"MY BODY WANTS TO GO WILD SOMETIMES":

EMBODIED CONTROL AND THE

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILD

By

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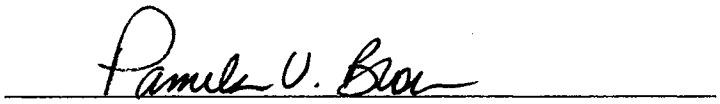

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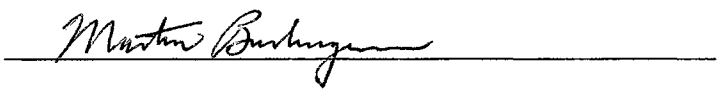

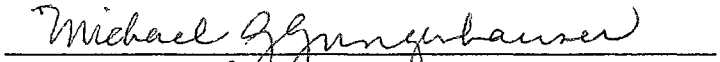

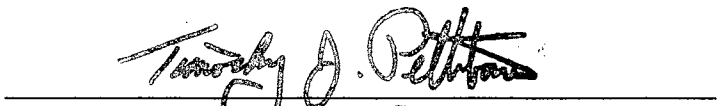

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: FRUIT WITH PINK GOO AND OTHER MYSTERIES OF LIFE

"Any thinking has the whole body participating."
- Candace Pert (2001).

There is much rushing, pushing, and shoving among these urban elementary students. Lining up is always a chore because there is an expected order they must follow – alphabetical. This makes it easier on the adults, but the children are resistant to this imposition of order. They want to be near their friends. They have grown tired as the morning wanes and with their tiredness and hunger comes irritability, yet there is also excitement in the air. It is the promise of freedom. Although the respite will be fleeting and heavily monitored, it is freedom from schoolwork nonetheless.

The students are eager to get to lunch, the highlight of their day. This is their chance to eat and be in a different environment. If luck is on their side, the other classroom for their grade might be able to sit across from them and they will have the chance to catch up with friends from previous years. Friends are important to the students, yet the opportunities to support the relationships with face-to-face interactions are few.

Today might also be a good day to eat. There is hope that pizza or Frito chili pie, and not the dreaded chicken soup or watered-down spaghetti, will be served, although the cheese bread served with spaghetti is a favorite. Bread is an important commodity and is often traded. There will, of course, be something green or orange or red on the white Styrofoam tray with divided sections. To the cafeteria workers, color seems to mean healthy but it can also mean interest. Orange slices are a favorite with the children. A broccoli rice and cheese dish is not. And then there's the fruit. If it is not orange or apple slices, it is peaches, pears, applesauce or even fruit cocktail covered in a pink goo that may be cherry sauce. When asked, the students realize they had not noticed the pink goo before, but comment that they do now remember having had fruit with pink goo frequently. Dessert is possible and runs the gamut from too-sweet cherry Popsicles to cookies to apple crisp. Dessert is a serious trading commodity at lunch and is also portable as a snack later in the day.

Today's lunch is a bean and cheese burrito still in its wrapper. This item receives mixed reviews but is considered by most as favorable. Along with the burrito is the "vegetable" corn, peaches with pink goo, and a trail mix cookie. Some students bring their own food. There is one food that is important to the students - Hot Cheetos. These are highly prized and given as gifts to friends. To be given Hot Cheetos is as good as Christmas and better than Halloween. Attention is lavished on the child who doles out the Cheetos. Other food items are prevalent among the children, especially on bad food days, with candy serving as a particularly good source of attention and admiration when shared.

Some students eat all their food. It has been a long time since the school's breakfast and it will be an even longer time until dinner or after-school snack. Some students who eat all or almost all their food even beg more from others. These students are a little more needy and do not have "parents that care," according to some of the students. Some children eat almost all their food, but do not ask others. Even when it is offered, they refuse. These are usually the heavier students. They just like to sit quietly and go unnoticed. There are some students who refuse to eat hardly anything. One says he eats a Slim-fast for breakfast, which holds him until dinner. Only a few bring their lunch. Their lunches are pretty typical, a sandwich and some chips and a dessert. Capri Sun, a sugary fruit drink, especially the new larger size, is popular. For everyone else, it is the standard-issue milk, which comes in chocolate and white. A number of students do not drink their milk and the cartons are left on a desk near the trashcan. Students think they are not allowed to get the extra milk (but where it goes remains a mystery.)

This day the students are forced to sit boy-girl, boy-girl at the fold-up tables with small, plastic attached benches. Sitting like this is punishment for a prior infringement of the rules. The arrangement is supposed to keep them quieter, but it is not successful. While the boys and girls do like to sit with their own sex, they can manage being with the other sex so that in the end they still get some social value out of lunch. Talk around and across the table is evident, but it is not too loud. The students are careful not to get in trouble.

Mrs. Tompkins and Ms. Moody are the lunch monitors today. Both teachers circle around the tables and monitor the students closely. The students watch them very carefully so they can talk when the teachers are moving away, but can get quiet as they come closer. Today, it takes the usual five to ten minutes until the monitors call a "no talking zone" and then the students are forced not to talk for the remainder of the lunch period, although they have learned to resist this time by making hand signals and learning to mouth words to each other.

Mr. Nimby, the physical education teacher, comes in to take over some of the monitoring. He carries a bag from a fast food restaurant, and eats from it while he monitors. He calls the students down almost immediately while Mrs. Tompkins and Ms. Moody tell him which students are already in trouble. Mr. Nimby tells those students to throw away their trays - some have not eaten all their lunch - and to stand on the side of the cafeteria with their arms straight out away from them. Some other students grumble about this, but only slightly, for they do not want to get in trouble.

About 20 minutes into lunch, the students are restless. They have finished lunch but must continue to sit without talking until their teacher gets back or the monitors move them to make room for another class. Today they are told to get up and throw away their trays, but there is some confusion about a new line that has been placed on the floor so that the students do not crowd the trashcan. Mr. Nimby yells at them for not following directions, and the students get upset because the directions are not clear. They are then sent outside to sit

in rows in the hall until their teacher gets back. This is at last some freedom from constant surveillance even though the monitors check on them frequently. After their teacher returns from her lunch, students head back to class after thirty long minutes that are controlled, confined, and anything but free.

Introduction to the Study

The above experience is a composite of the observations and interviews conducted in and about the cafeteria over the course of this study. Much like the rest of the school day, lunch is considered a necessary evil in that the students must be allowed to eat and teachers must have a thirty-minute lunch break, but the possibilities to go beyond the requirements of this time are never discussed. Within this scene are seen the multiple layers found in this study concerning issues of control involving both the body and the person, the role of food and natural body functions such as hunger, student resistance, and the inadequate attention to the curricular implications of what is considered by the children to be the most important time of the day.

The cafeteria also serves to highlight the embodied nature of schools. While authority imposes a sense of control over the behavior of the children, the students resist this control through the trading of food, creating hand signals, and learning to monitor and get around the constant surveillance. The lunch monitors focus on the control of behavior and the students feel the control physically. Punishments for misbehavior can be so severe that children may be forced to throw away their food and go hungry the rest of the day. In multiple instances

both in and out of the classroom, control of children is not only enacted upon behavior and academics but also on their actual bodies.

Students not only "do school" in their heads, but also feel it in their bodies (McLaren, 1991; McWilliam, 1999; Oliver & Lalik, 2000). Yet students are facing a more "visual culture... which celebrates the look, the surfaces, the textures, and the uniformization and commodification of the self" (McLaren, 1991, p. 145). The body in this culture becomes a site of meaning that is "zoned and inscribed" (Silverman, 1988, p. 97). Schools transmit these societal values about the body that in turn serve to influence the educational experiences of all children.

This study explores how young, pre-pubescent girls and boys in the upper elementary grades are bodily constructed through interactions with each other, their teachers, and the planned and/or lived curriculum of the school. Foucault (1977) asserts that schools act as "total institutions" that both define and control students on a variety of levels such as the intellectual, emotional, and social; I would add that bodies in school also become a key classifier to the experiences of children. Yet schools continue to relegate the bodily experiences of students to specific times and definitive curriculum practices, and separate the mind and body into two different entities (Weiss, 2001).

Beginning with the regulation of the body in schools, both through peers and authority, this study looks at the embodied experiences children have in school. Through a discourse of control found in formal and informal rules, creeds, conversations, and interactions, students are controlled to have "docile bodies," as discussed by Foucault (1977), so that their behavior and actions are

also controlled. Further, this study looks at the ways in which control in schools is performed in tangible ways upon children's bodies through control of bodily functions, lunch time and food issues, and through the actual physicality of their day. By exploring the embodied nature of regulation in schools, as found through both a discourse of control and physical aspects of the day, a thorough understanding of what I am coining as *embodied control* in schools is promoted. Embodied control, for the purposes of this study, is considered as regulatory practices and discourses of the school directed toward and enacted upon the body both implicitly and explicitly.

Background to the Problem

While very few researchers consider the role of the body in schools, the body in school has been looked at for its increasing size and its perceived "under-fitness" by concerned parties such as physical educators, nutritionists, personnel in the medical fields, and others concerned about issues of health (Ball, Crawford, & Owen, 2000; Gortmaker, Cheung, Peterson, Chomitz, Cradle, Dart, Fox, Bullock, Sobol, Colditz, Field, & Laird, 1999; Guillame, 1999; Hill, & Trowbridge, 1998; Oliver & Lalik, 2000; Schnirring, 1999). Some theorists have begun to philosophize the body in schools, including Peter McLaren (1991), who uses a critical perspective to ponder the postmodern body as a site of subjectivity; Sherry Shapiro (1999) who looks at dance as illustrative of the politics of the body in school; and Jan Wright (2000) who looks at the theory of

the body in physical education. However, there has been little research on the actual elementary body as it experiences schools.

While literature on the social significance of the body by feminist and postmodern theorists has been concerned with settings outside of schools (Bordo, 1992, 1993, 1997; Grosz, 1988, 1994, 1995; Jaggar & Bordo, 1992; Price, & Shildrick, 1999), the body has been described as a "carrier of culture" (Bordo, 1993, p. 287) that becomes inscribed with the meanings the individual and others write upon it. At the level of schooling, these inscriptions come in the form of curriculum, peer, and teacher interactions, while societal messages are carried through family, media, consumerism and other agents. Understanding the experiences of the body in schools, which serve as transmitters of culture, allows for the possibility of educating the whole person while demonstrating to those in education where the current institutional practices fail the student body. Bringing in feminist and postmodern views of the body as they apply in this research allows for an understanding of the embodied contradictions children in schools feel and experience daily.

A further look at the culture of control found in schools elaborates the position of embodied control found in this study. While the culture of control is considered by many writers to be externally imposed through curriculum and policy decisions (Beyer & Liston, 1999; Denscombe, 1985; Dewey, 1966; Kamler, Maclean, Reid, & Simpson, 2001; McNeil, 1988), this study finds that the culture of control is also internally constructed to regulate behavior. Through the implicit equation of behavior control with body control, this study looks at embodied

control as a structural and personal reality influencing and limiting the choices given to children.

Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand and describe the lived experiences of the body in elementary schools and to further promote an academic conversation on issues of control. Relationships and interactions between children and their bodies in school as influenced by the social world, the children's peers, and the authority figures serve as the focus of this study. I explore these issues both within the classroom and in the liminal spaces of a child's life at school – the playground, lunch, physical education classes, and other places that are informally thought about.

Practices of schools that deem the body as something "controllable" place children in an untenable situation in both school and their social world. Looking at the control of the body gives those involved in education greater insight into the physical realms of schooling and provides for a discussion regarding the added dimensions to school experiences necessary to meet the whole child. Using the context of the culture of control in schools allows for a greater understanding of the embodied reality children face daily and develops a "body lens" for teachers and school personnel for added insight into the experiences of children.

This study is significant in that little other research has been done on the issues of the body and control and so any investigation into the physicality of

schools can only encourage further study. By looking at the body as a contextual construction site, the physical nature of schools can be looked at as more than an interesting footnote to the accepted focus of school - academics. As schools continue to meet the needs of the whole child, the body will need to be remembered for the life-force it is, rather than a necessary inconvenience.

Thesis Statement

Children's bodies are a missing component in the academic affairs of most elementary schools. As schools increasingly become sites where a culture of control is ever-present, regulation of the body also becomes more dominant. The nature of this "embodied control" is examined in this paper through the relevant literature and data collection done during a qualitative case study.

Research Questions

Focus Question:

How does the elementary body experience school?

Ancillary Questions:

1. How is the culture of control in schools enacted upon the body?
2. How do the curriculum, school personnel, and peers influence and control the experiences of the elementary body in school?
3. How is the contradiction of expected self-control and enforced external control experienced by the students?

Rationale for a Qualitative Research Design

To investigate the ways in which children's bodies experience schools, one must be an on-site observer and participant in the daily experiences of children (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Therefore, qualitative research is the most appropriate approach to gain access to these subjective experiences and processes that shape the meaning-making of children (Crotty, 1998; Sherman & Webb, 1988). When experiences and perspectives are being sought in research, the investigative framework must allow for and take into account the interpretive and subjective nature of the data collected while also maintaining the rigor necessary for trustworthy results. Shaping this study as a qualitative case study drawing from ethnographic methods of participant observation, interviews, and document collection of school and student artifacts allows for multiple data collection types and multiple voices (Stake, 1998). Qualitative research also allows for greater flexibility to investigate a relatively new area of focus,

I observed at two elementary schools, Cheatham and Rockwall, in regular classrooms, in physical education classes, at lunch and at recess. I shadowed students, teachers, staff and other personnel as well as monitored sites that pertain to food and body issues such as the cafeteria, the gymnasium, and the playground. Further, I formally interviewed 28 students in grades four and five along with seven school personnel including five classroom teachers, the principal, and the school nurse, to ascertain their understandings of the way children make sense of school and their adult awareness of how issues of the body play into children's lives.

Originally, the goal of this research was to obtain detailed and rich descriptions of the embodied school experiences of children of weight. As the study progressed, a broader concern arose from the data concerning the body in school and the ways in which it is controlled. Since qualitative research allows for a study to define itself as it develops, this research project eventually moved into the broader foci of both body issues and control in schools. Then, as data analysis attempted to compile and compress the data into an interesting case study, the nature of control in schools, evident from the beginning of the research project, and body issues came together to form the notion of embodied control. While the data collected on overweight children is still useful for the implications of embodied control, the data set itself will be better served in another format in the future rather than as the centerpiece of this study.

Theoretical Frameworks

Harry Wolcott (1995) states that theory is essential to the pursuit of qualitative research and a precursor to any purposeful human activity. Corrine Glesne (1999) asserts that the way a person researches says something about what is considered as valuable knowledge and their perspective on reality. To that end, I have chosen to situate my study within the three theoretical lenses of feminism, critical theory, and postmodernism.

Feminist theorists are the most prolific writers on body issues at present (Sobol & Maurer, 1999). Since the construction of bodily issues follows gender lines, feminist theory informs my study both through its literature and through its

view of a gendered reality. For this study, both males and femlaes were included at the elementary level since this age is paramount to understanding the ways in which the sexes diverge later in life in terms of body image, eating disorders, and unhealthy bodily self-concepts. Feminist theory alone, however, might fail to look at structural realities, but feminist theory working at the intersection with critical theory would seek to recognize how existing structures both maintain and serve prevailing discourses and practices that oppress children's bodies (Bordo, 1992; McLaren, 1991).

Critical theory influences this study through its focus on how institutions such as schools construct and reproduce inequalities stemming from identifiers of race, class, and gender differences, (Apple, 1979; Spring, 1991). Since issues of the body are another essential layer of identity, critical theory informs this study through its focus on structural and cultural restrictions placed on the body in school. Critical theory provides a framework for understanding the reasons for the societal judgment toward the body and aids in observing the ways structural and organizational components of education "control" the body. Critical theory also provides a space for possible liberatory implications (Freire, 1971).

Postmodern theory explores totalizing discourses and provides a way to deconstruct notions of "normal" societal values as they relate to the body and to understand how an individual is shaped within prevailing discourses of body type and control in schools (Usher & Edwards, 1994). Susan Bordo (1993) points out that "postmodern" has come to mean anything resisting or deconstructing common assumptions of culture; she goes on to describe the body as a site of

both construction and deconstruction of the norm. Price and Shildrick (1999) suggest that postmodernism "offers feminism the insight that things could be otherwise" (p. 217). Therefore, postmodernism allows for alternative possibilities of what society and schools inscribe on the body.

Conclusion

The findings in this study are organized into two strands. The first examines the discourse of control found in both schools through structures, shared understandings, and through peer relationships. The discourse of control evident in the schools provides a contextual understanding of how embodied control thrives. The regulation of students in schools is accepted by the institution as purposeful and is rarely critically analyzed by the school personnel as anything other than necessary. The students both support and resist this reliance on control and it is here that the body is constructed and regulated.

The second strand will look at how bodies in school are regarded as out of control and the concrete attempts to control both student and body in fundamental ways. Exploring basic body needs such as food, movement, and restroom breaks, this study provides a rich look into how embodied control is felt and experienced every day by the students. The culture of control in schools has actual physical realities that limit the experiences of children.

Also paramount to this study of embodied control in schools are the ways in which control is presented as choice and the underlying assumption of self-control throughout discussions of control and the hidden contradiction of

expected self-control and imposed external control. The issue of choice in schools is offered as a positive discipline approach, yet is often falsely given to students. There really is not a choice involved that leads to autonomy on the part of the student. Choices given by teachers are still of benefit to the teacher only and give no agency to the child. Self-control is often coerced out of the children through control of their bodies and behaviors, thus not by its definition, actual self-control.

Bodies in schools are evident, pronounced, and obvious, yet remain mostly invisible to the education community. To fail to take into account the body in school is similar to focusing on the software a computer contains, but neglecting the hardware needed to run the software. Any look at the whole child includes body, mind, and spirit. Assumptions about the body in schools place the mind over the body, yet my data shows that children equate the body with the mind. Looking at embodied control gives voice to the body's experiences in school and enhances an understanding of the mind and spirit of the child as well. The oft-neglected body in school deserves a place beyond physical education and recess. If schools fail to give the body attention, schools have failed the child.

Definition of Terms

Body: The body is defined as not only the physical / natural form of skin, bones, and flesh, but also as a cultural concept: a means of encoding a society's values through its size, shape, and ornamental attributes (Cavallaro, 1998).

Curriculum: Curriculum is defined by Marsh and Willis (1999) as "an interrelated set of plans and experiences that a student undertakes under the guidance of the school" (p. 11). However, Marsh and Willis also argue that it is not static and includes those experiences that are part of the "hidden" and "null" curriculum, or curriculum which is planned and unplanned, actually enacted, and experienced by students. A less narrow definition would be everything that a student experiences from their front door to the school door and back again.

Academics: The pedagogical experiences / curricula that are formally (i.e. reading and math) given to students for the official purpose of education which is learning knowledge and skills.

Control: Defined by Webster's (1994) as exercising authority or influence over and to hold in restraint. Control is enacted through mechanisms, such as discipline and punishment, so that only expected behaviors are given by those being controlled.

Embodied Control: Embodiment is defined as representing in bodily or material form; to incorporate the body into something (Johnston, 2001). Embodied control is then defined as control represented in bodily form and incorporated, intentionally or not, into regular disciplinary techniques. It is also control that is enacted upon a body's needs or desires.

Discourse of control: Discourse is defined as a type of language - spoken, written, and understood – constructed through and by ideology (Johnston, 2001). It is used by and between certain particular individuals, groups, or professions for specific effects. Discourse is not an absolute, but a relative

term in which linguistic structures help to guide perceptions, evaluations, and the maintenance of a specific social reality. Elizabeth Grosz defines discourse, related to the body, as a "material set of processes where power actively marks bodies as social and inscribes them with attributes of subjectivity" (1990, p. 63).

Self-Control: The expectation that a person can control, regulate, or monitor his or her feelings, desires, and actions by will. Most character education proponents would characterize it as a choice made by the person to do what is right or what is wrong.

Management / Discipline: Behaviorists perceive classroom control as a classroom's general and specific behaviors through rules that are reinforced by authority figures by means of positive or negative reinforcement. Alfie Kohn, in opposition to prevalent behaviorist thinking (1996), defines management and discipline as creating classrooms that are respectful of both adults and children.

Hegemony of Control: Hegemony is defined as "predominant influence" and a type of social control that wins consent to its rule from those it subjugates (Johnston, 2001). In most schools, control is expected and desired. Control is embedded into rules, expectations, and day-to-day experiences of schools. It so predominates the curriculum and interactions of a school that it forms a hegemonic discourse of control.

CHAPTER 2:

REVIEW OF LITERATURE: A BODY OF LITERATURE ON CONTROL

For the pupil has a body and brings it to school
along with his mind. And the body is, of necessity,
a wellspring of energy; it has to do something.
- John Dewey (1916)

Philosophers, scientists, and theologians have created three distinct features of a human being – mind, body, and soul. These three work in conjunction with each other to create the whole person, yet are treated as separate entities. Many consider the soul as most important of the three since it is considered to live after death. Others point to the mind as the locus of control for the whole person and therefore, in essence, the same as the soul. Others look to the body as the machine which operates the entire person and seeks to fine tune and prolong its length of service and efficiency. However, the body is never considered equal to the soul or the mind. According to Williams and Bendelow, it has been marginalized so that the body is "everywhere and nowhere" in both theory and society (1998, p. 2).

Bodies in society are seen as a site of gendered construction and resistance by the proliferation of feminist literature on the body (e.g.: Bordo,

Butler, Grosz, Jagger, Sobol & Maurer, Wolf), while postmodernists also look to the body as a site of subjugation and objectification, using the body as a metaphor for contemporary culture (e.g.: Foucault, Lyotard, McWilliam, Sidorkin, Usher & Edwards). Along with this, bodies in society are seen as controlled through medical, media, and cultural restraints.

Bodies in school are often the neglected aspect of the whole child. When the body comes to school, attention to it is often relegated to physical and health education classes. While brain-based research abounds (e.g.: Bruner, Caine, Chugani, Jensen, Kotulak, Sprenger) and the spiritual aspects of children are examined (e.g.: Doll, Eisner, Elkind, Greene, Miller, Noddings), very little research has looked at the body in schools. Along with this, the mind and body dualism plays out heavily in education's emphasis on the mind over the body.

Through an exploration of both the body in society as constructed and controlled and the hegemonic nature of control in schools, this chapter will lead to a discussion of the possibility of embodied control in schools. Finally, while defining this new notion as control of the body in schools, this chapter will also look at some examples of embodied curriculum.

The Body as Inscribed Site

While society promotes health and the visible body, sociologists, anthropologists, and philosophers have begun to look at how the body is inscribed with the values and meanings of society. Williams and Bendelow call for an "embodied sociology" that "treats the bodily basis of social order and

action as central" (1998, p. 3). Williams and Bendelow also call for theorizing the body in childhood, asserting that it would serve those interested in the sociology of childhood to consider the embodied ways children interact with and participate in social life.

Margaret Shildrick (1999) asserts that the status of the body within dominant Western intellectual tradition is one of absence or dismissal. While the body is theoretically absent, its reality is ever-present. Shildrick goes on to explain that until modern times, the body was considered a priority to the well being of the whole person and demanded the greatest amount of practical attention. At the same time, the mind was and is considered to be the superior aspect of the person and in need of constant training and education. The interdependence of the mind and body is rarely considered, even today.

Bodies Constructed by Society

Most of the literature concerning the social construction of the body focuses on women as the central figures. The lack of work on children and men in this area and the focus on women, while understandable, is also troublesome. Men, women, and children all are affected by and participate in the social construction of the body on a daily basis. While women have been held to a stricter definition of beauty and body issues than men, children and adolescents are held to even greater standards than adults, due in part to their need for acceptance by peers and their exposure to media influences (Heese-Biber, 1996). Since events on a societal level affect schools and their students

(deMarrais & LeCompte, 1995), it is imperative to look at the standards of body construction in school.

Many authors suggest that the social construction of the body is related to the mind and body dualism found in western society (Bordo, 1993; Hesse-Biber, 1996; Oliver & Lalik, 2000). Bordo suggests,

> The construction of body as something apart from the true self... and as undermining the best efforts of that self. That which is not-body is the highest, the best, the noblest, the closest to God; that which is body is the albatross, the heavy drag on self-realization (p. 5).

This dualism is what allows the consideration that the mind is superior to and in control of the body, which is emotional, messy, and untrustworthy (Oliver and Lalik, 2000; Roland-Martin, 1986; Grumet, 1988; Bordo, 1997). This in turn is what permits the medical community to objectify the body. Once the body is objectified it can be treated as "the other" and oppressed (Oliver & Lalik, 2000).

Holliday and Hassard (2001) also position the current thinking of the body in culture as beginning with the Cartesian model of a mind/body dualism. Holliday and Haddard go on to say that to accept Descartes' thesis one would have to ignore the effects on the mind of representations of particular kinds of bodies, for example, black bodies, fat bodies, queer bodies, female, disabled, or working class bodies. For Descartes, "mind" is unequivocally white, able-bodied, heterosexual and male. All "others" are products of their bodies (Holliday & Hassard, 2001). McWilliam (1999) points out that the body's importance in the

mainstream is discussed in terms of its careful management in order to enhance, or avoid distracting from, the mind.

The Cartesian position problematizes the body, the "normal" or the rational, as something which might be altered or even erased, for instance in religion, where gluttony or lust are controllable by the willing spirit. In health and fitness discourses individuals are made accountable for their own well-being through exercising, dieting, eating the "right" food and regular health checks. These discourses require a certain amount of knowledge to be carried out, and serve as examples of ways in which the individual mind is made responsible for the control and regulation of the body, the aim being to produce "normal" bodies (Holliday & Hassard, 2001). The normal body then is diametrically opposed to the natural body, though neither is necessarily the "real" body (Braziel & Lebesco, 2001). The body becomes invisiblized through this normalizing of bodies; through these techniques, which are at the same time made to look natural.

This paradox between the "natural" and "normal" body is pointed out often in feminist writings (Bordo, 1993, Butler, 1993, Grosz, 1994, 1995, Hesse-Biber, 1996, Maine, 2000, Price & Shildrick, 1999). Many writers focus on the disciplinary practices on the body, such as the removal of body hair, applying make-up, or restrictive clothing, which must be used in order to be seen as "natural" women. These same women's bodies, with their "leaky and open" tendencies are theorized as threatening and even undermining Western philosophy's conception of the body as individual, self-contained, and infinitely

controllable, and thus male (Holliday & Hassard, 2001). Grosz (1994) writes, though, that we must be careful with the notion that bodies in general, and women's bodies in specific, are only passive ground upon which the male conceptual transcendence is enacted. Feminist writers talk about the materiality of women's bodies, but neglect the fact that men must also enact rigorous disciplinary regimes in order to be seen as "normal", such as face-shaving, short hair, and clothing standards (Jaggar & Bordo, 1992). Grosz (1994) writes that women are no more subject to a system of corporeal production than men; "they are no more cultural, nor more natural, then men. ...It is a question not of more or less but of differential proportions" (p. 144). The regulation of the body, using feminist literature through a postmodern lens, is where gender becomes less of an issue.

Bodies Controlled by Society

The body is a visual signifier as strong as race and gender. However, unlike race and gender, the body is deemed "self-controllable," so society attempts to sanction those that fail to limit and control excess. When the body is "unfettered," "uninhibited," "unregulated," and/or "unbounded," society judges it for challenging the norms, subsequently disrupting power (Braziel and LeBesco, 2001; Gatens, 1999). Through discursive and material practices, "docile bodies" and "obedient souls" are produced (Foucault, 1977).

The power to self-control the body is a central argument of Foucault (Gordon, 1980; Foucault, 1977) who thought of the body as a site of practical and

direct locus of control. Bordo (1992) argues that the imagined notions of Freud and Augustine of bodies as craving and instinctual are inaccurate; rather, she argues that bodies are docile, regulated, and habituated to the rules of cultural life. Christine Battersby (1999) associates this regulation of the body as making it into a container to hold the cultural inscriptions that normalize and prescribe behavior and perceptions.

Many feminist writers have elaborated a feminist and postmodern position regarding the subjugation of the actual body. Judith Butler (1993), Susan Bordo (1993), and Elizabeth Grosz (1994) argue that feminist notions of bodies as media of culture are part of the post-modern power struggle to realize the gendered nature of patriarchal control. It is this tension of gendered control of the body and its accompanying essentializing discourse that serves as a site for multiple embodied and intellectual realities for women in particular (Bordo, 1993).

A postmodern analysis of the construction of the body looks at the ways society's totalizing discourses define people. Bordo (1993) writes that Foucault provides a site for deconstructing popular discourses of the body, creating space for multiple understandings of it as constructed, inscribed, and oppressed. At the same time, postmodern theory allows the body to be celebrated through its illustration of the postmodern condition and through its acceptance of all body realities (Maine, 2000). This type of deconstruction is helpful in understanding the ways in which these hegemonic discourses work to oppress people's bodies.

Society considers children's bodies in need of excessive control to attain adult standards of body control, considering them "unfinished creatures"

(Williams and Bendelow, 1998, p. 211). Williams and Bendelow elaborate that children use their bodies in ways that are considered equal to medieval adults. Shilling (1993) asserts that the natural rhythms and functions of the body are under tighter social controls and restrictions, and children are receiving the best "instruction" in what society deems appropriate, with schools serving as the primary source of this instruction.

Schools as Sites of Control

Education of the whole child is often discussed and promoted within current thinking, with schools participating in the construction of this rhetoric. Yet schools continue to use traditional teaching styles that only focus on the brain, much like Friere's banking model of education, where students are empty banks waiting to be filled with deposits of knowledge by teachers who fail to understand them in the first place (1971). This is particularly true in schools that serve minority and/or low socio-economic children. Lisa Delpit (1995) asserts that few teachers really believe that all children can learn, assuming that children's deficits outweigh their strengths.

Instead, according to Delpit (1995), middle class, white teachers attempt to "control" for their children's perceived deficits by holding the power to regulate the behavior of their students. It is often assumed that when children are controlled, they can learn and when they are out of control, they cannot learn. What they are learning and how they are learning it is never questioned (Kohn, 1996, 1993). Delpit asserts that power relationships in schools are never

questioned; teachers hold it exclusively while children are merely respondents to that power, except when they resist with what is perceived as negative behavior. This power struggle for control plays out in schools on a daily basis and provides the context for this study.

Schools are often discussed as sites of control by those who look at teacher training, the standards movement, finances, curriculum, and politics of education (Tomlinson, 1993). Tomlinson talks about the "mechanisms of control" that influence what goes on in school (p. ix). Throughout Tomlinson's book, The Control of Education, the premise is one of outside forces exerting regulation upon the inhabitants of education and schools. While this type of outside control is important and central to discussions of education, for the purposes of this project, control will be looked at as a cultural entity, constructed among and upon the players involved in the educational process. The institutional character of control will also be examined for the direct influence it has on students' physical bodies, but the bureaucratic conception of control is better left to those who study policy and leadership issues.

Classroom Management as Control

When considering control in schools, classroom management and discipline is often the first thought. What is now considered modern discipline consists of techniques of enticement, coercion, and punishment. Intimidation and control, though discussed as unnecessary, still troubles the schools of today

(Kohn, 1993). Through the following examples and discussion of classroom discipline techniques, the nature of control and who possesses it is highlighted.

Classroom management books that present a traditional approach, like Fontana's Classroom Control (1985), discuss discipline in terms of cause and effect, or in this instance, strategies for "guiding and reshaping problem behaviors" by teachers in need of control of their classrooms (p. 65). Discipline strategies such as these rely on psychological understandings of behavior related to Skinner and other behaviorists, known as operant conditioning. These strategies assume that children are in constant need of supervision and direction and produce a "blame game" (Kohn, 1996) that looks to the children as the source of all behavior problems. The supposed goal is one of teacher control throughout.

More recent models of discipline strategies, such as Lee and Marlene Canter's Assertive Discipline (1992), Linda Albert's Cooperative Discipline (1992), and Frederic Jones's Positive Discipline (1987) are perceived to stress positive sides of classroom management with a central idea of rewarding positive behavior along with helping children recognize their negative behavior. These programs have drawn criticism for the continued focus on teacher authority and continued reliance on operant conditioning. Along with this movement have come a string of discipline theorists who look to self-control and ethical issues as the proper focus of discipline (e.g.: Colorosa, Dreikers, Glasser, Gordon)

In Building Classroom Discipline by C.M. Charles (2002), a textbook designed to give an overview of current discipline strategies, Charles describes

this current focus as urging "teachers to treat students with respect and dignity while encouraging personal development and self-discipline" (p. 7). He goes on to say that this trend rejects psychologically driven forms of management in favor of forms driven by critical theory where student's feelings and emotions are given attention as teachers implement a cooperative democratic climate in the classrooms, where students are allowed responsible input into decisions about their behavior and learning. Also, according to Charles, teachers are beginning to incorporate research that suggests that when children are kept highly interested and engaged in class activities, acceptable classroom behavior occurs naturally.

Alfie Kohn (1999, 1996, 1993) is the most vocal opponent to current and former practices of discipline. Kohn suggests that when looking at "discipline", both good and bad, the teachers' behavior toward the students is central to any useful system of classroom management. Kohn's central criticism of current discipline strategies is that they are often directed *to* the students rather than *involving* the students as partners in the process. He promotes developing a sense of community in the classroom that works together with the teacher to make the classroom a safe and engaging environment.

Of interest to this study are two particular discipline approaches that focus on control issues and lead to a discussion of character education. One program is William Glasser's Choice Theory in the Classroom (1988, formerly known as Control Theory in the Classroom, 1986). Glasser's original theory, as found in his monumental book, Schools Without Failure (1969), promoted that students

choose to behave either negatively or positively, and the role of the teacher is to help students make better choices. Heralded as landmark thinking at the time, it shifted the blame for misbehavior onto the student and away from the teachers who were the predominant executors of the behavior modification techniques of Skinner (Charles, 2002). Glasser's theory was promoted heavily within public schools, but teachers never fully incorporated it into their classrooms due to its unwieldy nature. Instead portions of his program were included in existing plans and can still be seen in discipline programs today. This early notion of student-centered behavior modification led to the current trend of self-control and self-discipline.

Glasser's (1988) has more recently concluded that student effort is on the decline and so classrooms must change their focus and function. His current work looks at strategies to motivate students to participate willingly in school, believing that current practices that force students to behave properly will not succeed. He promotes looking to see if student's basic needs of survival, belonging, freedom, fun, and power are being met. Glasser's new focus centers on quality in learning, curriculum, and teaching. In times centered on standards and notions of children as being "out-of-control" by society, students are having these basic needs curtailed.

Thomas Gordon's discipline as self-control (1989), known through his books Parenting Effectiveness Training a.k.a. P.E.T. (1970) and Teacher Effectiveness Training a.k.a. T.E.T. (1974), has as a central tenet an emphasis on development of student responsibility and self-control. He concluded that

effective control of student behavior cannot be attained through either coercion or reward and punishment but rather must be developed within the character of the student. Part of his program suggests teachers give up their controlling power over students. This has led to the criticism that the authoritarian nature of schools is hard to contradict and therefore any program that does not work within the system is destined for failure (Charles, 2002).

Beyond actual classroom management and discipline issues, there exists within schools a culture of control that is ever present and ever powerful. Traditionally, the culture of control that exists in schools has been examined as the lack of teacher autonomy (Brown, 1995), regulation through curriculum and policy regulations (McNeil, 1988), and issues of classroom management (Denscombe, 1985). Many studies in the field of Educational Administration focus on the environment of schools, but few, if any, examine how this culture of control is produced. Little research has been done on the actual issue of the culture of control as organic to schools, but much talk about the environment of schools applies to this topic as well.

Culture of Control in Schools

Martyn Denscombe's (1985) sociological perspective of control in classrooms concerns the amount of time teachers devote to classroom management and the role it plays in their pedagogy. What is interesting about Denscombe's look at classroom control, while limited to teacher pedagogy, marks the first and only known sociological look at the issue of control in schools.

Denscombe asserts that there are two common assumptions when looking at classroom control: first, that it is generally assumed that control in classrooms is an "educational malaise" that needs to be fixed, and second, that what constitutes classroom control is assumed to be quite obvious and self-evident – the task being to "analyze and cure the problem rather than describe how it is recognized and negotiated by those involved" (1985, p. 2). Denscombe goes on to organize the explanations or perceptions of control problems in schools as being from six different sources: the psychopathology of students with emotional disturbances; a cultural malaise where family and community fail to provide support; a pupil counter-culture that resists authority; the perceived crisis of social control playing out in schools; a lack of resources, adequate facilities, or the appropriate number of school personnel; general school issues such as compulsory attendances and the hidden curriculum; and the poor quality of teachers who lack preparation, motivation, or charisma. These categories are equally useful when looking at the culture of control in schools and highlight the perception that control problems in school are widespread and therefore more difficult to "fix."

One section of Denscombe's work involves the role noise played in what is the perceived level of control. Denscombe found that teachers considered a quiet classroom to be a controlled classroom. What was most surprising to Denscombe was that teachers wanted quiet classrooms (and therefore controlled classrooms) not for pedagogical reasons, but rather for the way a noisy classroom is interpreted by other teachers.

Character Education as Control

Character education, when defined as the teaching of right and wrong, has been an important concern of education throughout time. Lickona (1991, 1988) maintains that throughout history the goals of education have focused on helping children become "smart" and "good." He goes on to say that "realizing that smart and good are not the same, wise societies since the time of Plato have made moral education a deliberate aim of schooling" (1991, p. 6). Since the 1980's when A Nation at Risk proposed that schools were failing, with issues of moral conduct included in the perceived social shortfall of education, contemporary character education programs have proliferated (Beyer & Liston, 1999). These programs center on the need for children to receive moral training and develop an individual set of moral beliefs (Leming, 1997).

Alfie Kohn, in opposition to current forms of character education, calls these programs "a collection of exhortations and extrinsic inducements designed to make children work harder and do what they are told" (1997, p. 429). More importantly, Kohn considers most character education programs to consist of a "fix the kid" mentality that stems from thinking similar to that found in William Kilpatrick's Why Johnny Can't Tell Right from Wrong who asserts that "most behavior problems are the result of sheer 'willfulness' on the part of children" (1992, p. 96). This willfulness is then offset with the teaching of choices and consequences.

Character education programs, aligned with the notion of a "willful" child, promote the personal responsibility of students to make "good" and "right"

choices (Kohn, 1997). This notion of choice in behavior, and how teachers perceive it, serves to focus the discussion on the very wide topic of character education. John Holt, in How Children Fail (1964) states:

> Teachers and schools tend to mistake good behavior for good character. What they prize is docility, suggestibility; the child who will do what he is told; or even better, the child who does what is wanted without even having been told. They value most in children what children least value in themselves. Small wonder that their effort to build character is such a failure; they don't know it when they see it. (p. 26)

Aligning behavior with character is one of the many tendancies of character education programs. In an overview of the themes found in current character education programs, James Leming (1997) observes that underlying each curricula is an assumption that "good character consists of an individual manifesting these outcomes in their behavior" (p. 27). The teaching of character education seems to focus on the need to teach self-control and personal responsibility to children, defining character education in terms of the capacity to control impulses and defer gratification (Etzioni, 1993).

Kohn (1997), in a conversation regarding character education movements, states that most proponents of character education programs "frame their mission as a campaign for self-control" (p. 431). Kohn ties this into the Western / Christian tradition of seeing people as basically sinful and in need of "redemption." Kohn (1997) suggests three assumptions common to the teaching of self-control within this educational movement: first, that we are at war with

ourselves and torn between our desires and reason; second, that our desires are fundamentally selfish, aggressive, and otherwise unpleasant; and third, that these desires are in constant threat of overwhelming us if we do not rein them in. Kohn stresses the need of character education to support the natural goodness of children as well.

This legacy of self-control is also supported by Robert Nash, in Answering the Virtuecrats: A Moral Conversation on Character Education (1997), who calls the character education movement a push to moral conformity of individuals. Self-control as a form of regulation of a school's student-body is a common theme beyond character education. Control of the self, others, and society as virtuous is a taken-for-granted assumption in most cultures, and schools are no exception.

Bodies in School

Beyond the practical research based in physical education that looks to the body for fitness levels and health issues (i.e.: Melville, 1995; Osness,1987; Raithel, 1988; Schnirring, 1999; Wright, 2000), there are a few in physical education who theorize the body. Kathleen Armour (1999) argues for the need to focus on the body in education so that the status of physical education is enhanced, while David Kirk (1994) argues that physical education and sport have contributed to the construction and constitution of the body as a an example of modernist discipline. While these articles show that some theory of the body

exists beyond health and fitness, there is still a pronounced lack of material on the body in schools.

Jan Nespor, (1995) in his book, Tangled Up in Schools, which looks at the unnoticed spaces of elementary school experiences, found that bodies were controlled in school and that children felt their bodies were not valued within the space and time constraints of schools. Nespor does highlight in his study that issues of schools and bodies are constructed as control and freedom.

> Inside [the school] is a space of control and constraint, outside [the school], at least by comparison, a space of expression and movement. Bodies as well as physical structures define the divide: Inside the body becomes the space of control and intellect, and the exterior of the body, its extensions and emissions, become uncontrolled spaces, celebrated by kids and suppressed by adults. (p. 121).

Nespor found that schools increasingly subjected the bodies of children to control and regulation, mainly through the limitation of space. He asserts that bodies are arranged, regulated and bounded to represent the values of adulthood, but that this regulation is actually counterproductive to the natural desire of children to move and engage in the activity at hand. While Nespor's original focus was on concerns of physical space, he does highlight the control of the body found in the school he chose to study.

There is apparently only one formal study that deals with control and the body in school. Kamler, Maclean, Reid, and Simpson (2001), discuss the teaching of control in their article, "Put Your Hands in Your Own Laps:

Disciplining the Student Body" that was part of a larger study on the first month of early childhood schooling. It is an early childhood look at Foucault's "docile bodies" in actual practice and serves to shape the discussion on embodied control.

In Kamler et al.'s work (2001), students are trained within their first month of school to discipline themselves and to keep their bodies under control for "their own good." This is accomplished through rewards, punishments, games, songs, and verbal corrections. Kamler et al. suggest that through seemingly innocuous activities such as participating in songs or games, the indirectness of hegemonic power is highlighted, as most children learn to transform themselves into quiet, attentive, and receptive learners. The authors discuss songs such as "I'm a Little Teapot" (Words: I'm a little teapot, short and stout; here is my handle and here is my spout. When I get all steamed up, hear me shout; tip me over and pour me out.) and how the body is used in accordance with the song but also regulated as to how the actual movements can occur. According to the authors, the teachers stress that there is a right way and a wrong way to make a teapot and those that do not do it right are deemed "out of control" by the teachers.

Kamler et al. (2001) study highlights the role of the teachers in creating regulated body postures, movement, and visual gazes through commands and instructions that detail exactly what is expected and what is considered unacceptable. Then, when teachers evaluated the body postures and movements - positive responses for expected behaviors and corrections for unacceptable behaviors - students were quick to compare each other's behavior

and make fun of those that did not participate appropriately. The teacher's corrections allowed for peer regulation as well. This study demonstrates that control of the body is an accepted part of the school day and becomes inscribed into the sensibilities of the children quickly and easily.

Conclusion

While more focused, this literature review regarding control of the body in both society and school illustrates its widespread acceptance. Without more theoretical commentary, the body, and the attendant control placed upon it, will continue to go unnoticed in schools, much like it has in society. Critically examining the culture of control in schools, as both social and physical, allows for unheard voices and unseen images to implicate what is given priority in schools. Ultimately, if embodied control can be understood as socialized, it can also be enacted upon for possible change.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY: TO BODILY GO WHERE NO ONE HAS GONE BEFORE

Qualitative research is concerned with meanings as they appear to, or are achieved by, persons in lived social situations.
- Maxine Greene, (1995)

General Considerations of the Study

I begin this chapter by examining the field of qualitative research and my position within it. First, I examine my rationale, the research design of the study, theoretical frameworks, the special considerations of doing research with children, and a discussion of ethical issues with consideration for the rigor of this study. I will conclude with a description of the pragmatics of this study.

Introduction

John Dewey (1938) believed that to study experience is to study life, and observing the lived experiences of children in schools provides a glimpse into their everyday lives. Only qualitative research has the means to explore ways in which children make sense of themselves, school, and the world and how

schools serve to define embodied control. Discovering the everyday reality of school for children requires both conceptual and practical tools, what Van Maanen (1988) calls "the fieldwork, textwork, headwork." The purpose of the following discussion is to highlight this methodological work.

Rationale for a Qualitative Study

Qualitative research is the most appropriate form of inquiry for this project because it is narrative and contextual in form and concerned with gaining insights in how things got to be the way they are, how people feel about the way things are, what they believe, and what meanings they attach to various activities (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Gay, 1996; Glesne, 1999). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) assert that the need for reflexivity in research, the idea that research cannot be carried out in a vacuum and isolated from the wider society and subjectivity of the researcher, is central to the rationale for qualitative research. As a naturalistic form of inquiry, qualitative research challenges objectivity by situating the researcher in the midst of the research so that rich descriptions of the settings, interactions, people, and conversations, and in this instance, serve to contextualize the experiences of the body in school (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; Sherman & Webb, 1988). Further, as a holistic approach, qualitative research allows for the use of multiple methods and theories to understand the social construction of children's bodies (Glesne, 1999; Hammersley & Atkins, 1995).

In doing research with children, my purpose is to "make sense of personal stories and the ways in which they intersect [at school]" (Glesne, 1999, p. 1). Qualitative research becomes not only the best, but the only means to achieve my purpose; it is a way of "organizing thought in the face of uninformed opinion, prejudice, and occasionally intellectual deception" (Cookson, Conaty, & Himmelfarb, 1996, p. 1).

Theoretical Framework

Harry Wolcott (1995) states that theory is essential to the pursuit of qualitative research and a precursor to any purposeful human activity. Wolcott also says that the question of theory poses a dual challenge not only for finding a theoretically adequate approach to an original problem, but also for demonstrating how a unique situation is embedded in larger concerns related to a significant body of theory. Wolcott does warn us not to become too theoretically driven because then "theory is more apt to get in the way than to point the way, to tell rather than ask what we have seen" (p. 186).

Argued most in the theoretical discussions of research is whether all research can be atheoretical and value neutral, (Hanson, 1958; Kuhn, 1962; Putnam, 1981) or whether it can be "the repository of procedural objectivity" (Smith & Deemer, 2000, p. 879). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), all research is interpretive, guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. Le Compte, Preissle, & Tesch (1993) suggest that research designs are improved "radically" by explicit

attention to the influence of theory throughout the design and implementation process (Anderson, 1989).

Graue and Walsh (1998) state, "theory should provide new ways to describe realities that no longer fit the existing explanations" (p. 33). Crotty (1998) asserts that a researcher's assumptions, their theoretical and epistemological frameworks, "shape for us the meaning of research questions, the purposiveness of research methodologies, and the interpretability of research findings" (p. 17). Theory defines what research is and what it says, giving context to what essentially becomes new constructions of knowledge.

Mindful of Wolcott's warning, I draw from the assertion by LeCompte et al. (1993) that there are two different theoretical levels of inquiry: formal and informal theory. Informal theory is that which guides our daily life and makes sense of our personal experiences, while formal theory begins in the academic disciplines and represents divergent perspectives of the world. LeCompte et al. believe both theories should be grounded in experiences. Both are utilized in this study.

Using formal theory, my research methods are shaped by both critical and feminist theoretical frameworks. Critical theory draws from the Marxist imperative to change the world, but also interprets its task as the identification and clarification of the "necessary conditions" for emancipated living (Fleming, 1997). Critical ethnography aims to generate insights, explain events, and to seek understanding of "the other"; it also seeks to understand the participants' powerlessness (Anderson, 1989). Critical theory informs this study in that I seek

to understand "the other's" powerlessness, the ways of understanding the world for children and embodied control. Both critical and feminist researchers are concerned with understanding the ways in which social class, race, and patriarchy intersect to reproduce current social relations. The most distinctive feature of feminist research is the emphasis on subjective experience and its deviation from the more objective nature of critical theory (Anderson, 1989). I use facets of postmodern theory during the analysis phase of my study to aid in deconstructing the normalizing and totalizing discourse of embodied control present in this study.

LeCompte et al. (1993) state that "any inquiry process, scientific or otherwise, is affected not only by ascriptive characteristics, but also by a researcher's personal history and the general sociocultural frameworks and philosophical traditions in which he or she lives" (p. 121-122). Using informal theory, I rely on tacit knowledge from the many identities I occupy: woman, student, researcher, educator, etc (Heshusius, 1994). Heshusius takes tacit knowledge a step further, calling this new step somatic knowledge and defining it as the most vital and essential aspect of coming to know; and that tacit and somatic modes of knowledge produce a nondescribable, nonaccountable form of knowing that is crucial and vital to research.

Allowing for personal theoretical bias in research creates space for the third "being" space that Lather (1997) talks about as a site for new constructions that go beyond knowledge and language. Clifford Geertz (1983) proposed a similar idea with his notion of "blurred genres," described as the fluidity of theory

and practice across disciplines, bringing new perspectives and new debate. The possibility of "new" areas serves to explain the reasoning that qualitative research would provide the best framework for exploring the lived reality of children in school.

Research Design and Methods

I frame my research as a qualitative study drawing from ethnographic methods, most specifically that of observation and interviews. Emmerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) assert that field research involves the study of people as they "go about their everyday lives" (p. 1). Since the reality of everyday life for children is found mostly through observations, I became a part of the classrooms, student activities, and liminal spaces (Turner, 1969) of the school. Through participant-observation of classrooms, extra-curricular activities, and common times such as lunch, recess, and physical education, I sought to achieve the "thick description" that defines ethnography (Geertz, 1973; Shimahara, 1988).

As a participant-observer in the daily lives of children, I often negotiated how much to participate and how much to observe. Roman (1993) discusses the notion of situating yourself on the continuum of participant observation as part of the tension between subjectivity and objectivity. She proposes that the negotiation along this continuum is somewhere between "fly on the wall" and "going native" and based on your standpoint toward subjectivity. Glesne (1999) concurs with Roman, suggesting that your theory influences your position on the continuum, but Glesne also offers that researchers are likely to find themselves

at different points along the continuum at different times during the course of the research. She suggests negotiating two distinct positions: one of participant as observer and the other of observer as participant. Drawing from feminist-critical theory and postmodern theory, along with the subjective nature of my study, I situate myself along the continuum between these two positions, leaning toward one or another as my "judgment tells me is fitting" (Glesne, 1999, p. 45).

Specific Considerations for Doing Research with Children

Grown-ups never understand anything by themselves, and it is tiresome for children to be always and forever explaining things to them.
The Little Prince – de Saint-Exupery (1943)

In 1981, Theodore Schwartz observed that

> Anthropology [has] ignored children in culture, while developmental psychologists have ignored culture in children... Our neglect of the child as a person, participant, and locus of important events in the process of a culture is probably even greater than our neglect until recently of women... At present we know surprisingly little of the cultural competence and content of children as constituent participants in culture. The ethnography of childhood remains a genuine frontier (quoted in Stephens, 1998, p. 530)

Holmes (1998) also asserts that field studies with children are relatively uncommon and attributes this to the western notion that children are not active creators of their culture. Childhood is viewed as a stepping stone, or transitional state, to adulthood with little or no extrinsic or intrinsic value of its own.

The nature of children in/for culture is at the heart of discussions about children in research. The goal of research with children is to understand a child's world from their perspective. Alan Prout, in the foreword to Research with Children (Christiansen & James, 2000), states that the idea that children are social actors, with a part to play in their own representation, is at last being taken seriously by mainstream social science thinking and research. Bronwyn Davies (1982) suggests that children interpret the world differently from adults, not because they have not learned to see the world properly, but because they are viewing it in their own terms, what some have constructed as the culture of childhood.

Eder and Corsaro (1999) state that children do not merely internalize individually the external adult culture. Rather, they become part of adult culture – that is, contribute to cultural reproduction and change – through their negotiations with each other and their production of a series of peer cultures with other children. Children are willing to teach their cultural knowledge to adults, if they are willing to learn (Davies 1982). Adults are more able to teach children from their own adult culture if they appreciate the fact that children are presenting an *alternative* cultural view, rather than a *wrong* view.

One of the reasons that children are not a large part of the existing body of research is because traditionally, researchers questioned children's conceptual and linguistic competence in addressing research concerns. James, Jencks, and Prout (1997) point out that this current questioning of qualitative research with children is embedded in the very methodologies and techniques used to study

children and childhood. These particular methodologies and techniques reflect assumptions and understandings of the child that are part of positivistic psychological traditions.

These assumptions label children as deficient and less capable to articulate a position than adults, and need to be questioned and broadened to encompass the multiple dimensions of childhood and school-hood (Pollard, Thiessen, & Filer, 1997). Interpretive sociologists such as Mackay (1973) feel that children are beings who interpret the world as adults do and that social scientists need to "transform the theory of deficiency into a theory of competence" (p.31). Children should be understood by researchers as able to articulate their social contexts when that context is understood by adults (Graue & Walsh, 1998).

Traditionally, childhood and children's live have been explored solely through the views and understandings of their adult caretakers. Such an approach has been challenged with the perspective which sees children as possessing distinctive cognitive and social developmental characteristics with which researchers, wishing to use child informants, must consider in their research design (Christiansen & James, 2000). A more recent approach suggests that research methods with children should not take for granted an adult/child distinction. As in all research, what is important is that the methods chosen are appropriate for the people involved in the study, the social and cultural context, and the kinds of research questions that have been posed (Solberg, 1996).

Christiansen and James (2000) assert that knowing what kind of questions to ask and the ways in which it is best to ask them, as well as knowing which question not to ask and how not to ask them, are keys to successful research with children. However, they do also state that to carry out research with children does not necessarily entail adopting different or particular methods.

> While some research methods might be thought to be more appropriate for use with children, with regard to particular research contexts or the framing of particular research questions, there is, we would argue, nothing particular or indeed peculiar to children that makes the use of any technique imperative (p. 2).

Children are not adults, but researchers do not need to adopt different methods. Instead, they need to employ practices that resonate with children's own concerns and routines. James et al. (1997) posit a model of "the social child" and suggest the need to use multiple methods and sites to reflect the diverse aspects of children's self-expression, such as the body, the imagination, the written word, etc. Denny Taylor (1993) makes the case that the primacy of children's experiences and perceptions should act as sources of knowledge. Attention must also be given to the wider discourses of childhood, to the power relations, organizational structures, and social inequalities, which, in large part, shape children's everyday experiences. Pollard, Thiessen and Filer (1997) suggest that the biggest challenge of working with children is to "question our readiness to hear pupil perspectives and to allow children a share of the sort of power we, as adults, have in their classrooms and lives" (p.11).

Eder and Corsaro (1999) feel that ethnographic methods are the most valuable in working with children. Their reasoning is that ethnographic research is sustained and engaged, microscopic and holistic, and flexible and self-corrective, providing a complete and thorough perspective on the lives of children. Children, who are studied in context, need to have the "concrete particulars" (Erickson, 1986) of their lives recorded in detail. Graue and Walsh (1998) suggest researchers think of children as living in specific settings, with specific experiences and life situations. They would have researchers spend more time portraying the richness of children's lives across the many contexts in which children find themselves. To do this, children's voices must be sought and heard.

While the methods of letting their voices be heard are of utmost importance to this research, as with other research, the notion most striking is the need to treat the participants with respect and dignity. This points to the ethical concerns of research regarding the bodies of children. This will be discussed in the next section, but the lesson from this question has been the need to remember that children are not mini-adults, but rather individuals with their own culture and society that needs to be respected and understood by the same social science that seeks to help them.

Issues of Rigor

Ethical Considerations

Ethical behavior is about attitude, both in the field and during the interpretation of the data (Graue & Walsh, 1998). That attitude affects the relationships formed, especially when the work engaged in intersects other people's lives. According to Graue & Walsh, the researcher enters the field with humility, requesting permission to be there, continuing throughout, and even after, the research.

Graue and Walsh (1998) discuss the notion Geertz has put forth; that no one person has total knowledge of another, and at best a researcher approximates the knowledge they do have. Three assumptions are understood when working with children, according to Graue and Walsh - that children are smart, they make sense, and they want to have a good life. Respecting children with these assumptions allows researchers to be ethical in their relationship with them. Respecting children's knowledge and experiences of their body is the central attitude of this research.

The tension to accurately describe the reality that children experience, and not to consume and presume their culture, is difficult. Children are active participants in defining their identities and cultures, yet do so from positions of unequal power. To be a researcher involved in this power conflict that at once creates and deconstructs is a position of privilege that carries with it a responsibility to provide perspective to the situation.

Using a critical-feminist theoretical framework allows the standpoint of others who are voiceless to be heard. The authenticity of this voice is sometimes contested, though the need for its hearing is not. Christiansen and James (2000) argue that a feminist perspective of childhood is possible, though others (Jordanova, 1989; Sommerville, 1982) assert that an authentic representation of childhood is not possible due to its historical situatedness. Hendrick (2000) asserts that a type of ageism forcibly separates children from adults and creates them as an "other" and a critical-feminist lens allows for the "other" to be heard through and despite the dominant discourses of adulthood. Being an adult, the ways in which I understand children was inevitably couched in adult terms and constructs. To offset this, I use the voices of the children as much as possible, so that their conceptualizations are understood.

Being an ethical researcher requires honesty to myself as well as others. My research is not just *about* children, but also *for* them. Providing an insight into the structural, personal, and institutional realities of children's bodies in schools, it is not enough just to do research. I also became an active participant in the daily experiences and meanings that are shaped for children, without forgetting to be sensitive to the privacy and power issues present in the field. Respect and dignity are the general boundaries I chose to guide the sensitive nature of this topic, as they are the guiding principles of all research, but work especially well with children.

To act ethically is to conduct yourself the way one would toward people whom one respects. When thinking about ethics in research, Bruce Jackson (1987) wrote perhaps the best and simplest advice to follow.

> When in doubt about whether an action on your part is ethical or not, a good starting place is to put yourself in the subject's position and consider how you would feel if you learned what that friendly person was really up to (p. 278).

Subjectivity

Aware of the emic/etic nature of research, the insider/outsider debate, I would like to explore this issue in terms of my own investment in this project. Subjectivity, which Peshkin (1988) defines as an "amalgam of the persuasions that stem from the circumstances one's class, statuses, and values interact with the particulars of one's object of investigation" (p. 17), infuses all research. Peshkin goes on to say that subjectivity is like a garment that cannot be removed. Heshusius (1994) would take this concept further by saying that we cannot construct our subjectivity as something beyond ourselves, that it cannot be "restrained" or "accounted for."

As in previous research, (Elsasser, 1999) my interest in the subject matter of embodied control emanates from personal experience. Control of the body takes many forms, and as an adult person of weight, I am always aware of my status in society as a person labeled "out-of-control." I am reminded daily that I am not an equal in the skinny world I inhabit. The fact that I often feel a similar

embodied control by society allows for sympathetic understandings toward children and perhaps gives me better insight, for instance, to what an overweight child feels when trying to sit cross-legged in a 1' x 1' square of tile.

Throughout the field component, I was particular to take the side of the children in my assumptions and observations. While I understood the teachers' perspectives and strove to see the structural reality of schools, my priority remained with the children throughout. While leaning the research toward the children, in part, this attitude also allows the research to give voice to the children, an aim of this project from the start.

Trustworthiness

Qualitative researchers endeavor to achieve what Lincoln and Guba (1985) define as credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability: the "trustworthiness of qualitative research." The basic question addressed by the notion of trustworthiness, according to Lincoln and Guba, is: "How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to?" (1985, p. 290). Multiple sources of data, including observations, shadowing, interviewing, and document analysis as well as the multiple theoretical lenses serve to promote the trustworthiness and triangulation of my research (Denzin, 1978; Glesne, 1999).

Glesne (1999) answers this question by describing eight verification procedures that she believes augment trustworthiness. All of these areas were

utilized during my research. The eight procedures, along with how I achieved them, are:

1. *prolonged engagement in the field*: I was in the field for thirty-five days, approximately 175 hours, including interview time.
2. *triangulation:* Multiple methods include observation in two schools, Cheatham and Rockwall; interviews with twenty-eight students and seven teachers and a principal; and document collection of student-produced work, along with school- and district-generated documents. Along with these, I utilized multiple theories, data sources and varying times and places during the study;
3. *peer review and debriefing*: I kept in weekly contact with my advisor, and other colleagues about what I was discovering. I also kept a tape recorder in the car and taped analytic memos during the drive home.
4. *negative case analysis*: While in the field, I observed classrooms that had less problem with embodied control and have included children's interviews where control was not perceived to be a problem.
5. *clarification of researcher bias*: see discussion in previous section;
6. *member checking*: I routinely discussed some emerging themes or clarified positions and perspectives with both the teachers and principals and at times the children, especially during the interviews.
7. *rich, thick description*: Thick, rich description of the experiences of the children are included. The context of the school, while important to the body did not need to be as thickly described, since my purpose was

observing the children and their experiences, not the actual school context.

8. *external audit*: I gave weekly updates to my advisor and periodic updates to committee members, along with informal conversations with other interested parties. Permission was granted by Memorial City Public Schools as well as Oklahoma State University's Institutional Review Board (Appendix E).

Through the above eight-fold system, I am confident that my data is trustworthy. Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose that the standard for naturalistic inquiry is to reconstruct the perspective of those being studied. Through the multiple voices of children's interviews on the same topic, there is congruity of opinion and experiences among the children regarding the topics of the body and control in schools, although the occasional negative case is also presented for trustworthiness. Talking with teachers and the principal through formal interview also allowed for early data analysis to be confirmed. Thorough the formal data analysis stage, multiple voices were examined for corroboration as well.

Pragmatics of the Study

Shift in Focus

Originally, this study began as an open-ended examination of school experiences of overweight children. While children of weight remained a focus of this study throughout, other issues, such as control and general body regulation,

became too dominant to ignore. The data set on overweight children, while enough to make some generalizations, did not collapse into its own study.

The difficulty I encountered in trying to get "good" data on the experiences of the overweight included ethical considerations, issues of access, and the lack of previous to work to guide the study. When observing, I sought to not appear to target the overweight, and so would choose random children to interact with, when permitted. When discussing teasing or the way the body is treated, I would give general statements and questions concerning the body which prevented me from obtaining the rich data necessary for the study originally planned.

It also became difficult to talk informally with children or move closer into their activities as the general control of the school day was excessive. There was very little free time, and what free time was given was heavily monitored. Then, when I was with a class during a free period, such as on the playground, the children were so obviously engaged in the freedom that I was hesitant to intrude, knowing that this free time was a luxury to the children. The children's classrooms were also tight in space, with little movement or group work, and so I would be forced to sit in the back and observe from a distance. This led me to rely on the interviews more than originally planned.

Moreover, there was little research on the body in general, and the overweight child specifically. Had there been more previous work to prepare me, the numerous sidelights of the study – i.e.: dress code, health curriculum, physicality outside of school – might not have captured my attention, and ultimately prevented me from becoming more focused earlier in the study.

During the early analysis phase of this study, the issue of control dominated the notes and interviews, and along with observations on the body, the whole data set easily collapsed into the notion of embodied control. Continuing within this vein, the data eventually began to take shape into its current form, providing a foundation for continued research regarding the bodies of all children, including the overweight.

Research Sites

This study was conducted at two sites in the Memorial City School District, Rockwall and Cheatham Elementary Schools. Memorial City's metropolitan area has a population of 1,039,000, while Memorial City proper has a population of 506,132 with 25.5% of the population under eighteen years old. The median household income is $32,286 with a 4% unemployment rate for 2001.

Memorial City Public Schools has a K-12 student population of 40,291 in 92 schools for the 2001 – 2002 school year. The elementary population is 23,027 in 64 schools. The racial breakdown of the district is: 37.8% African American, 31.9% White, 22% Hispanic, 5.5% Native American, and 2.8% Asian. According to the information sheet, "Quick Facts about the Memorial City Public Schools, 2001-2002", the average student-teacher ratio for elementary schools is 18:1 with an average class size of 20.0. Their ACT composite score is 18.8, with a state average of 20.5 and a national average of 21.0. They have a 92% graduation rate and an 8.5% dropout rate. The mission statement of the district states: "Educating Students for Life-Long Learning and Responsible Living."

Both sites were elementary schools consisting of pre-kindergarten through fifth grade. Initial grand tour observations occurred at both schools, although focused observations and interviews occurred predominantly at Cheatham. The following is a composite description of both schools.

Rockwall School of Advanced Studies is an enterprise school, which is considered to be more academically challenging, according to the principal, Mrs. Gaglin. Rockwall is a 40 year-old building reminiscent of the utilitarian styles of the early sixties and lies on a northern border of the district, close to a growing, affluent suburb. It has approximately 450 students with a 63.5% free/reduced lunch rate. The racial breakdown is 58% African American, 30% White, 5% Hispanic, 5% Asian, and 2% Native American.

Cheatham Magnet School for Visual and Performing Arts is a magnet school for art, dance, drama, and music. It is a 75 year-old pre-World War II building, in the shadow of the state capital and lies near the center of "inner-city" Memorial City. It has approximately 325 students with a 93.7% free/reduced lunch rate. The racial breakdown is 90% African American, 5% White, 3% Hispanic, 1% Asian, and 1% Native American.

Participants

There are two classes at Cheatham, one fourth and one fifth, where I spent most of my time doing observations and from whom I garnered my interviews. Mrs. Garner's fifth grade class, which was later taken over in about two months by Mrs. Thompkins and eventually Mrs. Banks, is considered the

highest achieving class academically among the upper grades at Cheatham. The class is predominantly African American, with only one white male. There are twenty-seven students with only eight female students. A few students are of mixed racial backgounds, as reported by Jocelyn who mentions getting teased because she is of mixed race. Without quizzing each child, all children besides Monty, the white male, looked to be of African American heritage. The ages of the children are difficult to determine from observing, but most fall into the standard age range of ten or eleven, though a few fall outside of that range.

Mrs. Everett / Ms. Dorsey have the same number of children as Mrs. Garner's class, twenty-eight, and all are African American except for Omar who is Hispanic and Floyd who is mixed racially and reports being African and Native American, some middle eastern, and some white. There are fifteen girls in this class. This class was purposely given more "difficult" children because it has two teachers. The age range of the fourth grade classroom is nine to ten, though again some fall outside that range.

Both classes meet in portable buildings in the back of the school and have limited space for more than desks and teacher materials. The room with two teachers is especially crowded to accommodate the desk areas of the two teachers. Neither class has any tables beyond a fold-up table to hold two computers used only by teachers. There is one other class for each grade and I visited both. At Rockwall I also visited all classrooms in the third through fifth grade, but spent more than a few hours with only two, Mr. Hamilton's fourth and Mrs. Sharp's fifth.

Methods Incorporated

Observing in the field, I began with grand tour observations of both schools. On the advice of the Rockwall principal, I visited all classrooms in the third through fifth grades. This enabled me to see teaching styles and the physical make-up of the classes. I did this with Cheatham as well. After the first few weeks, I targeted two teachers, one each at Cheatham and Rockwall. Mr. Hamilton's fourth grade classroom at Rockwall had a diversity of body types and his teaching style was approachable. Mrs. Garner's fifth grade classroom at Cheatham was also approachable and the students were friendly and thoughtful. However, within a few weeks both teachers left the classroom - Mr. Hamilton to a brain aneurysm, and Mrs. Garner to take care of a sick parent. Since Mr. Hamilton's class was using many different long-term substitutes and I did not want to upset an already disturbed situation, I continued with Mrs. Garner's class which was using the teacher's aide as a substitute until a permanent teacher could be found. I then decided to stay at Cheatham for the remainder of the semester, until Winter Break, and then switch back to Rockwall. After the holidays, I felt the level of data at Cheatham was so rich that I decided to stay and concentrate on another classroom, Mrs. Everett's and Ms. Dorsey's fourth grade classroom. Eventually, I spent thirty days in the field actually engaged in observation.

Another method used in this study included interviews. In Mrs. Garner's classroom, I sent a parent permission slip home (Appendix A) to all students, but only nine returned their forms for interviews. Of those nine, none were

overweight. When I went into Everett/Dorsey's classroom, I again blanketed the whole class with permission forms and found a better response when nineteen children responded, including two overweight children. The interviews provided a rich data set, and while I would often direct questions toward discussions of the experiences of the overweight, I still felt I did not have enough to establish firmly my study of overweight children, hence the eventual shift in focus to embodied control.

The interviews occurred at all times of the day, as convenient for the teachers. Most occurred on the stage behind a thick curtain at the front of the cafetornasium, which serves as cafeteria, gym, or auditorium. A few interviews occurred in the teachers' lounge because the stage was in use, but this made both the students and me uneasy. The teacher interviews occurred in their classrooms or the teachers' lounge. The interviews were transcribed for me by others, and interesting to note is that one transcriber who worked on the majority of tapes, mentioned getting a headache from the additional noise of the cafeteria on the tapes. Throughout my observations, I had also noticed the noise and often left school with a headache.

The last method used for this qualitative study involved document collection. I received a few opportunities to actually teach classes about what I was doing and had the children complete informal surveys about generalized body issues, such as their favorite foods, how they like to move, and what they thought being healthy means. I also had them draw himself or herself or a healthy person. These provided insight into how children think of their bodies and

themselves. I also collected school, district, and curriculum documents as they became available. I was also able to take home and copy the entire ""Healthy Lifestyles" curriculum, in which both schools participate, to examine how the overweight body is perceived.

Overall, the methods used were appropriate to the topic and the context studied. The children seemed to respond better the more I observed and interacted with their class. For instance, for the final class I observed and was involved in, Everett and Dorsey's, I offered to bring artifacts and discuss with the children my experiences in China as they were studying the country and this granted me a favorable perception from the students and eventually a larger number of interviews.

Data Analysis

Huberman and Miles (1994) define data analysis as three linked sub-processes: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. Glesne (1999) defines data analysis as organizing what you have seen, heard, and read so that you can make sense of what you have learned. I analyzed my data during as well as after my data collection through analytic memos, early coding schemes, and later re-coding of data. I did not use any coding software and relied on traditional non-computer methods of data analysis (Bogdan & Biklan, 1992; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Huberman & Miles, 1994).

My method of data analysis, adhering to Huberman and Miles (1994), was to regularly review and code that data during and after data collection. When

data collection concluded, and interview tapes were transcribed, I proceeded with an initial read-through and formed a list of codes. After editing the list, I recorded the codes on the data set during a second read-through. A third coding took the form of editing the data into my filing system of main themes and sub themes. Within these themes and sub themes, some categories, such as dress code and health issues, were not used for the final product as well as the major theme of overweight children. Overall, the data was analyzed using Huberman and Miles and received at least three codings along with continual analysis and memoing.

Since I changed the focus of my study, I also needed to refine my review of the literature to reflect control issues, discipline, character education, and pedagogy of the body. Since my data was already analyzed, I found myself applying a modified grounded theory approach to find theory and literature to fit my existing analysis. However, I did preserve much of the feminist and postmodern literature and theory on the body and found the postmodern theory especially helpful in data analysis.

Limitations of the Study

This study was completed with little guiding research beyond theories of the body and educational issues such as physical education, health curriculum, and nutrition of school lunches. With this limited research came little guidance on what to look for regarding the issue of bodies in school. This allowed many different strands of data seem to be interesting so that the initial focus of the study was difficult to obtain.

Using two schools proved difficult to manage. At first I alternated between the two but getting past the initial contextualizing of the sites seemed to take a great deal of time. Using two schools of differing demographics was helpful overall, but contributed to an extended lack of focus at the beginning. At the same time, my study became enmeshed in the single demographic present at Cheatham and therefore my data reflect the homogenoussetting as nearly all students at Cheatham are low-income and African American. This serves to limit the findings' applicability to other setting dissimilar to Cheatham's (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Unplanned Events and Lessons Learned

Being a novice researcher, there were unanticipated problems and things I wish I had done differently. I wish I had been bolder. Trying to establish my place in both schools, and be unobtrusive at the same time, did not allow me as much access as I would have liked. When the students were called down at lunch for talking, I felt that I also needed to stop talking as a role model, or at least to limit the amount of discipline present in the cafeteria. It was an uncomfortable role to be in. While wanting to get at information, I was always aware of the control and felt as much controlled as the students, despite their reassurances that I would not get into trouble for talking. As it turned out, I did get in trouble frequently for talking at lunch, such as strong reminders from the teachers to keep my voice down or not to talk, though I never received any punishment.

I also wish I did not have a long drive to the sites each day. The ever-present threat of severe weather loomed, and twice schools were cancelled for several days. While the drive itself was useful to debrief via tape recorder, it also provided some time constraints and restricted my overall time in the field.

The last lesson learned is that one research project is never enough. My appetite to study the body even more has not been satisfied, and I look forward to continuing with this vein of research. I hope to have time to continue this project in the future. It is worthy of future research and I wish for others as well as myself to become embodied in the work left to be done.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS: EMBODIED CONTROL AND THE DESIRE FOR FREEDOM

We are our bodies and only in
and through them do we know ourselves
and our relationships with others.
- A. Caddick (1986)

Introduction

Control in the curriculum and daily school experiences are found at all levels of school and educational organizations. Traditionally, most of the scholarly focus on control is found at the level of politics, administration, and curricular practices of schools (deMarrais & LeCompte, 1995; Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995). Recently though, schools have been characterized as exhibiting a "culture of control" or "hegemony of control" that pervades the social and academic lives of the inhabitants of schools (Doll, 1998; Greene, 1995; Kohn, 1999; McNeil, 1986). This hegemony of control seeks to regulate, order, and manage the lives of the children at all levels of their experiences, through their body, souls, and minds.

Michael Apple argues that the hidden curriculum of the schools tacitly "legitimizes the existing social order" (1975, p. 114), while Peter McLaren asserts the hidden culture of control in school forces students "to comply with the

dominant ideologies and social practices related to authority, behavior, and morality" (1991, p. 184). Within this context of control, little has been done regarding the body and its role in the school process. One of the few scholars who has studied the body in elementary schools, Jan Nespor calls the school environment one of "control and constraint" while outside the school building is a space of "expression and movement" (1997, p. 121).

It is within this existing school culture of control, that this study is situated. This culture of control present in schools is enacted upon the minds and spirits of children; however and as just important, it is enacted upon the bodies of children. I call this "embodied control." Embodied control can be defined as the culture of control in schools playing out on the bodies of the students. This can be done through direct control of the actual body – i.e.: not allowing bathroom breaks – or indirectly through the discourse of control that equates the body with misbehavior – i.e.: not allowing children to have recess as punishment. Through either means, the control of and through the body is a daily lived experience for schoolchildren.

Upon entering the two research sites, Rockwall and Cheatham, issues of control are immediately apparent. While control of students in schools is expected and encouraged, the tenacity with which it is embedded in the culture of the school is striking. A prime example of this is the stoplight that hangs in the cafeteria of Rockwall. It is the size of a regular stoplight, and is voice activated so that at a certain decibel level, the yellow light illuminates and at a higher level, the red light signals. At Rockwall, the yellow light means only whispering is

allowed, and the red light means the students must not talk at all unless they raise their hand so that a patrolling teacher can call on them. Despite the stoplight, the teachers routinely utilize the light switches as well and tend to flick them off and on repeatedly to tell the students to quiet down (Field Notes [FN]).

At Cheatham, control is present in the constant raised voices of teachers throughout the day. Commands are rarely given in a normal voice, but rather are spoken in a raised, sharp tone. One prominent example of control at Cheatham involves the cafeteria lady who patrols the tables to see who has eaten or not eaten their roll. Those who have not eaten their roll are given a short, stern lecture about eating all their food. A few weeks later when rolls are again on the menu, I notice that before serving, this same cafeteria lady asks the students if they plan on eating their roll and if they say no, they are not given a roll (FN).

While a greater discussion of control in the cafeteria will follow later in the chapter, the above examples serve to highlight the embodied control found in schools by showing how something as fundamental to the good health of the body as lunch can become a site of management and manipulation. What this chapter will highlight are the ways in which the culture of control embedded in the school day gets played out upon the bodies of the children.

Looking toward a postmodern critique of control, self-control is commonly assumed within western and Christian philosophy (e.g.: Foucault, Lyotard, Pinar, and Usher & Edwards). Control and regulation are large themes in the postmodern and feminist literature of the body as well (e.g.: Bordo, Butler, Grosz, Jaggar, Mertens, Price & Shildrick). This control and assumed self-control

always expects that a choice is possible. Schools reflect this value and uphold the tradition of control and self-control in both official and unofficial rules and discourses (Denscombe, 1985; Glasser, 1988; Kohn, 1996; McNeil, 1988). Jean Anyon (1980), referring to Bowles and Gintis, argues that students from different social class backgrounds are rewarded for classroom behaviors that "correspond to personality traits allegedly rewarded in the different occupational strata – the working classes for docility and obedience...." (p. 67).

Despite external control of entire classes or groups by teachers and other authority figures, the expectation of self-control is always presumed in adult comments and school and class rules. Self-control is a desired outcome in the many character education efforts, and both schools in this study participate in curriculum called, "Character Counts". Usher and Edwards (1994) critique this trend toward humanistic psychological monitoring of the self as nothing more than the same control enacted through and by technologies of the self rather than outwardly imposed. The dangers of this type of discipline, Usher and Edwards argue, are that people may actively accept the "truth" about themselves as given by those in control. Despite their admirable stance on self-regulation as self-knowledge, character education programs fail to nurture the opportunities to actually incorporate these notions into students' daily lives.

This chapter will begin with a section looking at how control enacted through a discourse of control as found in school rules and sayings, through peer and teacher interactions, then internalized through students' comments and actions. Throughout, I will highlight how self-control is infused throughout the

discourse of control and how the transmission of this discourse is significant to understanding the ways in which this control becomes embodied. The next section of this chapter will describe the nature of this embodied control as it gets played out on routine bodily needs such as hunger, bathroom breaks, and movement. This section will also examine contradictions as students resist the culture of control so that they are exerting control for themselves rather than despite of themselves.

I present findings that explore the contradictory space of schools where self-control is never truly allowed despite the discourse of self-control, as played out on/in the bodies of students. When control is talked about in these two schools, the expectation of self-control is always assumed by the adults when administering and discussing discipline. For the purposes of this chapter, when control is talked about, the assumption is always one of self-control as well.

Please note: Unless otherwise stated, all formal interview quotations come from the students and teachers of Cheatham. Since 99% of the students at Cheatham are African-American, only races other than African-American will be mentioned. General school issues discussed in this chapter can be also assumed as being from Cheatham. Anything pertaining to Rockwall and used for comparative purposes will be noted. Data in this chapter are referenced according to source as follows: FN=Field Notes, RN=Researcher Notes, and interview passages are notated with the individual's initials.

Discourse of Control

Usher and Edwards (1994) describe discourses as defining what can be said and thought about a given topic but also who can speak, when, where, and with what authority. Discourses are the "assumptions that allow for truth claims to be given and validated" (p. 90). In schools, the concept of discourse has been employed to highlight power structures and the exclusion and inclusion of knowledge (e.g.: Apple, Britzman, Doll, Greene, hooks, Lather, Pinar). Control in schools is a "given" practicality of education for most practitioners, but studying the discourse of control examines the assumptions, beliefs, practices, and language of the control. Therefore, control is understood as a "given" in this context, but a discourse of control seeks to understand who receives the power and voice, and who is excluded. While there are theories about the nature of control as being culturally or socio-economically driven (Apple, 1999, 1979; Denscombe, 1985; McNeil, 1988), the purpose of exploring the discourse of control at both Cheatham and Rockwall is to contextualize the focus of this study, embodied control. I do not attempt in this study to explain or discover the motivation for control at the research sites; rather I explore how this discourse of control gets embodied in the students' experiences.

The Discourse of Control through Structures

The paradox of promoting self-control while imposing external regulation is found in the structures of the school and the guidelines that are given as rules, mottos, and creed. Within this written and spoken culture, the implications abound that

the school's expectations for the education of the children rests on their shoulders and sets up the expectation of self-control.

The typical structures of the school, such as walking in line with your arms crossed, or student desks that face the front in straight rows, are designed to promote order and control. Programs such as "Character Counts" apparently equate character and control throughout their curriculum. Within this culture of character building the continual theme is self-control and can be seen in the many creeds and mottos throughout both schools.

For instance, the Cheatham School Creed is:

> I will:
>
> Do the right thing the first time; the choice is mine.
>
> Respect myself and others.
>
> Always try and do my best in all my work in academics and the arts.
>
> Generate a positive attitude day by day.
>
> Obey my teachers and all adults giving me guidance.
>
> Believe nothing is impossible; dreams become reality with work.
>
> Serve my community to build a better place for all.
>
> As a Cheatham Cheetah, I will commit myself to excellence in everything I do. (FN)

This creed in part emphasizes that students are in control of their own education, yet the actions of the teachers and students do not support this

position. Teachers give precise directions and spend a great amount of time directing or redirecting student behavior. From my observations, teachers assume complete control of learning, and students are taught to follow, not lead, in regards to their education. There is very little time given for students to achieve success if they fail at something, such as a physical education skill or math concept. Rarely are the students given the chance to exercise genuine self-control; they are constantly monitored for both behavior and learning (FN, RN). Also, seldom is the role of the school and teachers implicated in the educational process as put forth in the creeds and rules. The Rockwall creed supports the role of the student in control and learning.

> We, as students at Rockwall Elementary School, must always remember that an education is our country's best gift to us. We will be the best we can be. We will do the best we can do. We will spend our time achieving success rather than accepting failure. We will respect our teachers and our fellow students. We will be helpful to our school. We are intelligent individuals with thoughts of our own. We will try our hardest and never give up. We will strive to fulfill our creative ideas. We are open to learning new things. We know our goals are within our reach. (FN)

With "I / we will" expressions, both creeds show that the expectations of the school and authority figures are about the children controlling themselves and putting forth an effort. Looking at the school rules of Cheatham, control is also paramount.

Cheatham's school wide rules:

1. Follow the directions of the adult in charge at all times.
2. When inside, use a quiet voice and walk on the right side of the hall.
3. Keep your body and all objects to yourself; no fighting.
4. Be respectful; no teasing, cursing, or rude gestures.
5. Take care of personal and school property.

Cheatham also uses the five fingers method of reminding students to behave. When an adult wants the students' attention or to remind them of the rules, they will raise their five fingers until the students respond similarly. The five fingers signal: 1. eyes on speaker, 2. quiet, 3. be still, 4. hands free, 5. listen (FN). Using the body as part of discipline supports a notion of purposeful embodied control. This method succeeds more often than not, but a noticeable decrease in its effectiveness was seen as the year progressed (RN).

In perhaps the most obvious example of the discourse of self-control present in the schools, Mrs. Banks, an African American teacher who replaced Mrs. Garner after she left for family reasons, teaches her students a set of declarations that highlight the discourse of control and self-control. The students must write this "Declaration of Self-Control" and then repeat it back each morning along with other readings, mottos, and creeds during a morning ritual lasting approximately fifteen minutes.

My Declaration of Self-Control

1. I will be in control of myself.
2. My behavior is my responsibility.

3. I will behave in a manner that brings rewards and not penalties.
4. I am too intelligent to waste my time aimlessly.
5. I will discipline myself so others don't have to. (FN)

Mrs. Banks' rules are similar to other teachers but reinforce the notion of self-control even more. Further, the body is tied into the first three, with a strong implied prediction that students will use their body for inappropriate purposes.

Classroom rules for Mrs. Banks

1. Raise your hand to speak or to leave your seat.
2. Keep your hands, feet, and body to yourself.
3. Do not talk while teacher is talking.
4. [Do what you are asked] the first time they ask. (FN)

Mrs. Everett and Ms. Dorsey also have a class creed that reinforces the notion of students' control of themselves. It also highlights the issue of personal responsibility in stating that if self-control is not achieved, the day / attempt is wasted. The assumption in this thinking seems to be that product is more important than process.

Because I am responsible for my life and for all my actions:

I will listen

I will see

I will speak

I will feel

I will think

I will reason

I will read

I will write

I will do all these things with one purpose in mind; to do my best and not to waste this day for the day will come no more. (FN).

The priority of doing what is asked the first time is common; it is the first item in the Cheatham creed and is written on the board in numerous places (FN) and spoken frequently by the teachers. This pressure to do right the first time is placed upon the children throughout Cheatham's many creeds and rules and children were able to articulate it well in their interviews, using it often in reference to certain punishments they or others had received. The promotion to do right the first time is tied into the Character Education belief that if children exhibit self-control and do not act on impulse, they will inevitably do the right thing. It also highlights the contradiction that not doing something according to what is acceptable is wrong when research and history shows that lasting learning happens as much through failure as success (e.g.: Fosnot, Kamii, Van Manen).

More intriguing than actual rules are the assorted expressions and sayings posted throughout both Cheatham and Rockwall on walls, chalkboards, and throughout the classrooms. Meant as encouragement for their success, they still subtly remind the students of control expectations and the responsibility of the self in all aspects of their behavior, even if not speaking directly about control. Here is just a sampling of the sayings present in the two schools (FN).

Practice the life principle of self-discipline.

Your behavior is your responsibility.

Self-improvement starts with self-control.

Life is full of choices. Choose carefully.

Self-control is knowing you can but deciding you won't.

Your choice, your future, your response, your character, your life.

He that cannot obey, cannot command.

None of these sayings are dangerous by themselves, but cumulatively combined with the spoken reminders to do it right the first time and control themselves, students become a subject of control rather than a participant. As seen in the next section through comments and commands of teachers, the form of control that Cheatham and Rockwall exercise assumes children lack any form of regulation at all.

Spoken structural examples of the discourse of control are plentiful and often involve the use of the word "choice." Teachers' assumption that students control their own destiny is very clear in their spoken warnings and discipline techniques. Within the following examples, some contexts are given when important, but often the context is the same: teachers need the children to do or not do something that the teachers have decided is important to the overall well-being of that child or the class in general. These comments can be found throughout the school day.

These phrases from Ms. Dorsey exemplify the issue of choice in self-control: "This is who you are. This is how you choose to be." "You're just asking for trouble." and "Decisions that are not very smart do not need to be followed up

with other decisions that are not very smart" (FN). Not surprisingly, the child to whom this last comment was directed was clearly puzzled and never really stopped the offending behavior. Ms. Dorsey believes strongly that her children lack responsibility and control. She also often tells the students that they have made a bad decision after they have done something which she does not approve (RN).

Mrs. Everett makes comments such as "Your choice is to listen or your choice is to fail this assignment,", or after warning that, if students want to go outside, she's going to watch what they do, "Anyone who doesn't behave will not go outside for recess. It's your choice whether you get to go outside" (FN). As will be seen later in the section on movement, the students feel powerless to affect change in attitudes about going outside for recess, which is rarely given to the students. Kohn suggests these are not choices but merely a way to alleviate guilt over absolute authority (1993, 1996).

There are a few comments that remind the students of the authority of the teachers. Mrs. Weaver, the strings teacher, reminds the students of their responsibility by saying, "You're not talking while I'm talking, are you?" Mrs. Ramalada has perhaps more telling responses to the students about self-control in the classroom. She tells a student who is not studying with the rest of the class, "It's not optional. We're studying. I recall some people thought they were too smart for their pants. And did it work? I don't think so?" Another student reminds Mrs. Ramalada about lining up for lunch because of the time, and she responds "Don't be telling me what I need to know." When asked how teachers

let students know to control themselves, Roderick gets right to the point, "By yelling at them" while Portia thinks that the responsibility of self-control cannot be learned, but rather "It is something you have to do."

Discourses of control are not only promoted and mediated by teachers and other authorities, but are also enacted among the students themselves. In a later interview with Nathaniel, we see the effects of being teased on a regular basis in one child's life. Then, in one particularly illustrative example, we examine the story of Casey and his body problem, and the ways in which this problem gets constructed and used by students to control not only each other but also the body.

The Discourse of Control through Understandings

In an interview with Truman, a fifth grader, control at school is thought of as a preventative against "dumbness:"

Stacey: What do you think they are trying to teach you when they talk to you about control and self-control?

Truman: Having responsibility and being grown up.

Stacey: So, you think self-control is part of being responsible?

Truman: Yeah, not to be like, dumb all your life

Stacey: Do you think it helps or works?

Truman: Yeah.

Benton, a fourth grader, describes the control and self-control at Cheatham as being a preventative against getting in trouble.

Stacey: What's one of the things you don't like about being a student here?

Benton: Probably getting fussed at.

Stacey: Do they fuss at you a lot?

Benton: Almost every day.

Stacey: Is that just you or do a lot of students get fussed at?

Benton: Almost a lot of students.

Stacey: Why do you think they talk to you and other students so much about self control?

Benton: So we won't get in trouble.

Stacey: Why is that important do you think?

Benton: So we won't get suspended or get a citation.

Franklin, a fourth grader, thinks he needs self-control "so you can't lose your temper and get mad. You might hurt somebody or might hurt yourself." Another student, Tricia, a fourth grader, responds to the issue of control by saying that, "I think it's a good thing... being taught right from wrong."

In all of these interview passages, the students are aware of the importance of control as understood at the schools and accept it as part of the natural course of events. They seem to understand the boundary setting it is meant to create, but at the same time seem to be giving the expected answer. The students seem unable to get past the cause and effect nature of the control – if I do bad, I am not in control - and easily understand it within the dualistic discourse of right and wrong, or good and bad. Control at school is a given and

acceptable part of the day, except when other students fail to show it and cause the whole class to get in trouble. Nathaniel, a fifth grader, describes it this way: "It's a rule in my class if one person gets in trouble, everybody gets in trouble. 'Cause it's not fair to other people." When asked how that makes him feel, he reports that it makes him feel mad and frustrated. So despite the fact the rule causes him discomfort on an emotional level, he is still able to give the school / teacher rationalization for it. This highlights that students can articulate the effect of the control placed upon them in schools to both the micro issues of themselves and to the macro issues of school.

During an informal interview, Floyd, a racially mixed fourth grade male, and Omar, an Hispanic fourth grade male, discuss the aspect of everyone failing when one individual does not control him/herself.

Stacey: This is a real problem for you then, having one child ruin it for the whole class. Why do you think teachers do this?

Floyd: Because they can be a good example for the rest of the kids. They think pointing one person out will make the others learn not to do it.

Stacey: Can you give me an example?

Floyd: We don't get to go outside.

Omar: Sometimes when we're good, we get to go outside in the afternoon.

Floyd: Sometimes our graphs are filled in but then 2 or 3 will ruin it [and we don't go outside].

Floyd later brings up this issue again in his interview.

Stacey: What things don't you like about school?

Floyd: Well, sometimes we don't get to go outside too much. And sometimes, one person or two can ruin it for the whole class.

Stacey: We talked about that before, that is a bad thing. That happens a lot doesn't it?

Floyd: Yes.

Stacey: Can you give me an example of one time that happened?

Floyd: Yes. One time well we had our assignment sheets and we're supposed to get them signed. We were supposed to go outside for that [turning in their sheets]. Well, two people ruined that for the people that [had their sheets in].

Floyd goes on to describe the control issues at Cheatham in terms of proof and punishment. If the class proves they have control, students are rewarded and if they do not prove control, something gets taken away, usually recess or physical education.

Stacey: There's a lot of rules...and a lot of the teachers talk about having self control. Why do you think they talk about that?

Floyd: Because some kids, they'll stand up there and act like they're The Rock or wrestler...and teacher doesn't see it. And most of the time the reason why the teachers tell them to have self control is because they're trying to be bad, kinda like a show-off, impress other people....

Stacey: So, - self control is important...do you think the kids really know how to control themselves; most of the kids?

Floyd: Well, a little bit of them, but they act like they haven't had any self control....some of them.

Stacey: Do you think that you're given the opportunity to control yourself during the day?

Floyd: Yes.

Stacey: So you can prove that you can control yourself during the day, but a lot of kids don't prove it?

Floyd: They don't. Sometimes the teachers will take us outside for recess, some days they might, but every time we waste 75 minutes a day because we waste 15 minutes trying to get ready for every subject.

Stacey: Yeah, that happens a lot doesn't it?

Floyd: That's why [we] don't get recess most the time.

Stacey: Do you think it's this way in every class or just in your class?

Floyd: Well some other classes, maybe like third, or first or second....

Stacey: They have problems with this too? With wasting a lot of time and not being in control of yourself?

Floyd: Well, some classes can't control theirself [sic].

Stacey: But some classes can? What do you think makes the

difference? Why do some classes have better luck than others?

Floyd: Because sometimes they have like – they have better abilities, or they get them to behave... like Mr. Parson's class, he could take away one of their, like P.E. or something....

Some of the other students interviewed had some enlightening comments about the nature of control at Cheatham. Mitchell, a fourth grader, feels that learning about self-control is important because "most of the time they [teachers] be yelling and all that", but he also feels that he has not learned it. Nathaniel, a fifth grader, when asked about his role in the control issues, answers, "Behave so they can realize [I'm good] and tell people to stop messing with me." Omar, when asked about what the teachers could do to get more people in control, answers, "They can have a class for self-control."

The irony of needing a class on self-control in an environment saturated in control highlights the contradictory space of the students who hear about control and learn it on a regular basis, but are also told repeatedly that they never have achieved the form of self-control expected in school. The responses from the students show that the learning of the discourse of control has occurred and that the language of the discourse has taken hold in their understandings of self-control.

The teachers provide another perspective on control at Cheatham. Mr. Nimby, the African American physical education instructor considered by many of the students to be the meanest teacher at Cheatham, feels that teachers must be more of a disciplinarian than anything else to prepare the students for the world that awaits them. Mr. Nimby, in an unrecorded interview, considers the heavy use of control appropriate as a way to set an example of what is expected of the students by the world. Yet students resist his control at the same time because they do not always understand what he wants from them, since he sends mixed signals of expected self-control and heavily enforced external regulation (RN, FN).

Mrs. Everett and Ms. Dorsey, two white teachers working with one another in the same fourth grade classroom, discuss control issues from two different perspectives. Mrs. Everett, a more experienced teacher, links Cheatham's focus on control to the high percentage of children in poverty at this school. Ms. Dorsey attributes the control focus to circumstances of the home, but talks more about individual accountability and responsibility.

Stacey: What about the school's expectations of self-control?

Mrs. Everett: The school's expectations are pretty high, as far as self-control, but you're dealing with a cultural issue. Because with children in poverty, they're used to loud noises in the background. They're used to adults speaking to them in a loud voice. From what I've experienced in the last year and a half, if you talk to them in a soft, conversational voice, they

don't respond to you. It's very hard to get their attention. And they will not look you in the face. You almost have to turn their face to you to make sure you have some kind of eye contact. They will not give it to you. That's what the cultural expectations are. That you're loud. And it's really hard as a Caucasian teacher, not having taught in an inner-city school until recently, to get into their face and talk to them that way.

Ms. Dorsey explains control at Cheatham in a different way.

Stacey: The school talks a lot about self control and controlling. What are your thoughts about that?

Ms. Dorsey: I think that's something that should have been taught at home and now we're striving to teach it here. But you need to control your actions, you need to control your body, you need to be aware of what you're doing. Why are you three feet out of the line, right now? Because you weren't controlling your body. Irresponsibility. You need to take responsibility for your actions; it's not their mom's fault; it's not their neighbor's fault; it's their fault. And many kids don't have any sense of responsibility for their own actions. And so we're trying [articulated emphasis] to teach it here.

Interestingly, Ms. Dorsey moved easily into associating control with the body. Controlling the body is often seen in the written rules as "keeping you hands and feet to yourself" or "respecting another person's belongings and bodies."

Touching or "messing" with someone is often punished or denigrated by the teachers (RN).

Mrs. Tompkins, an African American teacher's aide who briefly took over Mrs. Garner's fifth grade class, thinks about control in the school as being necessary since she believes students do not get enough of it at home. She echoes Ms. Dorsey's comments.

> I feel that it's necessary. Cause a lot of these kids aren't getting it anywhere else. And I don't think we harp on it way too much, because if they don't get it, they're just not gonna get it. And I think every child knows exactly what's expected of them. But it's just...at home they're doing it, and they're more likely to do it at school, but I think they're doing it at home. I mean, we can't do it.

Mrs. Tompkins highlights the accepted notion that schools should nurture self-control since children do not receive that training at home. Therefore, this justifies the imposed control prevalent in this low-income school.

Dr. Mary Johnson, the principal, understands the control as a matter of safety, especially considering the neighborhood in which the school resides, and echoes Mrs. Tompkins' comments on school control as fulfilling a parental role, but alludes to the fact the control used by teachers can get harsh.

Stacey: What do you think about the supervision and control issues?

Dr. Johnson: It has to be for safety. We don't like children running around

unless we know where they are. Our area is not the worst in the city by any means, but I feel like when the children are given to me in the morning, 8:00-8:30, the parents are just really expecting me to know where every child was. I'm accountable. The minute they walk in that door, they're mine. And so I feel a real "mothership" or something. I want to know where they are, and one of our children could get into some mischief if they're not watched. We don't have a real problem with stealing, so we don't let the opportunity come up.

Stacey: Do you think the kids, there's a lot of rules, and stuff, and a lot of teachers talk about self control. Do you think that really gets through the kids or...?

Dr. Johnson: It does some. Some it will never get through. But, hopefully we're helping some see and we talk about choices, was this a good choice? What other choice could you have made? You know and they also know there are consequences. And sometimes consequences are mandated by the district, I have no say, you know. A weapon, or anything like that's brought to school then I have to separate them from the student body. I think they understand it. Most parents appreciate the strictness, now there's a harsh...there's a

> difference between harshness and strictness. And sometimes I have to be very careful and watch to make sure no one is crossing over that line. But usually the children will report it.

Dr. Johnson also brings up the notion of choice as part of self-control, which is common in character education movements. In this curriculum, a child's behavior is always a choice, despite the developmental and physical concerns that at times influences their actions and attitudes (Kohn, 1997; Leming, 1997; Lickona, 1993; Swanson, 1995). Throughout the interviews as well, the notion of control is an accepted part of the curriculum and few question its necessity. Children are assumed to lack control and therefore must be taught it. The need for students to be responsible for their own actions is especially prevalent in the teachers' comments. Through the curriculum of the school, control and self-control are embedded in rules, creeds, sayings, spoken commands, instructions, and interactions between students and teachers and among peers.

The Discourse of Control through Peer Relationship

While the topic of teasing is not original and has been studied at length (e.g.: Berry, 1985; Geffner, Loring, & Young, 2002; Olweus, 1993; Rigby, 1995; Ross, 1996; Siann, Callaghan, Glissov, Lockhart, & Rawson, 1994), children's teasing can be used as a form of peer control enacted upon the body, and as another way to reinforce the difference felt among children. Teasing at Cheatham takes the many expected forms common to schools. There is teasing

about race and whether you are mixed- or whole- blooded, teasing about academics, teasing about being friendly or mean, teasing about behavior, teasing about clothing, and there is even teasing about whether you have a pet or not. In an activity on graphing pets, one student lies about owning a pet so he will fit in and is caught in the lie by his peers, which unfortunately makes his "fitting in" problem worse (FN).

Postmodernists discuss the power of naming and labeling as a means of controlling people (Lyotard, 1984; Usher & Edwards, 1994). Lyotard called this "denotative utterances," which position the sender as knower and the addressee as having to give or withhold consent and the referent as needing correct identification (1984, p. 9). In the example of teasing, one student teases, another student agrees with the teaser, and the teasee him/herself is identified. At the same time, Lyotard also describes "perfomative utterances" as ones that have the effect of producing the referent (ibid). Both denotative and performative utterances are involved in teasing and create meaning within the interactions. When students are getting teased, they are at once identified and produced by the teasing, what Lyotard refers to as "language games." All players know the rules and participate in the game, including the person on whom the teasing is focused.

In an informal interview with Crystal, a white fifth grader at Rockwall, the topic of teasing is brought up and we talk about how it makes one feel. Crystal begins by describing that you will get teased if you are small, bad, mean, or dirty, and students can get teased "just for being who they are, if you do or say

something that people don't agree with. You can also be picked on for being wrong" (FN). What is interesting to note is the culpability of the teased in this passage. By doing or being things that are judged as mean, wrong, bad, or dirty, you can get teased, or in essence controlled by your peers in an attempt to normalize behaviors and attitudes.

Though enacted mainly through the students, teachers also participate in the language game of teasing. In one instance, Martha falls out the chair at her desk and Mrs. Tompkins makes a statement that Martha needs to "stop drinking her breakfast" which draws laughter from the class and embarrassment for Martha. In another instance, while the children are waiting for the bus to go on a field trip, Mrs. Banks notices that Monty does not have his shirt buttoned properly. She points this out to the other students by saying Monty needs to learn how to dress in order to grow up. Another male student offers to help Monty and begins to re-button the shirt until the other students begin to make exclamatory noises and homosexual jokes. Monty finishes re-buttoning himself and Mrs. Banks ignores the comments. In perhaps the most caustic example of teacher teasing, Mrs. Garner attempts to quiet down her class as they wait in the hall after lunch. Calling on Brenda, a heavy-set girl, to stop talking, Mrs. Garner tells her to "Shut those big, fat lips of yours." (FN)

Through these incidents, authority is shown to permit, support, and even model control through teasing. While not all centered on the body, the implications show both the power relationships involved in teasing and the modeling that students receive from their teachers. In the interactions between

Mrs. Garner and Brenda we see teasing applied to the body in a very damaging way. Not only was Mrs. Garner picking on a body part, there are numerous racial implications involved in a white teacher saying that to an African-American female. Teasing regarding the body was the most powerful version of denotative utterances seen at Cheatham.

While students can be teased for anything that makes them different, the majority of my observations and conversations about teasing involved the body. Aspects of the body that are the focus of teasing include: height, ethnicity, wearing glasses, your voice too high or low, teeth and facial characteristics, hair, and accents (FN). Body size characteristics such as skinny, fat, tall, short, small, are the most common form of bodily teasing and one boy, Kevin gets teased for his big head (KG). Some of the names that are used include: boney, shorty, shrimp, fatty, bucktooth, 4-eyes, nappy head, midget, and oddy body (FN).

In the following interview, a small, thin boy describes the teasing that is directed toward him and the interference into his school experiences that result. Nathaniel, a fifth grade boy, desperately wanted me to interview him, even after I had stopped observing in his class. He asked me to check my files because he thought he had turned in his permission sheet, but after I assured him I did not have it, he asked two different times for a copy and told me frequently that he would bring it back so he could interview. I assumed that he might want the time out of class, the extra attention, or even the candy I gave out to the participants. After finally getting his form back, I was able to interview Nathaniel. What follows is a candid look at the teasing this fifth grader feels and experiences every day.

By reading a large section of his interview, one can see how he accepts, negotiates, and resists the control placed on him by his peers. In the end, Nathaniel's story is told and what develops is a poignant look at teasing from a subjugated child (RN).

Stacey: What's it like to be a student here?

Nathaniel: Well, I like to be a student because I like to get an education, to get to go to high school, college or to get a scholarship and try to do my best and keep up the good work.

Stacey: What's something you don't like about being a student?

Nathaniel: Well I don't like for kids to pick on me so I can be their friend and try to be their friend as hard as I can.

Stacey: What kinds of things do you do to be a friend?

Nathaniel: Well I can participate in what they are doing, and I can keep up what they're doing and try to play if they want me to play.

Stacey: What do people pick on you about?

Nathaniel: Because I'm small.

Stacey: Are you shorter or skinnier?

Nathaniel: Skinnier.

Stacey: Okay – why do they pick on you 'cause you're skinnier?

Nathaniel: They just make fun of me.

Stacey: Do they make fun of other people who are things like too fat or too tall?

Nathaniel: Yes.

Stacey: What gets picked on the most?

Nathaniel: A boy named Dallas.

Stacey: Does he get picked on a lot?

Nathaniel; Yes...and a girl named Jasmine.

Stacey: Why does she get picked on?

Nathaniel: Other people think she can, that she can get beat up and everything.

Stacey: How does it make you feel when they pick on you?

Nathaniel: Sad.

Stacey: Makes you sad...

Nathaniel: Makes me mad, so mad I want to try to talk back to them....

Stacey: But you don't do...

Nathaniel: Get in trouble...

Stacey: You don't want to get in trouble... How often do they tease you? Every day? Once a week?

Nathaniel: Every day.

Stacey: Every day you get teased? Who teases you the most?

Nathaniel: There's a guy named Romeo, Leon, and Truman.

Stacey: Do you ever think you have more trouble in school because they tease you so much?

Nathaniel: Yes.

Stacey: 'Cause it makes you feel bad?

Nathaniel: Yes.

Stacey: How do others feel about their teasing? Like you mentioned Dallas before.

Nathaniel: I try to take up for him....

Stacey: It doesn't always work, huh? Does Dallas know what you're doing?

Nathaniel: Yes.

Stacey: So do you think Dallas gets teased a lot too?

Nathaniel: Yes.

Stacey: More than you or about the same?

Nathaniel: They call him jelly donut.

Stacey: They call him jelly donut – do you think he has...

Nathaniel: He has feelings....

Stacey: He has feelings, and it hurts his feelings a lot.

Nathaniel: Yes.

Stacey: Do you think school is worse for you because you get teased?

Nathaniel: Yes.

Stacey: Is it harder to do?

Nathaniel: Yes. Harder to concentrate. "Cause they keep on saying, "Nathaniel, Nathaniel" and keep on calling my name, and I say, "What you want," and nobody answers. While I'm doing my work they keep on saying that.

Stacey: That's too bad. Do you feel bad about them teasing you?

Nathaniel: Yes. All the time.

Stacey: Do they teach you about self control?

Nathaniel: Yes, we have some kids; it's a rule in my class if one person gets in trouble everybody gets in trouble. Cause it's not fair to other people.

Stacey: But is that fair for all the kids to get in trouble?

Nathaniel: Not fair, it's fair to them, but it's not fair to me.

Stacey: So – how does that make you feel?

Nathaniel: Mad. Frustrated.

Stacey: What do you think you could do to make that different?

Nathaniel: Behave so they, so they can realize, and tell the people to stop messing with me.

Stacey: Which is worse; being teased about your body or being teased about being clean.

Nathaniel: Body.

Stacey: People tease more about the body? What about in school in general? What kind of person gets picked on the most?

Nathaniel: Dallas. They be calling him overweight and jelly donut.

Stacey: If you could change something about yourself, what would you change?

Nathaniel: I would change - - I would try to be like Martin Luther King. Like get a right of people and to stop picking on people, messing around people, other people.

Stacey: If you could change something about your body, what would you change?

Nathaniel: My face.

Stacey: Why, what's wrong?

Nathaniel: That's the most thing they be talking about.

Stacey: They talk about your face? What's wrong with it?

Nathaniel: I don't know...

Stacey: Do you think it's true that kids'll pick on anything if it's....

Nathaniel: They tell me I need to get....if I would change anything I would change my tooth and my face. This one right here; they be saying that's a fake tooth; and it is a fake tooth. But...it's not, it's not right to talk about me, you know.

Stacey: Right. So you feel that you get picked on a lot for different things, huh?

Nathaniel: Yes.

Stacey: That makes school a rough place to be?

Nathaniel: Hard to concentrate.

Stacey: I'm sure it is. Is there anything you can do to make it different?

Nathaniel: What I can do is – tell the teacher that they messed with me. Probably be all better...

Stacey: A little – and it might be worse, too, right? Is there ever a time when you feel like your body is happy at school?

Nathaniel: Exercise.

Stacey: When you're exercising?

Nathaniel: P.E.

Stacey: And when you're out on the playground?

Nathaniel: Yes.

Stacey: When does your body feel the worst at school?

Nathaniel: Talk - - people talk about me.

Stacey: That you feel it in your body?

Nathaniel: Yes.

Stacey: Do you feel like you did something to make them tease you?

Nathaniel: Yes.

Stacey: Why do you feel like it's your fault?

Nathaniel: Probably I do something to make them do that.....

Stacey: Is that a good thing to think?

Nathaniel: No.

Stacey: Probably not. You can't change the way your body is, can you?

Nathaniel: No.

Stacey: What could you...

Nathaniel: God made this body....

Stacey: What do the teachers do about the teasing?

Nathaniel: If I like put up a fight with somebody, then they get on to me, and that person.

Stacey: Why do you fight?

Nathaniel: Because they kept on teasing me and I couldn't take it.

Stacey: Have you been teased most of your years in school?

Nathaniel: Yes.

Stacey: What about next year when you go off to middle school?

Nathaniel: They'll treat me right.

Nathaniel's interview highlights the peer control that plays out on the body. Because his body was the site of teasing, it makes sense that it would also affect the body. Nathaniel mentions the influence of the teasing on his school performance as well. While not surprising and supported in the research (Berry, 1985; Siann, Callaghan, Glissov, Lockhart, & Rawson, 1994; Olweus, 1993) it is also indicative of the role embodied control plays in the academic lives of the children. Learning is difficult when the body and emotions are being controlled and/or troubled by others.

While Nathaniel is only one child telling his story to a sympathetic ear, it is indicative of the many student discussions about the reality of teasing at Cheatham. It shapes their schools experiences and peer relationships. The teasing is not ineffectual and students feel it in/on the body and emotions. Crystal mentions that when she is teased she feels bad inside (FN) while Mitchell says that "Sometime if they be teasing me, they be getting on my nerves and I don't know what to do..." (MB).

The teasing at Cheatham causes strong emotions of anger or sadness in the victims, which in turn can create physiological responses. When asked,

many students could articulate their own emotional reactions but also the possible emotions of those who were being teased (FN, RN). For instance, Portia talks about the school being mean to people about their bodies and when asked how she thinks those people feel when they are teased about their body, she comments that it hurts their feelings and causes them to want to be alone (PC). Dr. Johnson, the principal, reinforces the notion of an emotional response and the need for instruction. "A lot of times we have to work with a child, to help them toughen up so the teasing doesn't bother them as much, because a lot of times if they can find someone to tease, they'll do it 'til that person reacts" (JM).

At Cheatham, when asked which body type gets the worst of the teasing, the unanimous response is someone who is not clean. Many of the children worry about this, and Barry proudly mentions that he showers every day. When asked why, he states that he does not want anyone to notice him (FN). Barry realizes that being clean is a way to protect himself from unwanted teasing, but not everyone has the resources or abilities to keep clean, as seen in this next situation of teasing involving Casey.

Casey is a nine-year-old African American boy in the fourth grade. He has buck teeth, and sometimes his classmates call him "Beaver." He likes people and likes to get positive attention from them. When he is engaged in conversation, his face becomes animated and his voice lively. Casey does not do well academically, but then neither do a lot of the children in his class. Every day Casey becomes the object of teasing in his classroom which serves to remind him that he is less appealing to others than his classmates. Casey's

problem is that he is dirty, or as many of the children call him, Casey is "stanky" (FN, RN).

The teasing as a form of embodied control among peers is best illustrated in the story of Casey, the boy who is not clean. Discovering the culture of cleanliness at Cheatham was unexpected and surprising. After Mrs. Cashion, the dance/drama teacher, mentions that she often brings clean socks for the children to wear in her dance class to prevent teasing over dirty clothes, I began to consider cleanliness as more than a health lesson. This began to intrigue me and was reinforced in the conversation with Barry who mentions the rightness of showering every day. Then in interviews, the importance of cleanliness as a teasable offense among peers came to light and took life through a growing understanding of Casey, considered by students and his teachers to be the most teased member of the fourth grade (RN).

One part of a poem, "A Great Somebody," that Mrs. Banks often has her children recite, foreshadows how cleanliness is constructed and eventually used to control by equating cleanliness with good character.

I am a clean somebody.

I know that if I lie down with hogs,

I can come up with mud,

So I will work to keep my mind, my body,

And my character clean. (FN)

Similar to the description in the poem, Casey is constructed by his peers as someone who does not control himself through cleanliness and therefore must

be "muddied" through their teasing. Casey's character is equated to his cleanliness and despite his best efforts to be funny and amiable with his classmates, he cannot break out of his role of dirty boy (FN, RN). Goffman (1963) discusses this as "spoiled identity" and relates stigma to relationships rather language. Goffman also asserts that stigma refers to "bodily signs designed to expose something unusual or bad about the moral status of the signifier" (p. 1). Casey's behavior and body traits are considered by the students as one characteristic.

In an interview that represents many of the other students' perspective on Casey, Theresa explains the teasing and gives her understandings of the situation while also describing Casey's reactions to the teasing.

Stacey: What physical trait will get teased the most?

Theresa: Casey.

Stacey: Casey gets teased the most – I've heard that. And he gets teased why?

Theresa: Because everyone says he has an odor, he has...They say he wears the same clothes every day, he don't brush his teeth, or take a bath.

Stacey: Why do you think he doesn't do those things?

Theresa: Because everyone say he didn't get his hair cut and he comes back the next day with the same clothes, and they say he yell too much and ...

Stacey: How does Casey react to that?

Theresa: He tell them to shut up and other times he just cusses at them.

Stacey: So he cusses at people?

Theresa: He just start getting mad and slapping and kicking and calling them names and they say he puts his breath on them just to make them mad.

Stacey: Does Casey have any friends?

Theresa: Yes. Yes, sometimes he does, sometimes not.

Stacey: When do they tease Casey?

Theresa: They tease him every once in awhile, I've seen them come out, "Oh Casey, oh Casey, gross...shut up."

In Theresa's description, Casey is controlled by his peers for his perceived cleanliness problems, but also for his behavior. It is difficult to discern if he acts out as a result of the teasing or if the teasing is a result of his behavior. Either way, Casey is being constructed in agreed upon ways through the peer interactions. A good example of Lyotard's "language games" which asserts that the rules for each of the types of utterances he describes has their own set of rules, agreed upon by the players, that are used to define and describe the speakers and listeners (Lyotard, 1984)

LeAnna, an overweight girl in Casey's class, gives a detailed view of Casey and his home life, which serves to highlight the contradictions surrounding the reasons why Casey is considered unclean.

Stacey: Who do you think gets teased the most?

LeAnna: Well, sometimes it's usually Casey cause they always say that he stinks and never takes baths....

Stacey: Do you think he stinks and doesn't take baths?

LeAnna: Yeah, I do, but I mean but I know that he takes baths, but people say that he doesn't, and he don't, he don't have anywhere to stay, but I think he does because his mom like, his mom had came. She had on like nice clean clothes, when he come to school his clothes be like all hanging off and stuff and I think that the...

Stacey: Does he live with his mom?

LeAnna: Yeah...I think he does have somewhere to stay and I think that his mom will make him take a bath, but when he, when his mom comes I think his mom is really strict on him because how she was saying when he was getting in real trouble because he played with stuff sometimes....

Stacey: You mean he played in class? Why?

LeAnna: I think he plays because no one thinks,...cause they don't care about him because no teacher, they don't treat him like they do other kids, because I don't know why they always getting on to him and if Raymond does something they don't, he'll just blame him and he'll just always getting in trouble. But, the teacher should blame both of them because she really don't know who did it.

Stacey: But she blames Casey anyway?

LeAnna: Yeah.

Stacey: Do you think being clean is an issue with other kids, too, in the school?

LeAnna: Yeah.

Stacey: Do other kids get teased for not being clean?

LeAnna: A lot of people…

LeAnna thinks that Casey has the means to keep himself and his clothes clean, but argues that since no one cares about him, not even the teachers, there is not a reason to keep himself clean. LeAnna's comments also serve to highlight the role that teachers have in modeling attitudes toward Casey. LeAnna has picked up on the fact that the teachers do not treat Casey the same as the other children, and that the students feel this gives them the justification to treat him badly.

Both Mrs. Everett and Ms. Dorsey mention Casey as the most teased boy in their class. In this conversation with Mrs. Everett we see how Casey is understood by his primary teacher who equates his cleanliness with his organizational skills.

Stacey: What are some of the issues that they're dealing with, trying to fit in?

Mrs. Everett: Most of the issues seem to be personal hygiene that keeps them from having friends.

Stacey: Well, the kids have all mentioned that you know, that

cleanliness is so important. Why do you think it's so important to them?

Mrs. Everett: Because they have to wear uniforms and it doesn't give them any identity. So they try to come up with an identity outside of, outside appearance.

Stacey: And so, another way to make hierarchy. Everyone's mentioned Casey as being the prime example – what are your feelings about that?

Mrs. Everett: I would have to agree. I have two others that I feel have the same problem. Casey seems to not have any direction; he's very disorganized, and I think a lot of it comes through in his personal appearance as well. But it seems like if you mention to him directly, hey I think it's time to take a bath or a shower, he'll kinda come through with it, and you know, appears clean for a day or two, and then it, but he has no self esteem, doesn't seem to care what the kids say...you know you smell or you're dirty or I don't want to be around you.

Stacey: How does he react to it at all?

Mrs. Everett: He does not react.

While Casey's home life was never mentioned by his teachers, the teachers were quick to point out their own responses to his situation. Casey's story demonstrates how children themselves attempt to enforce an embodied

control over their peers. Casey is forced outside the social order and must either learn to control his body by cleaning it, or must remain labeled out of control by his peers and even his teachers. Like a self-fulfilling prophecy, it is possible that Casey has become what he has been labeled, or as Lyotard would claim, he has performed what the denotations have created of him.

The discourse of control sets the context in which the students learn each day. Through various means, such as teachers' commands and explanations, written and spoken rules and creeds, and then through the actual students themselves, an embodied control is created that inscribes itself on the children. Through examples such as Nathaniel and Casey, we see how the discourse of control as enforced by their peers has diminished the positive experiences of school and the student's own self-worth.

Children's embodied experiences of control at school can also be explored through their functions and needs. These concrete examples of food, function, and physicality allow for the nature of embodied control to be understood within the context of control present at both schools. Throughout the children's experiences, the discourse of control has direct influence on the body of the children and eventually their academic and emotional lives as well.

Bodies In/Out of Control

The discourse of control so prevalent in Cheatham provides the context for the following discussion of embodied control. In this section I argue that that the discourse of control plays out in tangible, material ways upon the bodies of

the children. Often forced to ignore their own body needs, such as hunger, use of the restroom, or movement, the children either submit to the control or resist it in interesting and even imaginative ways. Control that is embodied is referred to in Foucault's Discipline and Punish (1977) as "docile bodies." Foucault asserts a "body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved" (p. 136). This would also summarize the general purposes of discipline in public schools for the mind, but as I assert, also toward the body (Dewey, 1966; Kohn. 1996). Discussing what he terms the "New Disciplines," Kohn (1996) asserts that "Some of these programs as remarkably autocratic, urging teachers to lay down the law with children and coerce them into compliance" (p. xiii).

Children are aware of and live in bodies that at times seem to take over their reality. They use their bodies in new and inventive ways everyday, yet the culture of schools focuses mainly on the brain. While schools are thought of predominantly as sites of academic, or brain-based learning, others make the case for a body-focused education as well (Armour, 1999; Nespor, 1997; Weiss, 2001; Van Manen, 1990; Williamson, 1999). The following sections on embodied control include many comments of the children themselves who feel that their body is controlled, limited, and overall not very enthusiastic about their school experiences.

Introduction to Embodied Control

Early in my study, I began asking the children what their bodies thought about school. This idea came to me after a conversation with Mrs. Everett and

Ms. Dorsey in which they interpreted the description of my study in this way. Frequently, the students would provide academic responses to the question, such as their body not liking math, or writing, or homework, etc. When, in my adult sensibility, I would clarify the idea of separating your body from your mind, a number of children had trouble separating the two (RN). Postmodern theorists suggest this dualism of the mind and body is what allows for the consideration that the mind is superior to and in control of the body, which is emotional, messy, and untrustworthy (Bordo, 1993,1997; Grumet, 1988; Hesse-Biber, 1996; Oliver & Lalik, 2000; Roland-Martin, 1986; Usher & Edwards, 1994). Later in her interview, Mrs. Everett also supports a mind-body dualism, when responding to a question regarding the school's attitude of emphasizing mind over body, by saying "I would think so, 'cause we're not addressing their bodily needs. We're strictly addressing their cognitive needs" (TE).

The issue of control and body come together explicitly in the forms of discipline that occur frequently at Cheatham. Standing with their arms outstretched to their sides for as long as 15 minutes is not uncommon, especially in the cafeteria with Mr. Nimby. The rationale behind this is preventing the students from touching and messing with something or someone else while they serve their time at the wall. Students do not like this and do try to avoid it at all costs. Many times they will blame others in the hopes that Mr. Nimby cannot punish too many at once (RN). Again the issue of bodily control is paramount to this discussion. Some other students reply during a large group discussion that the body does not like going down stairs, having the arms out, or time outs (FN).

When the issue of time outs is questioned further, someone replies that it hurts and elaborates on it as being hurtful to their heart (FN). This highlights that punishments are felt as much in the physical and emotional as the mental.

Through the discourses of control and the ways in which the body negotiates the school experience, a combined notion of embodied control begins to take shape. With the following examples of function, food, and physicality, the notion becomes more fleshed out into a practical reality that is lived and felt by elementary school students. The embodied control of schools happens at all levels, but is more insidious when enacted upon the most basic needs of the human body – the need to eat, the need to waste and replenish, and the need to move.

Functions: When A Body Needs To Do What A Body Needs To Do

This section will draw from the many instances in my field notes where students ask to go to the restroom or to get a drink of water and are refused. I will also look at hunger and how that influences the children's school experiences, which will lead to the discussion in the next section over control of food and the cafeteria. The largest discussion in this section will focus on the issue of the restroom as it serves as the most basic of bodily functions but is the most regulated in the school. Throughout this section, instances of children submitting and children resisting are present in their actions and discussions.

At the end of his interview, I asked Monty if there was anything else about his body in school that he would like me to know. What he said, while not surprising in itself, was unusual in that it came unsolicited.

Monty: It is hard being a student here.

Stacey: Why?

Monty: Because of the teachers, they don't respect you that much.

Stacey: Why? Give me an example.

Monty: If you have to use the restroom, you say "I have to use the restroom" they give you a minute to use it. And sometimes if you have to use it really bad, they don't let you.

Stacey: What happens then?

Monty: They just usually get really mad and ask for a different teacher.

Stacey: What would make this school better?

Monty: If the teachers let us have a little more room. If they let us use the bathroom. We have 3 times to use it all day, because we go right to Mr. Parson's room, we had 3 times all day. Once in the morning, once at lunch and right before we leave if we have to. And like once you use it those three times, too bad.

Stacey: Right, so if you need to go any other time…

Monty: Cause most of the kids say it's play when they go to the bathroom.

What Monty shares is a common frustration among the students regarding their ability to use the bathroom regularly. When asked in their interviews whether they had enough opportunities to do what the body needs to do, such as eat, drink, and go to the bathroom, the students gave responses that alluded to the students' inability to go the bathroom when needed. A typical example is this interview with Theresa, a fourth grader.

Stacey: Do you think you have enough chances to go to the bathroom, to get drinks of water, do those kinds of things that your body needs to do?

Theresa: Yes.

Stacey: You don't ever feel like you can't go to the bathroom when you really need to?

Theresa: I don't always feel it, but sometimes I do.

Stacey: Sometimes you do feel like that?

Theresa: Cause I really need to go to the bathroom and I can't.

Stacey: And you can't do it cause the teachers won't let you?

Theresa: Yes.

Stacey: How often do you think that happens?

Theresa: I would say every day, but....not really.

Another example that mentions other students not being able to go to the restroom when needed came during an interview with Tracy, a fourth grader.

Stacey: Do you ever feel like you have enough chances to go to the bathroom, get drinks of water....

Tracy: Yes.

Stacey: You never felt like you couldn't do it and you really needed to?

Tracy: No.

Stacey: I know sometimes other kids ask to go to the bathroom and can't, do you think they really need to go or are they just trying to get out of class?

Tracy: I think they really need to go.

Stacey: Does the teacher sometimes tell them they can't?

Tracy: Sometimes.

Stacey: How does that make them feel, do you think?

Tracy: Bad.

Both girls were reluctant to give their opinion about going to the bathroom, but from casual conversations in the bathroom with the same girls I knew it was a problem and so probed for it in my interviews. The problem of asking to go to the bathroom and not being allowed to go is overwhelmingly supported in my field notes and so was justified as a leading question during my interviews.

Throughout my field notes, I noted the numerous times that students asked to go to the restroom or get a drink of water. In both schools there was no formal bathroom policy, and decisions were left to the discretion of the teachers. On average, teachers at both schools have an organized break once a day, but might have a second break occasionally. It is important to note that I primarily observed in the upper levels, fourth and fifth grades, which at both schools were

assigned to outside portable buildings. Being outside at both schools means the outside restrooms are kept locked and only teachers have keys. So when a child asks to go to the bathroom, the teacher must either let the child unlock it or allow the child to go inside the main building. Neither option allows the level of control that teachers are comfortable with in the tightly regulated environments of both schools, as both options allow students too much freedom or give teachers too much trouble. This leads teachers to summarily refuse to allow students to go to the bathroom.

It is also important to note that not all students need to go to the bathroom when they ask. Often children ask to go to the bathroom just to alleviate the boredom or to gain a chance to move around. Much like the teachers, I had trouble discerning when children really needed to go and when they were just escaping. For the purposes of this discussion, and as the focus of the study, the role of the child is the major concern. Out of respect for their bodies, I will assume that children really did need to use the restroom when they asked.

Teachers were particular about whom they would let go to the restroom and whom they would not. Tabitha mentions this in her interview. "Well, sometimes the teacher says no and sometimes they say yes, depending on the kid" (TC). In Ms. Dorsey's and Mrs. Everett's fourth grade class, I counted from my field notes the number of times a student asks to go the bathroom and the number of times the request is refused or granted. The two teachers are about even in the number of times asked and the number of refusals. Combined, they refuse to send people to the bathroom twice as much as they allow it (FN). In

one instance, Benton asks to go to the bathroom and is told to wait. He asks again ten minutes later, but is again refused and told not to ask for the rest of the morning; he does not ask again. Ms Dorsey follows this up with the statement, "Go before you come to class. I tell you this all the time." While I never asked him if he really had to go, while watching him, I notice he is more restless and sullen than is usual for a rather happy, gregarious child (FN).

In another instance, Nathaniel asks the library teacher if he can go to the bathroom during their library time and she refuses, telling him he already had a restroom break (FN). Having been with the students the entire time, I know this is not the case and I also know there is no means by which the library teacher could have known whether the class had gotten a break. No other child asks to go to the bathroom, so I am not sure the library teacher's refusal is based on who the child is or if this is a media class rule. Either way, the teacher makes an assumption about the bathroom practices of both the child and the class. Yet this same class had not received a bathroom break the entire day and media time was in the afternoon.

Even the teachers of the actual classroom make assumptions about the students' bodies. After lunch one day, many students ask to use the restroom. Ms. Dorsey and Mrs. Everett both get upset that many children are asking and comment that the whole class went right before lunch and cannot possibly need to go so soon after, although according to the time it is one hour after lunch (FN). This leads me to wonder if children do not naturally need to go to the bathroom after they have eaten and drunk over lunch. Even more to the point, the

assumption of embodied control is that the scheduled restroom breaks are enough for all the children, and children should then self-regulate their own bodies.

In the most graphic example of embodied control of the students' need to use the restroom, I give you the story of Douglas, an Hispanic male. I spent all day with Mr. Hamilton's fourth grade class, doing everything the students did, except their actual academic work. At 9:10 A.M. we have our first bathroom break. I stand in line with the children and get in trouble for talking with the other students and am placed at the end of the line. This gives me very little time to go to the bathroom and would cause problems if I needed to do more than a minimal job of relieving myself. After the rest of the morning, I go to lunch and eat and drink before playing at recess. After getting picked up from recess, the class and I return to class and work on Reading.

At 12:45 P.M. Douglas asks to go to the restroom. He is one of the children at the back of the room and though I only experience him as a quiet child, it is obvious that louder, out-of-control children have been placed in back while the quieter, in-control children are in the first two rows. Mr. Hamilton responds to Douglas' request with an emphatic but unexplained no. Douglas responds with the common act of resistance - he adopts a pained look on his face. I do realize at this time that I also need to use the restroom, and while I can get up and leave if needed, I choose to wait with the students. At 1:00 P.M. Douglas raises his hand yet again and begins to look more uncomfortable. I begin to believe that he is not merely resisting and really needs to use the

bathroom. Some other children ask to go to the bathroom and Mr. Hamilton allows a small group from the first two rows to go, but explains to me that he can only allow a few that he can trust. He later explains that there has been a graffiti problem in the outside bathrooms and students are not supposed to use them alone. He and the other teachers have decided to only allow students to go in groups. Douglas asks again as Mr. Hamilton sends the other children and again he is told no.

At 1:10, I am sitting across the aisle and one row ahead of Douglas, but I keep an eye on him, half out of curiosity and half because I empathize with him. I seem to not be able to think of anything besides my own need to use the restroom and know Douglas feels the same. As I watch Douglas, it is obvious from his squirming and half-sitting position that he really needs to go. I also notice that at this point he is holding his penis with one hand. He sees me watching him and gives me look of desperation, but I am unable to do more than smile back.

At 1:15 P.M. the class and I leave for the library. In my adult role, I have forced myself to not think about going to the restroom, aware of my ability to leave if needed. However, Douglas does not have the option of leaving, but seems to have done as I did, as most adults can do, forced himself to wait. At 1:50 P.M., after our trip to the library, the class and I get our bathroom break. Since I am usually at the back of the line, I use my adult privilege to use the teacher's bathroom quicker while the rest of the class uses the student's

restrooms. As I get in line I make eye contact with Douglas and we both smile at each other. We are proud we made it without an accident. (FN)

This incident, while graphic in its implications, shows how the discourse of control can play out on the body at its most vulnerable. While the school assumes self-control throughout the discourse of control, students are not even allowed to control their most basic body function. Is it possible to have self-control in a meta-physical sense when physical needs are not met? Even Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Baron, 1998) makes it is impossible to ignore the fact that Douglas had no chance that afternoon to exercise any higher-order thinking or academic learning because of his preoccupation with one of his most basic bodily functions.

However, what is more striking is how Douglas's subjugation of the body is internalized (Grosz, 1995). According to Foucault (1977), our bodies are trained, shaped, and impressed through the organization and regulation of the time, space, and movements of our daily lives to be self-regulating. Bourdieu (1977) has said that such practices as table manners and bathroom habits are culture as "made body" (p.94). Schools, with their discourse of control, allow the subjugation of bodies to not only become culturally significant to students, but also promote self-regulation as the only option. Douglas had to self-regulate as the embodied control of the school allowed for nothing else. He could not run out of the room without approval. He could not persuade Mr. Hamilton to let him go and there were no other adults with authority to whom he could plead his case.

He was forced to internalize, subjecting his own needs to the greater obligation of control.

Other instances of the control of bodily functions include the numerous times children ask to get drinks of water. Even with a fountain in the classroom, there are many times when students are refused permission. While refusing permission at certain times of instruction seems reasonable, what is difficult are the number of times children are working independently and are still prohibited from getting a drink (FN). LeAnna resists this one day and brings a water bottle to school and spends the day sipping from it until a teacher finally notices and tells her to put it away. Another time, Hannah asks to get a drink and the teacher tells her no. A little while later, she gets up and gets a drink without permission. Ms. Dorsey sees this and makes Hannah apologize to the whole class for her misbehavior. While waiting in the hallway, I observe a special education teacher escorting a girl down the hall and when the student stops to get a drink, the teacher tells her, "Come on Donna, You have to ask before you stop for drinks and stuff." I ask Monty about the water situation in his room, as their water fountain is broken, and he replies, "We don't [drink much water]. We just drink the milk at lunch and hope we don't get thirsty" (MA).

These instances involving water brings the discussion back to embodied control and how it limits one of the most basic rights of a person – the right to fresh water. Another consideration is that a natural outcome of the increase of diabetes and blood sugar problems among minorities and low-income students, is a rise in the need to go to the bathroom and drink water (Cowley, 2000; Dietz,

1998; Johnson-Down, O'Loughlin, Koski, & Gray-Donald, 1997). In this instance, embodied control can also have serious medical consequences. In these instances, I also am struck by an apparent lack of respect toward the children while schools continue to expect respect from the children

Also of interest during this conversation is the issue of hunger. Floyd gives an insightful answer when questioned about hunger.

Stacey: Do you think, that kids are getting hungry between breakfast and lunch and lunch and when they leave?

Floyd: Well, well sometimes some of us get hungry in our class before lunch.

Stacey: How does that make you feel when you get hungry?

Floyd: Well, it makes you feel real tired, to the point you can't work a little bit. You want to take like a little rest...

When questioned during interviews, students would often report that they would get hungry during the day. This led to a discussion about the food that is brought to school, but that is examined in the next section. What is of interest is that the students resort to sneaking food into the school as much to satisfy hunger as to do something illegal. In this instance, their biological need for food does not go unmet, but is filled less than adequately through lunch and breakfast. However, if the children are getting hungry between meals, they are forced to self-control as the school promotes, or resist through means that are against the rules. Embodied control of bodily functions serves to regulate the student body as a whole and as an individual.

A final look at this issue of controlling body functions in school shows how hunger and eating, an event of great importance to children who report lunch as their favorite time of the day, can be trivialized in the discourse of control. In a poem called "Thomas Jefferson's Decalogue" which Mrs. Banks has her students recite, there is a stanza that reads, "Pride costs more than hunger, thirst and cold. We never repent of having eaten too little" (FN). Equating their basic body functions with pride, a concept discouraged in Western Christian tradition, serves to highlight how even basic body functions are demeaned and de-emphasized in the every day reality of school children's lives. Children's bodies are an organic machine that needs maintenance and routine care. In the next section, the fueling of the machine also becomes a site of embodied control.

Food: It Does a Body Good

Students report lunch as their favorite part of the day and the only possibility of "real space" for them to interact with their friends and peers (FN, RN). However, I wonder how they can feel this way when I observe lunch being so tightly supervised. On any given day, teachers monitor continually by walking the aisles. They punish students for talking above a whisper or acting inappropriately by making the students wait for their lunch or even taking the food away after they have gotten it. Further, they will call a "no talking zone" on an almost daily basis throughout lunch. Under this cloud of stress, inconvenience, and discomfort the students "enjoy" their lunch.

Each day children come through the lunch line and attempt to eat what is served them. Most of the children at Cheatham report in their interviews that they eat most to all of their lunch on average. One or two in each class will bring a lunch, but this is unusual since 99% of them are eligible for free or reduced lunch. Often it is a treat from their parent. The best treat at lunch is when a parent brings a fast food lunch to school for the child. Every other child will comment and gaze longingly at the food from such places as Burger King, KFC, and Hardee's (RN, FN).

The cafeteria remains a place for researchers to study nutrition and eating practices (O'Neil & Nicklas, 2002; Pricola, 2001; van Assema, Martens, Ruiter, & Brug, 2001) and space and architectural issues (Holloway, 1996; Larsen, 2001;). Fast food outlets are adding to the fare served in secondary school cafeterias (Brockett, 1998; Morse, 1998) and some are even being taken over completely by fast food when schools close down their cafeterias for financial and labor reasons (MacDonald's takes over, 1992). The only book about the cafeteria for educators, You Don't Have to Dread Cafeteria Duty: A Guide to Surviving Lunchroom, Recess, Bus, and 'Other Duties As Assigned' (Novak & Strohmer, 1998), provides advice to teachers about the "dreaded" cafeteria and highlights the negative connotation teachers have toward the cafeteria. For students, however, the cafeteria represents the possibility of freedom from restrictions, social space, and the end of hunger. This tension between the teachers' expectations of control and the students' desires for freedom and real space is what drives the conflict during the lunch time.

The following sections will describe and analyze the tension between control and freedom, first by providing the context of lunchtime, and then by examining control issues found in the cafeteria. Following that, a look at food issues, both in and out of the cafeteria, will provide a glimpse into the essential body function of hunger, and the embodied control of the schools.

Lunchtime Context

Children enter the cafeteria in alphabetical order and wait in line while they are served their food on Styrofoam trays. Cafeteria workers may ask if they want pre-measured containers of condiments or if they want something that has been deemed optional, such as bread, vegetable sticks, or dessert. Once their tray is handed to them and the cashier has entered their code into the computer by scanning a bar code on a sheet, the children pick up a carton of milk and head to a table. A teacher on duty directs them to where they are to go, and students sit down on the hard, stool-like chairs that are attached to fold-up tables. There are no students asking other students to sit by them. They must sit in alphabetical order, so their only hope for interesting lunch companions besides their classmates depends on which class will sit across the table from them. About half-way through their lunch, the fifth grade classes have to get up and move to make room for the kindergartners since the teachers believe older children should not mix with the younger children (RN, FN).

The lunchroom experiences for children at Cheatham and Rockwall differ from each other, but have many of the same problems. Rockwall has recess

included in their lunchtime, so children are usually consuming their food quickly to have more time on the playground. The teachers support this policy of eating quickly because they must watch their own children in the lunchroom until they go out to the playground. If there is a delay in eating caused by inappropriate behavior, the students will usually lose eating time, not recess, since that is really the teacher's lunch break. Often the children have not finished their lunch but are forced to throw the remainder away or tuck what is portable, such as their dessert or bread, in their pocket (RN, FN).

The time issue in eating is the opposite at Cheatham, where the students are not given recess, and the lunch period lasts thirty minutes. This enables the classroom teachers to get their full break. This full half-hour is spent eating and waiting. Quiet conversation is allowed, but is often stopped altogether once too many students arrive in the cafeteria, for then the noise escalates as the children need to talk louder to be heard. Many times, the students enter and the cafeteria is already on a "no talking zone" which means they will have to eat and not talk for the whole thirty minutes, unless a teacher relents (RN & FN).

The principal, Mary Johnson, discusses the time issue at Cheatham in her interview and recognizes the problems of eating without talking.

> Dr. Johnson: I think it's a little long. One of the problems is the teachers, by contract, have to have a 30-minute lunch; duty free lunch. And so the children you know, we're on 30-minute segments in the cafeteria. I would prefer that after 20 minutes they could go outside with a monitor. We tried that

> and the supervisors just did not like it at all. One reason they felt like there need to be more of them, and I just don't have that many assistants to do that. The lunch itself... again you have different monitors in there. Our rule is supposed to be they can talk softly, once they get just totally out of control then you can go to 'no-talking.' But I found sometimes it's the mood of the teacher that day as to what level of talking they will allow. And I've also run into the problem where the teacher, the lead teacher in there, has a different philosophy about talking than the assistants. And the assistants are in there every day. So we're probably louder than some cafeterias and quieter than others. It just depends...I personally don't like to eat without talking so I know the children need that time to talk as long as they're talking softly to their neighbor.

Dr. Johnson is frequently in the cafeteria and usually stops to talk with students or even to eat with them. Interestingly, the control issues between students and teachers are rarely evident when she is in there (RN).

Lunchtime Control

Listening to the interviews of Cheatham students that were conducted on the cafeteria/auditorium stage during lunch periods, it becomes clear that another data set emerges as the voices of the teachers monitoring the cafeteria are

picked up in the background. At times, the voices of the teachers drown out the participants' answers. During my interview with Truman, one teacher can be heard sternly yelling at the students with phrases such as, "First Grade, Come here. Right here. Sit down here." "You four boys are going to be quiet today if I have to put you in the four corners." "First grade, no talking. Do not make me tell you again." "I don't want to hear any voices. If I hear you talking, I will put you out in the hallway for the rest of lunch." "I said no talking." "Troy, put your head down and do not touch that table." "Your behavior is showing that you cannot be trusted." "You're not choosing the appropriate behavior." All these commands happened in the space of less than ten minutes (TG).

The above phrases are just a sampling of how teachers exert control in the cafeteria. A favorite device at both schools is the "no talking zone." Once enacted, students are not allowed to talk unless they raise their hand. The ban can be lifted, but this rarely happens. However, the students have discovered creative ways around a no talking zone. Hand signals are a common way to silently communicate, as well as mouthing of words, and actions done under the table, such as hitting, kicking, and passing of items (FN). This resistance to authority is not unusual, but what is striking is the acceptance of the situation to such an extent that the students practice their non-verbal communication during unstructured class times for the express purpose of being able to communicate at lunch (FN).

Each day, students also wonder if they are going to get in trouble on the individual level. A few, like Mitchell, Raymond, Roderick, and Casey, usually

plan on getting in trouble. Often when I was in line with students I would ask students to describe lunch and many, including the four boys, would mention the possibility of getting in trouble (RN, FN). If they get in trouble, they will usually have to stand against the wall with their arms outstretched, a favorite punishment of Mr. Nimby. One such time, after getting in trouble for talking, all four boys, Mitchell, Raymond, Roderick, and Casey were told to place their trays on the stage and stand at the front with their arms outstretched until the rest of their class was finished eating. This punishment lasted ten minutes, until Mr. Nimby relented with a lecture on doing right the first time (FN). Another favorite punishment of Mr. Nimby is to force a class to empty their trays early. Usually, the timing is such that most of the students have finished and the reason is so the students can return to their table to put their heads down for the rest of the period (FN).

One incident was extreme, even for Mr. Nimby. Leon, a fifth grader who eats all his lunch and sometimes begs food from other people, gets into trouble for playing rock/paper/scissors with Benton. When caught by Mr. Nimby, Leon is told that since he must be finished with his food, he should throw his tray away. Leon protests that he is not done, but Mr. Nimby does not relent and Leon loses about half of his lunch. When asked later about the incident, Leon reports that this is not the first time (FN).

Mr. Parson, a fifth grade teacher, is another strict enforcer in the cafeteria. Both Mr. Parson and Mr. Nimby were in the military and both are considered by the students to be the meanest teachers to monitor the cafeteria. At times, the

two teachers will begin to yell in tandem, almost a call and response, which is reminiscent of military-style leadership (FN). Their discipline gets more immediate results than others, but they are also the only male teachers to monitor the cafeteria (RN). The female teachers usually use threats, call no talking zones, or report the misbehavior of the students to Mr. Nimby, who then punishes them in his customary style (FN).

Control in the cafeteria is exerted through the surveillance technique of constant movement on the part of the monitors. Teachers never sit down, and move through the rows of tables continually, talking to students and monitoring their behavior. There is little opportunity for student misbehavior to go undetected. Usually there are two teachers in the cafeteria at a time, although more float in and out as the lunchtime progresses (FN).

Supporting Foucault's notion of schools as environments of total control and surveillance, it is clear where the power relationships lie in the cafeteria (1977, 1980). The existence of the students in the cafeteria could easily be equated to prison life, and Foucault's panopticon, and as the students discuss the reality of cafeteria life in their interviews, it becomes more apparent just what a confining space the cafeteria really is.

The comments given by the students about the cafeteria describe their feelings while the yelling and punishing goes on. Only a few point to the necessity or deservedness of the punishment (CM, TG), while the rest respond to the emotion they feel when the punishments are given. When asked if the no talking zones were fair, Tricia responds, "Well, no not really. 'Cause I think you

should talk in the cafeteria 'cause you don't get to talk too much otherwise" (TT). Roderick admits to not liking the yelling because it makes him feel mad and eventually not hungry (RW). Theresa, when asked about the fairness of the cafeteria, mentions getting disciplined at times for something she and her friends don't even do, and the boredom of the cafeteria.

Theresa: 'Cause we go up [to the cafeteria line] and we tries to be talking with our hands and they yell at you for putting your hands where the tray gets put on.

Stacey: They yell at you for putting your hands on the part where you slide your tray on?

Theresa: Yes. It's too hot, or it's cold.....

Stacey: What about when teachers tell you to go on quiet zone and you're just sitting there.

Theresa: We sitting there getting bored because it's time to talk and we be whispering and we can't talk even though we're supposed to be allowed to whisper.

Shawn echoes Theresa, mentioning standing at the wall with arms outstretched, and then when asked if this is fair, emphatically shouts, "No!" (SB).

Nathaniel states that he feels embarrassed about the yelling. When asked why, he responds in relation to his empathy for others getting punished.

Nathaniel: Because that makes me think if....I try to put myself in his shoes, or his or her shoes, and if I was, if I was him or her, I would say I feel embarrassed....to just let them talk about

me cause that makes me think that my momma, my grandma, my daddy, didn't teach me enough respect (NG).

Nathaniel's comments allow a glimpse at the self-regulation the students feel they do not achieve. In perhaps the most telling statement, Anita, a fourth grader, answers about the yelling, "Makes me feel like I just don't have no voice" (AB).

The teachers interviewed expressed concern about the control in the cafeteria, but felt helpless to do anything that might jeopardize the lunch periods of the teachers (TE, CD, JM). The custodian, Mr. Smith, mentions the lunch hour in a casual conversation, saying that school needs to leave them alone and let them talk since it's their only time to enjoy themselves (FN). Mrs. Tompkins, the fifth grade teacher's aide, was the most supportive of the children's position, championing their cause in words the students would share. She is a monitor in the cafeteria almost every day, but the students never mention her as being one of the mean teachers.

Stacey: What are your feelings about the lunchtime, the half-hour....

Tompkins: I think that's ridiculous. I think that it should be longer and it should be a time to eat and a time to socialize. The school doesn't want them to talk here, doesn't want them to talk there, and I think they need fun sometimes, and I think they need like 10-15 minutes just for socializing. The half-hour is ample time to eat...but at other times I think they should

> have some release time, and I think that's why we have so many children acting out cause they don't have that time... They don't get to talk here, they're expected to be quiet in line, in the classroom, in the lunchroom, and you're thinking, When can the kids really let go?

The students leave the cafeteria apparently unfulfilled on many levels. They have not had any release from the control and monitoring of the school day and no variety in the physicality of sitting and paying attention. Except for the creativity needed to resist the surveillance, even their minds have not been given a break from the routine. What should be a respite in their experiences of sameness is really just more of the same.

Food In and Out of the Cafeteria

When driving into the parking lot of Cheatham, stacked boxes that bear the markings of government subsidized food surround the back door of the cafeteria. The boxes are ever-present throughout the school year, a constant reminder of who goes to school here. Rockwall, on the other hand, is served from a central kitchen with food that seems marginally better in taste, substance, and texture to the researcher (RN). It is apparent by watching the trays as they get thrown away, that the students eat more of their food at Cheatham than they do at Rockwall. The differences in the schools are also reflected in the sack lunches. While Cheatham has no more than one child per class eating a sack lunch, Rockwall averages about six per class. At Cheatham, some teachers buy

the lunch and many order a salad in the morning, which is never available to the students. At Rockwall, teachers are never seen eating the cafeteria food (FN).

While all Memorial City elementary schools are on the same menu, there are a variety of ways that schools can supplement the menu. Rockwall had a salad bar the year before this study, but had chosen not to offer it this year due to lack of interest the year before. Other schools will offer for-purchase snack food, and Rockwall does have a sweetened fruit juice machine in the cafeteria, which the students use frequently (FN). At both schools, it is not uncommon to bring food from home to supplement the school lunch, allowing students a chance to gain more nutrition and variety, but also a chance to be popular among the students if they are willing to share.

The students discuss the food in the cafeteria in terms of what is liked and not liked. Students at Cheatham talk about the main dish more than any other part of the meal, including the dessert, and most agree that even if they do not like the rest of the food, they will usually eat at least the main dish to get through the rest of the day. Typical main dishes that are liked include pizza, tacos, nachos, chili mac, and cheeseburgers – all dishes that commonly have more appeal to children. Foods that are not liked include spaghetti, most of the vegetables, macaroni and cheese, soups of all kinds, and the very-hated baked potatoes. Despite the fact that the potato entrée includes toppings such as ham, cheese, sour cream, and butter, the students I asked are unanimous in their dislike of the potatoes (FN).

When asked to rate how much food they eat in terms of all, most, half, some, or not at all, the students at Cheatham tend to eat most to all of it. When asked if they felt that breakfast was enough to last until lunch and if lunch was enough to last until dinner, the votes were more evenly split between the two, although hunger was mentioned as being a motivator to eat most of their food. The overall opinion of the food is also split evenly between those who think it is okay and those who think the food is bad. Some mention that the food at school is better than the alternative, which is not eating.

When discussing the cafeteria, the students seem to be more mature in their thinking about the practicalities of needing to eat and not having much in the way of choices, though some students choose to bring a sack lunch despite being eligible for free and reduced lunches. A few bring up quality issues and mention that sometimes the food is burnt, mushy, or cooked wrong, and some even had suggestions for improving the menu with additions like steak, fried chicken, or pork chops. The noticeable lack of good meat is evident, even to the children. One comment has a more telling implication. Courtney, a first grader begins to eat her pears with pink goo and says, "I'm starting to like this stuff" (FN). Courtney's comment highlights the student's eventual acceptance of inadequate food as status quo in their lives.

A few incidents highlight what happens when students are unable to get lunch or have a mishap with food, illustrating the notion of embodied control. Mr. Parson, reminding the students to be careful with their soup, tells them that if they spill, they will have to eat a bowl of cereal. Leon replies, "That's cool. I'd

rather have cereal than that stuff we eat for lunch" (FN). Another time, Casey is unable to pay for his lunch and the staff gives him a peanut butter and syrup sandwich. Casey plays around with it, but never eats it because he does not like it. Some of the teachers tell him to eat it or he will get hungry for the rest of the day; they blame him for forgetting his money. The custodian, Mr. Smith, brings an unwrapped burrito to Casey so he can eat something he likes, but Ms. Dorsey takes it away from him and tells him that he does not deserve to eat since he forgot his money. Mr. Smith goes back to the trashcans, looking frustrated and sad that he cannot do anything about it. Casey never does eat the sandwich (FN).

The above scenario highlights the embodied control in the cafeteria and provides an example of how the lack of self-control is used as justification for punishment. Casey was punished with food for his inability to follow directions and remember his money. Now Casey must continue the day without having met a basic human need, food. While most students eat most to all of their food at lunch, some still report getting hungry during the day. Finding ways to meet this need shows students' inventive thinking and highlights students' resistance to control in the cafeteria and their resistance to the regulation of their bodies.

Food eaten outside the cafeteria is common and found often throughout the day. Candy is the favorite food to bring and the easiest to sneak. Teachers often notice and tell the child to throw it away, but do not wait to see if they actually throw it away. Most children do not. The teachers realize this is a problem, but also know that the candy actually does work as a tool to keep them

quiet (FN). Students are adept at keeping the candy in their mouths during dance and P.E despite the hazards, although Kevin does choke on his candy one day, to no harm (FN).

Students are quite often proud of what they have, eager to show and share with their friends. Marlene, a new fifth grader, shows me her collection of candy, given to her by her foster mother, and offers me a piece (FN). At the start of the interviews, I would offer students candy and snacks, and most of the students would put the candy in their pocket for later. I would later see them share, or at least show it around to their friends, usually not in the cafeteria (RN). When asked in the interview about the food floating around the classroom, most students deny its existence until I mention seeing it with other students quite frequently. We then shift to "them" terminology and the students readily admit that there are many ways to bring and keep food into the school, including pockets, backpacks, purses, lunch bags, and keeping it in their desks. An illicit food trading program exists as almost a subculture in both schools and serves to illustrate how children will "self-control" their experiences in what the authority of the schools would deem inappropriate.

Besides candy, other foods are equally valuable in the trading program of the students. The commodity with the most trading value that enables the giver to receive the admiration of all is the snack item, Hot Cheetos (FN). Students often have bags stuffed into their coats for lunch, or into their desks and bags for class (FN, RN). Another popular item is Kool-Aid powder, which is eaten in a candy-like style. A few students report that cookies and chips are the other main

sneakable and tradeable foods, although the valuable Hot Cheetos are always at the top of the list.

When asked why students sneak food into school, the common response summarized into, "Because they can." Some students admit through their interviews that hunger drives many to bring food, but the ability to "do it to get away with it" and resist control is ever-present in their conversations. Tabitha and Tracy, fourth graders, are more direct. They both admit people bring food because "it's fun" and "kids just want to have fun with it" (TC,TL). Brenda has the most truthful and direct response of all the students. "'Cause us kids in here, we like candy" (BD).

Food used as a reward is common. In line for lunch, two first graders at Rockwall proudly show me their sodas, explaining that they received them for good behavior in class (FN). Candy is also given as a reward with instructions to only eat it at lunch, although even the teachers realize that it would be hard for a child to wait until lunch (RN). Many of the classes at both Rockwall and Cheatham schedule class trips to restaurants as rewards. According to the teachers, only half of the students end up going because of behavior problems (FN). During one informal conversation with a fourth grade class, memories of past class parties and the food that was involved, especially any brought by a teacher, was discussed with great detail and longing (FN). Food plays an important role in the school for not only the students, but for the teachers as well.

Teachers did not necessarily model food rules for their students, and quite often have food both in the cafeteria and in the classroom. During lunchtime,

teachers on duty sometimes send someone to the nearby fast food restaurant and eat this lunch while walking around the cafeteria monitoring (FN). At times, teachers also bring food to the classroom or eat something they bring to school at their desks while the students work (FN). While telling the students to control themselves in all things, even body functions like hunger, the teachers demonstrate the irrationality of actually controlling hunger by their own inability to control themselves.

Every student and teacher desires a lunch break, yet the teachers "dread" it and children at times leave more stressed than when they came (RN). While the literature worries about nutrition and structural design (Holloway, 1996; Larsen, 2001; O'Neil & Nicklas, 2002; Pricola, 2001; van Assema, Martens, Ruiter, & Brug, 2001), the students are forced to eat food they do not like and behave as if they are not social beings. Even the principal admits to needing to talk while she eats, yet the cafeteria goes to a "no talking zone" more often than not. Students are forced to sneak food so they do not go hungry while watching their teachers eat fast-food in front of them on a regular basis. While respect is demanded of the children, it seems a total lack of respect to take food away from a hungry child that might not get more food for the rest of the day. Schools should not expect what they do not model for the children.

The cafeteria is regulated so that the "real" child does not get out-of-control. The discourse of control has allowed an embodied control of the only child-friendly space of the school day. Thought of as a way to teach the children self-control, the discipline in the cafeteria actually results in even worse behavior

after the children return to the classroom (TE, CD, RN). When asked about recess, the teachers explain that the students would just get more out of control when they return to the class room if recess were part of the day (FN) yet the teachers complain that the students are out-of-control when they return from lunch (FN). A look at movement issues as a necessary body function provides a last example of embodied control of the elementary school child.

Physicality: Moving through the School Day

The embodied control found at Cheatham also manifests itself in the containment of their physical bodies. The lack of recess and the children's comments on the lack of movement will be explored in this section. Children are controlled physically at Cheatham by a lack of recess. Mrs. Everett mentions that when they take students out to recess, they lose most of the afternoon trying to get them quiet again (FN). Recess becomes the locus of control and is often mentioned by the students as being a reward that is often taken away when it is promised.

This section will look at the issue of movement in the school and how the students long and wish for more of it. It will look at the space issues in general and how many students really do fit into a room that is approximately 20'X25'. It will also look at the students' comments regarding the need of real space to be a child and hang out with friends. Students feel stressed about this lack of movement and space and indicate its effect on their school experiences. I will

also look at the resistance used by students so movement is still incorporated into their school day.

Throughout my time at both Cheatham and Rockwall, I asked children what their bodies thought about school. Throughout these responses, the children allude frequently to the lack of movement in the school day. This lead me to inquire into movement and body functions as it became apparent this is what bothered the students. It is important to note that all the interviews were conducted at Cheatham, which eliminated a formal recess after lunch. A few comments from children at Rockwall are noted.

When asked what his body likes about school, one student responds that his body likes lunch but does not always like what they serve. The same student comments that his body likes P.E. but does not like homework (FN). During a conversation over lunch with a group of second graders at Rockwall where recess is still given, the round of responses includes: "It's sad because this is my first year here;" "It wants to stand up more;" "The body wants to learn more;" and "We sit down too much;" "It likes playing" (FN) and from some fourth graders come comments about the environment: "It's too warm or cold here" and about the physicality of learning, "My hand likes writing but it gets tired" (FN). The most telling response for this question came from Kayla, a second grader at Rockwall who responded, "We sit too much. My body wants to go wild sometimes" (FN). Through these responses the desire to move more is understood.

Tracy, a fourth grade girl at Cheatham, provides a typical response to this question in the interviews. Quite often, I would have to restate the question in

terms of what the body likes and dislikes about school. In Tracy's responses, we see the way that academics and body issues are both "felt" experiences of schooling.

Stacey: If your body was different from your mind, what would your body think about school?

Tracy: It probably wouldn't like it.

Stacey: What wouldn't it like about it?

Tracy: Probably the... the kids are too loud.

Stacey: The kids are too loud, are they disturbing?

Tracy: Yes.

Stacey: When does your body feel the best at school?

Tracy: When you're doing math.

Stacey: When you're doing math! Your body feels good about math? Why does it feel good about math?

Tracy: I like math.

Stacey: You like math - - you're good at it?

Tracy: Yes.

Stacey: Well, that's good. When does your body feel the worst at school?

Tracy: On a rainy day, we can't go outside.

Stacey: And that's when it doesn't feel good?

Tracy: Yes.

Stacey: When is your body the happiest – what makes it the happiest besides math....what about your body?

Tracy: When I'm with my family....

Other interviews give a more positive response to the original question of what the body thinks about school, but once the questions turn to like and dislike, the responses again become academically and physically interchangeable. Also seen are the beginnings of the problem of lack of movement in the school day. In a response from Monty, a white fifth grade boy, we see no difference between the academic times and the specials (P.E., music, dance/drama, art). A constant theme throughout the conversations with children was the role the specials played in their day. Specials were always discussed in a positive light, except for the occasional complaint that P.E was too rigorous.

Stacey: What does your body think about school? Does it like it?

Monty: It thinks it's all right.

Stacey: What kinds of things does it like about school?

Monty: Math, science, social studies, English, stuff like that.

Stacey: That is stuff your mind likes about school though, what about your body?

Monty: PE, jazz band, violin.

Stacey: When does your body feel the best at school?

Monty: When we're at recess, cause it gets to move around.

Stacey: When does your body feel the worst?

Monty: Sitting at desks taking tests.

The following response from Benton, a fourth grade male, returns to the notion that movement is predominant in the minds of children.

Stacey: What does your body think about school? If it was separate from your mind, what would it think about school?

Benton: It's probably a good thing to do instead of not going to school.

Stacey: So school's better than staying at home doing nothing?

Benton: Yeah.

Stacey: When does your body feel the best at school?

Benton: When I get to move around.

Stacey: When does your body feel the worst?

Benton: When I got to stay in my seat.

One interesting and positive comment comes from Portia about school and her body. She responds to the role her body plays in getting her to school.

Stacey: What does your body think about school? What does it like?

Portia: It likes it. It wakes me up in the morning, cause I am trying to get up. I don't know...that's all.

Stacey: What does your body not like about school?

Portia: Nothing.

When the questions turn to feeling good and bad, the answers almost unanimously become centered on movement for the best and academics for the worst. Here is a sampling of answers:

Stacey: When does you body feel best at schools?

Answers: Outside. (KG)

When it gets to move around. (SB)

My body likes P.E. I like exercising and stuff. (TG)

Exercising. (NG)

When you're doing something fun. (MB)

Playing a game, like kick the ball. (OP)

When I run and play. (TC)

When I go home. (TW)

It always feel good after I eat lunch. (TS)

When I run. (FJ)

I think my body likes to read and write. (AB)

The implications for movement in schools resound through the answers these children give. When asked about moving, most report that it happens infrequently except for P.E and then some report that even that is limited by space, time, and behavior considerations. Dance and drama class is rarely mentioned due to its relatively new inclusion in the school curriculum and the fact that they only attend once a week, though from informal conversations they seem to like it.

Looking toward the answers about what the body does not like about school, the lack of movement in schools remains a primary concern, but there are a few variances. A few students report that at times they will feel sick and still have to stay in school. Some sample answers include:

Stacey: When does your body feel the worst at school?

Answers: When I have to stay in a position for, like, hours. (OP)

When we have been working all day. (MB)

Because you gotta do work all the time. (KG)

When I have to stay at my chair. (SB)

I would have to say when I'm in class. (SM).

Sometimes in P.E. when the whole class gets in trouble and we spread our arms out. (TS)

When you gotta do a lot of work. (TW)

When I'm real sick. (LR)

Talk – People talk about me. (NG)

Through this survey of answers, the students mostly mention the work done in the class and the issue of not moving. Surprisingly, the complaints were more generic about the issue of movement, or lack there of, during the day. Considering the number of things that occur during the day, I expected to hear more concrete answers like Theresa (TS) who mentions a punishment commonly handed out by Mr. Nimby in P.E. and during lunch that involves standing with your arms outstretched for long periods of time.

Recess has been taken out of the lunch period at Cheatham. Dr. Johnson explains.

Stacey: Could you explain the recess situation?

Johnson: If the teacher wants to take the class out and build her schedule around it, I don't have a problem with that. My only

> rule is, if you take your children out you are responsible. This means if you have squabble or something, you handle it. Because the first of the year when we got our new equipment we started having a lot of bickering, a lot of arguing, that would go right back into the classroom. Then I'd get referrals, all afternoon. So I talked with the teachers and told them that if like if I had to write a referral up, then that class could not go out for a week because they had to learn to get a long, and work out their problems without me having to step in the middle. So a lot of classes use it as a reward. Others go out regularly as long as the weather is nice. My first graders usually go out twice a day. It just depends on, the teacher, and sometimes, like I said it's a reward. The children can earn it. If the weather gets nicer, they'll go out more in the spring. The first of the school year, I think they're feeling a lot of pressure on getting the subjects taught, then after testing they feel a little relieved.

The issue of recess is more than just movement. It incorporates issues of space that allows the students to be "real" with other students and have downtime from the school day. I bring up this issue in some informal conversations with students who respond that there is no time during the day that allows them to be "real" children (FN). Ms. Dorsey is the only teacher to respond to personal

space in the classroom and the issue of recess as necessary, yet she also justifies the lack of recess due to the children's behavior.

Stacey: What are your thoughts about the kids having any kind of "real" spaces where they're "real" kids?

Dorsey: Not in our classroom. In our classroom that's an absolute lack. And we've tried, letting them go out more often, but they're unmanageable half an hour before they go out, they're unmanageable an half an hour after they get back and they're not completing enough school work to have ever earned it in the first place. We have about 6-7 kids that if we had recess every day would be out! Every day! And the rest would be back in the class doing their work anyway. But no, they don't have a lot of free time, and that's a problem.

Ms. Dorsey's comments highlight the issue that movement is earned and only available if deserved by the students. Recess and movement is not considered a best practice or a right of the children.

The issue of personal space is beyond the scope of this study, but it was brought up by students such as Monty, Tracy, Nathaniel, and Franklin who realize their lack of real-ness in school is felt. Often the issue of the dress code is what started the conversation as students feel the dress code deprives them of individuality. One of the primary places that personal space is given is on the playground during recess and Connor points out that the recess, if they had it,

would be their only free time (CM). Along with personal space, actual physical space is also a problem at Cheatham and Rockwall.

As I walk into any of classrooms in the portable buildings at both schools, the size of the rooms and the number of children within them are noticeable. In a potable building outside Cheatham, Ms. Dorsey and Mrs. Everett's room has 28 – 30 student desks and 2 teachers' desks. The teacher area of the classroom takes up almost a quarter of the room and leaves on aisle in the back from the door to the teachers' desk area and one aisle up the middle. There is another aisle at the front of the desks where the whiteboard is, which contains a podium and two empty student desks that the teachers use to hold papers and books. It is a crowded and uncomfortable room for me as a visitor. I am forced to sit in the back at a computer table that is part of the teachers' area. I can only move to other places when children are gone. Ms. Dorsey offers me a comfortable chair, but I am left with little space on the computer table to write (RN). At times, I wonder that if I am uncomfortable in this situation as a visitor, how much more are the children suffering in the confined space? As the class and I sit for as much as two to three hours at a time, I am also empathetic to the need to move, yet know there is no hope for movement until lunch of the end of the day.

Cheatham is overcrowded and most classes are larger than the district and state prescribed 22 students and well above Memorial City's advertised average of 20.5 students per classroom (Kid-friendly, 2002). The typical student desk is 2' by 2' with a variable height that schools and do not change and chairs that are not attached. At Rockwall, I began my observations by visiting all

classrooms in grades 3-5 and found only one fifth grade room that used tables, although a few classrooms did arrange the desks into groups. At Cheatham, none of the third-fifth grades used tables, and only one had the desks arranged in anything other than rows (RN, FN).

Kevin is a good example of how space and physicality play out as embodied control. A large boy, approximately five feet tall with a large frame, he comments that he is often teased about his large head (KG). When he sits at his desk, he is forced because of his size to sit with his legs to one side. Kevin's teacher, Mrs. Everett describes his physicality.

Mrs. Everett: He's a big boy. He's a little bit overweight, but not significantly. I think he'll grow into his size.

Stacey: I wonder though if he had struggled – he keeps his legs to the side a lot and I've wondered if it was because he just had trouble getting his legs...

Mrs. Everett: Right, he can't fit under the desk, the desks aren't adequately sized for him.

While Mrs. Everett is aware of Kevin's desk problem, I once notice that as Kevin waits to leave for his special education class, he has his legs and feet in the aisle and Mrs. Everett tells him to put them under his desk even though he is unable. I also notice that as he is working, he often pushes the desk away from him so he can stretch his legs in front of him (FN). Kevin is just one example of how embodied control plays out in the space problems of the school as the close environment and lack of movement play out in the classroom.

In Dorsey and Everett's room, 28 children sit on hard plastic chairs for as long as 2 – 3 hours at a time. It is a loud room with a constant noise and activity level (FN). Someone is always talking or moving and it is easy to see a direct correlation between an increase in movement and noise with the length of time spent in their seats or on an assignment (FN). Continually in my field notes are observations about the children moving about the room, getting in trouble on purpose so they can go sit in the back on the floor next to the teacher's desk, and apparently finding any excuse to move (FN). In this class, it is almost as if their bodies force them to move, as if there is too much controlled and contained energy for them to do anything but move.

Everett and Dorsey's class goes to special the first period of the day and returns at approximately 9:20 after a bathroom break. The rest of the morning is spent doing seat work from worksheets and textbooks until lunch, which comes between 11:45 and 12:00, depending on the teachers' duty schedule. Some students leave for part of the morning for special education or a reading supplemental class. The rest of the children, about two-thirds of the class, must sit through the remainder of the morning doing reading, math and spelling. Language arts and science/social studies, again mired in worksheets and textbooks comes in the afternoon. Except for movement to reading groups and the occasional non-text based activity, there is usually no other sanctioned movement on any given day.

Mrs. Everett discusses the problems related to the lack of movement but also points out the lack of real options she perceives in the situation.

Everett: I think it's a lot more body movement in that classroom, and I think that a lot of it has to do with the fact that we don't have the space, the physical space. We don't have recess every day. We all go out to recess once a week, and that's primarily because of academics in the day; trying to get everything in. We've limited their recess to once a week, and because we had so much restrictions on their physical movement from place to place, you're in line, you're one behind the other; supposed to have arms folded to keep from touching...I think it restricts their movement so when they get in the classroom, they have trouble sitting for any length of time. They fall on the floor, they look for excuses to get up and down, and move.

Stacey: Is there any way you've thought about combating that?

Everett: I don't see how with the time constraint and the pull-outs that we have, I do know they get P.E. twice a week and dance once a week so that's three, three days that they have structured physical activity. But with the requirements for academics I don't see how we can pull them for 20 minutes every day, for a recess time.

Stacey: You wonder how that affects them.

Everett: I think it does. Especially it seems like in the afternoons. They get more restless, more movement, because they've

had their pullout first thing in the morning. And then they have to go from two and a half hours sometimes in the afternoon without any change, they're just in there. And with our space confinement, we can't get up and do any group activities or projects. They just can't handle it.

Mrs. Everett mentions in the above conversation that students are creative in excuses to move. Routine needs such as blowing your nose, throwing something away, getting something from your backpack, and getting paper are common strategies to move (FN). These excuses are the only and best source of resistance the students are able to utilize each day in order to move. Perhaps the most interesting excuse serves multiple functions for the children. It serves a practical function, a social function, and a physical function. It is the ritual of sharpening the pencil.

Many times throughout the day, children have an overwhelming "need" to sharpen their pencil. Their full-length pencil becomes a stub by the end of the day (FN). After mentioning the pencil sharpener ritual to Dr. Johnson, the principal, she seriously recommends it as a topic for another dissertation. Ms. Dorsey discusses the issue of the pencil sharpener: "The pencil sharpener is where kids congregate to hatch some trouble. It's really a place to go talk for fun. When kids are at the pencil sharpener something's gonna happen" (CD).

One interesting incident shows an interesting contradiction of control and academics. Ms. Dorsey realizes that Elijah has spent too much time at the pencil sharpener and takes his pencil away, telling him to "Get busy and do you

work" (FN). As far as I can tell, Elijah has no more pencils. Not surprisingly, Elijah says nothing in response and uses this event as a reason not to do his work, although he gets his paper and book out. Connor, one of the boys in Ms. Everett/Dorsey's class, mentions the pencil sharpener as being popular because "Sometimes we go up there to talk and play around and walk around" (CM).

The pencil sharpener serves as a site of resistance to the embodied control of movement in the schools. Since there is little actual chance to move, the students are inventive in their resistance and the pencil sharpener serves as the most justifiable reason to move. The lack of movement is a constant theme to the students' discussions of school. While children have a special class every day, with three days in movement through P.E. and Dance/Drama, the children say it is not enough. Looking at the responses of the children highlights the frustration and immobility the children feel.

In an interview, Monty responds that his previous school was better. When I ask him why, he responds, "They let us go outside every day, 'cause they respected us and let us stretch our legs and everything. They let us draw, they didn't control us" (MA). Monty talks as before about the lack of respect he feels when they control his body. Tracy also equates their lack of recess with bad manners when comparing Cheatham to her old school. "It's like more ruder because in my old school every time after lunch we used to go outside and if it was like rainy, we would have playtime in the classroom" (TL).

Monty goes on to give this example of the physical reality of sitting every day: "You wanna run around because your legs are sore but they don't let you.

You don't get recess, so you don't have any time to get fresh air and get your legs moving" (MA). Monty brings up the idea of stretching his legs. When talk turns to going outside, the natural assumption is a recess break, but the students themselves would appreciate just moving in any form. Floyd mentions that he "would want to get up and I would like to go outside just to move" (FI). Vanessa, a fourth grader agrees. "My body likes to move around a lot but it doesn't have a chance here [at school]" (VJ).

Connor mentions that he has trouble learning because he gets up and moves too much (CM). This statement is reflective of the discourse of control found at the school and education in general, that control is necessary for good academics to occur (Denscombe, 1985; Glasser, 1988; McNeil, 1988).

One interesting lesson highlights the joy students find in moving during an active lesson. As mentioned, Mrs. Dorsey teaches math and had an activity where the students graph the number of different types of pets they own. At first, Mrs. Dorsey has the children ask the students around them while still seated at the desk. After a few minutes she lets the students get up and wander the room asking others about their pets. The expressions immediately change into looks of excitement and enthusiasm as all the children participate. In any other normal math lesson, only one-half to three-fourths would participate, but in this instance, there was 100% involvement (FN, RN). After the lesson, the tenor of the class is much calmer as less talking and movement is observed. This highlights the value of participatory styles of instruction on the body, a subject that has yet to be utilized much in everyday classrooms. When participatory styles of instruction

are mentioned, the expected results are better behavior, but not calmer bodies (Glasser, 1988; Kohn, 1996). Yet often, the students become calmer after a lesson that involved more freedom (FN). I also noticed that at times when conversation and interactions of a more personal nature were allowed, such as a conversation about movies and wrestling in Mrs. Banks class, the students were much calmer the rest of the morning (FN).

Physicality at school needs to be addressed beyond constructs of Physical Education and exercise for health. Physicality at school is about respecting the bodies of children and giving their bodies an outlet much like we give outlets for emotions and talents. Teacher concerns about getting children back under control after time on the playground is not supported in the observations of personal space and movement. The obvious fact remains, if no organized time of movement exists, children will find a way.

Embodied Control: Concluding Thoughts

In a contradictory turn, embodied control of function, food, and the physicality of students develops the same behavior problems that teachers wish to avoid, as seen in the example of the pencil sharpener, the bringing in of food, the secret language of the lunchroom, and even their misbehavior for a punishment that involved moving. When their physical needs are not met, the students will find ways to control their bodies themselves. While schools promote self-control, students' appropriate self-control in the form of resistance

for their own purposes and the result is still in contention with the discourse of control.

Teachers fail to recognize the discourse of control and assume that the culture is appropriate for the children, given their backgrounds. Not one teacher interviewed, even when the discourse of control is mentioned, is critical of it. The assumption that learning to control oneself is appropriate for growth into adulthood is not questioned and control of the body is constantly equated with good behavior and eventually necessary for what is perceived to be an adult disposition.

Looking back to Glasser's choice theory (1988), when the children's basic needs of survival, belonging, power, fun, and freedom are not being met, children will loose interest in school and disengage. Looking at the above examples where children are not allowed freedom to negotiate their body functions, have little freedom to talk and have fun – be students – on a regular basis, and no power over movement and their own physicality, student behavior can be expected to "out-of-control," but only by the definition of those in control. To the students, they are actually pursuing control for themselves.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: EMBODIED ENDINGS AND BEGINNINGS

Bodies have been treated, until recently,
as the excess baggage of pedagogy.
-Erica McWilliam (1999)

I sit next to Romeo, a fifth grader, who is actively concentrating on trying to copy a picture of Frankenstein that is on the wall. He is very precise in his drawing with frequent erasures and re-draws. Mrs. Garner tells him he could be doing something better and recommends studying for a test or reading a book, despite the fact that he is done with the assignment. Romeo gets something out but goes back to his drawing after a few moments (FN). Romeo is absorbed with his drawing and is done with the lesson of the moment, so I wonder why not let him do something that pleasures his mind and body, instead of something that will only bore him and cause him to get in trouble?

Erica McWilliam, in Pedagogical Pleasures (1999), describes the classroom as "some body teaching some body" (p. 107) and writes that when the body is taken out of the classroom, much of the pleasure of education is also removed. She goes on to say that the body in school has been carefully managed to either enhance or to avoid distracting from mental effort. Despite this, McWilliam asserts that a "recovery of the importance of the body" is underway and the body is being re-theorized.

In this chapter, I will summarize the findings and compare them to the original research focus. After defining the implications from this study according to research, theory, and policy and applying the issue of "pedagogy of the body" to the conclusions discussed (Shapiro, 1999), I will look toward the future of research about the body in schools.

Summary of Findings

Throughout data collection, the culture of control in schools, and most notably the discourse of control, were ever-present in the daily lives of the children. Day after day, I found myself looking forward to lunch, not only because I grew hungry during the morning, and even bored at times, but also because I was eager to have some down-time with the children to enjoy myself and learn more about their school experiences. Every day I marched to the cafeteria with my chosen class and was routinely disappointed about my eventual experiences; every day I left disappointed that I did not receive the quality time I had hoped for and felt unfulfilled as a researcher, as a friend of children, and as a person.

The children express a similar frustration with the school and the discourse of control that shapes their everyday experiences. Throughout the discourse found in the schools, the assumption that misbehavior is inevitable and must be diverted before it even happens is much like the notion of self-fulfilling prophecy. It seems that the more what they deem as misbehavior is expected by those in authority, the more likely they are to receive what they expected.

Inherent in the conversation regarding the discourse of control is the contradiction of expected self-control but the lack of agency to actually enact it. Children are repeatedly reminded that the choice to behave is their own and that if they have self-control the choice would be made for them, and it would be the right one. While a supposed "choice" is offered, it is also taken away from the children through the almost omnipresent culture of control evident in every space of the school.

The discourse of control gets played out in the interactions between adults and children, but also through the relationships of peers who use teasing as a way to control each other by labeling, modeling the control seen at the adult level who label children easily. Through teasing, children are given a place by others where resistance is difficult to attain. In the instance of Nathaniel, the consequences of teasing are seen and felt as he explains the effects of constant teasing.

While the discourse of control creates an environment that devalues the autonomy of the children to make an authentic choice, the culture of control plays out on and through the bodies of the children. Many of the rules and codes of conduct found in the discourse of control position the body as a site of behavior concern, and frequently mention actual control of body parts, such as hands, feet, and mouths. More striking than use of the body in control is the way control is knowingly and unknowingly forced upon the body of the students.

While self-control is advocated by those in authority, there is little actual self-control over even the most basic of body functions such as relieving yourself

and assuaging hunger. Children attempt to resist the control and exert a measure of agency that goes against teacher expectations. Control of the body is also felt in spaces where the body should have some freedom, such as the cafeteria and the playground, and leaves children feeling physically oppressed.

Children in this study were aware of their physical bodies as inseparable from their minds. When asked to discuss what their bodies thought about school, answers referred to both body and mind interchangeably. When their mind was happy, their body was content, and vice-versa. Control of mind, body, or spirit, cannot help but affect each other, and as control of the body increases, discontent of the mind and spirit was evident as well.

Research Focus

The research focus of this study involves embodied control in elementary school children. It sought to answer how the elementary body experiences school. Through the entire study, the voices of children report that they do not enjoy school physically and wish it to be different. The body in schools seemed to be neglected at all levels of the curriculum and the organizational structure of school, except for the minimal attention given in physical education class. Classroom teachers were especially unmindful of the role the body plays in learning, which leads to an examination of the second ancillary question involving curriculum, school personnel, and peers influence the control of the schools.

Throughout the curriculum, the body is considered secondary to the mind except when a healthy body is considered conducive to mental health. This is

seen throughout the "Healthy Lifestyles" curriculum used at both Cheatham and Rockwall which states as a purpose, "Good health is essential to effective living and learning" (Coordinated School Health Resources, p. 3). Health concerns are only a priority when they interfere with the "real purpose" of schools, knowledge acquisition. School personnel, as well as the children themselves, accept the reality that the purpose of schools focus on minds not bodies.

A third ancillary focus is the contradiction found throughout the study of expected self-control in an environment that gives the children no agency to actually enact self-control. A culture of control, especially at Cheatham, is indicative of urban schools that serve predominantly lower class African Americans. As seen in the comments of the teachers, the consensus is that families are failing to produce the "right amount of control" in the students, so it falls to the schools to produce it in the students. Schools are increasingly adopting a parental role (deMarrais and LeCompte, 1995) and a lack of control is easily associated with bad parenting. While espousing self-control, as seen throughout the research, it is rarely authentically allowed to develop in the students.

Conclusions

In this section, I will look at the contradiction of control as found in the schools' expectation of self-control. This contradiction is inherent in the discipline strategies and attitudes found in both schools and stems from assumptions regarding the culture of the children. I will also explore the embodied control as

indicative of the apathy of the teachers and the need of schools and society to construct docile bodies as preparation for adulthood.

When the schools teach self-control, they assume it is both desirable and attainable. As mentioned previously, Usher and Edwards (1998) discuss the apparent applaudibilty of students taking responsibility for themselves as being deceptive. Through self-regulation students come to believe that what they are is entirely of their own making and that what they are educationally as well as personally reflects truth about themselves. When mistakes or failure happen, the students then have only themselves to blame.

Usher and Edwards (1998) suggest that the discourse of self-control present in schools is an unconscious attempt to shift blame for the failure of schools to meet the needs of less-privileged students. Rejecting the social implications in favor of the personal allows for socio-economic and racial realities to remain unquestioned. Usher and Edwards critique this trend toward self-regulation as a form of secret policing, indicting self-control and imposed regulation as merely mirror images of each other.

Also missing in this discussion of self-control is which behaviors are considered in need of control and which are not. When self-control is taught, it contains norming assumptions regarding acceptable behavior. For instance, self-control for one teacher might involve not allowing movement in the classroom during a lesson while other teachers may allow free movement. Few classrooms incorporated any extra-curricular movement at Cheatham while

movement at Rockwall was seen occasionally in classrooms. All self-control expectations are not equal.

Inherent in the discussion of self-control is the nature of the self. Individualism is part Western/Judeo-Christian tradition and remains the ideal of democracy. Responsibility for the self is common and punishment when the self does wrong is expected. What the students reacted to is when this policy is not adhered to and children are punished for other children's misbehavior. The contradiction was easily applied to the children because they were powerless to change and justified the teachers' academic expectations of the students. This highlights the possible manipulation found in teaching of self-control.

Children at urban schools are predominantly African American with a low socio-economic status. Literature suggests that they are the least represented group in education but the most controlled (e.g.: Apple, Delpit, deMarrais & LeCompte, McLaren, Noddings), due in part to society's continued priority to produce acceptable – i.e.: white, middle class - behaviors from the marginalized. As society, and especially children, continue to be deemed "out-of-control" by those who influence public thought, the need to control those who do not fall into majority classification will intensify. In this case, cultural hegemony in schools is found in regulatory practices.

Also iInherent in this discussion is the way race influences the way control is taught and thought about in the school. Cheatham was especially centered on race as 90% of its students were African – American and on free/reduced lunch while only two of its certified teachers were African American. Lisa Delpit (1995)

discusses the stereotypical ways in which black children are viewed by their white teachers and the need to understand them within their own culture. Ladson-Billings (1994) stresses the value of culturally relevant classrooms and leading children toward personal empowerment. What Delpit and Ladson-Billings advocate could not be further from the reality found at Cheatham. Teachers at Cheatham continue to teach with the misconceptions that what is missing at home needs to be corrected in school. The culture of control present at Cheatham is a direct result of the perception, by mostly white teachers, that the mostly black children's lives are out-of-control and therefore more control is needed to compensate. Controlling the body serves to control behavior.

Teachers in this study are seen through the perceptions of the students. The initial task of this study was to allow the children's voices to be heard with little focus on the teacher. This leads to teachers as seemingly mean and uncaring of the plight of the students' bodies. The few teachers I interviewed were aware of the physicality of the children but saw it as something that must be controlled for the purposes of academic learning. I did not question this further as the teachers were not the focus of the study. A further look at teacher perceptions of the children's bodies, along with teachers' own bodily control could provide another understanding about bodies in school that is missing in this study.

One of the agreed-upon purposes of schools also is to prepare children for adulthood. Responsibilities of work, citizenship, and social interests are considered important to their overall training. Most notably for those in the lower

classes is the need to produce future blue-collar workers that are controlled and compliant. Schools serve as agents to generate such workers, predominately among lower socio-economic status children (Anyon, 1980). Creating a "docile body," as Foucault explains, produces a person who is subjugated and ready to be molded into something else (1977), in this case a submissive worker.

The body is part of the whole child and while schools allow for a rhetorical understanding of it, the actual physical experiences of students remain unheard. Ignoring the body in schools can only decrease the effectiveness of instruction, learning, and value of the educational experiences of children. While society concerns itself with the social and academic lives of children, few trouble about the body. As this study points out, when the needs of the body are ignored and embodied control becomes a daily reality, children resist in ways not conducive to learning anyway. An added body-focus can only help, not hinder, the whole child who comes to school wanting more than just knowledge and control. It might even liberate students from teachers' expectations, which can be limiting or confining.

Implications

This study was designed to investigate the relatively unknown. It serves as a case study of one school in particular, with comparisons to another. The data given and analysis performed is not intended to be generalizable to any and all similar situations. Rather, the data already presented, and implications set forth in the following sections, allow for some transferability to similar situations,

give insight into an embodied reality, and provide a foundation for further research on the corporeality of schools.

Policy and Practical Suggestions

Bodies are a natural part of the child. To separate mind from body is unnatural, but children have difficulty resisting the construction of the body as unnecessary to learning. Inclusion of the body in the curriculum, beyond that of physical education, is an obvious starting point. Along with inclusionary practice, policy also needs to reflect a body-focus unseen to this point.

Inclusion of the body is possible beyond physical education. At Cheatham, where performing arts is part of its mission as a magnet school, dance and drama were a once-per-week special class. The dance and drama teacher was actually a physical education teacher in her first year. She had little formal curriculum to follow and included more dance than drama. The students had little to report about dance/drama except as an opportunity to move. The class' status as only a once-per-week special, with P.E. and visual arts twice-per-week, decreased its effectiveness with the children. It also served as an extra-curricular activity with little to no connection to classroom learning. If the class were an integral part of the regular classroom curriculum, it might serve as a more effective source of physical activity for the children.

The same possibility exists for the Cheatham students' physical education program. Most P.E. classes amounted to rote calisthenics and some type of circle game to accommodate the lack of space in the "cafetornasium." On the

few occasions that the children were able to go outside, the amount of time available allowed for limited game playing. This class was also accompanied by Mr. Nimby's excessive discipline, as described earlier, and therefore often accomplished little actual physical activity.

While celebrities work to raise money for more musical and visual arts – undeniably a worthy endeavor – there is also a need to be more cognizant of the needs of the body. Drama, dance, sports, and expressive forms of performance are all areas that schools could include more regularly within the daily curriculum. In the case of Dorsey and Everett's class, their specials were the first thing in the morning, so it was possible for children to receive no physical movement after 9:30, except for the walk to and from lunch. With 28 children in a classroom only a little bigger than the average living room, it seemed so obvious that movement was necessary for the general welfare of the children, yet the teachers felt powerless to change in the face of academic pressure.

Mrs. Everett was especially concerned that by allowing children time to move, she was losing valuable academic time. While she felt comfortable giving time on the playground, she felt time was lost once the students returned to the classroom. While common sense dictates that she would actually get more effective learning from the students if they were allowed time on the playground, the concern of Mrs. Everett and other teachers could be alleviated with a daily mandated recess time. While inconvenient to both teachers and administrators, the physical effects of not having recess for the students are too great to ignore.

If a mandated recess is not feasible, there are other possibilities that teachers themselves need to consider. Academics are not best learned by rote memorization and skill-and-drill practices and more integrated, inquiry-based learning is possible, even in urban settings (e.g.: Delpit, hooks, Kamii, Kohn, McWilliam, Noddings, Shapiro). Research supports less traditional teaching styles as academically viable despite the fears of those who support and instigate the current culture of standards and testing. Many of these practices, such as inquiry-based learning and constructivism, include body-friendly pedagogy. If teachers are given autonomy to teach their students, not prepare them for tests, the body might be included in regular classroom practices.

There is one formal pedagogy that is articulated concerning the body. Sherry Shapiro, in Pedagogy and the Politics of the Body: A Critical Praxis (1999), describes a mostly postmodern theoretical approach to the body that discusses knowledge production and questions what is legitimized. Drawing also from critical and feminist critiques of current educational practices, Shapiro would have the body/subject be the focus of education. Students in Shapiro's vision of a pedagogy of the body come to see themselves, and in particular their body, as socially constructed and then are taught personal empowerment and liberation. Throughout this curriculum, the body is subject not object. While Shapiro focuses on dance education throughout, she highlights the possibility of first freeing the body from the restrictions of oppressive educational practices which in turn will liberate the mind and soul as well.

Peter McLaren also discusses the inclusion of the body in pedagogy in his article, "Schooling the Postmodern Body: Critical Pedagogy and the Politics of Enfleshment" (1991). His asserts, much like Shapiro, that the body's subjectivity be explored for the capitalistic distortions that have been applied to it and that the purpose of critical pedagogy would be to remake the body historically. McLaren also asserts that when the body is emancipated from cultural ascriptions, the whole person is also liberated.

The body serves as a site of oppression in schools but also can serve as a site of liberation. If educational policies allow for liberatory practices, the body will share in the emancipation of the whole child. A body-focused pedagogy should not only serve the purposes of acknowledging the body, but serve to possibly give schools a different approach to educating children overall. Children deserve an education that values and respects everything about them, including their bodies.

Theoretical Suggestions

Throughout this study, I draw from a critical-feminist perspective to examine how children are made to feel powerless and voiceless. The children in my study are continually made to feel that their bodies are less important than their minds and are aware of their inability to change the situation. Through events such as Douglas' need to go to the bathroom and Casey's punishment of a syrup and peanut butter sandwich while other more palatable food is available, the children's powerlessness is felt bodily as well as mentally.

Feminist theory is informed through this study by a continuation of the discussion of body issues raised by authors such as Bordo, Grosz, and Butler. Children represent a segment of society with the least agency, and feminist theory, which advocates for voice, is the natural negotiator to provide voice to children's bodies. The female body is oppressed by segments of society ranging from medicine to media and is thoroughly examined within feminist literature and a natural extension of this would include the control of children's bodies as well. Feminist theory would do well to consider embodied control as a children's issue, but also as a gendered, raced, and classed issue as well.

Embodied control in schools informs critical theory as a site of continued oppression. Critical theorists need to consider the body when discussing economic realities of society. The commodification of the body is discussed among feminists because of its gendered nature, but class and race issues are also influential sources of body subjugation. As seen at Cheatham, social class affects the quality of bodily experiences. Control in society is an issue important to critical theorists when discussing what and who is considered in need of regulation, and when impressed upon children, should be of utmost concern to critical theorists.

Postmodern theory gives analytical voice to this study as regulation of the body is a central illustration of many postmodern concepts. Embodied control informs postmodern theory as a site of meaning-making not heard from before. The body as an inscribed site continues to be explored through postmodern theory and embodied control extends the discussion to practical experience.

Postmodern theory is critiqued for not having research to support its claims, and embodied control serves to demonstrate issues of regulation, naming, and the power of discourse.

Suggestions for Future Research

Much future research is needed concerning bodies in school, control, and physicality. Embodied control would be served if examined in terms of gender, class, and race, but also at different grade levels, urban versus rural experiences, and from the perspective of organizational considerations. Like most research when it is completed, it would be helpful to take the analyzed version of embodied control back to the schools for further consideration from both actual participants and others in similar situations.

Generalized bodies in school need to be further studied, but especially those bodies that are considered and constructed as not normal. Those who deal daily with issues of weight, development, correctable imperfections, and body types outside the norm are still voiceless and, as seen with Nathaniel, in need of attention. Bodies continue to serve as a site of labeling by both children and adults, and the inherent power relationship of teasing will continue to deserve attention.

Research is needed that looks more closely at the ways in which race influence the bodily reality of children. Looking at an Afro-centric body focus in society (ie: Asante, Baldwin, Blevins-Faery) may provide implications for schools

as well. Children's bodies are culturally inscribed along with their soul and mind and awareness of the whole person is useful in both society and schools.

All bodies in schools, both children and adults, continue as a missing piece of educational research. The issues highlighted in embodied control are only illustrative of greater concerns. Respect, dignity, and esteem of children begins with such basic issues as bathroom breaks and lunchroom activity, but continues with matters more extensive, such as societal values and purposes of schools. If children's bodies are considered immaterial to the construction of the school day, what value is eventually given to students' minds and souls? If ignoring the body is common practice in schools, what else is being ignored?

Final Thoughts

This study supports and defines embodied control in schools as daily experience in the lives of elementary school children. It illustrates the complexity of control in schools by providing an indication of its integration into the curriculum. When something as basic as bodily needs are ignored and abused in schools, it begs the question of what else is ignored and abused in daily school experiences. There are numerous issues regarding the body in schools that need to be explored and understood.

The lesson from this study is that the body exists in schools and the ignore(ance) of its needs are many. Schools cannot ignore one part of the mind/body/spirit relationship without sacrificing the other two. Each deserves respect and inclusion without giving priority of one over another. Giving the body

a voice is a good beginning to fleshing out the multitude of other inequities in school.

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APPENDIX A

Parental Permission Letter

December 7, 2001

Dear Parents or Guardians:

I am a graduate student at Oklahoma State University. I am researching body image in elementary school students. I have been observing in Mrs. Jenkins' classroom for the past month and would like to interview your child about what it means to be healthy, what kinds of physical activities they are involved in, what foods they like, and what they know about eating healthy. I would interview your child one-on-one for about 25 minutes in the library. I will tape record the interview, but it will be kept private and used only for my project.

Dr. Matthews is supportive of my research and knows me well. She would be happy to answer any questions about my research that you may have. You have the right to take your child out of my study at any time if needed.

For more information on any of these topics, please feel free to contact myself, Dr. Matthews, or Dr. Martin Burlingame, (405/744-6275) my advisor. I look forward to speaking with your child.

Sincerely,
Stacey Elsasser
(405) 744-9214

PARENTS' CONSENT

I have read and understand this consent form. I give my permission for my child to be interviewed and participate in this research project concerned with body image.

Date: _____

Name of Student:

_____

Parent's Signature:

_____

Researcher's Signature:

_____

APPENDIX B

Teacher/Staff Interview Protocol

1. Tell me about this school.

2. Tell me about the students in this school.

3. What are your kids like physically at this school?
   Describe the different physical characteristics that affect their interactions in the school?
   How active are they in and out of the classroom?

4. How do the students talk about their bodies and each others' bodies?
   Do you hear kids talk about their weight?
   Can you give me some examples when students' Talked about their own or other students' weight?

5. Tell me about the overweight students and how they interact at school.
   What types of social interactions are present that are based on body types?

6. How would you define what is overweight and what is obese?
   How many are in each class?
   Why more prevalent with Af-Am kids?

7. How are health, nutrition, body image, and weight issues addressed in the classroom/ the school?
   What is the result of the focus on health?

7. What are the school's expectations about self-control and the students and how is it taught?

8. Is there any relationship between academic or behavior and body type?

9. If you could change anything about the students or their lives, what would it be?

APPENDIX C

Student Interview Protocol

1. What is like to be a student here?

2. What do you usually do after school?
   What kinds of physical activities do you like to do?
   What makes you want to be active?

3. What does a healthy person look like?
   Do you think you are healthy?
   What kinds of things can you do to be healthy?

4. What do you eat at school?
   What about the cafeteria? Do you eat it all?
   What do you bring to school to eat?
   How much junk food is floating around?

5. What does your body think about school?
   Do you ever feel like your body is controlled at school?
   When does your body feel the best/the worst at school?

6. What does it mean when a kid's body is not the right shape and size at school?
   What do the other kids say when your body is not the right shape or size?
   Tell me about a time when somebody was talked about by others because of their body?

7. Tell me what you like and don't like about yourself.
   If you could change something about your body, what would it be? Why?

APPENDIX D (IRB APPROVAL)

Oklahoma State University
Institutional Review Board

Protocol Expires: 10/10/02

Date: Friday, October 12, 2001 IRB Application No ED0222

Proposal Title: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF OVERWEIGHT CHILDREN IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Principal
Investigator(s):

Stacy Elsasser
Stillwater, OK 74078

Martin Burlingame
203 Willard
Stillwater, OK 74078

Reviewed and
Processed as: Expedited (Spec Pop)

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

Dear PI :

Your IRB application referenced above has been approved for one calendar year. Please make note of the expiration date indicated above. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Sharon Bacher, the Executive Secretary to the IRB, in 203 Whitehurst (phone: 405-744-5700, sbacher@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,

Carol Olson, Chair
Institutional Review Board

VITA 2

Stacey Lynne Elsasser

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Thesis: MY BODY WANTS TO GO WILD SOMETIMES": EMBODIED CONTROL AND THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILD

Major Field: Curriculum and Instruction

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Omaha, NE, the daughter of Kenyon and Donna Elsasser, and sister to Kimberly Nezat and Douglas Elsasser.

Education: Graduated from Central High School, Omaha, NE in 1985 Graduated from North Central University with a B.S. in Elementary Education; Received a M.S. in Curriculum and Instruction from Oklahoma State University in 1999 and completed the requirements for the Doctor of Education with a major in Curriculum and Instruction at Oklahoma State University in August 2002.

Experience: Taught third grade in Aldine I.S.D. Houston, TX; taught one-room schoolhouse on Martha's Vineyard, MA; Taught English as a Foreign Language in the People's Republic of China; taught Secondary English in Stillwater, OK.

Professional Memberships: American Educational Research Association; American Educational Studies Association; National Council of Teachers of English; American Association of Curriculum and Teaching.