in ways that jeopardized the physical safety of other students. Teachers also attempt to provide students with uninterrupted thinking time when they are called upon to answer the teachers' academic content questions. Teachers protect themselves by using behavior modification techniques as formal discipline policies that promote the teacher's power and control in the classroom.

In sum, teachers and students convey and implement discipline policies by considering immediate environmental factors such as sitting in the back and noise; asserting power; addressing various types and degrees of conflicts; compromising through countdowns, warning signals, and extra chances; and protecting classroom inhabitants.

Shaping and Reshaping the Content of Policies

As teachers and students convey discipline policies, the content of discipline policies is shaped and reshaped. The process of defining and adjusting discipline policies is related to the classroom setting, power, conflicts, compromises, and protection.

First, as discipline policies are conveyed and implemented, the content of the policies is shaped and reshaped by immediate environmental factors such as sitting in the back and noise; and implicit factors such as student teachers and parents. Specifically, the students who sit in the back are more likely to be distracted or to distract others, thereby remaking or ignoring policies related to listening to the teacher

and following directions. The content of specific policies related to being quiet is redefined by teachers tolerating productive noise. The content of previously conveyed discipline policies is reshaped as student teachers use different signals and hold different expectations than the teacher. The content of discipline policies is also reshaped by parents who prompt teachers to explain reprimands and record their responses to student misbehaviors. Specifically, the discipline policies initially set forth by the teacher are modified to reflect written and verbal explanations in response to pressures from parents. Other ways the content of policies is shaped and reshaped involve the influence parents have on their child's ability to successfully comply with discipline policies, in that teachers consider theories of blame when it comes to enforcing policies for some students.

Second, the content of discipline policies is shaped and reshaped by each assertion of power displayed by teachers and students. Teachers strengthen discipline policies by using controlling devices such as rewards and punishments to reinforce policies. When students assert power, they challenge the discipline policy at hand, thereby weakening the potency of the policy. For example, when students offer delayed or partial compliance, they redefine the policy related to immediacy in following the teacher's directions because delayed compliance is not immediate compliance and partial compliance is not full compliance.

Third, the content of discipline policies is shaped and reshaped by each student-to-teacher conflict and each student-to-student conflict. When students confront the teacher by talking back or breaking rules, they redefine the potency or perimeters of the policies. In so doing, students engaging in conflicts make the certain policies temporarily insignificant or inapplicable. When students participate in conflicts with each other, they jeopardize the social order of the classroom, thereby minimizing the related discipline policies. The responses to student-to-teacher conflicts given by the

teacher also shape and reshape the content of discipline policies. When teachers reprimand or punish students who engage in student-to-teacher conflicts, they re-instate policies related to the teacher's control in the classroom. When teachers intervene and guide students through a problem solving process, they fortify the strength of community-focused discipline policies (e.g., everyone helps, respects others, works as a team).

Fourth, the content of discipline policies is shaped and reshaped by each compromise teachers offer. Countdowns assist compliance by smoothing transitions, yet postpone compliance, thereby revamping the "immediate" part of "following the teacher's directions." Likewise, warnings and chances often help students comply; yet the warnings and extra chances also promote temporary noncompliance (i.e., the student given the extra chance actually did not follow the rule because s/he did not comply immediately). When teachers allow students to engage in conversation instead of raising their hands and waiting to be called upon prior to speaking in whole-group situations, teachers are accepting noncompliance and temporarily suspending the hand raising policy. The many compromises and bargains given to students become individualized and informal discipline policies because the teacher offers different compromises to different students in different situations.

Fifth, the content of discipline policies is shaped and reshaped by the ways in which teachers offer physical and emotional protection to students and the ways in which teachers protect themselves. When a student is removed from the classroom because s/he caused harm to another student, the policy related to not hurting others has added potency. Discipline policy content is also reshaped by the ways in which teachers protect their power and control in the classroom. When students break rules, the teacher's power is temporarily nullified. To protect and re-instate control, teachers

re-assert power through reprimands, rewards, and punishments, thereby reshaping policies through attaching consequences for noncompliant behavior.

To summarize, the ways in which teachers and students shape and reshape the content of discipline policies include verbal statements, restatements, actions, and interactions. It is the *mélange* of the teachers' words and actions and the students' expressions and conduct that is needed to transmit and adapt any given discipline policy. Thus, the interactions of classroom inhabitants serve as the basis of how the content of the discipline policies is shaped and reshaped.

General Imprint and Perceived Outcomes

The general imprint on the classroom ranges from tranquillity to discord. Sometimes the classroom is serene, evident in times of peaceful coexistence of classroom inhabitants. Sometimes the classroom is antagonistic, evident in times of conflict and struggles for power. Most of the time the imprint on the classroom is somewhere between these extremes. These times are evident in the degree to which students are following discipline policies and the degree to which teachers are ensuring that discipline policies are being followed by the students.

The perceived outcomes of the discipline policies are related to the classroom setting, the power asserted by teachers and students, the conflicts that ensue, the compromises that are offered, and the intended protection of classroom inhabitants.

First, the perceived outcomes that relate to the classroom setting are that successful transition times preserve order in the classroom and that "teacher talk" enables students to comply with discipline policies. The successful transitions that preserve social order include: (a) gaining students' attention; (b) giving directions; (c) calling clusters of students rather than the entire class at one time; and (d) monitoring the transition. Unsuccessful transitions damage social order because

they lack one or more of these four strategies. Teachers perceive that using different voice levels and tones (i.e., using "teacher talk") gains the attention of students, thereby allowing teachers to direct students toward compliance of discipline policies.

Second, the perceived outcomes related to control in the classroom involve the ways in which teachers and students assert power. Teachers maintain that the use of behavior modification techniques allows them to control the classroom because punishments deter student misbehavior and rewards entice student compliance. Teachers also perceive that "making up" with some students upon whom they have asserted power is a way to restore harmony in the classroom. Some students appear to assume that using the teacher's words, tones, actions, displaying charisma, showing off, and taking charge offer them influence among peers. Other students appear to perceive that seeking positive attention through quick compliance (e.g., being the first to raise hand); seeking negative attention through breaking rules (e.g., being aggressive or defiant); and distracting the teacher enable them to take temporary control of the classroom.

Third, the perceived outcomes related to conflict involve the ways in which teachers attempt to halt or resolve conflicts. Teachers contend that ignoring or minimally addressing some student-to-student conflicts empowers students to resolve conflicts. Teachers also maintain that separating students engaging in student-to-student conflicts that are escalating quickly will restore social order in the classroom. Moreover, teachers perceive that punishing students who engage in student-to-teacher conflicts preserves the teacher-based power structure in the classroom.

Fourth, the perceived outcomes related to compromises in the classroom are based on the notion that compromises and bargains serve to elicit compliance to discipline policies. Specifically, teachers maintain that repeated directions and countdowns help students comply with discipline policies. Furthermore, teachers

perceive that accepting called-out answers, thereby temporarily suspending rules related to hand raising, fosters active learning. They also perceive that re-imposing hand-raising policies when conversations do not include turn taking and scholastic content restores social order in the classroom.

Fifth, the perceived outcomes associated with protection involve attempting to ensure the physical and emotional safety of students; and attempting to secure the teacher's control in the classroom. Specifically, teachers maintain that punishing or removing students who jeopardize the physical or emotional safety of students is a way to protect students in the classroom. Teachers contend that reminding, reprimanding, or punishing students who break classroom rules protects social order and the teacher's control in the classroom. Additionally, teachers contend that using clear expectations and recording responses to student misbehaviors serve to protect teachers from confrontations with parents. Students appear to believe that helping another student fabricate compliance allows students to protect each other from the consequences of noncompliance.

To summarize, the general imprint on the classroom associated with the discipline policies ranges from serenity to discord and is usually somewhere between the extremes. The perceived outcomes of the policies are related to classroom setting factors, such as transition times and teacher talk; the reasons why teachers and students assert power; the ways in which teachers address various types and degrees of conflicts; the reasons why teachers offer compromises; and rationales behind the protection of classroom inhabitants.

Evaluating Classroom Discipline Policies

Teachers evaluate classroom discipline policies by appraising the classroom setting, their levels of control in the classroom, the ways in which conflicts are

resolved, the benefits of compromise, and the degree to which students and teachers are protected.

First, discipline policies are appraised by classroom setting factors such as the appearance of the classroom and the sound of the classroom. Teachers use continual evaluations of the appearance and sound of the classroom to determine the "effectiveness" of the classroom discipline policies. Furthermore, teachers evaluate and modify the appearance of the classroom by adjusting the physical layout and seating arrangements of students. Moreover, teachers continually evaluate and modify the sound in the classroom. In so doing, teachers call attention to the level and/or type of noise at any given time in the classroom.

Second, teachers appraise classroom discipline policies by the ways in which power and control are interpreted by teachers and students. Specifically, teachers monitor the capacity of rewards and punishments to produce teacher-based control and social order. Teachers change behavior modification policies and techniques and the attached rewards and punishments to evoke equal or greater teacher control. Teachers appraise notes sent home to parents as "effective" ways to re-impose teacher control in the classroom.

Third, teachers appraise classroom discipline policies through the responses and reactions they offer to conflicts. Essentially, conflicts in the classroom have the potential to decrease the strength of the discipline policies and to multiply the vigor of the discipline policies. Initially, conflicts devalue discipline policies because conflicts shake the social order and teacher's power structure in the classroom. However, when conflicts are subdued and/or resolved, the very discipline policies that were defaced are revived.

Fourth, teachers appraise the extent to which compromises help reduce conflicts and produce student compliance to discipline policies. Teachers appear to

assume that compromises and "breaks" offered to students are "effective" means of preserving the social order of the classroom. These compromises are judged by teachers as beneficial because student compliance is eventually reached.

Fifth, teachers appraise the extent to which students are protected by monitoring and evaluating how students interact with each other. Teachers also appraise the extent to which they are protected in the classroom through monitoring and appraising the behavior modification techniques that they use to fortify teacher control in the classroom.

To summarize, how teachers appraise classroom discipline policies involves the setting, issues of power, acts of conflict, offers of compromise, and protection of classroom inhabitants. The process of appraising classroom discipline policies is an ongoing procedure of evaluation, modification, and re-evaluation.

"Intended" and "Actual" Discipline Policies

The degree of congruence between the "intended" discipline policies and the "actual" discipline policies is evident in the appearance of the classroom, the interpretations of control, the results of conflicts, the outcomes of compromises, and the extent to which students and teachers are protected in the classroom.

First, the "intended" appearance of the classroom involves order and structure. The "intended" sound in the classroom involves low levels of noise. The "actual" appearance and sound of the classroom varies. Sometimes the classrooms appear orderly and quiet. Other times, the classrooms do not appear orderly or sound quiet. This lack of congruence between what is "intended" and what is "actualized" exists because students intermittently assert power and conflicts inevitably arise in the classroom.

Second, the "intended" discipline policies involving the teacher's control in the classroom are not always congruent with the "actual" discipline policies. Sometimes the teacher views her power (as seen in her ability to use reprimands, for example) as having less impact on the conditions in the classroom than what is desired. To remedy this situation, the teacher may re-impose a new form of reprimand (as Ms. Karris did with the Poor Conduct Reports) to increase her power to enforce the discipline policies. Other times, the power asserted by the teacher is viewed as disruptive to the tranquillity of the classroom because teachers attempt to "make up" with students. Interestingly, the teachers aspire to give students some control in the classroom and desire to engender intrinsic motivation in students. These aspirations are only moderately realized in the classroom because of the formal discipline policies which promote teacher control through rewards and punishments.

The aspiration of giving students control while maintaining teacher-based control is further compounded by the "intended" development of community in the classroom. Specific discipline policies such as "everyone helps" are advanced to promote harmonious classroom communities marked by non-confrontational communication. Yet, the realities of the classroom include the constant assertions of power and inevitable conflicts. Thus, there is a gap in the degree of congruence between the "intended" classroom community and the "actual" classroom setting.

Third, conflicts can serve to weaken and to strengthen classroom discipline policies. Teachers aspire to conflict-free classrooms, but do not expect to achieve this aspiration due to the "non-perfect" conditions and realities of the classroom. Still, the "intended" or hopeful plan is the absence of conflict. However, the "actual" discipline policies include ways of combating (e.g., the teacher's re-assertions of power) and subduing (e.g., the teacher's offering of compromises and treaties) conflicts in the classroom. Therefore, because teachers aspire to the absence of conflict and

simultaneously impose consequences for those engaging in conflict, a high degree of congruence between the intentions and realities appears unattainable.

Fourth, the degree to which the "intended" discipline policies involving compromises are aligned with the "actual" discipline policies of the classroom is modest. While many compromises promote compliance, they often permit the lack of immediacy and completeness. Thus, determining the intended benefit of compromises is difficult because of the paradox posed by the fact that many compromises, bargains, and treaties actually advance student compliance while delaying student compliance in the classroom.

Fifth, teachers contend that classroom discipline policies are "intended" to protect the physical and emotional safety of students in the classroom. The "actual" discipline policies do serve to accomplish the teachers' goals of protecting students from physical danger. Yet, many policies actually serve to protect the teacher's position in the classroom. These discipline policies, specifically the reprimands given to students for challenging the teacher, may actually humiliate or embarrass students, thereby producing potential harm to the emotional safety of students. Thus, given the heavy reliance upon behavior modification policies, complete congruence between the "intended" discipline policies regarding protection of students and the "actual" discipline policies regarding the protection of students and teachers' positions of power is nearly impossible. Amid the intended protection of students, teachers protect themselves in the classroom. These intentions are not aimed at physical protection rather, they relate to the teacher's position of authority in the classroom. There is congruence between the control desired by teachers and the control achieved by teachers through the use of the formal discipline policies involving punishments and rewards. However, the congruence between desired control and achieved control is

skewed by intermittent assertions of power from students and inevitable conflict in the classroom.

To summarize, the degree of overall congruence between the "intended" discipline policies and the "actual" discipline policies is modest. The classroom interactions in and around issues of discipline are more complex than noble intentions. Just because the teacher intends for something to happen does not mean that it will. Likewise, just because the teacher employs discipline policies does not mean that these discipline policies will serve to promote social order in the classroom.

Conclusions

The dominant implication of this exploratory case study is that there are many ways in which the micropolitical model of interaction describes the dynamics of classroom discipline in the elementary school classrooms of this study. Supporting this implication are the following conclusions: (1) The nature of the micropolitical model: The micropolitical model of interaction is a particularly useful but unrefined conceptual framework in the study of classroom discipline; (2) The nature of the policies: Formal and informal classroom discipline policies can be characterized as teacher-centered rules, noise-related rules, and community-focused rules; (3) The dominant mechanisms of teacher-based control: Teachers rely on rewards and punishments to gain and maintain control in the classroom; (4) The dominant outcome of conflicts: Conflicts and assertions of power serve as ways students and teachers broker policies; (5) The dominant uses of compromises: Teachers offer compromises to students to reduce conflicts and produce student compliance; (6) The paradox of intentions and realities: Teachers desire to inspire intrinsic motivation in students, but concentrate attention on extrinsic forms of motivation; (7) An important factor: Parents influence classroom discipline.

The Nature of the Micropolitical Model

Conclusion #1: The micropolitical model of interaction is a particularly useful but unrefined conceptual framework in the study of classroom discipline. This study utilized the micropolitical model of interaction to uncover the ways in which teachers enact, convey, realize, and evaluate discipline policies in the classroom.

The micropolitical model of interaction is a particularly useful perspective because the ways in which teachers transmit and appraise discipline policies align with the categories associated with this conceptual framework. The context/classroom setting factors affect the content of discipline policies, the processes by which policies are enacted and conveyed; and the ways in which policies are realized and evaluated. The concern for and acquisition of power is evident in the classroom. Conflicts among classroom inhabitants are anticipated and visible. Compromises are utilized by teachers to soothe potential and blatant contention and to attempt to produce student compliance. Efforts and intentions related to protecting classroom inhabitants are evident. Thus, each of the components of the micropolitical model of interaction helps uncover the dynamics of classroom discipline.

The micropolitical model helps to uncover the intentions, assumptions, and mechanisms related to teacher control in the classroom. While the teachers in this study were initially reluctant to report "power" as the central issue in classroom discipline, they did talk about the need for control as a critical feature of classroom discipline. The phenomenon of interest is the same because generally, power is the ability to use authority, influence, and control to assert a "dominant view" (Marshall & Scribner, 1991, p. 349) and specifically ". . . power is the ability to get others to behave in ways that they ordinarily would not" (Corbett, 1991, p. 74). In the classrooms of this study, both teachers and students follow patterns of attempting to sway the behaviors of others.

Because the micropolitical model helps "zoom in on the interest-driven, power-based interactions that occur as actors holding diverse views of problems and priorities compete as well as cooperate to influence decision outcomes . . ." (Malen & Knapp, 1997, p. 428), the classroom dynamics involving discipline are brought to light. By uncovering the resources of power held by teachers and some students and depicting how and why these resources are used to activate and assert power, the discipline policy process is illuminated. Thus, the conceptual framework serves as an appropriate vehicle for opening the interactions between and among classroom inhabitants in and around issues of discipline.

Conflicts in the classroom are inescapable and serve as vehicles for illuminating and driving the discipline policy process. As Boyd-Barret (1976) contends, "conflict between groups in organizations is not just an inevitability but may also be seen as a process through which organizations grow and develop over time" (p. 92). As discovered in this study, discipline policies in the classroom evolve as conflicts and the reactions to conflicts are manifest in daily classroom life. Thus, using the micropolitical model is a productive way to expose how conflicts advance the discipline policy process.

Compromises and negotiations are the ways micropolitical actors deal with conflicts, manipulate interests, readjust intentions, and reshape policies (Ball, 1987; Hoyle, 1986). As Powell et al. (1985) report and as revealed in this study, compromises or "treaties" between teachers and students attempt to subdue conflict between and among classroom inhabitants. These compromises also serve to portray the teacher's revamped intentions and to propel the processes by which discipline policies are enacted, conveyed, realized, and evaluated.

The utility of the conceptual framework is also apparent in uncovering how protection is offered not only by teachers to students, but by teachers to themselves in

the classroom. As Blase (1991a) attests, while power is used to influence others, it is also used to protect one's own interests. Some of the ways in which teachers utilize classroom discipline policies to protect their own interests come to light through the use of the micropolitical perspective.

The micropolitical framework is especially fruitful in the study of classroom discipline because it prompts teacher reflection. The conceptual framework encourages teachers to consider aspects of classroom discipline that are often overlooked. The responses offered by the teachers and the interactions observed in the classrooms are candid and detailed manifestations of the ways in which classroom inhabitants participate in the discipline policy process.

Although the micropolitical model of interaction is particularly useful as a tool for the study of classroom discipline, the model is unrefined in at least four ways:

(1) The categories are not distinct. The micropolitical forces are intertwined and meshed. Power flows into conflict when contests for power ensue. Many of these conflicts are addressed through compromises which sometimes protect participants. All the while the context/setting impacts the strategies used to assert power, engage in conflict, and participate in compromise. In these and other ways, the categories of the micropolitical model of interaction are nebulous. (2) The micropolitical model of interaction assumes the desire for power. While it is acknowledged that power is the capacity to influence decisions and the activation of power aids in the advancement of individual interests, not everyone desires power. This notion is particularly germane to the classroom setting. There are those in the classroom who do not attempt to assert power nor do they engage in contests for power. These classroom inhabitants may actually be indifferent or unaccustomed to the possession of power, in which case, the micropolitical model of interaction fails to adequately disclose their intentions, strategies, and roles in the discipline policy process. (3) The micropolitical model of

interaction includes only some of the components/categories possible. Essentially, some categories are absent. Attention to categories such as "actors," "arenas," and "resources" could extend the findings to include more information related to the ways in which the micropolitical model of interaction describes the dynamics of classroom discipline. (4) Some categories in the micropolitical model of interaction need to be reworked. Specifically, the context/classroom setting category needs to be opened up to recognize and distinguish between outside influences and inside forces. In so doing, issues involving the level of analysis within and around the classroom setting could be addressed in further detail. Similarly, the protection category needs to differentiate between self-protection and the protection of others. While under-developed in these ways, the micropolitical model remains a potentially productive way to study the dynamics of classroom discipline because much of the discipline policy process is inherently political.

The Nature of the Policies

Conclusion #2: Formal and informal classroom discipline policies can be characterized as teacher-centered rules, noise-related rules, and community-focused rules. Most of the rules related to student conduct that frame and define the informal discipline policies used in the classroom are centered around the teacher. Of these rules, "following the teacher's directions" is the most important. Teachers expect students to follow the teacher's directions. Students expect to be told to follow the teacher's directions. In fact, if students are following the teacher's directions they are most likely in compliance with all other discipline policies in the classroom. Other rules such as "listen to the teacher," "pay attention to the teacher," "respect the teacher," "do not challenge the teacher," "do not play around while the teacher is talking," "look at the teacher when she is talking," "be where you are supposed to be," and "do what you

are supposed to be doing" are rules aimed at fortifying the teacher's control in the classroom. All of these rules are included in the notion of following the teacher's directions. If the teacher reminds students of any other classroom discipline policy, that policy is now the teacher's direction that the students are supposed to follow.

These teacher-centered rules also include the systematic deployment of rewards and punishments that are part of the behavior modification plans evident in the classroom. These formal policies include earning stickers, green tickets, chance cards, and star player of the day. These policies also include avoiding yellow cards, red cards, red tickets, and notes home. Each of these policies strengthens the teacher's control in the classroom. Thus, these behavior modification based policies can also be characterized as teacher-centered.

Another set of classroom discipline policies can be characterized as noise-related rules. This cluster of rules includes five major commands; "do not talk during quiet times," "do not talk when the teacher is talking," "work quietly," "do not participate in nonproductive noise," and "use low voice levels when you engage in productive noise." These discipline policies are connected to the teacher-centered rules, in that these policies are related to the teacher's control in the classroom.

Centering rules related to students' behaviors in the classroom around the teacher is a notion that is part of the authoritarian rule theory of remedy. Teachers in this view are control-oriented leaders and managers of the classroom who use punitive measures to instill guilt and fear in order to induce student compliance. Authoritarian approaches highlight the desires and considerations of teachers. As Canter and Canter (1976) note, "An assertive teacher is one who clearly and firmly expresses her wants and feelings to the children. . . . The assertive teacher recognizes that she has wants and needs and has the right to get them met in the classroom" (p. 30). Essentially, centering rules around the teacher allows the teacher to be the center of the classroom.

While the teachers in this study are not characterized as completely authoritarian, they do utilize portions of the authoritarian rule theory because they use discipline policies that center around the teacher's wants and needs, specifically, control and quiet. Thus, the teacher-centered and noise-related rules that are utilized as classroom discipline policies are related to the authoritarian theory of remedy.

However, the teachers in this study also incorporate another cluster of rules that is community oriented. These rules include "helping others," "working together as a team," "respecting other students," and "not physically harming others." Of these rules, "everyone helps" is a formal policy because it is written and displayed in Ms. Patrick's classroom. Some of the derivatives of this rule (e.g., using problem-solving strategies, cooperating in the classroom) are informal policies that support the "everyone helps" policy. Some of the rules in this cluster incorporate formal school policies related to the physical and emotional protection of students (e.g., keep hands, feet, objects to yourself and respect others). All of these rules can be characterized as community-focused discipline policies in the classroom. These policies are connected to the community theory of remedy. As Kohn (1996) contends,

Community . . . is a place in which students feel cared about and are encouraged to care about each other. They experience a sense of being valued and respected; the children matter to one another and to the teacher . . . they feel connected to each other; they are part of an 'us.' (p. 101)

The notions behind the policies on everyone helping and working together as a team are tied to the anticipated creation of a caring classroom community. The classroom community to which teachers aspire includes a concern for the well being of others, a sense of responsibility, and a team orientation. Kohn (1996) adds, "real or authentic community doesn't feel empty. It is constructed over time by people with a common

purpose who come to know and trust each other" (p. 109). The desire for this type of classroom community is evident in the community-focused rules used by teachers.

Thus, the formal and informal discipline policies used in the classrooms of this study can be characterized into three major clusters; community-focused rules, noise-related rules, and teacher-centered rules. These discipline policies are not connected to one specific theory of remedy. Rather, the discipline policies are reflective of an eclectic approach to classroom discipline.

The Dominant Mechanisms of Teacher-Based Control

Conclusion #3: Teachers rely on rewards and punishments to gain and maintain control in the classroom. To communicate and sustain teacher-based control in the classroom, teachers utilize rewards and punishments. These mechanisms for advancing teacher-based control are rooted in behavior modification. Stemming from Thorndike's (1913) experiments with cats and Skinner's (1953) experiments with pigeons and rats, behaviorism theory is a way to condition responses. The focus in behavior modification is on the consequences given to increase or decrease specific behaviors (Kauffman et al., 1998). In the classroom, rewards are intended to increase student behaviors that are desired by the teacher, specifically compliance to the teacher-based control in the classroom. Punishments are intended to decrease student behaviors that are considered undesirable by the teacher. There are two types of punishments; "cost-related punishments," which involve the removal of highly regarded goods; and "adverse consequences," which may involve castigation, separation, or pain (Kauffman et al., 1998). Essentially, punishments serve as a way for teachers to recover power and control in the classroom.

Intended to preempt problems with student behavior and increase the teacher's control, the "carrots" of stickers, treasure chest gifts, chance cards, and green tickets

are used by the teachers in this study. These rewards are utilized to entice students to follow the teachers' directions and adhere to the teachers' social order expectations. Students are rewarded for being quiet. Students are rewarded for "listening." Students are rewarded for "respecting" others. Most often, students are rewarded for "following the teacher's directions."

Punishments are used by the teachers in this study to re-impose the teacher's power and to deter other students from "misbehaving." Both cost-related punishments (e.g., failing to earn stickers, failing to get prizes, missing recess) and adverse consequences (e.g., Poor Conduct Reports, disapproving notes home, yellow cards, red cards, and red tickets) are utilized. Students are punished when they confront the teacher. Students are punished when they endanger the safety of others. Students are punished when they blatantly and/or repeatedly fail to "follow the teacher's directions."

These findings are in accordance with the vast array of literature related to classroom discipline. Numerous classroom discipline programs (e.g., Assertive Discipline; Cooperative Discipline; Discipline for the 21st Century; Discipline with Dignity; Discipline with Love and Logic; and Positive Discipline) are full of guidelines and prescriptions related to behavior modification techniques. According to Slee (1995), "the notion of discipline is itself seldom explored beyond simplistic neo-Skinnerian behavioral scenarios" (p. 3). Because behavior modification models dominate the realm of approaches to and research on classroom discipline the common use of rewards and punishments is nearly expected. In the classroom, teachers rely upon rewards and punishments to gain and maintain control in the classroom. These mechanisms serve as the fundamental bait for luring students into compliance with the teacher-based power structure of the classroom. While rewards may charm students and punishments may scare students, these commonplace behavior modification by-products are intended to fortify the teacher's control in the classroom.

The Dominant Outcome of Conflicts

Conclusion #4: Conflicts and assertions of power serve as ways students and teachers broker discipline policies. Conflicts surface and resurface in the classroom as students and teachers assert power. Student-to-teacher conflicts are often the result of students challenging the teacher's authority in the classroom. These challenges and related conflicts are the crux of the discipline policy-making process because they make and mold the dominant patterns of practice regarding classroom discipline.

Contests for power relate to the micropolitical actors' abilities to mold policy (Ball, 1987; Blase, 1991a, 1991b; Hoyle, 1986; Malen, 1994). In essence, the recurring contests for power create and define policies. As Corbett (1991) explains,

In other words, power is the ability to get others to behave in ways that they ordinarily would not. Power, then, is associated with altering the behavior of others and can be both constraining (in terms of getting others to give up actions that they might prefer to engage in) or liberating (in terms of enabling others to take actions they have not been accustomed to taking). (p. 74)

In the classroom, teachers and students strive to sway the behaviors of others through their assertions of power.

As this study found, teachers and students assert power in a host of manners during the enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation of discipline policies in the classroom. Teachers offer "the look;" teachers use commanding language; and teachers use reprimands, punishments, rewards, reminders, and warnings. Other times, students venture to assert power, specifically through partial compliance, delayed compliance, hidden behaviors, seeking attention, being last in line, and sitting in the back; and generally through noncompliance and nonproductive or loud noise. These assertions of power from students are the very behaviors that create classroom conflict and mold the discipline policies. To explain, when a student responds to the teacher's assertion of power by partially complying to the teacher's request and the related

discipline policy declared, a conflict has arisen, which prompts the teacher to assert further power or offer a compromise, thereby reshaping the discipline policy at hand.

Specific discipline policies such as "following the teacher's directions" and "working quietly" are constantly brokered through assertions of power. How and to what extent students follow the teacher's directions and work quietly are contingent upon assertions of power. Clearly, partial compliance and delayed compliance are assertions of power from students that redefine the policy on following the teacher's directions. As teachers accept or reject partial and delayed compliance they redefine the policy. Likewise, the policy on working quietly is brokered through assertions of power. When students engage in nonproductive or loud noise, they are asserting power and renegotiating the perimeters of the policy. As teachers combat loud or nonproductive noise with assertions of power, particularly reprimands and rewards, they fortify the policy. Yet, loud or nonproductive noise from students will inevitably surface again, requiring the teacher to continue to participate in the brokering process through further assertions of power.

Assertions of power and related student-to-teacher conflicts are driving forces in the processes of classroom discipline policy enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation. Displays of power from teachers and from students serve to define and redefine the discipline policies. Through assertions of power, teachers and students constantly broker the meanings and perimeters of discipline policies used in the classroom.

Other conflicts are not considered direct challenges to the teacher based-power structure of the classroom because these conflicts are student-to-student in nature. However, these conflicts do pose potential disruption to the social order of the classroom. As Powell et al. (1985) note, "the potential for active resistance and debilitating classroom battles is never far from teachers' minds" (p. 108). Thus,

teachers anticipate conflicts and develop strategies for dealing with conflicts among students. The mechanisms teachers use to address these conflicts fortify the community-focused discipline policies in the classroom. Teachers require students to use problem-solving techniques, sometimes modeling or guiding these techniques for students. Other times teachers separate students who engage in conflicts among themselves. Each reaction to conflict that the teacher gives calls the community-focused discipline policies back into play. Students are required to resolve or subside these conflicts so that the harmony of the classroom can be restored.

Essentially all classroom conflicts have the potential to decrease the potency of discipline policies and to multiply the vigor of discipline policies. Initially, conflicts devalue discipline policies because conflicts shake the social order and the teacher's control of the classroom. However, when conflicts are subdued and/or resolved, the very discipline policies that were defaced become recharged and strengthened. Conflicts and reactions to conflicts surface and resurface in a cyclical fashion. As the cycle continues, teachers and students define and redefine classroom discipline policies.

The Dominant Uses of Compromise

Conclusion #5: Teachers offer compromises to students to reduce conflicts and produce student compliance. Teachers offer a variety of compromises to students in the classroom. These compromises are aimed at reducing conflicts and producing student compliance to the discipline policies. Some compromises are offered to the entire class; others are offered to individual students. Each compromise has an attached reason that is interconnected with the reduction of conflict and the engendering of student compliance.

In this study, teachers offer compromises such as extra chances, signals, warnings, repeated directions, and permission to disobey. Teachers also use

countdowns to smooth transitions, to buy time for themselves or students, and to warn students of when compliance is expected. All of these compromises are aimed at reducing conflict and "helping" students comply to the discipline policies of the classroom.

In concordance with the discoveries of Powell et al. (1985), the teachers use compromises or develop "treaties" that are often "abided rather than talked about" (p. 70). These "treaties" help students and teachers "get along" through the avoidance of confrontation. These treaties also involve adjusting expectations or the time required for specific students to achieve compliance to classroom discipline policies.

Compromises are often given to specific students who have problems complying with the classroom discipline policies because of fate, specifically, biochemical conditions that explain or justify misbehavior. These conditions are part of the theories of blame and include Tourette Syndrome and Attention Deficit with Hyperactivity Disorder. According to Slee (1995), "The medicalization of student behaviour [sic] transforms others', as well as self, perceptions and, consequently the status of students. Previously naughty, the ADDS [ADHD] students are qualitatively different." Because the labels given to students with biochemical conditions define who these students are and the specific needs they have, teachers interact with these students differently. Specifically, these students are given compromises and special treaties intended to help them achieve compliance to the discipline policies in the classroom.

While the teachers in this study gave compromises to the entire class and groups of students, they also offered compromises to individual students. Of the individual students given the most compromises, one has Tourette Syndrome and six have Attention Deficit with Hyperactivity Disorder. The prevalent compromises and accommodations given to these individual students included extra chances to comply,

secret signals to mark misbehavior and conflict, repeated directions, and extra monitoring. The teachers considered these "concessions" and "breaks" as necessary means of helping students reach compliance with the discipline policies.

Therefore, students with biochemical conditions, specifically Tourette Syndrome and ADHD, receive special compromises and concessions in the classroom. Ultimately, these biochemical conditions offer reasons for teachers to offer compromises to specific students. Through the use of compromises, teachers use this theory of blame to protect these students by determining how and when adherence to discipline policies will be achieved.

While the dominant uses of compromise are to engender compliance and decrease conflict, compromises are also used to "help" students function in the classroom. However, by the teachers' definitions, functioning in the classroom involves complying to discipline policies. Thus, the major reasons that teachers issue compromises still involve the direct goal of student compliance and the implied goal of reducing conflict. Determining the extent to which compromises accomplish these goals is complicated. By design compromises promote compliance; but the compliance achieved is often delayed or modified in some way. Thus, the compliance is not timely or complete. Nonetheless, compliance is achieved and conflicts are reduced through the use of compromises. In some ways, each compromise serves as an individualized, informal discipline policy. While it is the teacher who offers these compromises, certain students appear to display the capacity to extract these compromises from teachers.

The Paradox of Intentions and Realities

Conclusion #6: Teachers desire to inspire intrinsic motivation in students, but concentrate attention on extrinsic forms of motivation. Teachers aspire to encourage

students to comply with the social order expectations and the related discipline policies through internal motivation. Yet, teachers employ behavior modification techniques that are driven by external rewards and punishments.

The myriad of classroom discipline programs that incorporate behavior modification techniques (e.g., Assertive Discipline; Cooperative Discipline; Discipline for the 21st Century; Discipline with Dignity; and Positive Discipline) focus on extrinsic ways of motivating students. This concentration on extrinsic motivation is problematic. Sears and Sears (1995) note,

The bad news about behavior modification techniques is that sooner or later you are going to run out of them, or run out of the energy it takes to apply them consistently. The greater danger of behavior modification is that it focuses on external techniques rather than on the parent-child [teacher-student] relationship, so that the child is approached as a project rather than a person. (p. 5)

Because behavior modification techniques are exclusively based on extrinsic motivation, they pose a contradiction to the intentions of teachers who seek to inspire students to have intrinsic motivation.

In this study, the regard given to the employment of behavior modification techniques is somewhat contradictory. To capture this dilemma, it is necessary to revisit the words of the teachers in this study. Ms. Patrick explains the quandary,

I had wanted not to have any of those things [four specific behavior modification techniques]. I just wanted to appeal to their goodness, . . . Well, if they ask for it [reward], I say, 'You don't get one, because you should be doing it because it is right, not because you are going to get green tickets.' . . . I want this to be an intrinsic thing.

Although Ms. Patrick "wants this to be an intrinsic thing," the reality is that rewards and punishments offered through the behavior modification techniques are extrinsic things. Even though Ms. Patrick will not "give" green tickets when students ask for them, the fact that students ask for the green tickets proves that at least some of the

students are motivated to "behave" (i.e., to follow classroom discipline policies) by the external rewards. Likewise, when the students in Ms. Karris' classroom decide not to misbehave in order to receive stickers on their calendars or to avoid "getting" a Poor Conduct Report, because "it scares them to death," they are being motivated through extrinsic forces. Yet, Ms. Karris adds, "I was hoping that maybe the harder they worked at it, the more internalized it would be."

Thus, the desire for students to be motivated to follow the discipline policies by internal or intrinsic forces is in many ways eroded by the actual external or extrinsic mechanisms used to produce student compliance to the classroom discipline policies.

An Important Factor

Conclusion #7: Parents influence classroom discipline. There are a number of context factors that affect classroom discipline policies, namely, the physical layout of the classroom, student noise and movement in the classroom, desires of harmonious community, school policies, student teachers, and parents. Of these contextual elements, parents serve as an outside factor that deserves special attention due to the extent to which the parents in this study influence classroom discipline policies. Parents indirectly affect discipline policies in the classroom by the child-rearing practices they employ. Parents directly influence classroom discipline policies by attempting to restrict the teacher's authority in the classroom, thereby causing the teacher to take a self-protective position. Indirect and direct influence from parents are related to one of the theories of blame (i.e., misguiding parents).

This study found that in one of the classrooms there are students who have parents who misguide their children through inappropriate or lack of discipline. The social learning theory proposed by Bandura (1963, 1973, 1977) entails the notion that behavior and the prompted response/reaction is a connection that is internalized by the

child. Because these connections form patterns of behavior in the child, parents who cannot "control" children or in other ways perpetuate the misbehaviors of their children affect classroom interactions related to discipline.

In the other classroom of this study, there are students who have parents who attempt to influence the teacher's decisions related to classroom discipline policies. To capture the essence of the influence parents can have on classroom discipline, it is necessary to revisit the words of the teacher. Ms. Karris explains, "I have parents that do stuff like undermine what you are doing" and "they watch everything that you do." In some ways some of the parents of the students in Ms. Karris' classroom attempt to restrict the power of the teacher, which in turn models the power strategies to their children. Ms. Karris asserts, "I have bossy kids and their parents are the same way." In this manner, some parents guide students away from classroom compliance and the teacher's desired power structure, by the ways they attempt to restrict the power of the teacher. Ms. Karris summarizes, "The apple doesn't fall far from the tree. Plop. Straight to the ground and into my classroom." Therefore, the ways in which some parents attempt to undermine the teacher's authority can influence the behavior of students in the classroom. Essentially, the students of these parents learn how to challenge the teacher's authority in the classroom. To deal with these issues, the teacher has to protect herself from the direct challenges from parents and the indirect effects parents' behaviors have on children.

These findings are connected to the discoveries of Blase (1991a) who found that teachers take on a self-protective orientation in matters of classroom discipline. This self-protection is often sparked by fear of "parental criticism and reprisals for initiating disciplinary actions" (Blase, 1991a, p. 195). One teacher in Blase's study reports, "I don't want to do anything to cause parents to jump down my throat, [and] call me a liar" (1991a, p. 195). This very incident occurred in one of the classrooms of

this study. These are the types of situations that evoke teachers to take a self-protective stance in issues of classroom discipline. In so doing, teachers attempt to use clear expectations, record responses to student misbehaviors, and effectively communicate this information to parents. In many cases these strategies prove effective because, as discovered in this study, notes home can strengthen the teacher's authority in the classroom. In other cases, notes home can backfire by causing parents to confront the teacher.

Recognizing the direct and indirect influence parents have and continue to have on classroom discipline is critical. Parental influence provides the teacher with reasons to protect herself in the classroom. Parental influence also provides a source of understanding the reasons why particular students misbehave in the classroom.

Suggestions for Further Research and Practice

Presenting the findings and rendering the conclusions associated with this exploratory case study of the formal and informal discipline policies used in selected elementary school classrooms has led me to offer three major suggestions for further research and practice. The first suggestion involves securing information from students and other interested parties. The second suggestion involves building a set of case studies on classroom discipline policies. The third suggestion involves informing educational practitioners of the findings and conclusions of this research endeavor.

Adding the Voice of Students and Others

To obtain a better sense of how teachers and students interact to develop discipline policies in the classroom, it would be beneficial to interview students. The dynamics of classroom discipline are reciprocal. Due to issues of access, this study was only able to obtain perspectives from one party in an at least two-part exchange. Other studies, however, could gather students' perspectives on classroom discipline.

Revealing how teachers obtain power and control in the classroom from the vantage point of the students would enrich the data. Asking students to explain the ways in which and extent to which they assert power or are empowered in the classroom would complement the data. Allowing students to offer opinions about the conflicts and compromises present in the classroom may prove beneficial. Asking students to reveal the extent to which they "feel" protected by the employed classroom discipline policies could add important information. Essentially, rewording the interview questions into student-friendly language (e.g., What are you "allowed" and "not allowed" to do in the classroom? Who "follows the rules" and who does not? How does the teacher try to get students to follow the rules? How are things "fair" or "not fair" in the classroom?) would provide a medium for revealing further information about how the dynamics of classroom discipline can be described in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction. Therefore, offering students a voice by including student interviews as an additional data source could further enrich the analyses, interpretations, and conclusions of this type of case study.

Given the findings of this study, it may also prove beneficial to interview parents. Because the parents of the students in this case study influenced classroom discipline in several distinct ways, interviewing parents could elaborate the data. These data may prove particularly useful in understanding the discipline policy process. The ways in which discipline policies are revamped to reflect influence from parents could be examined in further detail. These additional perspectives on the teacher's control in the classroom could further uncover the interactions related to discipline. By adding the parents' perspectives, the findings and conclusions related to classroom discipline could be expanded.

Equally significant data could come from interviewing student teachers. Because classroom discipline policies are influenced by student teachers, it may prove

helpful to gather the perspectives of student teachers. Particular questions related to control, conflicts, and compromise may illuminate further aspects of the discipline policy process. It may even be productive to interview student teachers before and after their experience in the classroom. The viewpoints of student teachers would add to the data set and may enrich the findings and implications of the study of classroom discipline policies.

Building a Set of Case Studies

The second suggestion for further research is a call for additional research in the area of classroom discipline. Essentially, the exploration process that has begun with this project needs to be continued. Other exploratory case studies need to be conducted to discover if the patterns in this study are unusual or aligned with other cases. Further case studies would gather more information about the processes of enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation of classroom discipline policies. Such studies could focus on one of the policy process stages (enactment, conveyance, realization, or evaluation) to magnify and heighten the study of the dynamics of classroom discipline described by the micropolitical model of interaction during a select aspect of the policy process. Or subsequent exploratory case studies could focus on one of the micropolitical components (setting, power, conflict, compromise, or protection) and delineate specific interactions across policy stages. Additional exploratory case studies could also follow suit with this case study by examining all of the policy process stages and micropolitical aspects present in other elementary school classrooms. The point is that there is a need to gather more descriptive data to check the strength and accuracy of the patterns found in this study.

After further exploratory case studies of the formal and informal discipline policies used in selected elementary school classrooms are conducted, it would be

beneficial to develop a more sophisticated design. A comparative case study of the ways in which the dynamics of classroom discipline can be compared in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction in two or more classrooms would offer further information to this field of study. Additionally, comparative or explanatory case studies that consider the background arenas (school, district, or state) of classroom discipline policies may open up the dynamics of classroom discipline in a more elaborate fashion.

Sharing With Educators

The final suggestion for further research is that it may assist educational practitioners to learn about the ways in which the dynamics of classroom discipline can be described in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction. As a start, the participants in this research project were given an opportunity to reflect upon the micropolitical aspects of discipline policy enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation. As Ms. Karris shares, "I have never done so much reflecting in all my life," and as Ms. Patrick shares, "I try to be a reflective teacher," the need for educational practitioners to reflect upon and ponder the intentions and realities of classroom discipline policy is brought to light. Thus, sharing the findings and implications of this particular study could spawn further reflection and insight related to the enactment, conveyance, realization, and evaluation of classroom discipline policies by educational practitioners.

The most exciting aspect of this research project is that a new paradigm for thinking about classroom discipline exists. The generative potential of the micropolitical model of interaction as a conceptual framework for the study of classroom discipline allows educators to move beyond theories of blame and teacher-centered theories of remedy. There is significant potential for practitioners, even pre-

service teachers, to use the micropolitical model of interaction to uncover and grapple with the tensions between what is desired, what is proclaimed, and what actually happens in the classroom. Reflecting upon the complexities and contradictions associated with the dominant utilization of behavior modification by-products encourages educators to look toward pedagogical ideals that surpass a reactive presence in the classroom. Along these same lines of thinking, educators can highlight and expand some of the often overlooked pro-active mechanisms sensibly and successfully exercised to avoid problems with classroom discipline. In each of these ways and others, the micropolitical model of interaction offers educational practitioners a new way of looking at the abstruse dynamics of classroom discipline. It is with the acquisition of new insight and fresh modes of examination that teachers can grow in knowledge and wisdom, potentially improving educational practices and the experiences of students and teachers in the classroom.

Note: In addition to the specific questions listed below, other relevant questions were used to elicit information on the following topics:

Background

I would like to begin this interview with some questions about your background and school.

How long have you been teaching?

How long have you been teaching at this school?

Where did you complete the master's program?

What grade level is your class?

What other grade levels have you taught?

How many students are in your class?

Appendix A

In-Depth Interview Protocol

Teacher Enactment of Literacy Strategies

1. How and how often do you prepare the strategies you use in your classroom? The question was changed to "How and how often do you prepare the strategies you use in your classroom?" during the second and third interviews. The question was also changed during the second and third interviews to "How and how often do you prepare the strategies you use in your classroom?" during the second and third interviews.

2. Which of the strategies you use in your classroom do you think are most effective? Which of the strategies you use in your classroom do you think are most effective? Which of the strategies you use in your classroom do you think are most effective? Which of the strategies you use in your classroom do you think are most effective?

2a. Did you ever use the strategy of...? If yes, what does it look like in your classroom?
2b. Could you ever use the strategy of...? If yes, what does it look like in your classroom?
The approaches are... the approaches are... the approaches are...

Note: In addition to the specific questions and probes listed in this protocol, other informal questions were used as the interview conversations directed.

Background

I would like to begin this interview with some general questions about you and your school.

How long have you been teaching?

How long have you been teaching in this school?

Would you describe the reputation of this school?

What grade level is your class?

What other grade levels have you taught?

How many students are in your class?

Teacher Enactment of Discipline Policies

1. How did you prepare for discipline at the onset of this school year? [This question was changed to "How have you continued to prepare for discipline at this time of year?" during the second and third interviews. All other questions were prefaced by the phrase, "Given what you are trying to accomplish with discipline at the present time . . . " during the second and third, more informal interviews.]

1a. What did you do to prepare for classroom discipline prior to the arrival of the students?

1b. How did you address classroom discipline with students on the first day/week of school?

2. Would you characterize the approach/es to classroom discipline that you have chosen?

2a. Did you consider any other options?

If yes, what were the options?

2b. Could you tell me how your approach is different from or similar to the approaches that you have used in the past?

3. Is there room for negotiation in your approach to classroom discipline?
 - 3a. How are power and authority addressed in your approach?
 - 3b. Does protection play a part in your approach to discipline? If yes, how so? Who is being protected? (and from what?)
4. Why did you choose this particular way to address discipline?
 - 4a. Was your choice based on any influence from outside of the classroom (administrative pressure? colleagues? parents? other factors?)
If yes, How so?
 - 4b. Was your choice influenced by previous experience?
If yes, How so?

Conveyance of Discipline Policies in the Classroom

5. How do you communicate your discipline policies/approaches with students on a daily basis?
 - 5a. Are there specific or general classroom rules? If yes, what are the written rules?
 - 5b. Are there any implied rules?
If yes, what are they?
 - 5c. How does the classroom environment influence the communication of your discipline policies/approaches?
What about environmental factors such as group structure and activity?
6. In what ways have your students responded to the discipline policies/approaches/rules in the classroom?
 - 6a. Why do you think that they responded in that manner?
 - 6b. Are there some students who respond differently? If yes, how so?
 - 6c. Why do you think that they responded differently?

- 6d. How are conflicts between students and between you and the students addressed?
7. In what ways have you responded to students who fail to behave according to the discipline policies/rules that you have in the classroom?
- 7a. Will you give an example?
- 7b. Are there times when you have responded differently?
- If yes, when? How so?
8. How do you respond to students who abide by the classroom discipline policies/rules?
- 8a. Will you give an example?
- 8b. Are there times when you respond differently? If yes, when? How so?
9. What modifications have you made to your discipline policies/approaches over this school year?
- 9a. Are there any modifications made for specific students? If yes, what are the modifications?
- 9b. Why are these modifications made?
- 9c. Do you consider of these modifications a form of negotiation? If yes, how so?
- 9d. Do some students receive more modifications/negotiations than others? Why? How?

Realization of the Classroom Discipline Policies

10. How would you describe the behavior of the students in your class?
- 10a. Are conflicts common? If so, why?
- 10b. How do you address classroom conflicts?

11. How have your discipline policies/approaches affected the behavior of specific students?

11a. Why do you think that is the case?

11b. Will you give an example?

Evaluation of the Classroom Discipline Policies

12. How would you rate your approach to classroom discipline?

13. Are you satisfied with how your discipline policies are being carried out in the classroom?

13a. Do you have any discipline concerns?

If yes, what are they?

14. How does the classroom discipline that you desire compare with the classroom discipline that you have?

14a. Why do you think that is so?

14b. Would you further describe your ideal classroom discipline policy?

Conclusion

Is there anything that you consider important to classroom discipline that I have neglected to ask?

Exit Statement

I would like to thank you for this opportunity to gain insight into elementary school classroom discipline policies. I would like to share a draft of the case study with you and ask for your input. I would also like to contact you again if I have further questions or need clarification. Thank you for your time and assistance. I enjoyed talking with you.

Appendix B
Observation Template

Time	Structure, Content Area, Activity	Discipline Incident and Response	Researcher Reflections

CRITICAL QUESTION

What are the ways in which the discipline of engineering discipline act in relation to the management model of innovation?

Engineering discipline act in relation to the management model of innovation?

SUB-QUESTIONS

Engineering

1. How and why do engineers view discipline policies in the classroom?

Appendix C

2. How and why do engineers view discipline policies in the classroom?

Classroom

Research Questions and Data Sources

2. How do engineers view discipline policies in the classroom?

Engineering discipline act in relation to the management model of innovation?

3. How does the presence of engineering discipline policies in the classroom?

Engineering discipline act in relation to the management model of innovation?

Restriction

4. What is the impact of engineering discipline policies in the classroom?

Engineering discipline act in relation to the management model of innovation?

Evaluation

5. How do engineers view discipline policies in the classroom?

Engineering discipline act in relation to the management model of innovation?

6. What is the impact of engineering discipline policies in the classroom?

Engineering discipline act in relation to the management model of innovation?

Research Questions	Data Sources
<u>CENTRAL QUESTION:</u>	
What are the ways in which the dynamics of classroom discipline can be described in relation to the micropolitical model of interaction?	In-depth guided interviews and semi-structured classroom observations, supplemented by informal interviews and pertinent printed material
<u>SUB-QUESTIONS:</u>	
<u>Enactment</u>	
1. How and why do teachers enact discipline policies in the classroom?	In-depth guided interviews, supplemented by informal interviews and pertinent printed material
<u>Conveyance</u>	
2. How do teachers and students convey and implement classroom discipline policies?	Semi-structured classroom observations and in-depth guided interviews, supplemented by informal interviews and pertinent printed material
3. How does the process of conveyance shape and reshape the content of the discipline policies in the classroom?	Semi-structured classroom observations and in-depth guided interviews, supplemented by informal interviews
<u>Realization</u>	
4. What is the general imprint on the classroom and what are the perceived outcomes associated with the discipline policies employed in the classroom?	In-depth guided interviews and semi-structured classroom observations, supplemented by informal interviews and pertinent printed material
<u>Evaluation</u>	
5. How do teachers appraise classroom discipline policies?	In-depth guided interviews, supplemented by informal interviews and semi-structured classroom observations
6. What is the degree of congruence between the teacher's "intended" discipline policies and the "actual" discipline policies employed in the classroom?	Semi-structured classroom observations, supplemented by in-depth guided interviews and informal interviews

Introduction

My dissertation research is on disciplinary policy change at the classroom level. I am interested in how the implementation of formal school policy, such as national curriculum policies, classroom rules, behavioral expectations, and the policies of classroom discipline are of great interest to you. I am also interested in how a classroom teacher is able to reflect on and negotiate these policies in the classroom and whether, if so, how, and why.

Appendix D

Project Description

To help conduct the data work, I will be observing your class on three during the school year. I will be as unobtrusive as possible. My intent is to take a range of notes of the actions and interactions related to classroom discipline. I am especially interested in whether the policies, practices, conventions/expectations, and/or interactions, procedures, and/or institutional norms in the classroom.

Because this research is of primary concern, I will be gathering data on the analysis according to patterns and themes. A draft of the study will be shared with you and your input will be valued.

This interview will give you an opportunity to learn how you implement, share, understand, and negotiate classroom policy in your classroom. The interview will take approximately 45 minutes and I would like to schedule it. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Introduction

My dissertation research is an exploratory case study of the classroom discipline policies used in selected elementary school classrooms. The discipline policies that I am interested in are the combination of formal written policies and informal unwritten policies. Classroom rules, behavioral expectations, and the realities of classroom discipline are of great interest to me. I will be interviewing you and another classroom teacher in order to collect information regarding how discipline policies in the classroom are enacted, conveyed, realized, and evaluated.

To help enrich the data base, I will be observing your class six times during the school year. I will be as unobtrusive as possible. My intent is to take running records of the actions and interactions related to classroom discipline. I am especially interested in contests for power, conflicts, compromises/negotiations, accommodations, protection, and the contextual issues in the classroom.

Because this research is an exploratory case study, I will be gathering data to be analyzed according to patterns and themes. A draft of the case study will be shared with you and your input will be utilized.

This interview today will give me an opportunity to learn how you implement, share, understand, and evaluate discipline policy in your classroom. The interview will take approximately sixty minutes and I would like to tape record it. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Project Title: An exploratory case study of the formal and informal discipline policies used in selected elementary schools in the region

Researcher: Jennifer Taylor-Cox

I hereby consent to participate in the data collection stage of the said research project. As a participant I will be in the presence of the researcher and be part of an classroom observation.

Appendix E

Consent to Participate in Research

I am aware of the facts that my identity, school, and district will not be revealed, and that any use of the information that I contribute that is beyond this research project will only come with my written consent. Additionally, I understand that there are no expected risks to me, my position, or the school district in the disclosure of information about classroom discipline policies. Furthermore, I understand that my district, school, and I will not receive any compensation for providing information to this research project.

The faculty advisor for this research project is Professor J. Edward Anderson, Department of Education Policy, Planning, and Administration at the University of Maryland, College Park.

Signature of Participant

Date

Project Title: An exploratory case study of the formal and informal discipline policies used in selected elementary school classrooms

Researcher: Jennifer Taylor-Cox

I hereby consent to participate in the data collection stage of the said research project. As a participant I will be interviewed three times and be part of six classroom observations.

I am aware of the facts that my identity, school, and district will not be revealed, and that any use of the information that I contribute that is beyond this research project will only occur with my written consent. Additionally, I understand that there are no equivocal risks to me, my position, or the school district in the disclosure of information about classroom discipline policies. Furthermore, I understand that my district, school, and I will not receive any compensation for providing information to this research project.

The faculty advisor for this research project is Professor J. Edward Andrews, Department of Education Policy, Planning, and Administration at the University of Maryland, College Park.

Signature of Participant

Date

	Qualitative	Quantitative	Mixed Methods	Evaluation
Context: for purpose, influence, context, and audience				
Methods				
Design				
Participants				
Procedures				
Context				

Appendix F

Data Analysis Template

	Enactment	Conveyance	Realization	Evaluation
Contests for power, influence, control, and authority				
Conflicts				
Compromise				
Protection				
Context				

Introduction

As you read over the draft of the draft study on the current domestic policies, please consider the following questions:

Your comments related to data collection, as well as any other comments that you feel will clarify and accurately report your thoughts on this case study will be most appreciated. Thank you for offering your time and talent and making this research project so fruitful.

Appendix G

Considerations for Key Informant Review of Draft

1. Does the case study on domestic policies accurately portray the realities in your classroom?

2. Are there any aspects of your classroom dynamics that you see as missing and/or underemphasized?

3. Are there any aspects that you see as exaggerated or overstated?

4. Is the case study portraying the school fairly?

5. Do you have any other comments or suggestions?

Introduction:

As you read over the draft of the case study on classroom discipline policies please consider the following questions.

Your comments related to these questions as well as any other comments that you feel will clarify and accurately depict your classroom in this case study will be most appreciated. Thank you for offering your time and talent and enabling this research project to proceed.

1. Does the case study of classroom discipline policies accurately portray the realities in your classroom?
2. Are there any aspects of your classroom dynamics that you see as missing and/or understated?
3. Are there any aspects that you see as exaggerated or overstated?
4. Is the case study narrative distorted in any way?
5. Do you have any other corrections or suggestions?

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