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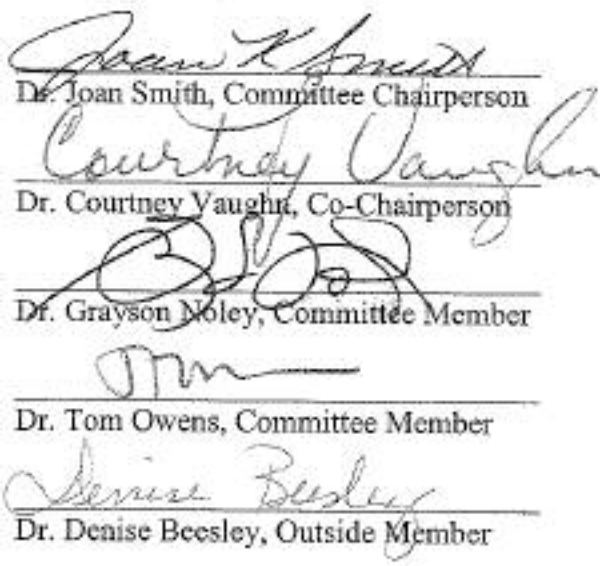
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FLESHING OUT THE VOICES: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF PHYSICAL PUNISHMENT IN SCHOOL

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND POLICY STUDIES

BY



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In celebration of love and family,

In gratitude to my husband, son, and daughter-in-law,

In honor of my mother and my professors,

And in memory of my father and brother.

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I wish to thank the five members of my doctoral Advisory Committee for the invaluable advice and the various suggestions which they offered to help guide me in the researching, organizing, and writing of my dissertation the last two years.

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Dr. Courtney Vaughn, Committee Co-Chair, sociology and phenomenology;

Dr. Grayson Noley, Department Chair, educational leadership and history;

Dr. Tom Owens, Committee Member, comparative policy and international studies;

Dr. Denise Beesley, Outside Member, educational psychology and counseling.

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lifetime's worth of philosophical inquiry and reflection into a finite number of years on this earth. As a child, his reading of his own volition the entire set of Funk and Wagnells encyclopedias from cover to cover amazed his older, adolescent sister, who thought then that she would never be able to do that much reading, ever. Loving the literary and the poetic, he would have embraced the *noetic* of phenomenological analysis. To him I re-dedicate the memory of reading aloud to him Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey," lines 120-146, at his request after he could no longer see to read.

I wish to thank, with much heartfelt gratitude, the research participants who gave their time and shared their memories on an important but personal topic. To those who have sustained corporal punishment in school, I dedicate this research in hope that it will shed light on the issue for both those who have used it and those who have received it, and for both those who have contemplated it and those who have debated it. If there had not been this problem or issue that existed in human experience, there would not have been this dissertation, and thus my desire is that this body of accumulated work will facilitate a hermeneutic look back at the issue again in search of greater understanding and awareness, enhanced enlightenment and perspective. My hope is that, by giving "voice" to the lived experiences of the research participants in this dissertation, future readers may hear some of their own "voices" reflected in the narratives and that still others will hear those perspectives and actively reflect on them, keeping in mind that "we never totally exhaust the perceptual possibilities of our experience" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 93), and thus the act of reflection is never finished. . .

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study examined school corporal punishment from a phenomenological perspective using individual interviews and oral history narrative gathered from participants by audiotape recordings. The research focused on adult perceptions of their experiences with corporal punishment as a child in school, and participants answered open-ended questions about their recollections of the past event, how it affected them when it originally occurred, and how they feel that it affects them now, if any, in the present. The purpose of the research is to gain greater understanding of the psychological effects of corporal punishment sustained in a school setting by individuals, from their perspectives as adults. Participants were adult volunteers, age 18 to 64 years old, who had experienced school corporal punishment previously.

The results of the study indicate that participants' perceptions supported the literature review on some of the short-term psychological effects of school corporal punishment. Significantly more negative than either positive or neutral outcomes were recalled. The most common theme derived from narrative transcripts of the interviews was a feeling of shame, embarrassment, or humiliation felt by the participant at the time that the corporal punishment occurred. An unexpected result or theme was a "mythology" or "lore" about rituals concerning this disciplinary practice which appeared to have fascinated the participants when they were students, even though they expressed recollections of being fearful of corporal punishment.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

The repetitive thud of thick hardwood hitting a young man's buttocks as he laid spread-eagle across the principal's steel desk jarred me in my stance just two feet from the impact. As a young teacher who just happened to be passing by in the hallway when the principal was looking for a hapless witness for a student's paddling, I was cornered, enlisted, and drafted by my administrator for a disciplinary action that I did not condone and for a student I did not know. Just as the unfortunate young man apparently had no choice in the discipline method being given, I was given no choice but to follow my superior's "orders" and stand in for the "count." With each loud, heavy whack of the principal's paddle, I jumped and winced involuntarily, and when the young man flinched repeatedly in pain, I began to feel queasy and nauseated and sickened. I felt that my sensibilities and love of children had been violated that day and that the unlucky young man had been dealt a blow to his personhood in more ways than one. Is paddling the price of admission to adulthood?

It was unforgettably my first, my last, and my only experience with witnessing corporal punishment in schools, but it had a formative impact on my philosophy of school discipline and behavior management. The "impact" of this firsthand event was in many ways much different for me than it was for the helpless young man, but it, nevertheless, affected my views on how educators should and should not treat

those who are entrusted to us in our care by their parents, other staff members, and by society at large. It also galvanized my determination to someday write about what the experience of corporal punishment does to students, even long after the smacks have ceased and the child has finally joined the ranks of adults, in my hope years later of gaining greater understanding of what they have gone through emotionally as well as physically and how their perceptions have evolved since. Since that time, I have often wondered what the experience with school corporal punishment did to the young man both at the time that it happened and now many years later. What did he think or feel when it happened? How does he think or feel about it now?

The perennial problem of corporal punishment in schools is a difficult one, but everyday in America, schoolchildren are hit and struck in the name of education. The research question guiding me in this pursuit of greater understanding of this phenomenon is: What are the psychological and emotional effects on adults later in life who have received school corporal punishment? Or, what emotional and psychological effects does childhood corporal punishment sustained in a school setting have on adults later? The research hypothesis is that most, but not all, of the adults interviewed will indicate some type of long-lasting emotional effect to some extent or degree.

"Fleshing out the voices" of human experience with corporal punishment is the purpose of this research study, in order to gather detailed, individual memories and descriptions of how that experience has affected those who were subjected to it and to gain greater awareness and insight from those recollections of an earlier

experience. It is hoped that these personal narratives and interpretations will shed light on not only *what* they experienced, but *how* they experienced and lived it then and how they perceive it and re-live it today. In doing so, this study may afford the participants a "voice" in their own experiences that they have never had before and an opportunity for them to reflect back on those and share those meanings with others.

Definitions of Term

Corporal punishment "has been a controversial issue in American education for more than a hundred years" (Flygare, 1978, p. 347). It has been defined in various ways, including "any physical contact, reasonable force, striking, paddling, or spanking" (Boonin, 1979, p. 396). It is also defined as "the use of physical force, including hitting, slapping, spanking, paddling, or the use of physical restraint or positioning which is designed to cause pain as a disciplinary measure" (*U.S. Statistics*, 2003). A similar definition from Cohen, 1984, is that corporal punishment is "a painful, intentionally inflicted (typically, by striking a child) physical penalty administered by a person in authority for disciplinary purposes" (Paintal, 2000). However, definitions of the term from a first-person phenomenological perspective are largely lacking in the literature and are one of the reasons for this research study.

The use of this pedagogical practice in the U.S. as a "means of disciplining school-children dates back to the colonial period. It has survived the transformation of primary and secondary education from the colonials' reliance on optional private arrangements to our present system of compulsory education and dependence on

public schools" (Englander, 1978, p. 530). Corporal punishment continues to remain a contentious problem for all stakeholders in American education today–parents, teachers, administrators, legislators, and policy makers–but none as personally and profoundly affected as the students themselves. A firebrand in education, corporal punishment is especially difficult for those who must endure it or witness it in the schools, and those memories and recollections do not necessarily go away when students walk out the schoolhouse door.

Historical Context

As a common law, the use of corporal punishment has been in use "since before the American Revolution" (Englander, 1978, p. 530), when many of the English settlers brought strict disciplinary practices with them. In fact, throughout its history and up until the 1980s when corporal punishment was finally banned in England in all but its private, elite schools (later banned there in 1998), Britain's state schools had been a "byword for beating and flogging" and synonymous with corporal punishment, which was the price for admission (An Historical, 2002; Text of British, 2003). "One only has to read the novels of Dickens to understand the relationship between education and child abuse as part of the historical English mind-set" (Hyman, 1990, p. 34). Corporal punishment was administered so severely in English schools, especially to schoolboys, that petitions against flogging were presented to Parliament in both 1669 and 1698, but without success (Hyman & Wise, 1979, p. 41). Girls and young children were sometimes subjected to whippings and other corporal

punishments in colonial "Dame" schools, which were private schools often run by widows or older women in their homes, as had been the custom in Dame schools back in England (Hyman & Wise, p. 47). In the 1600s with the immigration of the Puritans and other Englishmen to America, the practice of corporal punishment was an unfortunate sociological import in the colonies from the mother country.

The English colonists who arrived in New England in 1620 aboard the Mayflower and settled Plymouth Colony "brought with them certain understandings about human corporeal existence that drew upon medieval. . .and Protestant Reformation" traditions, as well as Calvinism, which placed emphasis on the spiritual connection "between body and soul" (Finch, 2000). The colonists adhered to religious beliefs which were thought to promote the "moral purity" of mind and body, such as the use of corporal punishment, and established a civil court system which "exacted corporal punishment on those who disobeyed" (Finch, 2000). To these colonists, the human body was part of an "historical religiocultural system" that philosophically viewed the body in certain ways and, subsequently, prescribed cathartic or disciplinary practices which were physically punitive (Finch, 2000).

In Colonial America, children were viewed as being born with sin in their human nature and in need of having "the devil beaten out of them" (Edwards, 1987, p. 127). "New Englanders believed it was necessary to break the will of the child to assure obedience to, in ascending order, their mother, father, government, church, and God. Corporal punishment was considered a necessary and useful part of child rearing. In fact, they believed that physical punishment was "an act of love" (Spring,

2001, p. 40). It was also an extension of their ascetic beliefs that promoted rigid self-discipline and denial of self. As early as 1645, parental use of the "rod" at home was extended to the schools as well (Edwards, 1987, p. 127). Dame schools in homes for very young children were run similarly in the colonies to those back in England, with the use of a rod or "long round stick" (Hyman & Wise, 1979, pp. 50-51).

Puritan beliefs about child rearing and schooling were based in part on John Calvin's theology: "Children are inherently evil and must be trained rigorously in developing good habits. Education is to be a complete regimentation of the child to suppress his evil nature and build good living and thinking," and this educational philosophy included physical punishment (Hyman & Wise, 1979, p. 95). Another Puritan perspective on corporal punishment in the 1600s and 1700s included these beliefs:

> Children were taught that, by disobeying their parents, they were forcing God to condemn them to eternal death. . .By using strict discipline, the Puritans felt that they could give their children salvation. If disobedient, children were whipped in public and forced to make public confessions at meetings. . . Matters such as the rights of children were never considered. (Forehand & McKinney, 1993, p. 222)

However, not everyone in the colonies was in agreement with such harsh disciplinary measures. The Quakers led a movement in the late 1600s against the use of corporal punishment, especially in Pennsylvania and New Jersey (Dammer, 2002).

"Quakers were not so inclined to view children as essentially depraved and therefore did not see so much need to govern them by fear of God and authority" (Hyman & Wise, p. 96). They felt that children were incapable of "sin" until the age or 11 or 12 and needed love, patience, and guidance. For these reasons, Quakers usually used rewards and positive reinforcement rather than physical punishments in training their children (Roe, 2000; Hyman & Wise, 1979, p. 96). In 1796, Quaker school overseers recommended teachers "make the use of the Rod in a good degree unnecessary, and will induce the children to love and respect rather than to fear" (Hyman & Wise, p. 96). With long-standing Quaker influence, New Jersey in 1867 would later become the first state to ban corporal punishment in schools (States, 2004). Ironically today, however, the state of Pennsylvania has still not banned corporal punishment, despite its original Quaker influence.

The Puritan practice of corporal punishment in the 1600s onward in the American colonies can be also sharply contrasted with the opposing views of philosopher John Locke during the same time period in England. In his defining work, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), Locke proposed that children are born into the world as *tabula rasa* or blank slates and that they later become a product of their education and training. "According to Locke, the most powerful reward for children is esteem and the most powerful punishment is disgrace (as opposed to corporal punishment)" (Spring, 2001, p. 31). He advanced that it was "parental love," not physical punishment, that shapes the child's character (p. 31). To do otherwise would mean that parents were disciplining their children with

"violence, revenge, and cruelty" (Greven, 1992, p. 82). "Locke recognized the inherent violence in the use of the rod and physical punishments common among his contemporaries" (Greven, p. 82).

For the most part, however, the use of the rod or "hickory stick" prevailed in early American education. Manning (1959) describes a schoolhouse–constructed in Sunderland, Massachusetts, in 1793–having an "ominous" whipping post for children built into the interior floor (Hyman & Wise, 1979, p. 5). "Erring young students were securely tied to the post and whipped by the schoolmaster in the presence of their classmates" (Hyman & Wise, p. 5). This discipline measure ensured that there would be no escaping the application of these "vigorous birchings" (Hyman, 1990, p. 34). Wooden paddles and other paddling devices were also "prominently displayed in the classrooms of the 1800s, conspicuous reminders of the wages of sin" (Hyman & Wise, 1979, p. 5). "In those days, teachers like Master Todd. . .reigned supreme, as long as they were stronger than their students" (Hyman, 1990, p. 34). However, some schoolteachers by 1850 were young women, who were not as strong as a schoolmaster nor as physically capable of administering vigorous physical punishment. "Whipping of big, strapping boys was postponed until the district superintendent made his routine visit. Kennedy, whose father was a horseback-riding superintendent, mentions this practice as common in Indiana" in this time period (Hyman & Wise, 1979, p. 55).

Classroom rules in a school in North Carolina in the 1800s included these admonishments: "For boys and girls playing together, four lashes; for failing to bow

at the entrance of strangers, three lashes; for blotting copy book, two lashes; for scuffling, four lashes; for calling each other names, three lashes" (Hyman & Wise, 1979, pp. 51-52). Horace Mann, one of the founders of the common school movement, compared the harshness of corporal punishment in American schools in 1840 to the cruelty of the ancient Roman gladiators towards their helpless victims and to the executioners who gave Socrates the cup of poison to drink when he did not do what he had been told (Mann, 1872, pp. 358-359). Reports from Boston in 1850 indicated that it "took sixty-five beatings a day to operate a school of four hundred" (Hyman & Wise, 1990, p. 35).

It is disconcerting to note that in the U.S. in 1874-1875, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was founded a decade *after* the founding of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, to address, among other things, complaints of "undeserved" corporal punishment (Fagan & Warden, 1996, p. 363; Hyman & Wise, 1979, p. 25). In 1876, ten years after New Jersey became the first state to ban physical punishment of children in schools, the Newark public schools still recorded "9,408 beatings" upon a "system of 10,000 students" when local control of schools failed to implement the law (Hyman, 1990, pp. 35-36). "The birch rod was synonymous with education" until the more child-centered philosophies of reformers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Pestalozzi, and Horace Mann began to take effect in schools (Hyman, p. 35). Later in 1912, the U.S. Children's Bureau agency was formed to protect children from abuse (Forehand & McKinney, 1993, p. 224).

In the U.S., the authority of educators to use corporal punishment is a part of the common law precept of "in loco parentis," which means that teachers take the place of the parent at school and therefore have the right to use "reasonable physical punishment to secure acceptable behavior" (Hyman & Wise, 1979, p. 342). However, philosophical conflict occurs "when a parent in whose place the teacher stands does not want the child physically punished" (p. 342). Today, the continuing "pervasive use of corporal punishment in public schools. . .occurs in virtually every region, in communities of every size, at every grade level" (Rose, 1984, p. 437). It is also estimated that "corporal punishment is administered between 1 and 2 million times a year in schools in the United States" (*Corporal Punishment*, 1992).

Federal court decisions, individual state laws, and local district school board rules and regulations determine the educational policies and practices concerning corporal punishment. At the federal level, three amendments to the Constitution's Bill of Rights are frequently cited as the over-arching framework upon which state laws, judicial interpretations, and local policies on corporal punishment are predicated--specifically, Amendments 4, 5, and 8. Amendment 4 of the Bill of Rights states that individuals have "the right of the people to be secure in their persons. . . against unreasonable searches and seizures" (Konvitz & Curtis, 1987, p. 234). Amendment 5 guarantees that individuals shall not be deprived of "liberty. . . without due process of the law," and Amendment 8 prohibits "cruel and unusual punishments" (Konvitz & Curtis, p. 234). The Bill of Rights document, originally

written in 1789, has influenced corporal punishment policies at the state and local level ever since it went into effect in 1791.

The federal position specifically on corporal punishment came about from the U.S. Supreme Court opinion in the landmark case*, Ingraham V. Wright*, which had originated in Drew Junior High School, Dade County, Florida, during the 1970-71 school year (Flygare, 1978, p. 347). In this case, students who had been paddled by administrators and sustained bruises, a bleeding hematoma, and an injured hand, challenged the punishment on several constitutional grounds: that the corporal punishment at the school was "cruel and unusual" in contradiction of the Eighth Amendment, and that since they were not given any prior notice or hearing before being subjected to corporal punishment, they were, in effect, denied the protections of "due process" afforded in the Fifth Amendment (Flygare, 1978, p. 347).

In a close 5-4 decision in 1977, the Supreme Court–led by Chief Justice Warren Burger and assisted by Justices William Rehnquist, Harry Blackmun, Lewis Powell, and Potter Stewart–rejected the students' arguments, citing that individual protection against "cruel and unusual punishment" applied only to criminal law and process, not to schools or civil matters. The Supreme Court, in upholding the legality of Florida's statute which allowed corporal punishment, made it clear that corporal punishment was neither "a federal issue" nor "a constitutional matter" for policy-makers. It also maintained that it is "community standards and not the Bill of Rights that must govern" corporal punishment policies (Englander, 1978, p. 529). However, the court's decision "did not foreclose responsible debate by educational policy

makers on the merits of corporal punishment as a disciplinary tool in the nation's schools" (Flygare, 1978, p. 348). The debate on this policy issue simply shifted subsequently from the federal level to the state and local level after 1977. However, a federal bill entitled "Outlaw Corporal Punishment"–H.R. 1552–was introduced in the 102nd Congress in 1991 in an unsuccessful attempt to outlaw corporal punishment in the entire U.S. by legislative action (*Congressional Record*, 1991).

Of course, states have long had the "ultimate legal authority over U.S. school systems" (Fowler, 2000, p. 5). This legal tradition of states' rights or state sovereignty over educational matters was reestablished after the Civil War. The first state to abolish corporal punishment was New Jersey in 1867, and it remained the only state in the union to do so for over a hundred years. It was not until 1972–over a century later–that another state, Massachusetts, would pass legislation banning this controversial discipline practice (Hyman & Wise, 1979, p. 62). Before the *Ingraham V. Wright* case of 1977, only four states had banned corporal punishment, but subsequently, 14 states banned it in the 1980s and then 8 more banned it in the 1990s, for a total of 22 states that elected to prohibit corporal punishment in their schools in the next two decades after the U.S. Supreme Court decision ceded that power to them.

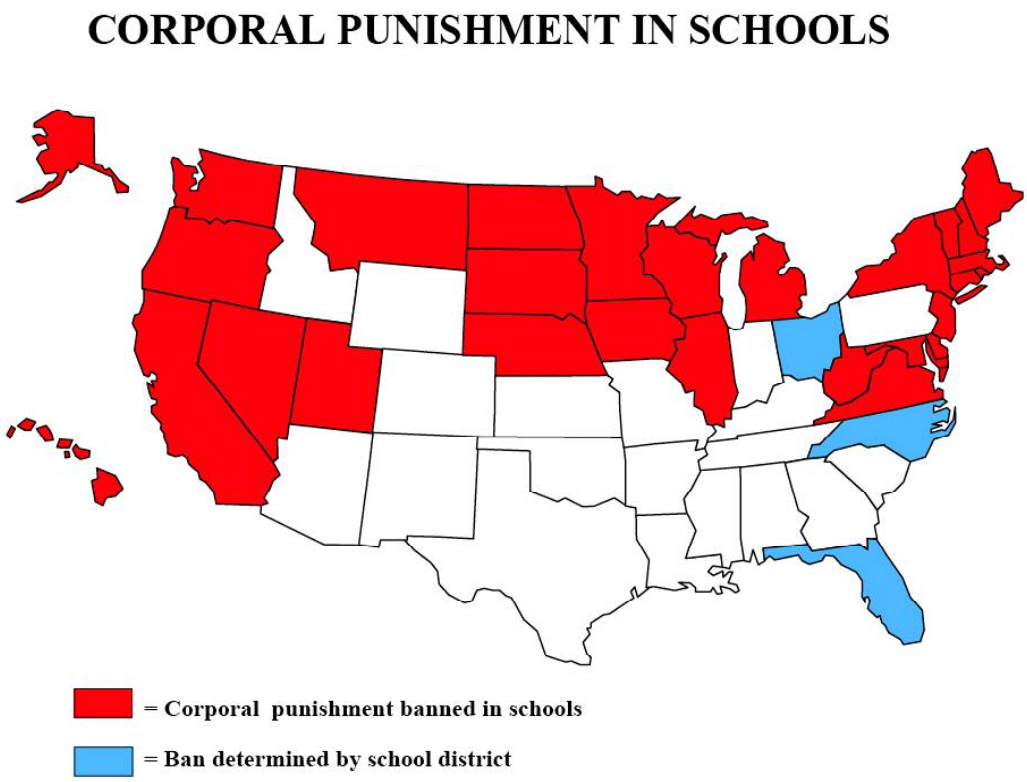
Today state laws prohibit the use of corporal punishment in 27 of the 50 states, plus the District of Columbia (ECS, 1998). In addition, all local school boards have banned corporal punishment in Rhode Island, for a total of 28 states where the practice is now illegal (States, 2004). Already included in these figures, Delaware became the latest state to join the ban, passing legislation in 2003 and becoming the

only state to do so in this century so far (States, 2004). In those states where corporal punishment policy is delegated to the local school district or educational authority instead of the state, "many state boards of education, while not specifically prohibiting its use, urge the local authority to find alternative means of discipline and control" instead (ECS, 1998).

Contemporary Issues

Illustrating the fact that "states have different cultural values" (Marshall, Mitchell, & Wirt, 1989, p. 13), the majority of the states which still allow corporal punishment are in the southern part of the U. S. (Dayton, 1994; Farrell, 2002), where some view the prevailing cultural values as tending to support both the "spare the rod, spoil the child" biblical philosophy (Bitensky, 1998) and Old Testament theology. "Values become forces that influence policy," and "cultural values enter into the structure of policy-making in states" (Marshall et al, 1989, pp. 2-4). An apt illustration of that phenomenon is that "children in the Southern part of the U.S. were 4000 times more likely to be corporally punished than children in the Northeast" (Dayton, 1994), further complicating efforts to reverse corporal punishment use. (See Figure 1. for school corporal punishment map of the U.S.) In recent years, the five states with the highest percentages of all students being struck as a school disciplinary measure are, in descending order: Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Tennessee, and Oklahoma, all in the southern half of the U.S. (U.S. Dept. of Ed., 2003). For example, in Oklahoma, state law allows justification of force by certain

Figure 1.



(Source: "Corporal punishment in schools" map from the American Academy of Pediatrics *2004 State Legislation Report*, p. 83. Reprinted with permission from the American Academy of Pediatrics, 141 Northwest Point Boulevard, Elk Grove, IL.)

persons in schools, and the "use of ordinary (not excessive) force as a means of discipline is not prohibited"; state statute Section 21-844-808 also allows "spanking, switching or paddling" as physical disciplinary measures in school (Discipline, 2003), though local school districts have the option of banning their use. For instance, Norman Public Schools was the first school district in Oklahoma to ban corporal punishment system-wide, having done so during the 1988-1989 school year (Sanger, 1993). Even though Oklahoma law allows the judicious use of corporal punishment in schools, this disciplinary measure is prohibited in state prisons (Statute §57-31). It is important to note that state laws concerning corporal punishment apply only to public schools and not to private schools, though some private schools have initiated their own policies against corporal punishment as well (Farrell, 2002).

Nearly 10 percent of students are paddled every year in the nation's "top paddling state"–Mississippi; and in the parts of the state with the highest poverty rates, the use of corporal punishment is even more common (Dobbs, 2004). These poorer areas are also where a higher percentage of students come from minority and single-parent families (Dobbs, 2004). In fact, Mississippi is a prime example of a larger national problem in the area of corporal punishment and "a much broader divide running through American education" today: "Studies have shown that there is a high correlation between paddling and poverty, and corporal punishment is more common in rural areas than in urban areas" (Dobbs, 2004). Statistically, corporal punishment practice is associated with "low socioeconomic status (SES), and low educational level," as well as living in rural, conservative, and/or southern areas of

the U.S. (Fagan & Warden, 1996, p. 92). For example, the Oklahoma Farm Bureau in 2003 supported school corporal punishment in its organization's official policies: "We support corporal punishment as an option for use in Oklahoma school systems" (Oklahoma Farm Bureau, 2003).

Many of the state policies against corporal punishment came about during the humanistic philosophy period of the 1960s and 1970s, during the time period of psychologists Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers. Humanistic psychology, also called simply humanism, arose as a philosophical reaction to B. F. Skinner's "radical behaviorism" (Leahey, 2000, p. 468), the scientific approach to behavior that is associated with observable and measurable occurrences in the person's environment, such as human response to externally-applied stimuli. Humanistic psychologists felt that the "self" or the internal world of the person should be the focus of interaction in the environment and that to do otherwise would be "dehumanizing" (Gerow, 1992, p. 15). Instead of impersonal or external means of affecting the behavior of others, they endorsed a more "humanistic-phenomenological" approach, wherein the person's views of self and others help shape decisions and determine their own behavior (Gerow, p. 451). Maslow's research and work focused on innate human needs, such as "safety and security needs (freedom from fear, physical violence, and abuse)" and also "self-esteem needs (positive self-concept and respect from others)" of all ages (Kahne, 1996, p. 48). A powerful influence on state policy changes during this time period, humanistically-oriented educators maintained that corporal punishment methods deny, violate, or subjugate these two basic needs of students in schools.

Later in the 1990s, renewed attention to corporal punishment policy occurred at both the international and state level. "The caning of American teenager Michael Fay as punishment for vandalism in Singapore renewed debates among Americans in 1994 about the merits of corporal punishment" (Smith, 1996, p. 505). Though there was an outcry against the severity of the discipline method used in this incident, "many Americans apparently believe that caning is an appropriate punishment. Some state and local legislators proposed the reintroduction of corporal punishment as a means to deter and reform juvenile offenders" subsequent to the incident (Smith, 1996, p. 505), "briefly resuscitating dormant philosophical and policy debates" and bringing out into the policy arena both proponents and protesters of corporal punishment. "The incident provided a context for crystallizing issues and inflaming passions concerning a particular area of ongoing policy debate: the use of corporal punishment in American public schools" (Smith, p. 505). Legislative attempts to reintroduce corporal punishment as recently as California in 1996, Montana in 1997, Iowa in 1998, and Oregon in 1999, were not successful, however (*Corporal Punishment*, 2002).

At the local level, school districts in the states that have not banned corporal punishment statewide have the option of either allowing or prohibiting corporal punishment practices, reflecting the "nation's long-standing tradition of democratic policy making and local control over educational policy" (Smith, 1996, p. 505). Recent estimates for local bans in these states which still allow corporal punishment include over 200 cities which have specifically banned the practice, including 30

cities in large urban areas (*Corporal Punishment*, 1992). However, for parents, educators, and other stakeholders who are opposed to corporal punishment and who attempt to influence or change district policy to ban this discipline method, the process of informing local policy can be difficult, time-consuming, and often unsuccessful.

Overall, there are basically three approaches to addressing the educational, ethical, social, and legal aspects of corporal punishment: to mitigate, to litigate, or to terminate the practice. Mitigating policies would proscribe the severe forms of the measure, provide for its judicious use under certain circumstances, and encourage the substitution of more positive behavioral strategies and alternative models of behavior management, with the primary agents of change being district staff, parents, school boards, and written policy statements. Litigious activities would focus on changing educational practice through legal channels and case law, with its primary agents being attorneys, plaintiffs, and the courts. Terminating or totally abolishing the practice altogether from the educational landscape would involve broad-reaching state and federal laws aimed at its extinction, with the primary agents being grassroots efforts, professional organizations, state departments of education, Congress, legislatures, and possibly referendums. In all of these approaches, however, substantial human resources are involved in doing research, analysis, communication, collaboration, and decision-making.

A case study of one school district's corporal punishment policy in 1994 by Christopher Smith, Michigan State University, quite aptly illustrates the difficulties

and "impediments to the application of education research in local policy making. Because the nature and methods of empirical research are not well understood, even by local education professionals, scientific knowledge can be mischaracterized or ignored, especially when it clashes with strongly held personal beliefs" in the community and in the school's administration (Smith, 1996, p. 502). Smith, a social scientist studying policymaking, found that the result of the local district's task force on corporal punishment policy was the school's repudiation of "social science research as a basis for informed decision making."

After Smith had researched over 100 professional journal articles in ERIC on corporal punishment, found "virtually no research supporting the use" of this practice, and presented his findings to the district's task force, the chairperson of the committee (a school principal) "preempted any discussion" of them, declaring that "these studies were not worth the paper they were printed on" and, in effect, influencing the eventual decision to allow corporal punishment at the school (Smith, 1996, p. 508). Smith's assessment of the "naive reductionism" (Smith, p. 510) in this particular policy-making process–which might be echoed to some extent in the policy-making practices of other school districts across the U.S.–is that educational research is often distorted or repudiated "by an educated person who is supposed to provide leadership on education issues. In other respects, however, it was a natural response of any human being attempting to fend off information that clashed with cherished beliefs. Moreover, this school principal was an admitted practitioner of corporal punishment, so he had a personal stake. . .in justifying the policies that he, as

an educated and professional school administrator, had implemented in his school" (Smith, p. 508).

Another problem with informing local policy on corporal punishment, according to Smith, is the phenomenon "of ascribing causal connections to simultaneous trends" (Smith, 1996, p. 509). In discussing whether or not to allow corporal punishment in their school, members of this same local task force had "asserted that over the years, the. . .increase in frequency and severity of student misbehavior was caused by the reduction in administration of corporal punishment that occurred over the same time period" (Smith, p. 509). This perception illustrates that "beliefs are, in some respects, the antithesis of empirical research" and "by their very nature as entrenched elements within an individual's complex cognitive system, are difficult to dislodge" (Smith, p. 509). Smith ascribed this policy "defensiveness" to the task force members' "strongly held beliefs about parental child-rearing practices": the view that "my parents hit me and they were good parents, and I hit my children and I am a good parent" (Smith, p. 511).

At the local policy level concerning corporal punishment, Smith points out that "a major challenge for educational policymakers is to present research conclusions in a non-threatening way so that citizens both stay focused on the issue of corporal punishment in the schools and avoid personalizing criticisms of corporal punishment in a manner that discourages defensive rejections of scientific knowledge" (Smith, 1996, p. 511). Another challenge to informing local policy, according to Smith, is the "attachment of symbolism and belief to corporal

punishment" and the "tendency of proponents to cling to corporal punishment as a magical cure for society's problems" (Smith, 1996, p. 511). Also, in his view, parents "saw difficult social problems looming around them throughout American society and in searching desperately for a simple, reductionist solution to these problems, they clung tenaciously to a belief that corporal punishment provided an easy, accessible cure" (Smith, p. 512). Parents also perceived that there had been an increase in student misbehavior in schools "because students are not paddled" like they used to be in the "good old days" (Smith, p. 513), thus parents wanted corporal punishment policy to be allowed and administered as necessary. Smith terms all of these philosophical dynamics in policy-making the "selective processing of information in support of preexisting beliefs in corporal punishment" (Smith, p. 514).

Smith's conclusion from his case study was that "education scholars cannot seek to control policy-making decisions that are, under our governing system, reserved for the citizenry's elected representatives. Scholars should, however, seek to identify impediments to the. . .use of scientifically generated knowledge that could otherwise enhance policy makers' ability to make appropriate choices about programs and policies to benefit school children." Furthermore, he continues, "A major challenge for educational policy making is to marshal and present research findings in a manner which can be accepted and understood by the general public. There can be no presumption that the methods of social science are understood and recognized, or that scholars' research conclusions will be given greater consideration than school

administrators' anecdotes" in influencing local policy-making on corporal punishment, especially that of "authoritative" decision makers (Smith, 1996, p. 516).

In assessing the current status of corporal punishment policies in the U.S., there is still a very polarized view of whether or not this discipline practice is appropriate for students in schools, with one camp still calling for a "return to basics," including old-fashioned, traditional discipline methods (Rose, 1984, p. 427), and the other camp of the opinion that corporal punishment amounts to nothing less than sanctioned, institutional child abuse. Proponents of corporal punishment include both moderates who advocate only its conditional or occasional use, as well as some who believe that school policy should be left to "educators, regardless of how flagrant the abuses of student rights and welfare" (Menacker, 1990, p. 18). Opponents of corporal punishment include those who only want it banned only in schools but not in homes, leaving discipline in the home to parental discretion, as well as those who want it banned completely. One side of the issue typically touts corporal punishment as being instructional and efficacious, whereas the other side counters that it is inhumane and ineffective. Looking at widely disparate views on corporal punishment (CP) as a continuum, the following illustration (Figure 2) shows the main positions taken by various stakeholders on this debatable issue:

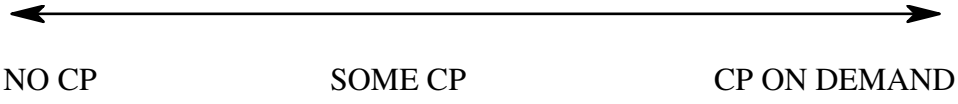


Figure 2. Continuum of Corporal Punishment Views (Linda Sanders, 2004)

For many reasons, there is substantial, continuing difficulty in achieving any sort of national consensus on this educational issue; and with the policy arena being relegated to the state and local level instead of the federal level subsequent to the 1977 Supreme Court decision, there is also considerable debate as to whether a national consensus is even necessary, advantageous, or prerequisite for meaningful policy reform, much less even possible. Since the 1960s, there has been "the absence of a clear policy position on school discipline," yet the "annual *Phi Delta Kappan* Gallup polls on the public's attitude toward the public schools. . .have identified school discipline as a chief source of public concern" (Menacker, 1990, p. 17). Compounded with the fact that "there appear to be no applied empirically based studies that support the use of corporal punishment" (Rose, 1984, p. 427), it is "clear that most professional and public opinion is shaped more by hunch, folklore, and conjecture than by empirical evidence" (Rose, p. 427), which makes informing and influencing American policy on corporal punishment even more problematic.

Entrenched pedagogical and disciplinary practices are also difficult to influence and transform in a factory-driven, technocratic society. For instance, a national survey mailed to 324 principals in 28 randomly selected U.S. states, of which 232 or 71% responded, showed that 74% of the responding principals used corporal punishment, with 73.1% of them indicating that corporal punishment was "an effective way to demonstrate support of their teachers" (Rose, 1984, pp. 427-437). Moreover, 73% of the responding principals felt that corporal punishment "had a positive effect on teacher morale" (p. 437). However, a call has been made for

educators to "balance changes in case law that affect school discipline policy with the social and educational needs and demands of the schools. In the final analysis, this requires the exercise of good judgment" (Menacker, 1990, p. 26).

The current climate in America affords teachers and school administrators "with a golden opportunity for developing. . .policies that balance the civil rights of students with the needs of educational government to conduct schooling in a safe, orderly environment. It also imposes upon them a greater responsibility to be 'reasonable' and considerate of the civil rights of students" in order to avoid "the substitution of judicial judgment for that of educators" in areas of corporal punishment policy (Menacker, 1990, pp. 27-28). In addition, some opponents of corporal punishment have "argued that the practice of corporal punishment conflicts with the federal goal of violence-free schools stated in 'Goals 2000' " (Dayton, 1994). Others point out that corporal punishment is not compatible with various state anti-bullying laws and national bullying prevention campaigns, with state laws and local school district policies promoting "zero tolerance" against violence in schools, nor with the Safe Schools Acts of 1995 and 1997, which also prohibit school violence (U.S.D.E).

A proposed solution to the varying policy phenomenon in the U.S. is to have the courts become "educated by educators on matters of school policy and discipline, just as educators must become better versed in the laws applying to school discipline. Both groups need to learn from one another" (Menacker, 1990, p. 29). Another

suggestion to address the disparities in corporal punishment policy across America would be to convene "a national conference of long duration, or a national institute . . .in which educators, board members, and jurists participate in the development of guidelines sanctioned by both the courts and the public schools. Considerations should not be exclusively limited to legal matters but should entertain issues of educational ethics, goals, and organizational standards as well" (Menacker, p. 29). "Increasingly, the legality of corporal punishment in public schools turns not upon court decisions, but on whether or not elected officials believe it is an effective, fair, and rational educational policy" (Dayton, 1994).

In comparing U.S. policies on corporal punishment historically to that of other countries, it is sobering to realize the great extent to which this practice has already been eliminated around the world. "The U.S. is far behind many European countries [in this regard]. Corporal punishment has been banned in Poland since 1783, in the Netherlands since 1850, in France since 1887, in Finland since 1890, and in Sweden since 1958. It is also prohibited in the Soviet Union and almost all the other Communist bloc countries" (Boonin, 1979, p. 395). Italy banned corporal punishment in 1860, Belgium in 1867, Austria in 1870, Japan in 1900, Russia in 1917, Turkey in 1923, Norway in 1936, China in 1949, Portugal in 1950, Sweden in 1958, Denmark in 1967, Germany in 1970, etc. (*Facts*, 2002). In recent years, the countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Pakistan have all banned corporal punishment; and in 2004, Canada's Supreme Court outlawed the use of corporal punishment in all of its nation's schools, both public and private (Dobbs, 2004). "Every industrialized

country in the world now prohibits school corporal punishment, except the U.S. . . and one state in Australia" (Facts, 2002). In all, over 90 countries worldwide have abolished corporal punishment of children in schools (*Challenging*, 2002).

Currently in the U.S., approximately a third of a million students are subjected to corporal punishment in schools each year (Corporal, 2003). In looking at these statistics, it is not difficult to see Michel Foucault's metaphor of schools as "prisons" when public institutions are allowed to use corporal punishment against students who have no due process rights or means of redress (Harber, 2002, pp. 8-9). There are also glaring gender differences in the statistics, with male students being subjected to corporal punishment significantly more than female students. An analysis in 1992 of the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) biennial report, which included the corporal punishment incidence rates for approximately 7.7 million males and 7.4 million females in the nation, yielded data that indicates "boys as a group were over four times more likely than girls to be hit by public school teachers and administrators" (Gregory, pp. 457-458). The results show that males account for "almost all" or approximately 82% of all corporal punishment inflicted in schools (p. 457).

In addition, African-American students are hit at a rate more than double their percentage of the overall student population. Though these students comprise approximately 17% of the student population nationwide, they receive 39% of the corporal punishment administered each year (Corporal, 2003). However, the Dallas Independent School District was surprised with opposition this past year to its proposal to end corporal punishment, when it "met with resistance from black

trustees, who say that corporal punishment is a part of their culture" (*Dallas*, 2003). Nearly 3,300 Dallas parents later gave written consent to the district to use corporal punishment, including padding, on their children when warranted by misbehavior and administered by a principal (Stewart, 2004).

Perhaps the real root of this historical issue is that strong feelings both for and against corporal punishment have existed for hundreds of years and are likely to continue in the U.S. in spite of educational reforms, social science research, and informed dialogue. Long-standing tradition and rituals are not easily discarded or swept away by professional advice or psychological theory, and widely polarized views are not easily reconciled. In essence, there is both irony and ideology involved in the complexity of corporal punishment throughout American history: irony that those who came to this country for personal freedom and democracy also brought hegemonic corporal punishment practices with them, and, on both sides of the fence, steadfast ideologies which represent long-held reactionary beliefs to the issue. The issue also boils down to historical differences in philosophy of education: those who value "authority and increased order in schools" and those who see schools as a safe "sanctuary from social violence" (Hyman & Rathbone, 2002, p. 2). In short, corporal punishment in school is so embedded and ingrained in aspects of American society that it may never be eradicated.

There is also little solace in the fact that this issue has been debated since the dawn of civilization. In 73-93 A.D., Roman philosopher Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, also known as "Quintilian," stated opposition to corporal punishment in his writings

and speeches (Gutek, p. 47). At the same time in the 1600s that the Puritans in both England and the American colonies were rampantly administering corporal punishment to children, philosopher and educator Johann Amos Comenius was taking a strong stance against the practice in countries in Eastern Europe. Calling schools which used physical punishment the "slaughterhouses of the mind," Comenius urged teachers to be gentle and patient instructors who disciplined their students without "blows, threats, or ridicule" (Gutek, 2001, pp. 104-105). Alas, both of these European educators were ahead of their time in both their own countries and abroad.

International Context

The final word on the perennial issue of corporal punishment in the U.S.– "to do or not to do"–may come at the global level from such actions as international initiatives on "Global Progress Towards Ending All Corporal Punishment of Children." This initiative is co-sponsored by both the Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children and the Save the Children organizations, which support the work and position statements of the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (*Challenging*, 2002). The U.N. Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice, also known as the "Beijing Rules," states in Rule 12:3: "Juveniles shall not be subject to corporal punishment" (*Challenging*, 2002).

Paragraph 21(h) of the U.N. Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, also known as the "Riyadh Guidelines," states that "education systems should devote particular attention to 'avoidance of harsh disciplinary measures,

particularly corporal punishment' "; and Paragraph 54 continues: "No child or young person should be subjected to harsh or degrading correction or punishment measures . . .in schools or in any other institutions" (*Challenging*, 2002). Further, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, Article 19, directs countries to protect children from all corporal punishment from all parties, including "in loco parentis":

> State parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social, and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical. . . violence, injury or abuse. . .while in the care of parents(s) . . .or any other person who has the care of the child. (Harber, 2002, p. 7)

Concerning the global context of national policies in education, Reimers and McGinn, in their *Informed Dialogue: Using Research to Shape Education Policy Around the World* text, make note that "international assistance agencies. . .have significant influence over decisions" concerning educational policy (1997, pp. 16-17). The United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child has now formally recommended the prohibition of corporal punishment of children in all 142 countries on all continents in the world, including the recalcitrant United States (*Challenging*, 2002). Looking at the issue hermeneutically, any resolution to the historical problem may have to go back to where it was originally forged centuries ago–with the sanction of common law within the context of colonial society–then back to the present with the sociopolitical forces of changing times and enlightened views.

Unfortunately, it is a continuing problem even today in modern times that children in the U.S. are still physically struck and hurt in schools in the name of discipline. However, corporal punishment has been a common practice historically in American education over the centuries, dating back to times when students were reluctantly taught to the "tune of the hickory stick" (Merlis, 1975). As Horace Mann observed over a hundred years ago: "Probably on no other subject, pertaining to Education [sic], is there so marked a diversity or rather hostility of opinion as on this; nor on any other, such perseverance, not to say obstinacy, in adhering to opinions once formed" (1872, p. 336). A complex issue not easily resolved, it is affected by many sociological factors, such as cultural norms, tradition, religious beliefs, parenting styles, and sociogeography.

The bottom line, though, is that innocent children without due process rights are subjected to a physically and emotionally painful experience in schools which may leave lasting effects on them for years. Admittedly, much progress has been made in eliminating it from schools in the U.S. from the 1600s to the twentieth-first century, especially at the state and local levels, but the steps have often been small and many years in-between. In the meantime, schoolchildren still continue to suffer needlessly from this practice. As the decades go by, corporal punishment appears in some regards to be a radioactive issue with a half-life that is gradually chipped away by the passage of time and the actions of each generation. However, due to deeply entrenched historical and sociological factors, it remains to be seen whether the specter of corporal punishment is ever completely banned in American schools.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Numerous surveys and studies, including case studies of both teachers and students, have been done in the last thirty years over the short-term and long-term effects of corporal punishment, and almost all of them have shown an adverse effect on the psychological and emotional health of the child to some degree. The difficulty with interpreting the research, however, has often been in ascribing or attributing a causal relationship between the physical punishment itself and the psychological manifestations accompanying it, rather than the association between the two phenomena being largely an incidental one. Though establishing a direct, cause-and-effect relationship has been problematic, an extensive body of results has been produced which informs current thought on this controversial, educational practice.

Psychological Effects

Based on a decade of research doing observations of children and collecting life histories from adults–including work done through faculty sabbaticals and a Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellowship–Greven (1990, p. 121) theorizes a myriad of 15 possible consequences to children from receiving corporal punishment: 1) anxiety, 2) fear, 3) anger and hate, 4) lack of empathy, 5) apathy and passivity, 6) melancholy and depression, 7) obsessiveness and compulsiveness, 8) rigidity, 9) ambivalence, 10) disassociation, 11) paranoia, 12) sadomasochism, 13) domestic violence, 14) aggression, and 15) delinquency. He postulates:

> Once a child is struck, the memory remains encoded in the brain and the body for life. Even those who were struck only once or twice can often remember the pain and shock years afterward. For those children who are punished more frequently, however, the anticipation of pain itself becomes a part of the punishment, and the anxiety and. . .dread generated by experiential knowledge of the burning sting of a hand, or a belt, or a rod. . .cannot easily be quelled. (Greven, 1990, p. 122)

In this psychological process, the corporal punishment produces pain, the pain produces fear, the fear produces anxiety, and the anxiety causes the child to dread receiving corporal punishment again. Maintaining that fear then becomes not only "associated" with corporal punishment but a "central component of the process of physical discipline," Greven states, "no child welcomes the pain, at least not initially. If children do welcome the pain, it is only because. . .they have come to associate pain with love" (p. 123).

The fear then that is produced by past physical punishment and the "probability" of future punishment is "inevitable" and actually an "appropriate" feeling or normal response to corporal punishment (Greven, 1990, p. 123). Greven also asserts the longer the interval between regular occurrences of corporal punishment, the greater the tension, fear, and anxiety regarding when its next receipt will be, and that the fear generated by pain never completely goes away. If out of fear, a child tries to escape receiving corporal punishment, Greven notes:

> Children who resist are often hurt the most, since adults who intend to inflict corporal punishments usually do not allow children to retaliate or to resist. . . Pain is the most compelling method of all for forcing children to submit their wills and selves to the wills and commands of adults. (Greven, 1990, p. 123)

According to Greven, a child's persistent feeling of fear from corporal punishment can progress to the next stage of the emotional cycle–anger and hate:

> Love is natural; hate is created. . .Being assaulted violently in the name of discipline invariably produces anger and often rage in children, just as it does in most adults. Anger is the key to an understanding of the long-term consequences of corporal punishment, for it is the central emotion that shapes our psyches long after the original pain has subsided and been forgotten or denied. Anger is a child's best (and often only) defense, for it arises out of a powerful sense of self, a self violated and abused by painful blows and hurtful words. (Greven, 1990, p. 124)

This fear can produce not only anger, he says, but also feelings of hatred and revenge toward the person producing the physical and emotional pain. Like fear and anger, the hatred and vengeful feelings can haunt the victim for years:

> These powerful emotions are permanently stored in unconscious memories, but sometimes people also remember them quite consciously, years after the events that provoked the feelings. These ancient angers resonate in our psyches throughout our lives; they are more powerful and dangerous when

> ignored or forgotten than when felt and acknowledged–and, ultimately, healed through understanding and forgiveness. (Greven, 1990, p. 124)

Greven points out that the anger and rage, instead of being expressed vocally or outwardly, can be repressed inward or even "blanked out of conscious memory." He claims this is why many adults cannot remember the anger that they experienced when they were physically punished as children: "to remember is to recognize the ambivalent feelings of love *and* hate" (1990, p. 126). Even though they may not consciously recall them, these feelings do not disappear but are "transformed with time into a more or less conscious hatred directed against either the self or substitute persons" (Greven, p. 126). Greven predicts that in some victims, "the violation of the child's body and soul by painful punishments generates the anger and the rage that later foster violence against the self and others. That rage is the most common and continuous source for the destructive and aggressive impulses felt, imagined, and acted on throughout our collective histories and present experiences" (Greven, p. 127).

In addition to the creation and maintenance of fear, Greven theorizes that empathy and compassion for oneself and others can be stifled and deadened by corporal punishment, that people who were physically hurt in childhood can develop a lifelong "immunity" to feelings of empathy and compassion (1990, p. 127). He rationalizes this consequence of punishment occurring because the punishment was inflicted by someone who was showing "indifference" to the child's feelings at the

time it was done; therefore, a "lesson" was taught to the child to be indifferent to the suffering of others:

> Physical punishments, especially severe ones, inhibit the development of empathy in later life. Non-physical modes of discipline generally foster the ability to empathize with others in adulthood. The reason is that adults who use nonviolent forms of discipline usually respect the body, the feelings, and the selfhood of the child even when experiencing and expressing disapproval of particular actions or ways of expressing the will or the self. Compassion. . . is grounded in a sense of mutuality. (Greven, 1990, p. 128)

He quotes Jessica Benjamin's perspectives that illustrate the tandem between compassion and mutuality: compassion is "the ability to share feelings and intentions without demanding control, to experience sameness without obliterating difference" (Greven, p. 128). With the introduction of physical discipline and the resultant pain in the equation, corporal punishment tips the fulcrum toward the side of adult power and obliterates the reciprocal balance between adult and child. In short, it makes a "sense of mutuality and respect impossible" (1990, p. 128).

Other studies are used by Greven to show the importance of non-physical forms of discipline in fostering empathy and compassion in later life. "Nonviolent discipline, especially that which emphasizes reasoning with children, fosters an awareness of and sensitivity to the viewpoints and feelings of other people that sustain the empathy of later years" (1990, p. 128). In contrast to these psychological

benefits of non-violent methods on the development of empathy, he notes that corporal punishment produces a long-term effect of generalized apathy and passivity, including passive-aggressiveness or passive modes of aggression, which can continue into adulthood and persist for years in different forms and intensity:

> Apathy and passivity. . .are the counterparts, the mirror opposites, of the anger and aggression also caused by painful punishments in childhood. Acting out aggression is far more visible and potentially dangerous both to individuals and to societies, but passivity has its dangers as well, both to individuals and to the world as a whole. (Greven, 1990, p. 129)

If the child's anger toward the corporal punishment is buried emotionally, it can become a source of later aggression against himself or herself, often in the form of clinical depression. In effect, the "experiential roots" of the phenomenon of depression can be the emotional pain of the prior physical punishments (Greven, 1990, p. 130). Greven quotes one of Freud's theories on the etiology of depression in explaining his own theory on the tenuous connection between the giver and the receiver of harsh punishments: "the sufferers usually succeed in the end in taking revenge, by the circuitous path of self-punishment. . .by means of [depressive] illness . . .so as to avoid the necessity of opening expressing their hostility" against the perpetrators of the punishment (p. 131). Researcher M. Straus (1996) goes one step further and shows research which supports the hypothesis that not only depression, but also suicidal ideation can be produced: "the more corporal punishment

experienced as a child, the greater the probability of depression and suicidal thoughts as an adult" (Straus, p. 59).

Effects on Early Puritans

Greven documents the melancholy, depression, and frequent punishments which were persistent themes in the family histories of the colonial Puritans for many years, including not only depressive thoughts but suicidal ones as well, revealed in their diaries, letters, memoirs, literature, writings, and autobiographical self-portraits. "In some families, such as the Mathers, melancholy afflicted fathers and sons for at least three successive generations" (Greven, 1990, p. 132). Greven's research results are that the theme of "recurrent depression" in Puritan families is a result of repressed anger against Calvinistic practices, including corporal punishment. As an example, "Cotton Mather. . .was one of the angriest men living in New England during the colonial period. His words and actions betrayed his inner rage however much he sought to deny it and obscure it from himself and others" (Greven, p. 133).

During the same time period in seventeenth-century Europe, Isaac Newton, a Puritan's son, suffered from anxiety and depressive tendencies throughout his adolescence, Greven notes. With Puritan parents being among the most "abusive in using the rod upon their children's bodies and wills–the rage itself clearly shaped Newton's character" (Greven, 1990, p. 133). "Newton, like Cotton Mather and countless others, paid a high personal price for the emotions generated in childhood, chief among them depression, anxiety, and rage" (Greven, p. 134). Greven maintains

that it is feasible to connect the pain of physical punishment in childhood to subsequent feelings of anger and resentment, thus making it possible to learn about some of the physical causes of psychological depression from the painful life stories of individuals long ago deceased: "From all this historical evidence, it ought to be clear that depression is often the central mood characteristic of adults whose bodies were assaulted, whose wills were broken in childhood, and whose anger was forcibly suppressed" (Greven, p. 134).

After the rage, resentfulness, and revenge patterns become part of the child's and later the adult's psyche, Greven proposes that obsessive-compulsive tendencies can arise as a defense mechanism against the memories of punishment and pain in childhood. Having experienced a lack of control over their bodies when they were previously subjected to severe or multiple corporal punishments, they develop "rituals, rules, rigid self-regulations, and controls" in the way that they function in later years, with the perception that they can exert more "autonomy" and control over their lives now (Greven, 1990, p. 135). Though the performance of these compulsions may give them an immediate relief from inner tensions and psychological distress, its effect is only temporary and does not permanently ameliorate their constant level of anxiety, resulting, therefore, in the continual repeating of obsessive or compulsive behaviors.

For instance, Jonathan Edwards–a fire-and-brimstone minister born into a Puritan family in the early 1700s and the author of the famous sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God"–is described as having been "very strict and exact in his

diet, living by rule," and practicing "exactness" in all his ways (Greven, 1990, p. 136). In fact, Greven cites three studies which show the prevalence of a general obsessive nature among the Puritans and others before them, which may have been a result of suppressed anger against strict disciplinary practices, including the commonplace physical punishment. "The imposition of self-control to contain the enduring rages generated by the pains of childhood punishments" and the "buried impulses of love and hate, reconciliation and rage" were "powerful long-term consequences" of severe corporal punishment (Greven, p. 141). However, he points out that studies of the etiology of obsessive-compulsive disorders have failed to yield a definitive identification of childhood trauma as its origin overall, possibly due to researcher bias or failure to consider that factor as a possible cause (Greven, p. 137).

Ambivalence and Apathy

Feelings of ambivalence can also arise from physical punishment when the child simultaneously feels both love and hate during the incidence, especially when corporal punishment occurs at the hands of a parent or other adult who is professing to discipline them in the name of love, care, or concern (i.e., "for your own good"). Greven proposes that these opposite feelings can result in a generalized ambivalence toward others, which in turn affects their behavior and social functioning later on as adults:

> Adults' physical assaults on children produce both rage and outrage; they cause injuries to the body and the spirit that have long-lasting consequences.

> But the powerful impulse to love and the anxieties generated by the helplessness of the child, who cannot survive without the nurture and support of the adults who are abusing him or her, often makes repression of the rage and hate inevitable. Some children are able to tolerate the presence of both feelings, love and hate, sufficiently to permit them to remain in some sort of balance. . .intolerable as it might seem, but a balance that is manifested in a persistent ambivalence that late can take the form of. . .neurosis. (Greven, 1990, p. 147)

However, Greven notes that the internal conflict produced by simultaneous feelings of both love and hate are too painful for some to tolerate, in which case the child responds by dissociating himself from his feelings in an attempt to protect himself from psychological pain and emotional trauma created by physical abuse or corporal punishment (Greven, 1990, p. 147). Dissociation–or disconnecting feelings from their context or disconnecting one's self from others–can become a survival mechanism for children who have experienced severe physical punishment. "Children. . .learn early in life to distance themselves, or parts of themselves, from experiences too painful or frightening to bear. Traumas, both physical and emotional, are often coped with by denial and repression of the feelings they generate" (Greven, p. 148).

Complexity of Experiences

Greven emphasizes that "the crucial thing to recognize is that we are dealing

with a complex spectrum of experiences, which, being associated with varying degrees and forms of pain, result in an equally complicated spectrum of psychological consequences in adults" (Greven, 1990, p. 148). He continues, "At the root of these dissociative phenomena is usually a history of suffering, pain, and abuse early in life. The most common source of such suffering has always been corporal punishment" (Greven, p. 149). Greven explains the reason for this psychological phenomenon as such: "The power of the unconscious lies in the fact the experiences of. . .childhood are encoded in our memories permanently, in visual, tactile, and verbal forms. . .that these memories persist throughout our lives, for most of them are buried and inaccessible to us despite our utmost efforts at recovery" (Greven, p. 149). The unfortunate irony is that these victims, according to psychiatrist Frank Putnam, Jr., "have amnesia, but they forget nothing" (Greven, p. 150). "Dissociation allows many people to keep unacceptable feelings at a distance and to disconnect from parts of the self that seem intolerable," and it "allows individuals to survive. . .pain and anguish and anxiety in childhood" (Greven, p. 150).

Another possible outcome of corporal punishment, according to Greven, is the development of paranoia, which is a "pervasive sense of being endangered" and a feeling of "anticipation of harm" from the outside (Greven, 1990, p. 168). "The anticipation of pain often is as hard to bear as pain itself" and can result in hypochondria, "the sense that the body itself is threatened by internal disorders" just as much as it is by external threats and severe physical punishment (Greven, p. 168). The paranoia is a response to the possibility of harm by physical means and to the

sense of being in danger from others, Greven explains. In other words, it is a persistent "generalized fear of assault" (p. 168). However, he purports that paranoia can become a life-long psychological manifestation and a long-term consequence of physical abuse and severe punishment in childhood. "Children whose wills are assaulted and broken often become paranoid as adults" (Greven, p. 172).

> The pervasive sense of being threatened with harm, of being forced to surrender, of being manipulated or coerced into compliance with the will of another person. . .is rooted in the experience of aggression by adults against the will, bodies, and selves of children. The. . .fear of subversion and of conspiracies, so characteristic of paranoia, reflect the earlier battles over the child's willfulness and autonomy. . .Paranoia arises later because children are generally forbidden to react appropriately. . .to aggression by adults; expressions of rage and of counter-aggression that arise from self-defense are suppressed by. . .the adults. . .Later, however, these. . .feelings can be displaced, attributed to others, projected inappropriately onto persons and situations entirely removed from the earlier scenes of aggressive assaults and threatening encounters with discipline. (Greven, 1990. p. 173)

Along the same vein, Greven theorizes that the dynamics of domination and submission, which are inherent in severe physical punishment, can later result in sadomasochism in some adults (Greven, p. 174). The imposition of one person's will, power, or control over another and the resulting fear of "actual, threatened, or

imagined" violence and pain are involved in this cycle of control, punishment and reward. "Spankings, whippings, and beatings are the painful origins of much adult sadomasochism. . .long-term consequences of physical punishments" (Greven, p. 174).

Vicious Cycles of Effects

Domestic violence, according to Greven, is another possible outgrowth of corporal punishment and emerges directly out of these experiences of childhood:

> Corporal punishment trains children to accept and to tolerate aggression and violence, since physical assaults are used by adults to teach obedience and submission. The feeling associated with such punishments–anger, rage, anxiety, fear, terror, hatred, hostility, and love–are carried into the domestic relationships of adults who were spanked, whipped, and beaten as children. The patterns of aggression and assault directed against children become the models of aggression and assault directed against other beloved adults, especially wives, husbands, or lovers. (p. 186)

Included in this damaging pattern of abuse is expression of verbal as well as physical assault, both resulting in substantial psychological pain for the victim. "Domestic aggression and violence are among the most pervasive consequences of the culture of childhood pain and punishment," continuing from one generation to the next (Greven, p. 187). Greven cites statistics from three other researchers (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz) on the possible cause-and-effect of this phenomenon:

> We know that children who experience physical punishment as teenagers have higher rates of violence toward their spouses. . .As the amount of physical punishment experienced as a child goes up, the rates of wife-beating and husband-beating also go up. The people who experienced the most punishment as teenagers have a rate of wife-beating and husband-beating that is four times greater than those" who were not hit. (Greven, 1990, p. 189)

The domestic violence also includes the physical aggression of sibling against sibling in the home as an aftermath of children having either witnessed or been victims of corporal punishment. "Violence thus begets further violence" in a vicious cycle, Greven observes (1990, p. 189), in which case corporal punishment becomes a habitual or "generational" practice passed down from one generation to the next.

Physical punishment of children by adults in the name of discipline may be the main model for the "aggression, assaults, and other forms of antisocial behavior, delinquency, and crime that emerge when children grow up," according to Greven (1990, p. 194). "Corporal punishments always figure prominently in the roots of adolescent and adult aggressiveness" and appear to be "one of the major influences shaping subsequent aggressiveness and delinquency" (Greven, p. 194). The work of researchers Slaby and Roedell is quoted by Greven: "one of the most reliable predictors of children's level of aggression is the heavy use by parents of harsh, punitive discipline and physical punishment" (1990, p. 194). However, they caution that "aggression is the result of a complex set of factors, including physical

punishments, rather than any single factor. But harsh physical punishments are always among the key factors fostering subsequent aggressiveness in children. . .to adolescence," which in its severest forms can lead to delinquency and even criminality in later life (Greven, 1990, p. 194). Research by S. & E. Glueck is given by Greven to support his theory on causation: "virtually every study done so far reveals that the early lives of non-delinquents have been significantly different from the lives of those who later act out their aggression, anger, and resentment against individuals and the public through delinquent or criminal behavior" (1990, p. 197).

The physical and psychological pain from harsh punishment can spawn "subsequent aggression, anger, and hostility, which often take the form of delinquency and criminality" and other antisocial problems (Greven, p. 197), akin to a smoldering fire erupting into a full-blown blaze. Psychologist A. Miller likewise believes that "psychological conditions arise out of the adolescent's inability to cope fully with the emotions they feel when corporal punishment is used" (Miller, 1990, p. 7). Greven maintains that corporal punishment overall teaches children to view maladaptive behavior as a solution to their problems in life and that it is perpetuated as they, in turn, imitate what they see adults doing (Greven, 1990).

Long-Term Consequences

Greven summarizes the body of research on these long-term consequences of corporal punishment as follows:

> The overwhelming evidence now available from scholarship on the roots of delinquency and crime suggests that corporal punishment–the application of the rod and other implements of discipline–is a major factor in the generation of the rage, aggression, and impulses for revenge that fuel the emotion, fantasies, and action of individuals, mostly male, who become active delinquents or criminals. But it remains vital to recognize that delinquency generally is the outcome for only a small fraction of those assaulted by adults in childhood. (Greven, 1990, p. 197)

The 15 possible sequelae from corporal punishment, based on Greven's research and theories, are all plausible, and many are reflected in other scholarly research as well. Included in Greven's illustrations of the adverse effects of this type of disciplinary measure is an apt reflection of philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's on his own experiences with childhood corporal punishment:

> Who would believe that this childish punishment, inflicted upon me when only eight years old by a young woman of thirty, disposed of my tastes, my desires, my passions, and my own self for the remainder of my life, and that in a manner exactly contrary to that which should have been the natural result? (Greven, 1990, p. 185)

Greven's theories of the consequences of corporal punishment which are captured here focus on both home and school occurrences of the punishment, and he appears to infer that the psychological consequences can result from the punishment in either

setting or environment. Some researchers believe that many of the internal, adverse effects of corporal punishment for children are the same regardless of the external environment in which the incidents occur.

School Corporal Punishment

Irwin Hyman, former educational psychologist at Temple University and director of the national Center for the Study of Corporal Punishment and Alternatives in the Schools, has researched and written extensively on the psychological effects of corporal punishment, primarily in school settings. His body of work on the issue has identified the following problems as examples of "psychological mistreatment" and possible consequences of this discipline method: 1) fear and intimidation, 2) lack of interest and motivation, 3) feelings of rejection and isolation, 4) feelings of low self-worth and low self-esteem, 5) feelings of dependence and subservience, 6) feelings of humiliation and embarrassment, and 7) scapegoating and bullying (Hyman & Snook,1999, pp. 54-55). He makes note, however, that some of these consequences may be the result of subtle "omission" (neglect of the child) that may accompany corporal punishment, in addition to the overt "commission" (acting upon the child). He includes such subtle "omissions" as ignoring the student in class, lack of interest in his or her needs, lack of caring, or a lack of verbal interaction with the student by the teacher (Hyman & Snook, 1999, pp. 54, 56).

Hyman's analysis of the deleterious effects of physical discipline led him to include the following actions as corporal or "bodily" punishment as well: not

allowing students to go to the bathroom, forcing students to assume uncomfortable postures for long period of time, making students spend long time periods in a "time-out" location or in a very confined space (closet or corner, etc.), or requiring students to perform painful physical drills, all of which he maintains can cause psychological distress (Hyman & Snook 1999, p. 31). He includes the customary methods of corporal punishment in his discussion of what agents or actions can cause harmful consequences for children as well. One example he gives is the following: "Rather than swatting with wooden paddles, some Oklahoma teachers have used a leather weapon shaped like the sole of a size 12 or 13 cowboy boot" (1999, p. 30). Hyman categorizes these various means of tangible and intangible punishment, which elicit psychological distress, as "the pedagogy of pain" (1999, p. 36). He views corporal punishment and other traumatizing measures of discipline as "toxic" methodology in schools because of the potential for lifelong psychological trauma (1999, p. 38).

In other work, Hyman's research has led him to advance and coin a term for another potential consequence of corporal punishment: "Educator-Induced Posttraumatic Stress Disorder" (EIPSTD), applying post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) criteria to specific, traumatic events and the resulting psychiatric outcomes (Hyman & Snook, 1999, p. 91). Because of their unfolding stage of development, Hyman believes that children may be just as "vulnerable" to the effects of less extreme stressors (such as corporal punishment) as what adults are to that of more severe stressors (such as war, earthquakes, tornadoes, natural disasters, assault and battery, etc.). "Disciplinary excesses of educators provide examples of a wide range

of unusual and severe traumatic events over which children have little or no control," and Hyman proposes that psychological distress can result in school-age children subsequent to the use of these measures (1999, p. 92).

The following possible symptoms are included by Hyman in his discussion of EIPSTD: fear, anger, anxiety, tension, distrust, withdrawal, aggression, retaliation, personality change, mutism, memory and concentration problems, rebellion, poor peer relationships, psychic numbing, avoidance reactions, sleep disturbances, somatic complaints, emotional and thought disturbances, personal habit disorders, mentally and emotionally re-experiencing the trauma or fixating on it, reenactments of the incident, falling grades and decline in school performance, feelings of helplessness and dependency, and other signs of emotional distress (Hyman & Snook, 1999, pp. 92-97). According to Hyman, other potential consequences of EIPSTD may include substance abuse, precocious sexual behavior, self-destructive behavior, and school truancy in older students (1999, p. 96).

Hyman's research showed that 34 percent of students in a high school in suburban Philadelphia reported that they were verbally ridiculed by teachers to such an extent that they developed some of these stress symptoms, and 13 percent responded that they had also been physically assaulted by means of corporal punishment (Hyman & Snok, 1999, pp. 97-98). Most of the students indicated, however, that they had "recovered from the experiences and were not seriously damaged" by them psychologically in the present time (1999, p. 98). Hyman's study found that 10 percent of the students, though, had "experienced symptoms of such

frequency, duration, and intensity that they suffered" emotionally, and that "the experiences reported in this and other studies have later effects on attitudes towards educators, schooling, and schools," setting the stage for adverse effects in the future (1999, pp. 98-99).

Other findings of Hyman's research on the consequences of both verbal and physical punishment of students include the following constellation of symptoms and their prevalence, which speak volumes on both the short-term and long-term effects: 1) 69 percent reported that they had problems in school after the incident, such as hatred, worrying, crying, skipping school, cutting classes, and not doing homework; 2) 64 percent said they developed aggressive behaviors and responses, such as loss of temper, loss of self-control, revenge, disrespect, fighting, and picking on others; 3) 58 percent exhibited avoidance responses, such as avoiding the person and place where they were mistreated, and trying not to think or talk about what had happened; 4) 55 percent reported changes in the way that they felt or acted, such as feelings of depression, hopelessness, anxiety, guilt, self-deprecation, and loss of trust in adults; 5) 49 percent said they had some re-experiencing of the traumatic event, such as scenes popping into their minds or having unwanted recollections of the event; 6) 27 percent had fearful reactions and "hyper-alertness" or being on the lookout for similar bad experiences, feeling "jumpy," and being fearful of reoccurrence of harm; 7) 20 percent said they developed somatic symptoms, such as headaches, stomach aches, fatigue, loss of appetite, body aches, and nausea when thinking about school;

8) 19 percent reported that they began to withdraw from friends, family, peers or the people who were present at the time of the trauma, and previously enjoyed activities;
9) 13 percent indicated that they had developed memory difficulty and mental concentration problems as a result of worry over the mistreatment by educators;
10) 10 percent exhibited immature behaviors after the traumatic event, such as regressing or acting younger, wanting to be a younger age, or clinging to parents;
11) 10 percent reported experiencing muscular twitches, thumb sucking, nail biting, stuttering in their speaking, and habit disorders; and
12) 10 percent said that they developed sleep disturbances, such as nightmares, sleepwalking, sleep talking, night terror, or difficulty with falling or staying asleep (Hyman & Snook, 1999, pp. 94, 99-101).

Hyman's review of fifteen studies by Lamphear (1985) of the psychological effects of abuse yielded these conclusions: those who were physically abused had a greater frequency of problems (non-compliance, tantrums, and aggression) than those who had not been abused, and they also experienced problems with poorer peer relationships, social skills, empathy, and school performance (Hyman & Snook, 1999, p. 113). He also recounted a study by Chandler, Shermis, and Marsh (1985), which showed that abused children experience four basic types of "maladaptive stress responses": 1) feelings of resignation, acceptance of helplessness, and external locus of control; 2) impulsive, acting-out behavior, little emotional control, loss of temper, crying easily, and attacking others; 3) avoidance strategies, such as emotional

withdrawal and avoiding previously enjoyed relationships and activities; and 4) demonstration of passive-aggressive behaviors (1999, p. 113).

A separate study which Hyman conducted of thirty-five, volunteer undergraduate students showed that 34 percent reported having been traumatized previously in their former school days (Hyman & Snook, 1999, p. 123). The ranking of the traumatic events experienced by these students included an average of 65 percent reporting that "their worst school experience had consisted of verbal assaults, including put-downs and ridicule," 17 percent reported physical abuse, and 12 percent reported "overly severe punishment" (1999, p. 123). They also reported that their most frequently occurring symptoms were memory problems, "repeated flashbacks," concentration problems, "recurrent nightmares," excessive worry, and a shorter attention span than before the incident (1999, p. 124). His conclusion is that the "data about the nature and extend of abuse in schools. . .reveal that psychological trauma is not uncommon" (1999, p. 122).

Modeling and Social Learning Theories

If these numerous and various psychological consequences result from corporal punishment, based on the preponderance of the available research data, by what mechanisms are they induced? Hyman cites the research of Bandura (1961), whose work on "imitation and modeling" theory helps to account theoretically for the aggressive tendencies experienced post-punishment by some children. According to these studies, children imitate the behavior of "aggressive models" in experimental

situations (Hyman, 1979, p. 109), such as when children who watched models attacking a "Bobo" doll became "significantly more aggressive in their own play than the two control groups. Indeed, there was often remarkable direct imitation of the actual aggressive play of the model" (1979, p. 109). Based on modeling theory, "children learn behavior, at least in part, by the process of imitating someone else's behavior" (1979, p. 109). Thus, "observing and experiencing violence tends to provide a powerful learning situation because (among other things) such experience provides the entire script for behavior" (1979, p. 109).

Another theory related to the sociodynamics of corporal punishment is "social learning theory," also advanced by Bandura, who demonstrated through experiments that the application of consequences is not necessary or prerequisite for learning to take place (Huitt, 1997). Bandura and his colleagues showed how learning can take place through the medium of simple observations, the use of memory to record and store those observations, and the replication of what was observed (Huitt, 1997). They also confirmed that children who viewed aggression produced by someone else were influenced sufficiently enough to mimic or copy the original aggressive behavior. This theory relates to physical punishment in two important ways: corporal punishment is not necessary to motivate children to learn; however, if it is used anyway, children are likely to learn "corporal punishment" or physical aggression instead of whatever the intended learning outcome of instruction was to have been.

A similar theory to modeling and social learning is the "experience theory," which attempts to explain the acquisition of childhood behavior by "role modeling and role practice," even though the behavior may be maladaptive (such as aggression) and independent of societal norms or cultural standards (Hyman, 1979, p. 109). "People tend to practice that behavior which is in evidence around them," even though it may include specific experiences or observations of physical aggression, such as corporal punishment, or violence (Hyman, 1979, pp. 109-110). "Observation of violent behavior leads to imitation of that violent behavior. . .and. . .children are extremely quick to adopt behavioral patterns in evidence around them" (1979, p. 111). In short, the work of Hyman, Bandura, and other research gives convincing arguments that students can learn aggressiveness from corporal punishment in school, and that at the simplest level, behavior can be learned observationally and informally in unintended ways.

One of Hyman's books on the issue of corporal punishment includes the "Belt Theory of Juvenile Delinquency" hypothesis put forth by Ralph Welsh (1976). This behavioral model was formulated after the researcher noted "an unusual number of juvenile delinquents who were reporting severe parental punishment when giving their development histories" and he theorized that harsh punishment potentially has "aggression-inducing" effects (Hyman, 1979, pp. 126-127). In the laboratory, "experimentally induced pain can produce a violent aggressive attack," indicating that severe physical punishment might be a "potent precursor to the development of habitual. . .aggression" (1979, p. 127). Hyman asserts that "the use of corporal

punishment by teachers and other school personnel provides the child with a real-life model of aggressive behavior," and that "not only do children imitate such aggressive behavior from adults. . .but may tend to utilize such behavior when faced with frustration in their own lives" (1979, p. 366).

Along the same lines, Eron et al. (1971) found that students "who were rated by their peers to be the most aggressive in the classroom tended to have parents who used the most corporal punishment. When studies of criminals and juvenile delinquents are made, the findings are similar" (Hyman,1979, p. 127). Over the years, research has "consistently pointed to the conclusion that children of parents who use physical punishment tend to be more aggressive than the children of parents who use other forms of discipline" (1979, p. 366). Such studies have illustrated that the use of corporal punishment at home or school has substantial potential to produce "socially disruptive behavior" and an "incapacity for an effective life" (1979, p. 364). Another researcher, Whiting (1963), showed that "cultures with a high crime rate invariably use corporal punishment as their chief. . .technique, but in cultures with a low crime rate, corporal punishment is de-emphasized" (1979, p. 127).

Another theory for understanding some of the effects of corporal punishment include A. Maslow's "Hierarchy of Needs" or theory of self-actualization (Maslow, 1943, 1998; Huit, 2004). If a person's lower level or basic human needs are not adequately met–such as level one: physiological and bodily comfort, and level two: safety and security and being out of danger–this theory supposes that he or she will experience difficulty in obtaining the higher level needs, such as a sense of belonging,

feeling loved, and having healthy self-esteem. Critics of corporal punishment maintain that it interferes with the attainment of some of the child's most basic needs, preventing fulfillment of the higher level psychological, cognitive, and social needs and thus delaying or preventing maximum development of the child's potential.

Corporal punishment is not the only method by which a child's inner needs and psyche can be damaged. Numerous studies over the last three decades show that verbally attacking a child can be "even more psychologically harmful than physical violence" (Marshall, 2004). Murray Straus, co-director of the Family Research laboratory at the University of New Hampshire, believes that just the opposite is true of the adage that "sticks and stones can break my bones, but words will never hurt me" (2004). He states his research on the verbal versus physical forms of abuse and punishment shows that–other than life-threatening injuries–" 'psychologically' hitting kids does more damage in the long run" (Marshall, 2004).

Others maintain that the culture of both physical and psychological violence perpetuated by the use of corporal punishment in schools is a part of the "hidden curriculum," which teaches students painful lessons about authority, domination, conformity, and submission. When students learn pain, anger, humiliation, and the many other emotional outcomes of receiving physical punishment, they are learning those detrimental effects "through the experience of attending school rather than the stated educational objectives" (Haralambos et al., 2000). In this view, they are being "subjected" at school to a subversive and punitive curriculum instead of learning the importance of the curricular subjects for which the school was originally designed.

E. Gershoff (2002) published results of meta-analyses of 88 studies of 36,309 children which yield significant associations between corporal punishment and 10 negative, long-term outcomes of its use (Smith, 2002, p. 14). These adverse side-effects included "poorer moral internalization, quality of relationship with parent and mental health. . .criminal or antisocial behavior, and abuse of own child or spouse in adulthood" (Smith, 2002, p. 14). Further, the analyses show that "the frequency and severity of the corporal punishment matters. The more often or more harshly a child was hit, the more likely they are to be aggressive or to have mental health problems" (Smith, 2002, p. 14). Gershoff also reports that "corporal punishment on its own does not teach children right from wrong." Other researchers such as G. Holden agree that Gershoff's findings "reflect the growing body of evidence indicating that corporal punishment does not do good and may even cause harm" (Smith, 2002, p. 14). Gershoff cautions, however, that "what the results *don't* mean. . .is that all spanked children will develop the negative outcomes" (Smith, 2002, p. 14). However, because of the preponderonce of data which is available on the negative effects of corporal punishment, including that done in schools, many professional, medical, and educational organizations have developed and adopted formal position statements against its use in American education (see Table 1. at the end of this chapter.)

Alternative Viewpoints

However, three other researchers (Baumrind, Larzelere, & Cowan, 2002) have countered that "the data are too unclear to warrant a blanket injunction against all

corporal punishment" and warn readers that "there isn't enough research that shows non-abusive spanking's causal effects to draw conclusions about whether and when parents should spank" (Smith, 2002, p. 14). In their antithetical views, Baumrind et al. propose that it is actually the occurrence of "excessive child misbehavior" in the first place "which can elicit increased disciplinary responses of all kinds" and subsequently lead " to the detrimental outcomes, not the spanking itself" (Smith, 2002, p. 14). They also write that "because the original studies in Gershoff's meta-analysis included episodes of extreme and excessive physical punishment, her finding is not an evaluation of *normative* corporal punishment" (Smith, 2002, p. 14). Gershoff points out, though, that "none of the meta-analyses identified correlations between corporal punishment and positive long-term child outcomes" (Smith, 2002, p.14). Recently, E. Paolucci (2004) reported results of a meta-analysis of 70 studies between 1961 and 2000 involving 47,751 subjects. The analyses indicate only a small negative effect on behavior and emotions from corporal punishment and virtually no effect on cognition or cognitive development.

Looking at corporal punishment as a dampening device on the total school environment, researchers Edwards and Edwards–from the University of Southern Mississippi and from the Mississippi State Department of Education, respectively, summarize its main negative effects as follows:

a) failure to decrease punished behaviors,

b) unintentional punishment of appropriate behaviors,

c) failure to teach appropriate behaviors,

d) promotion of retaliatory aggressive actions,

e) reinforcement of avoidance behaviors such as truancy, dropping out,

f) modeling of ineffective problem-solving strategies,

g) promotion of behaviors inconsistent with the values of schools,

h) elevation of teacher and student anxiety,

i) discouragement of attempts to develop more positive forms of discipline,

j) in general, creation of a punitive learning environment for. . .students .

(Edwards & Edwards, 1987, p. 128)

Implied in their rationale against corporal punishment is a reaction against the once popular Skinnerian behaviorism–the theory that children learn appropriate behavior in the educational environment from the application of aversive stimuli in response to inappropriate behaviors, and that students' behavior can be managed methodically by the use of punishments and rewards and negative reinforcement. This type of radical behaviorism looks at children as trainable creatures whose behavior can be molded by the use of external means of control (Davidson, 1978; Schwartz, 1995; Staats, 1994; Urlburt, 1997; Watson, 1997).

A recently published proponent of physical punishment is J. Wilson of the University of Oxford, England. Not without his critics, he forewarns the reader: "What I have to say is not likely to be popular in educational and liberal circles. . .

there seem to be powerful arguments in favour [favor] of the practice" of corporal punishment (Wilson, 2002, p. 409). He supports his belief that the practice of corporal punishment is warranted, based on the following arguments:

a) it is cheap and easy to administer;

b) it is effective as a deterrent, because nobody likes physical pain;

c) it is to this extent effective as a method of reform, in that the fear of physical pain will characteristically motivate a person not to re-offend; and the fact that the motivation is extrinsic makes it no less valuable;

d) it is adjustable, in that we may easily inflict different amounts of pain on different people for different offences [offenses];

e) it is fair for all, since all people are similar in their dislike of pain;

f) it need do no permanent or irreversible damage. (Wilson, 2002, p. 411)

Wilson proposes that "given proper regulation and monitoring, there is every reason why corporal punishment should be permitted in schools" (Wilson, 2002, p. 415). He justifies his devil's advocate philosophy on the following rationale:

> The infliction of pain, though peculiarly direct or obvious, may be less personally invasive than some other methods. If instead of relying on naked fear or pain, I use the mechanism of shame, guilt, disgust, contempt and so on to brainwash or indoctrinate some offender, I take over his self in a much fuller sense: I control his mind and his beliefs, not just his behaviour. (Wilson, 2002, p. 412)

It is illuminating to juxtapose the sharp contrasts of the Edwards' and Wilson's competing views on corporal punishment in schools, point by point. Wilson may not be part of the mainstream of thought on corporal punishment today, but he does make some points that other proponents of the practice also espouse.

On the other hand, opponents of corporal punishment assert that it is not a benign or benevolent disciplinary measure even at its best or when used in the most judicious manner possible. Mahatma Gandhi was a firm proponent of non-physical, non-violent means of interaction and stated his philosophy of passive resistance to aggression as the following:

> Power is of two kinds. One is obtained by the fear of punishment and the other by acts of love. Power based on love is a thousand times more effective and permanent than the one derived from fear of punishment.
>
> Nonviolent conduct is never demoralizing. *–Mahatma Gandhi*

H. Jerome Freiburg, a professor of curriculum and instruction of the University of Houston, ascribes to a similar philosophy concerning corporal punishment: "It's not going to teach you to learn better. People don't learn well in fearful environments. A positive environment is a much stronger learning environment" (Achen, 2004, p. 26). In all, more than 40 national, professional, or medical organizations in the U.S. are opposed to corporal punishment in schools, many with formal position statements adopted against this practice (U.S., 2004).

Continuing Controversy

Even in modern psychological and child development research, controversy and disagreement remain on the use of this discipline measure and both its actual and potential consequences for children. Just as there may never be a national consensus on whether or not to ban corporal punishment in schools, there likewise may never emerge a theoretical consensus among professionals, specialists, and researchers in the field on the social/emotional effects of corporal punishment on children. The net analysis of the consequences is problematic since some effects may be immediate, some delayed, and some continual; some may be only transient and some may be permanent. Especially difficult to determine and analyze are any repressed effects.

Even more significant is that some of the potential harmful effects of corporal punishment, such as clinical depression, are complex "heterogeneous" psychological disorders which have a neurobiological basis and which evolve as an interplay between the environment of the outer world and the inner chemical processes of the human brain (Straus, 2000, p. 74). Having different physiologies and individual biochemistries, different home lives and family dynamics, differences in resiliency and coping skills, different friends and support networks, different parents and varying parenting styles, and different or unique personalities may all combine to determine why one child subjected to corporal punishment will still prosper and one will wither. Regardless, however, of whatever ecological factors accentuate or mitigate the effects of corporal punishment, it will be each individual's unique experiences and perceptions which will ultimately decide the results for him or her.

Researching how or why individuals construct and interpret those perceptions of school corporal punishment experiences will serve to inform and augment current theory on the psychological effects, and it will shed light on the human impact of a very harsh disciplinary method in schools.

Table 1. Education, Mental Health, and Other Organizations Opposed to Corporal Punishment in U. S. Schools

(a sampling from the more than 40 organizations)

American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry
American Academy of Pediatrics
American Association of Counseling & Development
American Association of School Administrators
American Humane Association
American Medical Association
American Psychiatric Association
American Psychological Association
American Public Health Association
American School Counselor Association
Association for Childhood Education International
Association for State Departments of Education
Child Welfare League of America
Council for Exceptional Children
International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect
National Association of Elementary School Principals
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of School Nurses
National Association of School Psychologists
National Association of State Boards of Education
National Association of Social Workers
National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse
National Education Association
National Indian Education Association
National Mental Health Association
National Organization for Women
National Parent Teachers Association
National Women's Political Caucus
Society for Adolescent Medicine
The United Methodist Church
U.S. Dept. of Defense: Office of Dependents Schools Overseas

(Source: National Coalition to Abolish Corporal Punishment in Schools, Columbus, OH, 2004.)

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Focus

The purpose of this research is to gain greater awareness of the short-term and long-term effects of corporal punishment sustained in a school setting by individuals, from their perspectives as adults. Prior experimental research and empirical studies on the consequences of corporal punishment in school have yielded a substantial body of findings on its potential negative effects, though these results have not been categorically conclusive, nor without their detractors. What appears to be missing to a large extent from the years of data and statistics on the issue, however, are qualitative studies which "flesh out" the findings in unadulterated human form, with the pure "voices" of experience being allowed to exist on their own merit without being reduced to a positivistic number or quantifiable norm. "Fleshing out the voices" of human experience with corporal punishment is the focus of this research study, in order to gather detailed, individual descriptions of how that experience has affected others and to allow those recollections to stand on their own account in totality. To allow the recounting of experience with corporal punishment to be validated by the recollections of the experience itself naturally follows a phenomenological approach to gain greater understanding and awareness of the human psyche and pathos involved.

Research Question and Assumption

Specifically for this researcher's qualitative study, the guiding research question is: What are the psychological effects on adults later in life who received corporal punishment as a child in school? Or, what psychological effects does childhood corporal punishment sustained in a school setting have on adults later in life? The research assumption is that most, but not all, of the adults interviewed will indicate some type of long-lasting emotional effect to some degree, based on the results of the literature review of previous research on the effects of corporal punishment.

Phenomenological Perspectives

Phenomenological approaches to research involve "careful description of ordinary conscious experience of everyday life (the *life-world*)–a description of 'things' (the essential structures of consciousness) as one experiences them" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 191). These "things" experienced include "perception. . . believing, remembering, deciding, feeling, judging, evaluating," (Schwandt, p. 191). In essence, the "phenomenological descriptions of such things are possible only by turning from things to their meaning, from what is to the *nature* of what is" (Schwandt, p. 191). In fact, phenomenology embraces "subjectivity" and "aims to identify and describe the subjective experiences of respondents. It aims to identify and describe the subjective experiences of respondents. It is a matter of studying

everyday experience from the point of view of the subject, and it shuns critical evaluation of forms of social life" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 192).

Since participants in phenomenological interviews were asked to recall their experiences from memory and their perceptions of the original event(s), the question necessarily arises of the validity of those responses, especially over the intervening time period between the event and the recollection of it years later. Giorgi addresses a possible resolution for this concern of validity in qualitative studies by the following rationale:

> Within phenomenology, the goal is not to try to eliminate subjectivity, but rather to try to clarify the role of subjectivity when correct knowledge is attained. Based upon everyday experience, it is granted that both valid knowledge and errors exist. . .It is a simplistic theory of knowledge that would try to claim that error only happens when subjectivity is present since correct knowledge also takes place with the presence of subjectivity. Knowledge, as a phenomenon in the world, is strictly correlated with subjectivity. (Giorgi, 1994, p. 6)

Giorgi points out that it is not possible or feasible to remove subjectivity from the information which is gathered in phenomenological studies, that knowledge is inherently based on perceptions and "personal actuality": "There is only knowledge for a human subject who apprehends it" and perceives it (Giorgi, 1994, pp. 7-8). He

quotes Husserl (1983), who asserts that "valid knowledge is attainable by means of subjectivity":

> Phenomenology is strictly correlational with respect to subjectivity and world. The two are reciprocally related and cannot be separated, so from this perspective, the very ambition to eliminate subjectivity is an impossible dream. (Giorgi, 1994, p. 8)

Likewise, R. Stake (1995) notes that "subjectivity" is "an essential element of understanding" phenomena (p. 45). In Giorgi's account, Husserl is saying that an individual's subjective perceptions of an event give it "self-evidence" and are a "legitimizing source" of both personal knowledge and understanding (p. 8):

> The experiences that humans can have possess the quality of valid knowledge because of the self-evidence contained within them. . .If someone experiences the self-evidence of A, it is self evident that no second person can experience the same A, for that A is self-evident means that A is not merely meant, but also genuinely given, and given as precisely what it is thought to be. (Giorgi, 1994, p. 8)

Conceptual Framework

Husserl's theories of phenomenology are a "metaphysics concerned with the essential structures of conscious experience" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 158). In a previous century, Kant was one of the first philosophers to emphasize the importance of metaphysics and the perceptions of consciousness (Leahey, 2000, p. 183). He called

the "world of experience," or the perceived world, "phenomena"; and in his theory of human knowledge, or "Truth" with a capital "T," the nature of knowledge depended on the nature of the phenomena (Leahey, 2000, pp. 180-181). According to Leahey, "Kant. . .investigated how phenomena arise in the mind, asserting that the mind necessarily structures experience in universal ways that make claims to Truth potentially valid" (Leahey, 2000, p. 180). In other words, the mind processes experiences in attempts to make meaning or sense out of them. Another way of looking at this mental or psychological process is from the philosophies of Husserl, Sartre, and Merleau-Ponty, that "a person cannot be separated from his or her perceptions of the environment, and, therefore, phenomenologists investigate not external truths but their participants' interpretations of emotions or events" (Langenbach, Vaughn, & Aagaard, 1994, p. 96). Therefore, the "psychological truth of the memory is sometimes more important than the factual" (Smith, 2002, p. 14).

Events having been transformed from "happening" to "meaning," recollected experiences are "real" in the consciousness of respondents and therefore valid to the person recalling them, even though the personal "assessments" of an event which happened in the past may have changed over time as the child grew into an adult and obtained higher levels of awareness, social maturity, mental processing ability, and cognition. That which was a memory of a traumatic event for a child in school may not be the same recollection of that event years later in the context of an adult's broader insights, increased abilities, and acquired experiences. Though a number of years has transpired since the event, an adult may have an advantage in interpreting,

or more specifically, re-interpreting the event from the vantage point of a higher developmental level than as a child. However, both types of recollections–those in the past and those in the present–are still valid for that individual.

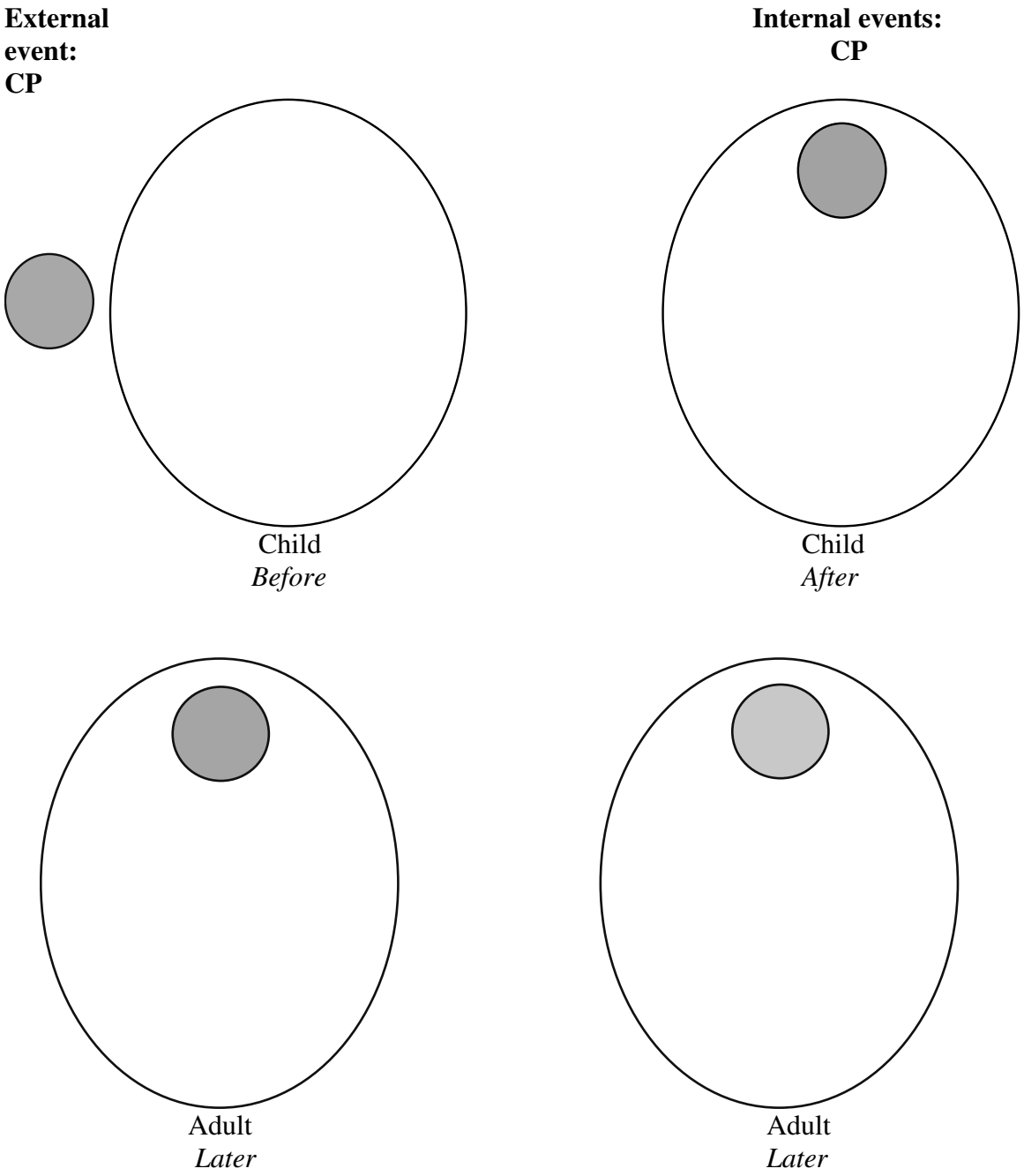
Even though what was a valid recollection for a 6-year-old or 16-year-old in the past is most likely different from what a valid recollection is for the adult in the present, both states of perception are valid at each of their respective points in time and consciousness. Kant's philosophy would explain this phenomenon by suggesting, using Leahey's modern phrasing, "First, we have some introspective knowledge of our own minds. . .however, when we introspect, we change the state of our minds" (Leahey, 2000, p. 183), making "absolute" knowledge of an event difficult. An experience is encoded into the receiver's mind initially with meaning attached to it, but then that meaning evolves over time as it is retrieved, reflected upon again in light of subsequent or new experiences, then assigned new meaning, and re-internalized. Whatever the state or phase of the meaning, it is valid at the moment for the person who is actively engaged in it. Phenomenologically speaking, what is real to the person is *real*. What is–*is*.

Husserl and Kant's metaphysical philosophies of thought and reality are reminiscent of Plato's own metaphysical theory of reality, that there is "the world of matter. . .and the world of mind–true realities" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 157). Metaphysical philosophy can be applied to the phenomenological study of corporal punishment as well: "Our minds and bodies absorb the blows and pain in childhood and react to them in a multitude of ways for the remainder of our lives, forming a

substratum of early experience that continues to be manifested in an astonishing variety of forms in our adult psyches" (Greven, 1992, p. 7). However, "the interior search for the truth within us may be painful" (Gutek, 2001, p. 18). Metaphysical or phenomenological approaches to the study of corporal punishment can garner information and qualitative data which illuminate in poignant and profound ways how recipients initially reacted to it both physically and mentally, and how they now regard it or even re-live it years later. "Everything remains recorded in our innermost beings, and the effects of punishment permeate our lives, our thoughts, our culture, and our world" (Greven, p. 10).

The following diagram illustrates some phenomenological perspectives of corporal punishment, from its external social situation to its internalized meaning(s), then to an evolution of the meaning(s) over time in the life of the individual. The meaning of the external event for the individual is translated into "internal events" or feelings, perceptions, views, emotions, and memories. These subsequent internal interpretations of the original event are qualitatively different in nature than the individual's first experience with corporal punishment, and their nature can take many forms and shades and degrees of meaning for each person who experiences corporal punishment and re-experiences it through recollection. Then over time, the perceptions and interpretations of the original corporal punishment experience will continue to change and evolve for each individual. (See Figure 3. on the following page for a diagram of the phenomenological views of corporal punishment.)

Figure 3. Phenomenological Views of Corporal Punishment



(Linda Sanders, 2004)

Though phenomenology involves the study of human experience or social phenomena, these experiences must be recalled and shared in order for the researcher to gain an understanding of them from the viewpoint of the individual. In the phenomenological sense, recalled memories are representations of constructs of reality for the interviewee. Construct validity or fidelity assumes that a method, such as interviewing or surveying respondents, is actually accessing this material, such as recollections and memories, for which it is intended. With a thoughtfully-constructed interview instrument–designed to elicit responses which shed light on an event as the interviewee perceives it, assigns meaning to it, and associates feelings with it–the researcher is able to gather valuable information about the event in terms of the respondent's current understanding and interpretations. "Phenomenology has as one criterion, fidelity to the phenomenon" (Giorgi, 1994, p. 7).

Research Methods

The research design for this study is phenomenology, including transcendental phenomenology, with a search for common themes and collective pattern among the remembered experiences of the research participants. The methods used in this research for understanding the phenomenological experiences of those who have sustained corporal punishment in school will be oral history interviews and narrative research techniques, primarily through the context of the recipient's perceptions and inner world, rather than from the context of the external world of the classroom. Narrative research involves "generating and analyzing stories of life experiences,"

such as narrative interviews and personal narratives (perhaps even personal diaries and journals in which incidents may have been recorded), and "reporting that kind of research" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 171). Oral history includes "life history, self-report, personal narrative, life story, . . .testament," as well as "in-depth interview, recorded memoir, . . .the recorded narrative, taped memories, life review," etc. (Yow, 1994, p. 4). Individually taped interviews and qualitative research methods were used to gather information about the memories of personal experience with corporal punishment from a phenomenological perspective

Research Participants

A purposefully-selected sample of five to ten adults (Creswell, 1998, pp. 65, 113) who had lived in Oklahoma, were currently ages 18 to 64 years old, and who had experienced corporal punishment as a child in school was the proposed sample in the research proposal, and the snowball effect was used to identify and contact these possible research participants for the study. Eleven adults total were interviewed. These adult subjects had been also been solicited for the research from queries, contacts with former teachers and administrators, suggestions from professors, contacts with state organizations, recommendations from a state judge who has a research interest in this topic, other interested parties, as well as the "snowball effect." Interviewees were selected who had "lived experiences" with corporal punishment without regard to the nature, quality, extent, or effects of those experiences in order to obtain a broader view of the phenomenon without researcher preconceptions. In

addition, participants were given pseudonyms to use during interviews to protect their identity and to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of their personal experiences.

Interview Instrument

Each interview was structured using an interview guide (Yow, 1994, p. 35), with open-ended questions to gain an understanding about the oral history of the overall experience as remembered by the participants, including their past and present views, perceptions, and interpretations of those events (see Appendix F for the researcher's interview guide and list of questions). This interview format affords the researcher more opportunity to capture the uninterrupted essence of the human events and phenomena. The overall intent and tone of the interviews was a conversational exploration that sought to discover understandings of corporal punishment's effects by assisting the participants in recalling and interpreting those understandings. If requested, respondents were given a copy of the interview guide ahead of time to assist them in the recall and preparation for the session, which one participant did.

The interviews were conducted after potential respondents had been informed of the purpose, format, and uses of the study and after consent releases had been signed (see Appendix G for a copy of the informed consent form). These interviews were also conducted after first receiving approval for the proposed research from the university's Office for Human Research Participant Protection and Institutional Review Board (see Appendix H for a copy of the IRB approval letter and form.) Each interview was recorded on audiocassette tapes, with field notes taken during the

sessions as well. In addition, the interviewing and narrative research pertaining to past corporal punishment was conducted in a setting or location other than the schools where the incidents had originally occurred, to avoid the participants being unduly or adversely influenced by physical proximity to the setting of the original events.

Participants were interviewed individually in-depth or at great length to gain a greater understanding of the psychological effects of the phenomenon of school corporal punishment, including those effects which had happened both immediately and subsequently. The questions had been formulated to gather as much information as possible about the totality of the past experience, its many facets, and its present interpretations–the who, what, when, where, why, how, how much, to what degree, the antecedents and the consequences, and the multiple meanings that the event generated for the respondent, using "thick description" (Brantlinger et al., 2005, p. 201), "long passages" and "exhaustive description of the phenomenon" (Creswell, 1998, pp. 17, 67).

To that end, both open-ended questions and follow-up questions were used to give opportunity for all the various ways of "knowing" the overall event in the sub-areas of social, emotional, psychological, physical, and metacognitive understandings will be explored in interviews to ascertain what "happened" then and what might still be "happening" now in the human mind. Narrative research is one method to accomplish that research goal. "The researcher attempts to capture data on the perceptions of local actors 'from the inside,' through a process of deep attentiveness, of empathetic understanding. . .about the topics under discussion" (Miles &

Huberman, 1994, p. 6). The goal of the interview process using this guide was to gather both "textural" information about "what" had happed to the respondents during the corporal punishment and "structural" information about "how" they experienced the phenomenon (Creswell, 1998, pp. 235, 237). A narrative account is a personal experience story that the teller relates to some significant episode or event (Schwandt, 2001, p. 168), in this case, an experience with school corporal punishment.

The interviewing process was "naturalistic" in that it solicited "firsthand, eyewitness accounts of 'being there' " during the experience of corporal punishment, from the "point of view" of the "social actors" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 173). Concerning the reliability of qualitative research, Yow observes that "there is usually consistency within an individual's testimony about memories of strong feelings," and he views "consistency in testimony" as evidence of "reliability" (Yow, 1994, p. 21). The generous use of direct quotes and verbatim passages from the participants' responses and the field notes generated by this interview instrument will contribute additionally to the credibility, dependability, transferability, and trustworthiness of the research data and narrative summaries obtained from the interviews.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Narrative Transcript Method

The taped interviews of the participants discussing their personal corporal punishment experiences in schools and which were obtained during the field research were transcribed verbatim first and then into narrative first-person format, using the original words of the respondents, with transitional words as needed. These narrative transcriptions or "tellings" of the stories surrounding personal events in the past of 10 of the participants are captured in this section below for reflection and review and the thematic analyses which follow. The participants were given the opportunity to review the narrative transcripts of their interviews, if desired, for accuracy and clarity and enhanced trustworthiness of the data, as well as for any possible misunderstood words; and feedback on the transcriptions was also solicited from the respondents as necessary. A few of the participants had thought of other details, descriptions, or additional material to add to the transcripts, in which case this information was included in the narrative transcription.

As Yow points out, "the written version of a conversation is not the same as the spoken version" (Yow, 1994, p. 227). "The transcription is. . .a step removed from the original. An analogy I use is the difference between a copy in someone's writing (other than the author's) of a 12th-century document" (Yow, p. 227). The participants' colloquial phrases and slang words were retained in the transcriptions

for enhanced understanding of the social context of the situations, the represented time periods, and the circumstances involved in the recollected memories. These terms unique to each individual's speech pattern were transcribed and included in the narrative format to contribute to the essence of the remembered experiences as recounted by the participants. The slang terms used which were specific to the practice of corporal punishment itself were especially illuminating for a greater understanding of the social climate in which this disciplinary practice occurred. A respondent's spoken words are, indeed, invaluable props for "seeing" or creating mental images of the experiences which are being relayed, and, like curtains on a stage, signal the beginning and the ending of each scene in the remembrance.

In transcribing the syntactical aspects of the verbal speech into a written, narrative form, care was taken to retain both the very short fragments and the long, run-on sentences from the spoken word as much as possible. Commas were used to denote a pause, such as when the participant would stop to think and reflect, or when he or she would abruptly change topic in mid-sentence. However, it is important to note that the following oral history "vignettes" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 81) of each of the interviews are narrative transcriptions rather than verbatim ones, though the majority of each one includes verbatim transcription, and that in some instances some of the facts or minor details were summarized or presented in summary form to enhance the understanding of the experience when presented in a written format or a format different than that in which the oral interview originally occurred. However,

fidelity to the perspectives of the participants was ensured in all of the narrative transcripts.

Using mostly verbatim and some summarized passages, these vignettes or narrative transcriptions capture the essence of the phenomenological experiences and culminate in increased awareness, understanding, and eventual meanings surrounding the corporal punishment experiences of the participants. The vignettes are also critical preparation for discerning pattern and themes arising from the interviews, and the inclusion of this valuable data will aid future readers of the research as well, who will have both the benefit of this additional layer of understanding and the vicarious experience of "being there" as understanding unfolded. To contextualize the vignettes, a brief introductory description of the general background of each of the participants is given initially, using the pseudonym name which was assigned to each. Each of 10 narrators lived in the Southwest, and their varying experiences with school corporal punishment ranged from the 1950s to around 1990. They have all attended post-secondary school and are currently employed.

Participants were asked the following five questions about their experiences with school corporal punishment: describe or tell about your experience with corporal punishment in school, how did that experience with corporal punishment affect you at the time, how does that experience with corporal punishment affect you today, what are the effects of that experience with corporal punishment for you, and what else would you like to share about your experience with corporal punishment?

In the vignettes which follow, "I" is used to designate the questions of the interviewer/researcher, and "N" is used to designate the responses of the narrators/ participants (Yow, 1994, pp. 2, 39). The following narrative transcriptions or vignettes of the interviews retell these remembered stories and poignant experiences of 10 of the 11 research participants.

Vignettes of the Interviews

I. Interview of "Rod"

March 30, 2005

"Rod" went to school in a small town in the Southwest in the 1950s-1960s. He served in the military and is now a state employee who travels as part of his job.

I: "Describe or tell about your experience with corporal punishment in school."

N: "Well, first the context of my experience was in a small town, and my first experience in elementary school was I think in the second grade, perhaps the third. There was a school policy that anyone caught fighting, regardless of who started the fight, would all be in equal trouble. And so a friend and I got into some kind of scuffling with a couple of other boys, and we ended up going to the principal's office and getting a 'paddling,' which is the term that was used then, and it wasn't too much of an issue for me except I thought I was defending myself, and somehow that seemed inappropriate.

Later, I didn't have another experience until I was in the fifth grade, and my fifth grade teacher assigned twelve spelling words each week, and I would actually study those, studied them with my parents, and even studying them with my parents it was still somewhat of a struggle, and I apparently I had some kind of developmental

problem or perhaps other problems. I have some dyslexia now at an older age, so perhaps I was experiencing that.

I'm not really sure what it was, but in any case, regardless of how much time I spent, I would miss anywhere from four or five words on a good day, to as many as ten or eleven on a bad test day. Another classmate of mine tended to have about the same experience, perhaps worse. It was a policy that if you failed the spelling test you got a 'paddling.' And after the second week of school tests, the teacher sent us to the principal, who talked to us and explained that if we didn't bring our grades up, that we'd get a paddling. And it was specific about the spelling--everything else was fine. I got good grades otherwise--no behavioral problems.

And so the next week we both just failed miserably on our test and were sent to the principal, and the principal gave us three 'licks' apiece, and that's how it was referred to. And then the practice was or the policy was that you sat in the principal's office for a short time--it was probably five minutes, it might have been ten minutes, but it seemed like much longer, and then you went in to see the principal, and then the principal talked to you, and then he gave you the paddling, usually with the other person in the room, and then you went back.

You had ten minutes to go to the restroom, which seemed like a kind of a puzzle, but I guess some kids would get upset and maybe compose themselves, but it wasn't necessarily a place for me or my friend. And then we'd go back and sit in the lounge area--the entrance area to the principal's office where his secretary was, and

then she would occasionally bring us something to drink, which, of course, we would never have in the classroom, and then we would be sent back to class.

So one other student and I got regular Thursday afternoon paddlings. That went on for several weeks, and my parents complained. And it just--I really wasn't sure what was going on, and I was pretty sure that the paddling wasn't making any difference in my testing, but it was humiliating. So, we wouldn't always have a spelling test every single week, maybe it would be one week off a month or something like that. And I think there were a number, there was a body of words that we were supposed to learn to spell as part of the curriculum.

In any case, so I didn't get a paddling every week, but I would say three out of four weeks throughout the fifth grade. And every now and then, I would pass the test and wouldn't go to the principal's office. I can't really think of how else to talk about that, except that there was kind of a oral tradition about paddling at the time, and part of that was that you were 'paddled,' not 'spanked'--'spanked' was something usually for younger children at home that parents did, and 'paddling' was associated with school. At least that's how I understood it.

Some of the myths that were associated with the paddles: they were designed with holes in them so that they could be swung harder, and if a paddle had a longer handle portion, then it was more feared because, you know, the person using the paddle could use both arms like a baseball bat or something, but in fact, you know, they were kind of similar to the myth: they did usually have holes in them--don't know why. Some said they would hurt more with holes in them; others have said, no,

so you could swing the thing faster because there was less air resistance, so there was an interesting lore about paddling.

And it did not have a context with the kids that I knew that was anything other than mild humiliation. I don't recall people thinking they were hurt--it hurt their feelings perhaps, and they did not paddle girls in the school. And the interesting thing, I guess, about the people involved--the principal was someone I liked and respected, and so I didn't necessarily see him as someone who was doing something inappropriate. I don't know how to describe that. But that wasn't quite how I viewed it.

The teacher, on the other hand, I thought just didn't understand that the punishment didn't have anything to do with performance, at least as far as I could tell. From what I've observed, I do think that kind of punishment did deter kids from doing things that were specifically prohibited--you know, doing something inappropriate on the playground or something like that. I do think that was a deterrent to some extent, but not for all.

The next year in the sixth grade, I had a teacher that I regarded, as I recall presently, a much better teacher. The fifth grade teacher I didn't dislike, nor did I think she was a especially poor teacher--I just didn't have feelings about her teaching. I don't remember anything other than the spelling tests and so and so forth. The next year, however, the teacher was much better, and one of her approaches was to administer or to allow the students to make up questions about both their geography assignments, history assignments, and literature assignments.

And so each student might make up three or four questions, and then, in turn, everyone got to ask their question and then, you know, somebody got to give an answer. And I guess what was going on there was reinforcement for all the students. Everybody could come up with some type question, and, as it went on further, it appeared their questions seemed to improve a little, and of course they had to read or study the material to come up with something related. Anyway, I especially remember that because I excelled at that--I did very, very well at that and looked forward to that. And I also remember that my spelling skills seemed to improve, but I wouldn't say that it was because of that, that experience. It may have been a developmental thing. I don't know what it was, frankly.

Didn't have any experiences with corporal punishment in what was junior high, and then as a senior in high school I was in a class that was in a building removed from the main building, main high school building, and it was a small class--there were sixteen of us, and the teacher left the room one morning to go answer a phone call. In those days there were no phones in any other than the principal's office. And anyway, he was gone quite a long time and we got pretty bored, and there was an eraser fight and as he re-entered the room, an eraser hit him in the forehead. And so he really had no choice but to, you know, send us all to the principal.

It was too much of an infraction to overlook, especially when he said, 'Everyone, raise their hands,' and everyone had eraser dust not only on their hands but pretty much all over, all over their hair and so on. So all sixteen of us went to the

principal's office. Two were girls, and they were assigned some kind of punishment where they had to go sit in a room by themselves and face the wall for a long period of time--seems like it was forty-five minutes or something like that. And then each of the boys got paddled, and I don't remember if it was three or five, but it was at least three.

The principal's office was in the center of the building, with a cross-shaped hallway design to the building. And so when he opened his office door, you could hear; sometimes you could hear people talking loud, but you certainly could hear the paddling. So there were fourteen boys, and everybody got paddled. Well, the more they paddled, the principal got sort of tickled about the circumstances of it all and the fact it was sort of silly and didn't have any meaning to anyone.

And at that time a high school boy who got paddled, it was more of a 'badge of courage' or honor or at least something to talk about, and rarely a concern about pain or concern about humiliation or anything like that. We thought of it as a 'badge of pride.' Now I suppose if you were unjustly accused of something, that might have been different, but at least I don't recall any of that.

The principal was a very good teacher, and I had him as a teacher, and he was also a coach. He was very good at all of his jobs and was a highly respected person that I think made a very positive contribution to his profession and so forth over a number of years, so to me it seemed as though, in the case of the high school paddling, whether it was me or someone else--it just didn't have much meaning.

If some real serious infraction of the rules occurred, then the student was usually expelled, which it was a real concern. Parents--at least in a small town in that time period in the '50s and early '60s--were not happy to have their kids getting expelled from school. And they didn't show up at school to complain if their kids were being unjustly treated. They, in general, put more restrictions on them or who knows what it might have been, so the practice for the high school student did seem practical.

Secondly, it seemed somehow unfair that girls were treated differently than boys, although it's my clear recollection that a few girls occasionally acted out and did things improper. The infractions of the rules were, must have been ninety-five percent male. And talking in class--the girls might have been guilty of that or a few other things, but just, you know, the boys were the troublemakers. But it didn't seem to have much of an effect on them.

And that was a joke after that happened, and the principal would occasionally see me or one or two of the other offenders somewhere, and because he had to give fourteen people paddlings at once, it was memorable for that reason. You know, when you just do one or two, it's not as memorable; and so he got to where he would kid us about that, and I was in one of his classes at the time. So he would make references to something, but it was always in a positive sense and it was taken that way by the students, whether they were the ones who'd received a paddling or not.

Not so from my perspective in elementary school--I think that *was* humiliating, and it was a puzzle. I was not able to express or even maybe understand

that somehow I just couldn't do this task, and so the punishment was not contributing anything to any progress on the task of learning the spelling words. I also remember being disappointed in my parents, that they were unable to interact in some way to change that situation. It wasn't that I didn't feel I shouldn't still take the test, study, or anything else, it was just the being embarrassed about it--a difficult thing."

I: "How did that experience with corporal punishment affect you at the time?"
N: "When I think back on it, I think as far as I'm aware of--and I'm sure that one person's opinion is not a cross-section of any community, even a small one--as I think back on it, it seemed like that corporal punishment was administered pretty evenly, predictably, and so on. It was more often thought of in a comical sense as I mentioned to begin with, and the folklore of it was that, you know, the principal had gotten a new 'electric paddling machine' and so on. I always tried to envision what that would look like.

So, I more or less feel that it was a cultural constraint. It was part of the socialization that I think the school personnel thought was necessary. I don't think they saw it as 'spare the rod and spoil the child' at all. I think it was just a means of discipline that worked maybe in a few cases, but largely seemed not to work. I don't recall any children being injured. I don't recall any children complaining."

I: "How does that experience with corporal punishment affect you today?"

N: "Today I do not regard any of the teachers or principals as abusive. But the punishment was not effective as a deterrent. Both of the principals involved were responsible and mostly effective professionals for their era. The behavior of my high school classmates and I would today be regarded as unacceptable. Today I do not regard corporal punishment as appropriate in any sense. As I reflect today, corporal punishment in the '50s and '60s was a socially accepted means to show objection for antisocial behavior. I personally regarded it in this manner.

Since that time, I was in the military just after I left college, and part of what my occupation in the military was to train people in infantry training in the Army, and paramilitary training essentially. There is sort of like a hazing period, not hazing like we would think of in a negative sense--always had a positive sense to it, because, you know, if they're doing pushups, you're getting stronger, and you do tend to remember not to do something you're not supposed to, and so on and so forth. But the point being is that occasionally people in the platoon or the squad or the company, or whatever it would be, would be punished because someone in the group had done something inappropriate.

And the question would always come up, `Well, but that's unfair,' and the response was, 'You're right, it isn't and that's part of what you need to be prepared for, because as a professional in the military you're going to experience things that aren't fair.' And so I occasionally think back to that and think about corporal punishment and think, `Did that prepare people for things that aren't fair?' I don't know. And I'm curious as to why I've linked those two things together.

And when *I* was the trainer actually teaching people to be drill sergeants and so forth, you know, we were actually helping people understand what the benefits of various kinds of punishments were. Of course, corporal punishment was not a part of it—the *corporal* might *get* punished, *but*, and in doing that I recall having to come up with a rationale in the literature that the military provided, a rationale for explaining things aren't fair and so you shouldn't be concerned about it, because as soon as the person gets into a difficult assignment, then they're going to have to overcome those things that aren't fair.

Then sometime, I do recall the military having people who would use improper discipline and create sort of a legacy of hostility about them, which I think might make their effectiveness much less, and also it means that the people they were working with were less effective, too. I don't know if these things were related to each other, but at least for some reason they also come up in my mind as being somewhat related."

I: "What are the effects of that experience with corporal punishment for you?"
N: "Other than just feeling like my parents somehow should have done more when I was in elementary school and getting regular paddlings, I don't know that corporal punishment has any long-term effects. I would generally be opposed to it, and for a number of years I think that I was opposed to it from a sort of social political perspective that those of us who are enlightened somehow shouldn't be administering

corporal punishment since we know better and this could hurt the psyche of the person who's receiving it and so on and so forth.

I've come to think that there is a different way to evaluate it, and that way is: does it work, does it produce things, to change behavior of the person--and I think that is a more rational way of thinking of it, and in my judgment it does not. Well, I don't think it is appropriate to use today, and I think that I've just said that. In a way, yes."

I: "What else would you like to share about your experience with corporal punishment?"

N: "I grew up in an idyllic community--you know, we didn't lock our doors, you knew everyone in town, and everyone trusted everybody and so on and so forth, and so it seems to me that it was a desirable but unrealistic experience for most people who grew up in more unpredictable environments, so that corporal punishment would be at least one element of an unpredictable and seemingly random experience that had no positive outcome but existed within a system, and I would think many people have someone who've experienced that to a much greater extent, and so that may contribute to an understanding of people who are denied certain rights or opportunities and so forth.

There is also the cultural context of different eras in America and how the laws often parallel it. There are parental and authoritarian roles for corporal punishment as well. However, I did not want it used with my own children in school.

As a parent I was especially sensitive to corporal punishment, always asking daycare workers and babysitters not to use it. By the time my children became students, corporal punishment had been prohibited in their school systems."

II. Interview of "Max"

March 21, 2005

"Max" grew up in a rural area in the Southwest and attended school in the 1950s-1960s. He is a long-time social worker who advocates for children's rights.

I: "Describe or tell about your experience with corporal punishment in school."

N: "I went to a small, rural school at the time, and the total population for twelve grades was about 150 to 175 students. We were all in one building, high school, junior high, and elementary. We shared rooms with two grades in a room, so I guess for a teacher, discipline was much more difficult. When she was teaching the first graders, the second graders had to be operating independently, so our class sizes were typically 15 kids in first grade and 15 kids in second grade--at least 30 kids in a room, with half of the kids not participating at a time, which had to be a challenging environment for a teacher.

The corporal punishment was the last resort. Sometimes the teachers administered it, and sometimes the principal or the superintendent. I had a fifth grade teacher that used the fly swatter. She was running around trying to swat us on the behind through the chair, which didn't work too well. We actually tried to stir her up so that she would demonstrate for us her incompetence in administering discipline. As I look back over this over the years, I think I only missed first grade in getting whipped in a school, so for eleven out of my twelve years in that school, I

experienced corporal punishment in every school year and sometimes more than once.

It usually was when the teacher reached her limit and sent a student to the office to a higher authority to straighten them out. Sometimes I remember a demerit system. The teacher had a point system, and when you had accumulated so many points, you were sent to the office and you got swats, and the principal was somewhat supposedly unbiased. I think for that particular teacher, you reached the three demerits and the punishment was one swat, and you were sent down to the principal, who administered the swat and then you returned to the classroom.

It was punishment--that was their means of trying to maintain control. Man, in some ways, it was a game: I was a class clown and got in trouble a lot. I'm a social worker now, so I spend a lot of time thinking; I'm introspective by nature. I was involved in the statewide effort to eliminate corporal punishment, and one of the reasons why the school where you work doesn't have corporal punishment is because our group implemented the banishment of corporal punishment.

I remember that it resulted in a kind of snowball effect: a few schools decided to ban it based on what our group had done, and then others followed suit because those were pretty large school districts in the state. Then, there are still some holdouts, it seems. The school that I went to still allows it; they do. Rural schools for the most part still do, and they are, for the most part, the last to fall into line.

The second grade teacher approached you differently than the high school principal. As I got older, there were more attempts to reason or take different

approaches. I remember in high school having to write a theme on citizenship because I got caught cheating on a test. In elementary school, the teacher decided to send you to the office for a swat, and the principal administered the swat, and you went back to the classroom without any conversation or reasoning involved. Pretty much everybody knew what the rules were.

It was largely subjective on the part of the teacher, just whenever the teacher got annoyed enough, so you know, that was part of my role in the classroom was to figure out what her limit was and push her to it. The paddles were typically between 18" and 24" long, made out of a 1x4 board with holes drilled in it. For some reason, they thought the holes helped make it more painful; we never knew if it was to reduce wind resistance, or the combination of holes and board were to make it hurt worse when it hit.

You always bent over and grabbed your ankles. We had only one teacher who spanked girls. Girls never got swats, only boys. For a while there was a junior high teacher who gave swats to anyone who failed a test, to do better in your studies. I remember in the 50's when cancan skirts were popular, this one girl wore every cancan petticoat she could possibly find in her closet. The story that filtered out was that the teacher bent her over her desk and flipped all of her petticoats up and paddled her on her panties.

This particular teacher was the only one I ever heard of that would do that where it was used as a punishment for doing poorly in school. Remember, this is the fifties--there is absolutely no understanding of learning problems; everybody was

expected to perform equally and be basically the same. I remember one of my classmates--we claim he failed twelve straight years. This kid was just dumb as a post, and looking back I'm sure he had some kind of learning disabilities. I don't think he was retarded, he might have been in the dull learning stage, but he wasn't as dumb as his performance indicated in retrospect.

The paddle was usually something that the ag teacher had made in the shop. I don't know if teachers carried them from job to job or not. My guess is they did. The point of it was to inflict as much pain as possible. They didn't hold back: it was with all the force they could muster--they gave it their all. You know, in retrospect, I look back at this, and as a social worker, I am somewhat introspective and I've analyzed this quite a bit."

I: "How did that experience with corporal punishment affect you at the time?"
N: "From a psychological perspective, I really wanted more attention from my father, and my father was somewhat of a cold, distant farmer that never in his life was able to mouth the words, `I love you.' He never said it to me, never said it to my mother, so part of what was going on with me was I was seeking attention in school that I didn't get at home.

Have you ever heard of Fitzhugh Dodson, who quoted 'the law of the soggy potato chip?' In essence it goes something like this: if you are hungry and you want a snack, you want a crisp chip; if you don't have any and all you have is old, stale, soggy ones, then you will pick that instead. Well, kids are the same way. Kids would

much prefer parents' good attention, but they will get parents' attention one way or another. If they can't get good attention, they will misbehave so they can get bad attention--it's better than no attention. So, that explains my behavior in school.

I sought attention, I wanted attention, and getting in trouble always got you attention. While I never liked getting the swats, afterwards I was the 'hero,' and I could strut back into the classroom as 'the big guy' because I was tougher and meaner than anyone else, so I liked that part of it. There was a big payoff: you could gather around your friends at recess and talk about it blow-by blow, so to speak, so there was a lot of positive attention from your peers when you got in trouble. That was much more important than whether or not the teacher was happy with me or you had to go and see the principal.

Dodson has a much more loving approach to parenting than, say, James Dobson, the Focus on the Family guy. I wish that the schoolteachers and administrators had been a little more insightful, had better ability to recognize behavioral issues for what they were, and I think schools have done this. I think there has been a tremendous improvement in the understanding of students' needs and disciplinary practices and so forth. There are still a lot of teachers who resort to punishment as their first tool, but good teachers manage their classrooms quite well by keeping students engaged and having plenty of work for them to do, and having them be interested in what they are doing.

I went to school in the time when rote memorization was the preferred method of teaching. It wasn't real exciting. I learned to read in the *Dick and Jane* books that

are just duller than dirt. You think about having thirty kids in the classroom, half of whom are getting the teacher's attention and half of whom are left with their own devices. It was a situation that was set up for failure. It was a bad situation and a bad design. We are spending the least amount of money we can, and it is always truly amazing that we manage to educate as many people as we do."

I: "How does that experience with corporal punishment affect you today?"
N: "I would like to tell you one story from high school that is one of the main reasons that I am against corporal punishment. For me, for the most part, corporal punishment was neither here nor there. I mean I don't think my life has been altered either positively or negatively.

It was the culture--it went on in the school system I attended. We all understood the rules, and I chose to break them. At some level I knew what I was doing, and for the most part, it was administered fairly and dispassionately. If a system uses corporal punishment and it is not used fairly and dispassionately by someone that is out of control, that is a concern.

One incident that did not operate that way was an experience I had when a coach teaching science class had stuck his head out of the classroom when we were dissecting frogs with these sharp instruments. One of the tools was a wooden probe with a needle on the end that you used to pull the skin back on the frog. I walked by a girl in my class who had her hip stuck out, and I had that tool in my hand.

I was overcome with an irresistible urge, and I poked her in the butt with the probe. When she responded in the fashion you might expect, the coach walked back in the room just at that moment. For some reason, that set him off, and he was completely out of control. He ran across the classroom, grabbed me by the collar, drug me across the classroom, knocked over several desks in the process, drug me into the principal's office.

He then ripped open the metal cabinet where the paddle was stored and started throwing stuff right and left, digging around for the paddle. The only thing that really saved me was he couldn't find the paddle, so he stormed off in search of the principal to find out where the paddle was. By the time he had returned, he had regained some semblance of sanity and some type of control. But for five minutes he was about as out-of-control as I have ever seen another human being. He was capable of murder at that point, and he would have hurt me bad at that point.

One of the more interesting experiences I had was later when. . .this same guy became state Superintendent of Schools! I had made an appointment to go in and discuss with him the evils of corporal punishment. That was a difficult interview, which I remembered vividly. I didn't particularly want to go back and face my abuser, face-to-face. But I did, and he didn't remember that at all probably, and that was my mental memory of him, especially when he was totally out of control and raging."

I: "What are the effects of that experience with corporal punishment for you?"

N: "I was fairly small for my age, probably 14 or 15, and the shortest kid in my class, girls included, and he was probably 6'3" or something like that--the high school football coach, a big strapping strong guy. It was pretty frightening at that time. The interesting thing about that particular incident is that it carried throughout my life. There are people who would talk about it, make jokes about it--adults that weren't anywhere around. There are classmates that recalled that event, people who witnessed it, and others in the community who had heard the story and bring it up when I return to that area.

So sometimes these events take on a life of their own. So, it made quite an impression on them, too. There were probably 15 to 17 kids in that classroom that day, and every one of them has an indelible memory of that experience. You know, people make jokes about things that they are anxious about, but the fact that this was 1962, forty-three years ago, and people still carry that memory and want to bring it out and look at it and toss it around a little bit tells me it was a frightening experience for everyone who witnessed it.

We're talking about a community of 250 people--they're not the brightest bulbs in the chandelier, and they are mostly farmers and ranchers. The only college-educated people are the teachers, and the parents still use corporal punishment to manage their children's behavior and they expect the school to do it. They would be upset if the school didn't use corporal punishment."

I: "What else would you like to share about your experience with corporal

punishment?'

N: "The efficacy of banning corporal punishment is that it is better for all children, because if the biggest institution in America as strong as the schools advocates a practice that I consider poor at its best--merely perpetuates the practice of parents, the parents could turn to the schools and say, 'If the schools do it, it must be okay.' So if we are going to improve parenting practices by eliminating corporal punishment in school and make parents think about what they are doing, then use discipline as a teaching tool and not as a control.

Until schools demonstrate that it is possible and good practice, and the societal institutions demonstrate good practices, parents are not going to go with it. Schools using corporal punishment send the wrong kind of role model message to parents; parents look to schools to be a good role model for students. They can actually be a leader in advocating better ways of dealing with discipline and behavior that parents can actually learn from and apply those newer understandings of behavior in how they deal with behavior at home.

In the community, especially in the smaller towns, schools can be a leader in these other areas besides academics as well. It seems to me it would make sense for schools in small towns to might have even more of an impact than in metropolitan areas. The schools do have a responsibility to use that process in behavior and other issues. Hopefully, things are changing for the better, and the rural areas can begin to look at these different things."

III. Interview of "Jack"

March 22, 2005

"Jack" attended a small school in a rural area of the Southwest in the 1950s-1960s. He is an accomplished newspaper editor who often writes on social issues.

I: "Describe or tell about your experience with corporal punishment in school."

N: "Well, it goes back to elementary school through high school, and I wasn't one of mostly guys who got it worse than I did. There were some guys in our school who got it almost every day. We started out in 1st or 2nd grade--well, I guess almost all elementary teachers had small paddles, and, of course, the principals administered corporal punishment. The rumor always was in grade school that the principal had an electric paddle just to scare the heck out of everybody; 'course, she didn't. Well, it felt like it probably!

Those were fairly uneventful--they were for fighting on the playground or disobeying the teacher on a consistent level, and the guys who got it a lot were the guys whose dads boxed them around a lot at home--we all knew that. In grade school, mine were probably about misbehaving on the playground, but when I got to the fifth grade, I don't know if it was corporal punishment or not, but it was my first male teacher. He was a really nice guy and he didn't even have a paddle, but it was really strange and at the time I thought it was funny. He had a big wooden desk, and if you misbehaved--girl or boy--he would put you underneath his desk where his feet

were, and he would keep you there for 30 minutes. I don't know if that qualifies for corporal punishment or not, but it does seem strange, doesn't it?

I had a sixth grade uneventful and seventh grade as well. Then I had a male coach for my homeroom where we changed class, and he had a big old paddle he called 'Hon-yock.' I'm not sure of the spelling; it might be in German as a word for 'undisciplined' or 'unruly child.' That was what it was on the paddle--'Honyock.' The coaches all named their paddles. It was a big old wooden paddle about 18" long and 1/2" thick with holes drilled in it to cut down the wind resistance to make it go faster."

I: "How did that experience with corporal punishment affect you at the time?"

N: "It honestly didn't warp me in any way. I think I turned out okay, but the pain and there was a certain humiliation of being brought in front of the class and being in such a 'vulnerable' position. And, too, as a guy--and I don't know about anyone else, but a 'macho' guy can't cry--I can't act like it hurts. And his delivery would depend on how angry he was at you, so it would go from a mild whack to a good sting.

When I got to high school, these guys were coaches when you got past seventh grade, and Mrs. Steegle--and I just loved her until the day she died, she was a wonderful person and a great teacher--but, boy, she had a temper. She would throw erasers and chalk at you if you weren't paying attention. She would just chunk the chalk at you, and she was really good at it--she could hit you at a long distance. Now these erasers were soft, they weren't hard, and didn't have wood on them--chalkboard

erasers, the ones you had to pound to get the powder out of. And that she'd just throw across the room and hit you with pretty consistent accuracy is what we thought was funny.

But she'd come at you with a paddle almost like a bull, and moved desks like 'parting of the waves,' and her paddle was about 2 feet long and only about 4" wide, and it was a 'doozie.' She gave me a few licks, and she was probably 60-something, not like she had a lot of power. The humiliation was the worse part. I finally got so tired of being paddled that I stole her paddle in 12th grade.

Now the coaches were something else. We had one coach in high school--this was a strange story. He'd come in and say, 'Today I feel like trading licks.' Now he had a deal where you would go to your class and he would do this `trade' for no reason whatsoever: he would pick male or female and randomly pick somebody out and trade licks. You got to hit him first, and he got to hit you second. So no matter how many times we did it, we were always too stupid or too afraid to hit your teacher, so when we administered our lick, it would be relatively easy. You don't want to hit your teacher hard, so you think if you don't hit him hard, he won't hit you hard, which was a mistake.

That was punishment that was meted out for no other reason than the pure enjoyment of it--he seemed to enjoy it. Sometimes he'd hit you so hard, he'd lift you airborne off the floor. He had a certain technique where he'd hold his paddle kind of sideways as he swung it to get the speed up and then he'd turn it flat at the last second right before he hit you, and he could rip you off the floor--it hurt.

Then he called a girl in front of the class one day, who was a good friend of mine, who weighed roughly 80 pounds--she was skinny, just the cutest thing--and he traded licks with her. When she went home that night, she was bruised, and when her parents saw it, you know what hit the proverbial fan, and he was gone not long after that."

I: "How does that experience with corporal punishment affect you today?"
N: "As to how it affected me, the people it affected the most of all were my buddies. Everybody got it at least once, got it in the hallway from the principal for talking loud in the halls and got two licks for that, and you got more licks depending on how severe the offense was, and it could go as high as ten. It was like the judicial system.

If you stole or broke into a locker, nobody called the cops back then; if you broke into a locker back then, beat somebody up, no one called the police--it was taken care of internally. This was a small school where my graduating class had 113 students in it, in the southeast part of the state. So, you know, everybody knew who the bad guys were and knew who were being boxed around by their dads--it was because of what happened at home.

These things often happened at home and caused them to be kicked out of school or to cause problems in school. Many of them went on to prison or had problems with the law. Some of them ended up dead. The physical violence they had experienced in their lives affected them later in life one way or another, but it was more related to their home life than to the corporal punishment at school. Most of us

who had stable home lives with moms and dads--whether or not we got 'whippins'--came out okay.

A friend of mine is a doctor; others work for the state and other agencies, etc. One thing I learned is I didn't want anyone doing it to my kids. I mean, even when we were going through this--and this was not a big deal- if I went home and told my dad, he would ask why and then he might say, 'Well, then you deserved it.' Simple as that. It was just an accepted practice then. Until my friend Dee got hit, there was not any controversy about corporal punishment, because it was an accepted deal as long as you didn't hit an 80-pound girl."

I: "What are the effects of that experience with corporal punishment for you?"
N: "The worse thing it did to me was the humiliation. I never want anyone except me to hit my own kids, and if I'm not going to hit my child, no one is going to. If there is a problem, all they have to do is call me, and I'll take care of it. You can deal with things. I would not even hit my dog or an animal, much less a kid. There is suspension and other ways to discipline. Or hit- and I don't want someone on the other end of that paddle who enjoys that.

I think Coach Joe enjoyed what he did too much, especially with someone young or small or helpless, and I don't think that's right--there's something wrong if you enjoy it. It's not a joke if you are enjoying hitting someone else. It's a 'control' or 'who's in charge' or 'power' thing. More rural schools do it than urban schools. If you are a 15- or 16-year-old student up against a large adult coach, you have no

recourse and that's control and that's not right, and that's what that's all about--it's not about punishment: it's about who's in charge.

Men do it because they can, and they get a little kick out of it and that's scary. That was in the 1950s and '60s. I don't know if they still do corporal punishment there, but I suspect not. I don't know, but most of the people who are running those things now are my age. I hope those people who did want to do it are doing something else now.

Obviously, there was the fear of getting caught and being punished--the fear of the pain and humiliation. There was no explanation or just that 'I had it coming.' The thing is--we knew the rules: if you broke the rules, we knew what the consequences were, that you would get licks. It was pretty 'cut-and-dry.' We did have a counselor at our school, but I don't recall her ever stepping in to stop anything. Getting licks was not unusual; it was just a form of discipline. I had nothing to compare it with. Whether we liked it or not didn't matter.

Only later in my life did I sit down and contemplate this process. I had no problem with this at the time, because everyone got licks and that's the way it was. We all wrestled with each other as kids. My brother and I loved each other to death, but we'd get out in a vacant lot and fight like hell. One of the entertainments was going down to Chase Pond to watch a fight. It was violent with fists--now it is with guns. It was not until I was in my twenties and thirties until I thought about the consequences of the corporal punishment.

Up until you were about ten years of age--it went from being a 'spanking' to being a 'beating.' Every kid I knew got spanked, and that had no effect on me psychologically that I know of. We all got spanked at home, too. I knew of kids who got whipped with a belt and the buckle of the belt; now, someone would call the cops or they would take the kids away. I remember my parents being appalled by that, but it was the climate or the culture back then. There was no DHS then--corporal punishment was 'nobody's business.'

It's all evolved. There was a time back in ancient Rome and Greece where if your son offended you, you could just take him out and kill him--that was just history. Maybe at some point, we'll get to the place where we will not only *not* beat kids in school, but also not kill people at all or have wars--I don't know. Maybe we're smarter or more sensitive than we used to be; maybe we're dumber than we used to be, who knows?"

I: "What else would you like to share about your experience with corporal punishment?"

N: "All I know is there is no reason for schools to sanction the use of physical force on a student unless he is harming another student. If that's the case, he should be restrained somehow--that's where you draw the line: self-defense, self preservation, or preventing a student from hurting himself or another student. It's just not necessary, and teachers don't need that responsibility of when to decide to hit somebody--that's not their job.

Teachers should 'teach,' not physically punish kids. Today kicking a kid out of class is better than corporal punishment. If I were a teacher, I would not want someone telling me when to make that decision on my own. If somebody is in my class and they are not acting right, just get the hell out of my class, but I'm not going to make a decision to hit them with a board. I don't want the counselor, the principal, or anyone to make that decision. Each generation is getting better at disciplining than the last one: my dad got it worse than I did, for example, and his dad got it worse than he did.

Here's what happened in high school--if you were incorrigible and the penalty didn't work routinely, so then you got sent to a Catholic high school with very strict discipline, and you spent a semester there and could come back. Then they'd come back and do the same bad things again. If you still had problems, you would have to go to a military academy for a year, and if you still messed up there, you went to juvenile hall, which was the last step before prison. They were all pretty much full of corporal punishment, and the military academy as well.

Corporal punishment makes a bad situation into a worse situation. It was not only accepted but encouraged then. So you are taking a mean kid and making him meaner, and I never understood the psychology behind that, and I think that makes those kids worse. I didn't think it worked. Then again let me stress--it only happened to me occasionally. It had an effect on me--yes, I don't want the children to go through this, and I want it taken out of schools. Gone, done away with--it serves no

useful purpose. People shouldn't hit other people, and they sure as hell should not hit children. That's the 'bottom' line."

IV. Interview of "Tom"

March 17, 2005

"Tom" was raised in a small rural town in the Southwest and went to school in the 1960s-1970s. He is an engineer who has helped build houses for the homeless.

I: "Describe or tell about your experience with corporal punishment in school."

N: "It was a public elementary school. The size was probably around 80 to 100 students in each grade level, maybe 500-600 students total. It was during the 1960's. My first grade teacher was Mrs. Rose. The corporal punishment was my most vivid memory of Mrs. Rose, and I don't remember anything about first grade except corporal punishment. Mrs. Rose had a rather unique way of corporal punishment, and my first grade was my first school experience because there was no kindergarten or pre-school back then.

Her way of corporal punishment was to use one of these little wooden paddles that is a toy that has a little rubber ball attached to it with a rubber band, and you try to hit the ball against the paddle repetitively. She had one of those paddles that she had taken the ball and band off of, and when you were misbehaving in class, you had to come to the front of the class, in front of all of the other students, and hold out your hands, palms up, and she would whack you on the hands with her little wooden paddle, so that made a severe impression on me. She made you feel really bad for

what you did; she made a big deal of it. It stung; it would sting for a while. It wasn't a feeling that went away very quickly.

Mrs. Rose's class made you feel like sitting in your seat, keeping your mouth shut, to avoid any potential of getting into trouble again. She meted out the punishment for any infraction in class. I think my usual offense was talking in class probably. That's kind of what I remember at this point. The part that I also remember of the class, regardless of whatever you did that she didn't like, that was the punishment, but mine was usually for talking in class when I wasn't supposed to be doing that.

It was a 'one-size fits all' punishment. If she thought you needed more punishment, she would hit you on both hands. It was a hard enough hit--to made your hand move. It wasn't a little slap on the hand, and your hand didn't stay in the same position--your hand moved down after she hit it.

Well, it was pretty much dead quiet just preceding your punishment when you were called to the front of the room by Mrs. Rose--it had a quieting effect on the rest of the class. When someone was getting punished, the rest of the class was very quiet and tense and apprehensive since Mrs. Rose was upset about something. Oh, she was a very stern, serious disciplinarian--not a very joyful person.

Other than that, the room was a basic classroom, child-sized desks, 20 to 25 kids, typical public school setting, very light, two-thirds of one wall was windows. At that time, I thought, 'Wow, I'm in trouble, this is going to hurt.' I remember the

sensation of being scared--petrified about the pain--the apprehension about the punishment, not the reasons why I was being punished."

I: "How did that experience with corporal punishment affect you at the time."
N: "The dread is the worst part of the punishment. The dread of the punishment is what I remember the most. As for why I received the punishment, I was not thinking about that as much as the fear of the pain. It was an incident I remembered in the past, but for whatever reason, I don't see much correlation between today and the past. The corporal punishment I received with Mrs. Rose is the one I remember most visibly, even though I received corporal punishment at other times in my life, even from other teachers.

For some reason, none of them stick out like the one from Mrs. Rose. Even an occasional swat on the bottom was not like the swat on the hands. Those did not stick with me like this recollection to the extent that I tried to remember if there were events that happened in school, and I have been unable to recall any of them, even though I might have received some."

I: "How does that experience with corporal punishment affect you today?"
N: "As far as how it affects me today, I guess I would have to say I don't think it leaves any lasting effect on me or any psychological issues or anything like that. So, it's just an event in my past. It certainly could have been my first experience in school. I was raised in a small family in the country, not around other people a lot,

and this was sort of my first group experience, so it might have been that or because it was done in front of the entire class, as well.

The later corporal punishment I remember was being sent to the principal's office. I remember being sent there more than once later on in school, but they weren't done in front of the other kids in school or in class, so that may be it. I remember all of the principals and coaches, shop teachers, all of those, and they brandished their paddles. If you were in their classes, they showed their paddles off like a 'badge of honor' or weapon. They made sure you knew they might give you some hard licks with 'this paddle.'

Some were worse about this than others. Whatever corporal punishment I got from them didn't stick with me. Some paddles were wooden, some were metal, some were Plexiglas, some with holes drilled in it, visible on their desks. Oh, yes, and sometimes they stood around and held on to their paddles to remind everyone to do what they were supposed to do. I do remember them standing around holding it like a warning or showing the paddles for reminders. Well, I think there was a fair amount of corporal punishment, and there was a threat a lot more than they were actually used."

I: "What are the effects of that experience with corporal punishment for you?"

N: "Well, the other kind of punishment I remember was any sort of verbal belittlement or abuse, primarily from coaches. I had some football coaches whose coaching style was to constantly belittle the players and verbally abuse the players in

any weakness you might have about how you played or any weight you might have gained, or how dumb you might be, or how slow you might be. Those were some of the things that teachers did to embarrass kids. I remember it with coaches and criticism, and particularly with one junior high coach who stood out because he was not overly critical and was enthusiastic.

Then when I went into high school, I had a coach who was just horrible, and if he got on your case for some reason, he would just ride you and ride you and ride you into the ground, and you couldn't do anything right. Those kinds of things have had more of a lasting effect--those kinds of fear and belittling and criticism from other people that will embarrass you. Even today, I probably have a fear of things like that, and things like that make you mad or want to lash out or quit. Yea, he would call you 'stupid, 'sissy,' or 'pantywaist,' 'dumb,' or cuss at you, a lot of cuss words, or 'your dad would really be proud of you like this'--a very unpleasant person all the time. He even belittled your family.

So, I think this type of belittling was even worse than what Mrs. Rose had done. I think so. The verbal abuse was much worse than the physical punishment. It certainly did not help my attitude and seemed to make it worse. It didn't make me want to do better or realize I had done something I should be punished for. In fact, I sometimes would 'play hooky' in high school I think because of that. I think getting my hand whacked made me realize I had done something wrong, but the belittling didn't teach me anything.

Well, here is maybe a paradoxical effect from that. Maybe the more you are belittled, the more you might belittle someone yourself. Then you might realize you are doing it yourself. Well, the experiences with people belittling me and especially in front of other people, consciously I try to tell myself as a parent, I am not going to do that. I made a concentrated effort to NOT do that to my kids."

I: "What else would you like to share about your experience with corporal punishment?"

N: "I am not someone who believes in a lot of corporal punishment with kids. I don't have any strong opinions on it one way or the other; I'm not anti-corporal punishment. I think it is age-dependent. I think it has its place with younger children who are not able to reason, and it has its place, but I think as kids get older and they become able to be reasoned with, I do not feel it should be used with older children. Maybe Mrs. Rose didn't think children could be reasoned with.

I don't remember it having a whole lot of effect on me one way or another. It didn't have any effect on my behavior. I think even with my parents, their expressing dissatisfaction with my behavior being the hardest on me, but corporal punishment has not had a great deal of effect on my life."

V. Interview of "Josh"

March 25, 2005

"Josh" is an African-American who grew up in an urban Southwest area in the 1970s-1980s. He works as a behavior technician for a mental health facility.

I: "Describe or tell about your experience with corporal punishment in school."

N: "Well, primarily when I was a student in fifth or sixth grade is when I remember the experience. I myself didn't experience it too often, but I have seen plenty of students who didn't have perfect behavior in class experience it more. What it would consist of is the teacher had a really long wooden paddle that he used, and when he administered corporal punishment, he would have a student out in the hallway and you could hear the teacher as he was speaking to him pretty much in an angry tone, and he would tell him to bend over and touch his toes, and he administered three swats with the paddle.

You could tell by a lot of tears from the student who would come back to the class teary-eyed and red faced and really upset and definitely upset. The paddle the way it was built, it had little holes in it and it pulled on the skin when it hit them, and it was done on a daily basis. Several students in the class would have this kind of behavior that would call for him to administer corporal punishment.

I myself one time, the whole class was laughing at something the teacher had done, and we all had to go out in the hall one at a time and receive these two whacks,

and I definitely did not want to experience this on a daily basis, and I definitely didn't want to have that happen again.

He would say, 'You know why you are out here?' And I said, 'Yes, sir.' He said, 'Because there is going to be no laughing in my classroom, so bend over and touch your toes.' I did so, and he gave me the three whacks with the wooden paddle. That was my experience with corporal punishment during the fifth or sixth grade. In fact, the teacher was a male in his forties, tall and slender and he was not very cheerful--had a scowl on his face. He was a good teacher, he instructed us well, and he just was not the kind of teacher that I would recommend for a classroom setting.

Well, it was one after another. He would let you get your balance in-between licks, and then he would give you another one. You would feel the sensation for a quite a while the rest of that day. It did damage to the skin. I definitely had a bruise, and I even explained it to my mother when I went home that day why that happened. I guess this was the `norm' at that time, so she didn't think nothing of it, so she told me to be careful in class and not to get into trouble since the whole class got into trouble."

I: "How did that experience with corporal punishment affect you at the time?"
N: "It made me fearful of getting this on a daily basis, because, for some reason the behavior if I would act out or something, this would happen. It made me a little more sympathetic to those kids who get into trouble. My point is, you think about what if you have a child and they have to receive that punishment?

I remember one other time in my science class with a different teacher. At the time, her means of administering corporal punishment was a whack with a ruler on the hand. I preferred that better than the paddle. I disrupted the class with another student because we had a disagreement, and, really, we started talking about it out loud. That time she told us to go out in the hall, and she came out and 'popped' us on the palm of the hand and it was effective means at that time, but it could have been handled differently, but it was the normal way. It was not as bad as getting it done on the bottom, but it still stung.

The teacher, she kind of spoke to us a little bit out in the hallway about what had taken place, but we both had opposite viewpoints, but she said, 'I am not going to tolerate this in class,' and that's when she said to put out your palms. You had quite a sensation in your hands. Well, at the time right before the punishment was being administered, I had a lot of fear and anxiety and didn't feel like I was being understood because I didn't get a chance to voice my viewpoint.

In my household with my mother, she talked to us and tried to reason with us and tried to find out what took place before the discipline. So when I didn't get to be heard at school, after the punishment was given I sat and thought about it and felt abused and grieved somewhat because I didn't think I deserved it. Then I knew, with time, I had to accept it.

Later on in the day, I was still thinking about it, and it set my mood for the rest of the day because I wasn't very happy about it and didn't think I deserved it. My mom went along with it, but it did help me not to get into trouble in class, but not

the kind of motivation I would want to encourage a student to have--it produced morbid fear. I noticed that students who got into trouble daily perhaps weren't clearly understood, and they must have felt awful, but they didn't seem to have the fear of it anymore, and they may have had some kind of mental problem."

I: "How does that experience with corporal punishment affect you today?"
N: "This was in the 1970's. It hurt me, and I wouldn't want to put that kind of punishment on anyone else. It didn't help me in any positive way at all. The punishment needed to be changed, and I think most school districts have discontinued with that method, and I don't think it really helped. From my viewpoint as I look back on it, I think that it was a form of aggression—another act of aggression. I was not an aggressive-type person, but it could make you that way. It also desensitized the other students to where they didn't care anymore.

Most teachers had their own wooden boards displayed on the wall as a reminder of what you get if your behavior wasn't appropriate, but they were mostly used by male teachers. The teachers usually did it. Usually, a student would get escorted out of the class as a 'standard' for others. Also, if the student's behavior got so the principal was involved, he had his own paddle. This was a medium-sized paddle, and some of the same teachers are still there at the school. When I went back to visit after I graduated, though, the paddles weren't there on display anymore."

I: "What are the effects of that experience with corporal punishment for you?"

N: "One thing else, I don't think this is a good way to handle it for students to bend over and touch their feet-- especially humiliating--for female students, too. Even as a young child you could tell it wasn't an appropriate method. You knew it was wrong; it didn't seem right. It was just a time when that type of punishment was expected, but it was a poor method of correction. It was a 'different time' then. Since being a parent myself, corporal punishment--the way it was being administered, should not be a 'blanket punishment' for every student, and each child has individual needs, and they all need different things.

I hardly ever spank my children, but sometimes a harsh word can get my point across, or reasoning things out with them. It really affected me to that point, because I feel we should be able to talk things out for the most part, and I think that is more effective. Removing privileges is also more effective. Corporal punishment only lasts for a moment--at least the physical part of it--but the emotional part of it lasts a long time and maybe not for the better, with anger at the teacher. It promotes anger, aggression, upset feelings--more negative things than positive."

I: "What else would you like to share about your experience with corporal punishment?"

N: "My experience now is working in a mental facility with adults, being able to talk to patients without a physical restraint, and to try to find out what the cause of their problem is or a need that may not be met. Their needs not being met caused

frustrations and behavior problems. Sometimes teachers may not have even thought about such things.

You have to learn to look at people's needs first. Try to approach students like you are on their side, and 'How can we help you?' or 'What can we do to help?' Ask them, 'What is their need?' They may need to vent their feelings first, too. When someone is upset, talking and trying to 'work things through' can help the situation."

VI. Interview of "Harris"

March 28, 2005

"Harris" is a minister and counselor who is African-American and grew up in an urban area in the Southwest. He attended a large school in the 1970s-1980s.

I: "Describe or tell about your experience with corporal punishment in school."

N: "Usually corporal punishment was justified. We were fighting, or there was a scuffle between two children. When we were separated, we knew we were going to get the paddle. We knew there would be a call to the home saying we had disrupted the class that day. Our experience mainly was here this person who doesn't even know me is spanking me.

There was no discretion about it--it was in front of the whole class so you were ridiculed and laughed at. For weeks, fingers were pointed at you as the one who got in trouble. So, it scarred you as a child. I remember semesters later being upset internally with the teacher. I don't know if it was more for the spanking or because they called home and got your family all disrupted for a month or two.

When you are processing something internally as a second or third grader, internally, it basically was that it was a spanking, but he didn't ask anything about, 'Who started this, what was this about, why were you fighting?' He just tore us apart and spanked us. They didn't ask what happened or who started it or why or anything,

they just paddled us. It was usually my physical ed teacher, and that was where you had the largest accumulation of students.

There was more than one experience, but I was protecting myself or my siblings, including my brother facing the same thing. There was usually more than one person trying to take things from me. I grew up in poverty so I learned how to protect myself. You had to stick up for yourself for survival, especially in a large inner-city school.

The teacher used a wooden paddle with holes in it, and I actually did ask myself why it had holes in it, and he stated that they wanted you to hear the wind so you would know the impact and not have this happen to you too often. The thing that stuck with me was no one asked why, and you went home and you got a spanking for the same thing and still no one asked why?

Their statement was, 'You embarrassed us.' So, they said the call from the school had embarrassed them. There were times when it seemed like this was an adult who could just lie about you. That was very frustrating. It built a resentment toward adults, and it built an anger in me. That was the main time, but I had such angry feelings that I built defense mechanisms to avoid them, and many times said no more than 'good morning' to them."

I: "How did that experience with corporal punishment affect you at the time?"

N: "It rendered me powerless as far as being able to express myself. Being in a predominantly black school, the teachers were white, and they didn't understand me

since they were living in the upper class neighborhood. The teacher doesn't understand that we have to fight for our lunch money, for our sneakers, for our clothes--it's not just disciplining bad children, spanking us into good children. This is a way of life for an African-American child in our neighborhood.

I think just one time, I wanted to say to him, you know there are sixth and seventh graders that would follow me into the bathroom and take my lunch money and I wouldn't eat that day. So they would demand your lunch money or your shoes. I think that teachers don't try to understand us, and therefore I have a total mistrust of them.

They don't understand you need your sneakers back and you have to fight for them. It also gave me a total mistrust of Caucasian people and who don't understand black people. It kind of makes you a passive-aggressive. Your guard is out. If you are called on by one of your white teachers, you are on guard. And you have to prepare yourself for repercussions at home."

I: "How does that experience with corporal punishment affect you today?"
N: "One of the good aspects of how it affected me is I promised my mom that I would never allow this to happen to my child, nor would I not give my child a `voice' and I would meet with the teacher. I do not feel corporal punishment is successful in a school setting. I think it is the parents' job to discipline, and I think the discipline should match the altercation or offense.

I think corporal punishment today makes aggressive children worse, especially in single one-parent families which often exist in African-American homes. My son went to school in Oklahoma. Even when he was here, the Caucasian teachers did not understand the African-American students, because he was about to get in a fight with a Caucasian boy for the third time, and I said, 'Well, this is why--he was about to call my son *BOY*, which is like calling him the *N* word.' They said, `We never knew that.'

The counselors need to know these things. You need to empathize, affiliate, and associate with these students' cultures before you can effectively counsel them. It helps to build trust with other cultures."

I: "What are the effects of that experience with corporal punishment for you?"
N: "It's been a long time. Parenting styles have affected me. I'm truly angered as a minister and as a counselor. I want to ask parents, `Have you listened to what your child is saying? Ask them their dreams. Maybe your son doesn't like football--maybe he likes music.' I think behavior is trying to tell you something, and it doesn't mean I am against unnecessary discipline. It stems back to me from childhood where I said I would never treat a child this way.

There are some kids with no parents. With kids today, you can't even hint you might hit them. I think discipline is for the home, and it should be left to the parents. What are the effects this system has on that child? I don't think we should

put students on the defensive, and I don't think our children are being listened to today.

I think some teachers should be sent to multicultural classes to understand and learn more about how to discipline African-American children. To be teaching for fifteen years and not know an African-American child does not like to be called a 'boy' is preposterous to me--how you can *not* know that?

More minority counselors are needed to help build trust. It stems from corporal punishment or students not being understood. Their moms are working two or three jobs to try to keep the family together. They think, 'Spare the rod, spoil the child,' but what about the 'rod of instruction'? Misbehavior demonstrates an unmet need. I'm not against discipline per se."

I: "What else would you like to share about your experience with corporal punishment?"

N: "It stems back to my childhood when my life was seriously in danger or I was starving. Some kids had no parents at home, so maybe they could use social services instead of corporal punishment. Corporal punishment ultimately causes distrust. It raises aggressive children. I don't think it's useful--it shouldn't be used.

Think about what you're doing first--am I creating an 'ODD' or oppositional-defiant child from corporal punishment? It puts the child in a defensive mode. Children are not being listened to enough."

VII. Interview of "John"

March 22, 2005

"John" grew up in a small, isolated area in the Southwest and attended school in the 1950s-1960s. He is a typing teacher in a farming area of the state.

I: "Describe or tell about your experience with corporal punishment in school."

N: "I got a 'bustin' [sic] one time when I was a sophomore--I deserved it. I think corporal punishment works. It works--you don't do it again. If they are really disciplined, they won't do it again. Most kids want discipline. They don't realize it, but they do. They want direction.

The school I went to was in the western part of the state. It was a small school, grades 1-12, about 35-40 kids in the high school--must have been about 100 in the whole school. It was closed down in 1967 when they closed some of the smaller schools. It was in a small farming community.

Well, there were four of us boys, and the teacher was the basketball coach and was out of the room, and we were throwing erasers, and when the coach came back in the room and there was eraser dust in the air. And he asked who had been throwing erasers--we had heard if you were honest, you wouldn't get a paddling--but he taught us wrong!

Anyway, that must have been just a rumor, because he gave us boys two licks each in the principal's office, and that was the hardest licks I ever got in my life, and

you couldn't even have your billfold in your pocket during it. They hurt--they were painful. Every boy there had tears in his eyes. That taught us a lesson about being honest!"

I: "How did that experience with corporal punishment affect you at the time?"
N: "I knew we were wrong--we didn't throw erasers anymore. They had a school paddle about 3/4 to 1" thick, and it had a knot on the end where you could swing it like a ball bat, and that's basically what he did. It was the official school paddle and was mostly used with the high school students. If you got paddled with it, you could sign your names on it, and we did. I wish I had that paddle to this day.

But like I said, corporal punishment works. It helps you behave. I teach in a large high school now with 1,879 total students. I teach keyboarding to five sections, and I'll average 42 in a class. When I first came here to teach those huge classes in a big school, I was just astonished at how well the kids were behaved. I expected them to be kind of ornery. But then in the '70s they banned corporal punishment here, and the discipline problems got worse. We had better discipline when corporal punishment was allowed.

Another time, we moved when I was in the first grade. The teacher I had in first grade I really don't think liked me, and she gave me lots of 'whippins' [sic]. Well, two times I got three whippins in one day, and I got one almost every day and more than anyone in the class, but I only deserved it once. I was always in a fight, because I was the new kid on the block--the new student--so I had to prove myself.

They ‘tested’ you if you were the new kid--new kids got picked on there. They were doing cursive writing, and I was only doing printing where I came from.

The boys always got whippins [sic], but only two girls got whippins. The whippins were with a ruler or a rubber hose, and she would twist your arm and was a pretty mean teacher. I hated it. Because of that, I didn’t want to go to school and sometimes *didn’t* go to school. I would get a ‘fever’ right before the bus came and then get better after it left. So that happened the whole year in first grade.

They finally got rid of the teacher, and my dad was the reason why, and I think she had problems in another school after that--a veteran teacher, but I think she had some problems there, too. I kept wondering, ‘Why me, what did I do?’ She didn’t ever explain why, not really. Maybe spankings for just not knowing the right answers.

Well, she had some problems. The discipline took place in the cloakroom. She did use the rubber hose on me and the ruler in front of the class, but otherwise she sent me into the cloakroom for it, which was kind of like a big closet area. She was an unreasonable teacher and should have not been in the profession. I had another first grade teacher later, and I was pretty shy actually and never had another whippin until I was a sophomore in high schoo--it was the other kid’s fault--when another boy wanted to fight me on the playground, so I put dirt in his eyes.”

I: “How does that experience with corporal punishment affect you today?”

N: "I really like where I am now, but I am considered a very, very strict teacher--a disciplinarian--by my students. When you have as many students as I have now, you have to keep things pretty quiet. When you walk into my class, you don't hear any talking or nothing. The kids getting their papers out of the printer are quiet. They get one hour of detention if they talk--it's just automatic in keyboarding because there is no need to talk.

I have a para helping me, and if someone gets detention, she automatically fills out a form and mails it to the parents, and the students have one week to make up their time. If they don't make it up, the deans will give them in-school suspension. I was talking to one of the assistant principals about this system, and they had to have deans in order to handle these discipline situations. They eliminated an assistant principal position and a teacher position to accomplish this."

I: "What are the effects of that experience with corporal punishment for you?"
N: "As far as corporal punishment--it's just that I'm actually for it, even with your own kids. You take parents having them sit in a corner--a lot of those kids are just laughing at them. If you spank a kid, it hurts--it gets their attention--but I don't mean abuse. The best three months of the school year are coming up soon--June, July and August."

VIII. Interview of "Katherine"

March 12, 2005

"Katherine" was raised in a medium-sized Southwestern town in the 1970s-1980s and played sports in school. She is a pharmacist for a heart-specialty hospital.

I: "Describe or tell about your experience with corporal punishment in school."

N: "Really, the first that I can remember I think I was probably in second grade and it wasn't really a swat, it was a ruler on the hand. It was a teacher who was really well known for the ruler. I have a brother who is three years older than me and he had gotten a ruler on the hand. Everyone in the class knew that was what she did and, of course, I ended up getting mine because I was a talker. I sat in class and could not keep my mouth shut. I remember that incident, and another I remember really well was when I was in third grade and one time our teacher decided since she was having trouble getting students to turn their homework in and when we got to school she had made a list of times when you didn't turn in your homework.

So for each time you didn't turn your homework in, you got a swat. So, basically, she lined up everyone in the classroom single file and we walked up in front to where she was, and she would give us swats. I got three, and I can remember that one of my best friends who wasn't real good with math and she couldn't do any schoolwork real well and she ended up getting eleven or twelve swats that day, and everyone in the class felt so bad for her because she got the worse end of the deal. I

don't really remember that incident being that painful--it was kind of; well, because everyone was getting them and no one wanted to show any kind of emotion whatsoever and it kind of turned into kind of a funny thing because every single person got swats that day because all of us had gone through a time when we didn't turn in our homework.

And then the last time I remember was when I was old enough to know better and I had the football coach for my science teacher, and I was chewing gum and he told me to spit the gum out and I didn't. I acted like I swallowed it and proceeded to hide it and he caught me again chewing the gum. I played sports the whole time I grew up and we were in a way friends, and he joked around with me all the time since we went on sports trips since women's basketball trips were sometimes with the guys. A traveling thing, so he knew me as a person rather than a student. And he came over to my chair and I was a little person then weighing about 87 pounds then, and he picked me up by my belt loops and my shirt and hoisted me out into the hallway and then gave me three swats. I can remember he lifted me off of the ground, and I went into the bathroom after that and I looked and I had big welts on my legs where he had kind of missed.

Those are the three I can really remember, those are all I can remember, but I am sure there were more times in my earlier childhood that I got into trouble because I was a talker in class, and on the playground I got into trouble and some I probably didn't deserve. Oh, yea, he hit hard, and I can remember wondering if I needed to go home and tell my mother or not because it was like if I tell Mom I may get in even

more trouble, but he's hitting way too hard. I didn't tell, and he was probably angry because I had not done what he had told me to do, still I don't think I deserved to be hit that hard."

I: "How did that experience with corporal punishment affect you at the time?"
N: "Well, when I was younger, in the third grade, it was kind of like I didn't feel bad about it when everyone was getting them, it was kind of like a funny situation, we all got letters at home that we weren't doing our homework. I don't remember getting into trouble at home, but I'm sure I got talked to. When I was older, I can remember being embarrassed because he had thrown me out and given me those huge licks and I think I even cried that time because I remember going into the bathroom and looked, and you could see the outline of the paddle, those big wooden paddles with the handle cut out. It didn't have holes in it, it didn't have handles, but kind of like that- just a big board where they could swing it. It was kind of on my legs, it went a little too low--of course, I was probably trying to get away. I just remember the pretty big welts on my legs.

I think part of me knew that if my mother had seen that, she would have caused a big deal and I didn't want any of it, so I never told her. He still joked around with me after that, and we still had the same kind of relationship we always had after that---I knew I had done wrong, but I think it was a little harsh for the situation. It was nice that we still had a good relationship at least after a while.

I'm sure at first I was upset and hurt and all of that, but overall I don't think it had any impact on what I thought of him because other kids in my class got swats like that, too. It wasn't like it was something out of the ordinary. The rules were laid out for you, and you knew the consequences. All the kids got called up for licks.

When I was in school, when you did something wrong, you went to the principal's office and you got swats–that's just the way it was. Sometimes you could talk your way out of it, and sometimes you just bent over, grabbed your ankles, and hoped for the best, but at the time, it embarrassed you, and you cried and were hurt. I think I was embarrassed, I was really--well, I didn't want to go back into the classroom because everyone knew I was out in the hall and had gotten in trouble, and I can't even remember walking back in there, and I was embarrassed to walk back in there, and I didn't know if they could tell I had cried or whatever, you know, so I went to the restroom afterwards. That was in the late '70s and early '80s. I grew up in a smaller town than the state capitol, not a real small town--my class had about 207, so it wasn't a really, really small school."

I: "How does that experience with corporal punishment affect you today?"
N: "I don't know I have differing views on the whole about being able to correct, or spank kids in school. My brother and I grew up where if you did wrong, you got punished at home. And my brother now is raising his kids where they never have gotten spanked and they have no respect for him. In a way, they have no respect for

him. So, I guess maybe it is good to spank, I mean we knew with our parents if we did something wrong at school, we were going to get into trouble.

Whether or not a teacher should be allowed to take a two-by four to a student's knees is a whole different thing. I don't necessarily believe that they should be the one who have to do that--the parents should be responsible for that, but you also look at today's society, and there are a lot of kids who are out of control and I wouldn't want to be a teacher now. Some teachers are afraid, and they don't have any way of controlling kids. The kids know the teacher can't do anything to them, and maybe basically kids can think they can get away with almost anything they want.

When I was a kid it was a great thing to get expelled--you get out of school for three days. I kind of go both ways--sometimes I think it would be nice for teachers to have a little leeway and could do some punishment, and then again they shouldn't have to be put in that situation. For the most part, I don't think it really had any bad effects on me. I knew that I had done wrong, and at the time it was a normal thing. We knew if we did something bad at the time, we knew we would get licks, so it didn't seem out of the ordinary like I was being punished beyond the way others were being punished. Did it deter me--probably not, maybe sometimes."

I: "What are the effects of that experience with corporal punishment for you?"

N: "I can remember being deathly afraid of our principal, and she was a woman, and saying she was probably in the military because she was very stiff. She could give

licks without even thinking about it. The junior high principal gave everybody licks; everybody got in trouble in his class. If you chewed gum, drew pictures, talked, were supposed to be listening--anything--you got a lick.

We knew we weren't supposed to pass notes, or chew gum or talk, so he would call us up in front of class and give us licks, but I think I ticked him off right away because he took me to the hallway right away, and I knew that wasn't a good thing when we were going. I think that was probably punishment in itself--in front of everyone, psychological more than the pain, but being taken out in the hall was the worst.

There was this Coney Island place in town, and one day one of the kids decided to pick a hood ornament off of the car, and so that was the deal. I guess I was one of those stupid people who got myself into trouble. But when I grew up, it was just normal to get swats in school--it was equally distributed. Everyone knew if he was in a bad mood, look out--you were going to get it. You know, I look back on it--I think if I had kids right now, I would not want them to be spanked like that. I can understand why they did it with people who got a little out of control, or he was having a bad day obviously, and I added to it.

But, the other side of me would say how do teachers get control of their students any more? I went back to my high school when I was in college--I had a friend who was still in high school--during class period there were more students in the halls than in classes, so this student went out in the hall without a pass. It seems like it would be hard to be a teacher and not have control. I waiver about what is

right or wrong. Sometimes other parents turn you in to some service, and you take your kid to Wal-Mart and bust your kid and someone turns you in for abuse. Even my parents said I would get in more trouble at home if I got licks in school."

I: "What else would you like to share about your experience with corporal punishment?"

N: "It's pretty vague sometimes, but some things have come back to me. Oh, like birthday swats--it wasn't exactly like swats, it was with the same paddle, and you had to bend over and grab your ankles, but of course they were just light swats for the number of your years of age, not a painful swat, just recognizing your birthday. You'd get licks on your birthday all throughout elementary school. It was just a birthday thing for everyone, not hard--the kids would count as you got swats. Kind of bizarre, I guess. Or they'd grab you and hold you down and swat you at both home and school. You don't really see people doing that anymore. I can remember people doing that on the playground, normal behavior back then, but not now."

IX. Interview of "Betty"

March 18, 2005

"Betty" attended a small school in the Southwest in the 1980s to the early 1990s. She works as a clerk for a law firm and is considering graduate school.

I: "Describe or tell about your experience with corporal punishment in school."

N: "My brother and I had gone to small schools all of our lives, and the school I remember having corporal punishment in was a small school close by here, and I was probably, I am guessing, in the third grade, and it wasn't something that happened a lot. My brother was more of the troublemaker than I was, and he was exposed to a lot more than me. But I did get swatted in the third grade more than once, but less than four times, but I'm not sure exactly how often it was.

We had classrooms set up with first through third grades in one room with one teacher, so you would have a setup like the teacher would have the first graders for math, and then the next period she would be working with the second and third graders, so it switched out a lot. So you would have a lot of autonomy when you were doing your work. We had two teachers first through sixth, one through third and fourth through sixth, and then we had a lunchroom lady.

I don't remember specifically what caused the incident, probably behavior; they were real focused on behavior. I am assuming it had something to do with my

behavior, and I remember being taken into the staff room/principal's office/coffee room, and it was about the size of this room right here. I just got swatted."

I: "How did that experience with corporal punishment affect you at the time?"
N: "I think my pride was hurt more than my behind was; it wasn't real hard. It wasn't the swat--it was the embarrassment of getting into trouble. I was the youngest of three, and I was always kind of the peacemaker in the family--the one who made things easier for my mom, so getting into trouble like that was embarrassing.

I think it was mostly embarrassing because of our teacher. We had a really good relationship with our teacher, and mostly it was just disappointing somebody, not anyone in particular, just someone. Mine was a male teacher--I think he handled it well those times that I would get into trouble. He was pretty fair, but I was embarrassed around him for a while, but overall I don't think it hurt our relationship, mostly because those schools are so small that you are forced into interaction with people and you have to learn how to get along with people because you saw them every day.

The swats weren't that hard---my brother got them a lot harder than I did. I don't know if it was because he was a male teacher swatting a female student that made it less and he would do it harder on a male student. I don't remember it being that bad. It was the emotional stuff that was tough for me, which lasted, oh, probably a week or two. We didn't get spanked at home; I can probably count ten times in my life. We just didn't get spanked that often--it was a last resort with my mom, so when

it happened it was a momentous occasion and we did something really bad. That's the main time, but I know it happened other times, but that was the last time it happened, and that may be why I remember it. I was seven years old then, in the early '80s."

I: "How does that experience with corporal punishment affect you today?"
N: "I don't know if it would directly affect my life now, except for how I would see myself swatting kids. I think I tend to, like with my stepson and stepdaughter, ages nine and twelve, that I generally tend to, actually this just came to me. Actually, when I punish kids, it is more of a mental thing--like 'you disappointed me,' than a physical thing, maybe because that mental thing was more effective to change my behavior than was the physical thing.

I think it is more effective to focus on their behavior in this way and that the emotional and mental aspect works better. You can only beat a kid so many times until it doesn't matter anymore. At least that was my brother's experience--he was like, 'so what?' It didn't matter to him anymore if he got swats. Also, knowing that physical punishment is not as effective as many people believe it is."

I: "What are the effects of that experience with corporal punishment for you?"
N: "I guess, really, I think physical punishment makes an immediate difference, but not a long-term, lasting difference; in my experience it hasn't been effective. The more I read about corporal punishment, it seems like it's more for the person that's

doing the beating than the kid who is getting beat, so I think you need to look at the dynamics of each situation and analyze why the 'physicality' is being selected. Sometimes you are punishing with the very punishment you found wrong, like swatting a kid on the butt for hitting someone--there are some mixed messages there."

I: "What else would you like to share about your experience with corporal punishment?"

N: "I think especially in more rural areas, it was like, 'I got beat on in my life, so why can't I beat on you?' It's just not enlightened, and you're not effecting a permanent change. I don't necessarily think less of my teacher; in his situation, back in the '80s, everybody spanked kids. It was probably the only method he had of disciplining kids. But I know sometimes even in my own personal life, you can get so mad, you just want to hit something or get your point across: 'stop it!'

If you're angry and blood goes to your hands, you are probably going to hit a lot harder than you intend to, and there is a possibility of that. If there are stressors in anger and if you are going to run, it goes to your extremities to prepare you to run: 'Flight or fight.' I have grabbed kids arms before to get them out of the way and left red marks on them and thought, 'Wow, I didn't mean to do that,' so it just happens. I think adults can overreact and not mean to. I hadn't thought about that for a long time."

X. Interview of "Emma"

March 18, 2005

"Emma" grew up in a Southwestern town and attended a small school in the 1980s-1990s. She became a teacher, then left the field to go into business for herself.

I: "Describe or tell about your experience with corporal punishment in school."

N: "Ok, I was in fourth grade and I had gotten into a scuffle with a little boy, and I hit him, and so for fighting it was an automatic swat. So I remember there was a consent form parents had to sign that they were to call before the swat could be administered, so they called my mom. She said, 'Go ahead,' so I got three swats from my teacher, who had the paddle in my classroom. It was a long paddle that hung on the wall, and the whole class was listening while she took me out in the hall, and another teacher had to be present.

And, I don't remember them being very hard, and it wasn't very painful, but keep in mind, we got corporal punishment at home, so that was part of our punishment at home, too. She gave me the swats, and I returned back to the classroom and that was it. She didn't do it very hard. It was just kind of like--it was the punishment for the crime. In my mind, I think she thought it was good that someone fought back with this boy. The boys wouldn't stand up to him, and finally someone stood up to him because he hit people all the time. He actually was just taunting this time, but normally he did hit. He didn't get any swats, though--just me."

I: "How did that experience with corporal punishment affect you at the time?"

N: "It hurt me that she did it, hurt my feelings because I really liked her. I still felt like we had a good relationship, because I didn't feel like it was a big deal to her; she was following the rule. It was a pretty hard and fast rule. I mean, she just explained why she was doing what she did and that was really it. It was just that I don't really feel it was her place to do that, and I kind of think she felt the same way. It was in the '80s in northeastern Oklahoma in a small school.

My mother got it real bad there in school at the same school, too, when she was a student. They still do corporal punishment there for some things. I have a cousin who has had it there and has bruises, but I don't know if it is allowed for fighting or not."

I: "How does that experience with corporal punishment affect you today?"

N: "I just don't think it is right for teachers to do that to students. I don't know the answers for disciplinary measures, for each kid it may be different. I think more of a message could have been relayed by some other discipline or consequence than by corporal punishment, so I wonder how effective it really was and how effective it is today.

You're leaving a lot of power to one person. Luckily, my teacher was gentle. You turn it over to someone who is angry at the time or someone who looks at it differently, and it is up to their discretion as to what they want to do, and it's really

not their place to physically harm you, especially to give them the power to do that, and you don't know even who that person is."

I: "What are the effects of that experience with corporal punishment for you?"

N: "I just feel lucky now, because you hear stories about it now that are violent, and I'm glad I didn't get put into that situation more than one time. I just think there are more effective ways a teacher and an administrator can deal with children than corporal punishment."

Analysis of Interview Data:

Discerning Pattern

According to Runkel (1990), qualitative data can be mined for themes by "aggregating" or clumping together common threads among the life stories and oral histories of the respondents and looking for the "relative frequencies" of such themes (Stake, 1995, p. 36). Stake makes the distinction, though, that instead of searching for quantifiable "causes" in the data, that the emphasis in qualitative research should be on the "happenings," searching for "pattern," and "promoting understanding" (Stake, pp. 37, 44). Besides patterns, the qualitative data can be discerned into themes, or "commonalities and uniqueness" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 7). Stake quotes the views of von Wright (1971) that the qualitative process will focus more on "empathetic understanding" than "explanation" (Stake, 1995, pp. 37, 39). He also proposes that "there is much art and much intuitive processing to the search for meaning" in qualitative research (Stake, p. 72). "Not being able to remove subjectivity is one reason that phenomenology is a philosophy of intuition" (Giorgi, 1994, p. 7).

This subjective "intuitive processing" or "mystical side of analysis and interpretation" of research results (Stake, 1995, p. 72) is a way of looking at the phenomenological data and discerning pattern or theme among the many varied pieces of qualitative information. Another way of looking at this analytical step used in processing the research follows: "other phenomenologists point out that many people are not totally aware of their subconscious feelings, compelling the researcher

to speculate about them" (Langenbach, Vaughn, & Aagaard, 1994, p. 96). Part of that speculation involved discerning common themes among the research participants' perceptions and recollections of school corporal punishment experiences.

In analyzing the qualitative data represented in each individual vignette, the narrative transcriptions were read completely through multiple times to identify and glean common threads which could be analyzed for pattern and thematic concepts. Any potential common thread or commonality was gathered as the researcher did the first several readings of the material, culminating in the distilling and identifying of recollections and perceptions which could be possible themes for the corporal punishment experiences. Frequent re-reading–or reflective "comings and goings" and continual "returning to the scene" of the recalled punishments–was crucial in teasing out sometimes subtle and not-so-explicit themes in the recollections. (See Appendix A for the list of the data results and themes which were coded for each participant.)

As individual perceptions and potential themes were discerned, gathered, and placed in a master list, a set of criteria for those results which were not self-explanatory or readily understood was developed. This was a helpful tool for analyzing the data and conceptually organizing the results into the more prevalent perceptions and common themes. For example, the meanings of select passages and succinct quotations from the narrative vignettes were defined, explained, or elaborated on to aid in grouping the common themes together. (See Appendix B for the list of the indicators, definitions, and textual evidence which was used for coding various themes and results.)

The results of the analysis are primarily narrative and descriptive. Themes emerged in four main areas surrounding the participants' experiences with school corporal punishment: 1) social contexts; 2) perceptions of teachers' behaviors; 3) students' emotional reactions; and 4) irony, metaphor, and myth. The research results in this chapter are organized by these common or major themes, with related themes or sub-themes listed under each area as indicated. The criteria for commonly occurring themes became any theme which was indicated in at least half of the 10 narrative vignettes (in five or more vignettes). (See Appendix C for the list of the common themes and their frequency of occurrence in the vignettes, and see Appendix D for the list of main areas that the themes were grouped in.) Before discussing the themes, an overview of the background and setting is in order.

Overview of Background and Setting

The physical and environmental contexts are essential for framing the settings of the corporal punishment experiences and interpreting the results of the narrative analysis. They are thematic elements which give clearer mental pictures of the circumstances surrounding the events and possible clues for interpreting and viewing those unique circumstances. These elements give boundaries and parameters to the phenomena in terms of time, space, setting, social actors/participants, school culture, social milieu, and normative expectations. Each of participants had lived in the Southwest and had experienced school corporal punishment sometime during grades

kindergarten through twelfth grade. Overall, most of them had experienced the punishment in small schools and in small towns or rural areas.

The principal's office was recalled as the more frequent setting for their corporal punishment experiences. This is not unexpected since principals are considered the highest authority figure at individual schools, especially when it comes to discipline and punishment matters. One participant even mentioned that being sent to the principal was like being sent to a "higher authority," which has almost a religious or a judicial connotation to it. These past experiences with corporal punishment, which occurred more frequently in the principal's office, are antithema to the postmodern perception and expectation of principals as more empathetic and caring princi-*pals* who focus more on rewarding acceptable behavior than corporally punishing misbehavior.

However, the participants frequently remembered or recalled that the most "humiliating" and "embarrassing" physical setting for receiving corporal punishment was at the front of the classroom in front of all of their classmates. Outside the classroom in the hallway was recalled as the second most "humiliating" place for the punishment, since the other students frequently could still hear the loud or angry tone of the teacher and the loud, frightening sounds of the paddle hitting the student, even though they could not see him or her receiving the corporal punishment. The nearby hallway, though out of sight, was still perceived as an embarrassing physical setting for the punishment because the participants still had to face their peers in humiliation, shame, and disgrace when they returned back to the classroom.

Naturally, both the classroom and the hallway are much more "public" places for receiving corporal punishment in since there are other students in proximity, unlike the principal's office, which is usually more private. This factor may help to explain the prominent perceptions recalled of being humiliated by the punishment when given in the classroom or hallway, rather than away in the principal's office. However, though more humiliation and embarrassment from corporal punishment was recollected in the former settings, more "fear" was naturally remembered in the latter setting. As illustrated by "Katherine's" perceptions–"I can remember being deathly afraid of our principal," and by "Jack's" perception of the principal as having a special paddle "just to scare the heck out of everybody," the feeling of fear was prevalent and may have been generated and intended by administrators to prevent student misbehavior. Most likely, this fear was a psychological mechanism for the "control" of students at school; thus methods of fear and control are intertwined.

It was a noteworthy finding that most of the remembered experiences with corporal punishment occurred in either elementary school or high school settings the majority of the time, but not in junior high or middle school as often. This could be an indication that particular times or sensitive stages in a child's life make certain events more impressionable and thus more imbedded in the child's memory, such as when they first begin grade school as a vulnerable and innocent child, or when they are adolescents in senior high school and much more aware of their physical/sexual bodies and mental/psychological psyches as such. "Tom" in particular recalls that corporal punishment was especially traumatic to him in the first grade because that

grade was his "first group experience" and also his "first experience in school," and, subsequently, the reason for a resigned recollection that "I don't remember anything about first grade except corporal punishment." The pathos of that unique perception of school life as a first-grader has implications for pedagogy in all grade levels.

Participants recalled that they had engaged in one of the following behaviors in the classroom prior to receiving the corporal punishment: 1) "fighting" or "scuffling," 2) talking out loud, 3) chewing gum in class, 4) being out of their seat without permission, 5) defending himself from another student, 6) "seeking attention" in class, or 7) disobeying the general rules in the classroom. Some of these were not unexpected behaviors for incurring school corporal punishment at the time, such as fighting or being defiant; however, many of the behaviors would be viewed as being relatively minor classroom infractions–such as chewing gum, talking, being out of seat, or trying to get attention, or viewed as no infraction at all, such as self-defense or self-preservation, none of which would warrant such an extreme disciplinary measure. Overall, the classroom setting was described as being strictly run and controlled.

Social Contexts

The social contexts of school corporal punishment, based on participants' recollections of the social climate at home, school, and community, included the following perceptions: 1) its occurrence being "expected" at school as a typical consequence; 2) the students "knowing the rules" for it; 3) parents supporting school

corporal punishment; 4) some parents being critical of it; 5) parents using corporal punishment at home; 6) boys being paddled more than girls; 7) boys being hit harder than girls; 8) girls often not being paddled at all; 9) African-Americans feeling "misunderstood" by the white teachers; 10) the "spare the rod, spoil the child" philosophy; and 11) it being a "different time" back then in normative terms for behavior and discipline in the 1950s through 1980s. The most common perceptions were corporal punishment being an expected discipline method that was not out of the ordinary then, the existence of school rules which set the standards for conduct and consequences, and parent support overall for use of this disciplinary practice. These social contexts for the school corporal punishment are important for understanding what the traditional "norms" were for school discipline in many instances during that time period, what the norms often were for discipline in the home then, how boys were treated differently than girls, and how blacks were treated differently than whites. They provide an important nexus between the actual corporal punishment experiences that were recalled and possible interpretations of those events.

Gender Differences. In particular, a "double-standard" regarding corporal punishment emerges out of the experiences in which boys received much harsher and more physical punishment than girls the vast majority of the time, and how girls must have been deemed by society then as the more "delicate" sex and not as capable of physically sustaining that type of punishment very well. As "Max" recalled, "Girls never got swats, only boys." These gender disparities in the recalled experiences were borne out by the recollections except for that of "Katherine," who most likely

received a harsher corporal punishment because she played sports in school and was probably considered more of a "tomboy" than "just a girl" by the coach, who had paddled her severely and bruised her. However, the way she described that the male coach picked her up by her "belt loops and shirt" and then "hoisted" her out into the hallway almost has some sexual overtones to it as well.

The gender differences also include males receiving corporal punishment most of the time from other males, primarily from the school principals who were usually men. Possibly the pattern in the vignettes of "male striking male" is a anthropological relic of "coming of age" rites which were done to test and "toughen up" boys in certain cultures. In addition, "Jack's" own recollection that male staff members typically used corporal punishment was quite illuminating: "Men do it because they can, and they get a little kick out of it and that's scary."

In some cases, the participants recalled female teachers and a female principal being harsh, punitive, or frightening in their administration of corporal punishment. "Max's" female teacher had a bad temper and came after students like a raging "bull"; "Tom's" female teacher was very stern and dreadful in the way in which she "meted" out the painful punishment; "Josh's" female teacher elicited a lot of fear and anxiety with her painful "whacks" on the hand; "John's" female teacher was cruel and "pretty mean" when she "would twist your arm" or hit students with a rubber hose; and "Katherine" recalled being "deathly afraid" of her female principal, who gave so many "licks" to students that they thought she had been in the military. These recollections of school corporal punishment done by women elicit a mental

image of a stern, matronly dominatrix instead of a caring, compassionate teacher in the classroom.

It was also noted several times in the remembrances that boys tried not to show any emotion or pain when they were being physically punished, no matter how much it hurt, perhaps because societal expectations were such that if a boy was really "macho," he didn't cry, that in general "boys don't cry," and that a "real man can take it." As "Jack" perceived or recalled this particular phenomenon, "a 'macho' guy can't cry–I can't act like it hurts" during corporal punishment. On the other hand, girls experienced and recalled "hurt feelings" more often, and the boys experienced and recounted physical "hurt" more frequently.

There were other ways in which men and women recalled that they handled the corporal punishment emotionally and often very differently. Whereas the men recalled that they handled it emotionlessly "like a man," or acted "macho" afterwards ("Jack"), or even bragged about it and denied that they hadn't been hurt ("Max"), the women recalled that they became emotionally "upset" ("Katherine"), had "hurt feelings," or felt like "crying." "Katherine" recalled that "it embarrassed you, and you cried and were hurt." As "Betty" indicated in her remembrance, "it was the emotional stuff that was tough for me." It was also in keeping with the way that girls reacted to it when "Emma" recalled that "it hurt me that she [the teacher] did it, hurt my feelings because I really liked her." These gender differences and recollections portray girls with a tendency to feel emotionally wounded or more vulnerable than boys after experiencing physical punishment.

However, the recollections portray boys as sometimes feeling even "tougher and meaner than anyone else" or stronger than the others as the "big guy" who could "strut back into the classroom" afterwards as a proven "hero" ("Max"). The male participants also tended to describe their experiences with corporal punishment in much more vivid and concrete detail, sometimes seeming almost to savor the recollections of brave or daring actions that they had done, whereas the female participants did not seem to want to recall all of the details of the experiences that had been painful or embarrassing for them. The men overall gave a "blow-by-blow" description of their experiences or engaged in more elaborate discussions of them, in keeping with the "oral" tradition of corporal punishment, which will be discussed later in the results. Their interest often seemed to perk up when recalling specific details, anecdotes, or follies. The women, however, were reluctant or slow to talk about their punishments at first until they had had some time to think about them, especially concerning experiences which had involved their engaging in unacceptable classroom behavior.

Age Differences. There was also a theme of age differences in the personal experiences with corporal punishment which emerged from the narrative data. Based on their recollections, the older participants who had sustained the punishment in the 1950s to 1960s time period tended to have received or recalled more punitive or harsh punishment, though there were some exceptions, than the younger ones who had experienced it in the 1970s-1980s. This could be explained by the trend starting in the 1970s and burgeoning in the 1980s for states to ban corporal punishment after the

landmark *Ingraham V. Wright* case began in 1971 and culminated in the U.S. Supreme Court reestablishing states' rights to determine such policy in 1978. Accompanying that trend of banning school corporal punishment were also policies in other states and schooldistricts which specified more judicious terms and limitations of its use. This might account for the participants' recalled experiences in the 1970s and 1980s being less unreasonable or severe than those which had occurred in the previous decades.

Another age difference in the corporal punishment experiences was that the female participants found by the snowball effect were younger than many of the male participants. Using the snowball effect, it was difficult to locate women who had experienced corporal punishment in the 1950s to 1960s, but it was relatively easy to find female participants who had experienced it in the 1970s to 1980s. Not surprisingly, male participants were found across the board for the decades from the 1950s to 1980s. The social mores of the '50s and '60s perpetuated those of previous times in which women were seen primarily as homemakers and the weaker sex and in need of protection by men, so this might explain why girls did not often receive corporal punishment at school during this time period.

Perhaps the social climate in the U.S.–which was evolving and changing in the early 1970s with the introduction of the Equal Rights Amendment for women's rights in 1972, more women in business and professional careers outside of the home, and the women's liberation movement firmly established–may have resulted in school corporal punishment becoming a more "equal opportunity" punishment for girls as

well as boys in the ensuing ‘70s and ‘80s. Whatever the reasons for the age differences in locating suitable participants for this study using the snowball effect, women could more easily be found who had experienced school corporal punishment in the latter time period but not in the earlier one.

Not surprisingly, another age difference which emerged from the recollections was greater depth, breadth, and detail overall in the recollections of the participants who were older and who had gone to school in the 1950’s and 1960s. These older participants speaking from the “voice of experience” tended to pepper their stories with richer detail, more vivid description, and more philosophical views than the younger participants. They also appeared to plumb the depths of memory and experience at great length. As Yow points out, people in their later years spend more time trying “to make sense of experiences over a lifetime” (1994, p. 18).

Racial Differences. An emergent social theme was illustrated by the stark recollections of “Harris” in his vignette. He recalled going to a “predominantly black school” which had mostly white teachers who “didn’t understand me since they were living in the upper class neighborhood,” and he recalled feeling very frustrated about that situation. “Harris” recounted having to fight for his lunch money, shoes, and clothes not to be taken away by other students at school, which he termed an unfortunate “way of life for an African-American child in our neighborhood,” but nonetheless, a way of life which he recalled not being readily understood by his teachers. He recalled strong feelings of anger, resentment, and powerlessness as a student because it seemed to him that the teachers did not try to understand his

circumstances, resulting in his "total mistrust" of the white teachers and white people in general. The recurring theme in his perceptions is a lack of understanding of African-American culture and its families by Caucasian teachers in schools and a need for more trust, cultural awareness, multicultural training, empathy, counseling, and other services for African-American students, instead of just using corporal punishment at school as a quick resolution for the problem.

Perceptions of Teachers' Behaviors

Participants recalled over a dozen actions related to teacher/staff behaviors before, during, or after the punishment was administered. These behaviors were also considered part of the general instructional climate in the classroom under which the corporal punishment occurred. The recollections included teachers: 1) giving warning or reminders to students; 2) acting angry or upset at students; 3) knocking over desks when lunging at a student who was in trouble; 4) "strutting" or swaggering with a paddle in class; 5) exhibiting negative mood or affect in class; 6) using an authoritarian style of discipline; 7) "picking" on one student in particular, acting "out of control" with administering punishment; 8) hitting a student as hard as he or she could; 9) using a traditional "one-size-fits-all" discipline model; 10) verbally belittling or criticizing students; 11) displaying his or her paddle prominently in the classroom; and 12) swinging the paddle like a baseball bat at the students' buttocks during the punishment.

Out of these behaviors, the following five teacher actions were recalled by the participants as occurring the most often in conjunction with corporal punishment: 1) the teacher acting very "angry" or "upset" at the student; 2) he or she displaying a "negative mood" or a "bad mood"; 3) the teacher exhibiting an authoritarian style of instruction and discipline; 4) he or she hitting students "as hard as they could"; and 5) the teacher using "one-size-fits-all" or "blanket" discipline for any infraction of the classroom rules. These prevalent teacher behaviors recalled are part of the perceptual spectrum of corporal punishment.

The punishment methods or items that participants recalled the teacher or principal using for corporal punishment included: 1) a paddle with or without holes; 2) a 1 x 4 board; 3) a 2 x 4 board; 4) a hard ruler; 5) a rubber hose; 6) a fly swatter; 7) an eraser thrown at students; 8) physical confinement of the student on a hard floor under the teacher's desk; and 9) using his or her hand in spanking the student. Terms and slang used by the participants for the corporal punishment method that they had received in school included: "paddling," "licks," "spanked," "swats," "whack," "whippin," "beating," "popped," "bustin," "beat," and "abused." Some of these terms show perceptions or elicit disturbing images of the participants being physically assaulted by an assailant, being treated as slaves on a plantation, or being treated as horses or mules on a farm. Also, three of the participants recalled that students were frequently required to "bend over" and "grab their ankles" in a "vulnerable position" when they received corporal punishment ("Max," "Josh," and "Katherine"), as if their bodies were a whipping post.

Students' Emotional Reactions

Negative Feelings. Not surprisingly, themultitude of various negative or emotional results of past corporal punishment recalled by the participants included these vivid memories of how they felt as students: 1) feeling "humiliated" or "embarrassed"; 2) feeling "scared" or "fearful"; 3) "anxious" or "worried"; 4) "angry" or "mad"; 5) feeling "misunderstood"; 6) "hostility" toward the teacher; 7) feeling reluctant to go to school; 8) feeling more "aggressive"; 9) "distrustful" of authority figures; 10) the student getting corporal punishment at home as a result of the corporal punishment received at school; 11) feeling physical "pain"; 12) feeling "disappointment"; 13) feeling that the punishment was "unfair"; 14) being "ridiculed" or "laughed at"; 15) feeling "sad" or unhappy; 16) feeling that the school was being a "poor role model" to students and/or parents; 17) feeling "abused" by the punishment; 18) having "hurt feelings" or "hurt pride"; 19) feeling "defensive" or "passive-aggressive"; or 20) having "psychological" or emotional pain.

While the preponderance of these perceptions of negative outcomes is overwhelming in the vignettes, they are not unexpected adverse results from school corporal punishment. As indicated by these results, significantly more negative than either positive or neutral consequences were recounted by participants from their corporal punishment experiences. In fact, the negative results recalled by the participants represented over two-thirds of the total consequences that they remembered from their experiences with the punishment, and altogether these results represent significant social/emotional themes in the vignettes.

The most commonly recalled feeling, "humiliation," was remembered by the majority of the participants as the "worst" part of punishment–not the physical pain of the paddle itself. "The humiliation was the worst part" ("Jack"); and "it wasn't the swat–it was the embarrassment of getting into trouble" ("Betty"). "Tom" also recalled the "dread" or fear of it as being "the worst part of the punishment." In fact, fear was the second most common negative result of corporal punishment as recalled by the participants. Along a similar theme, "Tom" recalled that it wasn't the physical pain of corporal punishment but the verbal belittling that was the "worst" part to handle, especially when the teacher/coach was verbally caustic and abusive to him and humiliated him. An analogous theme would be for these feelings of humiliation to become a self-fulfilling prophecy, though none of the participants mentioned this happening as a long-term result of the punishment.

Some particularly negative aspects recalled by the participants included instances of sadism or sadistic behavior on the part of the teacher or coach, or the teacher seeming to actually "enjoy" using draconian methods to inflict pain on others, especially powerless students. "Jack" recalled a teacher who would make students "trade licks" with him and who then would give them much harder "licks" than what they had given him: "That was punishment that was meted out for no other reason than the pure enjoyment of it–he seemed to enjoy it. Sometimes he'd hit you so hard, he'd lift you airborne off the floor. . .it hurt" ("Jack"). Even the "birthday licks" remembered by "Katherine" in her experiences have almost a sadistic undercurrent to them:

> It was with the same paddle, and you had to bend over and grab your ankles, but of course they were just light swats for the number of years of age. . . just recognizing your birthday. You'd get licks on your birthday all through elementary school. . .the kids would count as you got swats. Kind of bizarre, I guess. ("Katherine")

"John" recalled a particularly "mean" teacher who would cruelly "twist your arm" and hit students with a rubber hose, which sounded more like child abuse than discipline. Recalling that corporal punishment appeared to be inflicted sometimes for the teacher's self-satisfaction as much as for the punishment of student behavior, "Jack" also reflected, "Coach Joe enjoyed what he did too much, especially with someone young or small or helpless, and I don't think that's right–there's something wrong if you enjoy it. It's not a joke if you are enjoying hitting someone else."

Positive Feelings. An unanticipated result or perception of school corporal punishment was some type of paradoxical "positive" or "beneficial" effect that was indicated by approximately half of the participants. For example, some felt that the experience was a defining moment in the development of their views about this practice, that it convinced them that it was harmful to children, and that they made the decision that they would never use it themselves someday as parents. These positive results included four main ways that the participants perceived the effect of the corporal punishment to have been of benefit in some sense or application, including: 1) it was a deterrent to future student misbehavior; 2) the student learned lessons about "unfairness" and the harsh realities of life; 3) the nature of the punishment was

such that the student decided never to use corporal punishment on his or her own children someday; and 4) the student later became an opponent to school corporal punishment and wanted schools to ban the practice altogether. Becoming parents themselves and not using corporal punishment was a frequently recurring theme in the vignettes.

Paradoxically, these latter two outcomes were unintended results of the original corporal punishment, for a teacher or principal would not have used the punishment to demonstrate to a student that this type of punishment is unwarranted, unnecessary, or unwise. However, if it can be construed that there is any beneficial effect at all to an experience that is inherently negative or aversive, then perhaps these perceptions indicated by the participants could be an example of a thematic silver lining to an obvious cloud in the educational landscape. Though not explicitly indicated, it is possible that the psychological resiliency and determination of the participants was such that they perceived corporal punishment as a learning experience about what *not* to do in education or as a parent in the future, or that they chose to process it mentally as a philosophical "lemonade-out-of-lemons" experience in life.

Neutral Feelings. The perceptions of school corporal punishment also included some rather unanticipated "neutral" results of the practice as well, as indicated by half of the participants in some regard. These neutral results included four primary ways that participants perceived the consequence of the punishment to be of no real impact on them one way or the other–neither negative nor positive:

1) they still "respected" the teacher or principal afterwards and indicated no hard feelings; 2) they were still not against discipline per se; 3) they felt that corporal punishment resulted in neither a negative nor a positive impact on them or their lives; and 4) they didn't know of any effects that the corporal punishment had on them, at least that they could recall or remember. For instance, as "Max" recalled, for him "for the most part, corporal punishment was neither here nor there."

Both the perceived positive and neutral results of school corporal punishment could be the result of factors such as individual personalities or societal norms at the time. On the other hand, participants who recalled indications of these neutral results may simply have not had ample opportunity or motivation in their lives yet to examine the real issues or emotional sequelae involved in this type of punishment. School corporal punishment could still be an "unexamined" facet of their experiences in life so far, especially for those participants who are younger adults, having experienced the punishment more recently in the past, and who have not had enough time or desire yet to reflect deeply on them.

Other possibilities for interpreting these positive, ambivalent, or neutral results are that some of the participants could have "rationalized" the experience in an attempt to make some type of sense out of it and to cope with it internally; they could have psychologically "denied" any negative or detrimental effects from the corporal punishment in order to blunt the emotional pain ensuing from it; or they could have unconsciously "repressed" the emotional effects of the painful experience so that they wouldn't have to deal with them, acknowledge them, or emotionally process them; or

they could have dismissed the incident altogether for other personal or philosophical reasons. Boys acting "macho" as if the corporal punishment didn't really hurt them, as recalled by several of the participants, could have been a mental exercise in either denial, blunting, or repression of feelings in order to emotionally survive in a hostile disciplinary environment at school.

Ambivalent Feelings. These perceptions of neutral results of school corporal punishment, however, could be an indication of possible ambivalence toward the overall experience with corporal punishment, or they could be an indication of an emotional inability to reconcile the painful nature of the punishment with the nurturing nature of teaching, in which case the seemingly "neutral" effect would, in fact, be a negative result of corporal punishment, though not consciously perceived as such by the participants. Appearing to contradict themselves sometimes, some of the participants mentioned perceptions of both negative results and positive results, or both negative results and neutral results from the punishment. These simultaneous feelings of opposites could be an indication of overall ambivalent views towards their school corporal punishment experiences.

Irony, Metaphor, and Myth

In analyzing the interview data, an unexpected but notable outcome was themes of irony, metaphor, and myth among the recollections of the participants.

Ironies. Since the participants lived in the southern half of the U.S., it is ironic that the proverbial "spare the rod, spoil the child" philosophy frequently

mentioned in the research literature was only mentioned once as being part of the school climate or the justification for the corporal punishment, occurring in the vignette where "Harris" recounts his own experiences with this phenomenon. It is also ironic that several of the participants recalled wanting to do the same type of injustice to others–such as belittling, making critical remarks, or acting aggressively–that had been done to them in the form of corporal punishment at school. Both "Tom" and "Harris" recalled these specific feelings from their experiences. Irony emerges when perceptions of two of the vignettes are contrasted, such as "Jack" finally stealing the teacher's paddle during his senior year in high school because of the negative experiences which he had endured with school corporal punishment, but, on the other hand, "John" recalling wistfully that he still misses the same old paddle that he was "whipped" with on a daily basis and during almost every year that he was in public school.

The ironic recollection that "John" wishes he could have the same paddle today in his own classroom as a teacher and that he acknowledges and almost seems to pride himself in being a "very, very strict" teacher is an example of how the disciplinary methods of one generation in schools can unfortunately become that of the next. It portends a theme of teachers becoming paddlers, and the "paddled" becoming teachers. How diametrically opposed it is that one participant recalled never wanting to see a paddle used again to hurt others, yet the other participant recalled actually wanting his former teacher's paddle to intimidate his own students

with in class. This apparent polarity present in several of the vignettes is also reflective of the issue of school corporal punishment in general, however.

Another irony is "Jack" recalling that he still liked and thought highly of his teacher even though she would become mad and lash out and hit him:

> I just loved her until the day she died, she was a wonderful person and a great teacher –but, boy, she had a temper. She would throw erasers and chalk at you if you weren't paying attention. . .and she was really good at it–she could hit you at a long distance. . .But she'd come at you with a paddle almost like a bull, and moved desks like "parting of the waves." ("Jack")

It is also ironic the participants perceived receiving corporal punishment at the front of the classroom as a negative outcome, but that they perceived being able to brag about it later to their friends at recess as a positive outcome. They sought the attention from their peers that they were not able to obtain from parents or teachers, and this may have been a compensatory method or a coping strategy for boys to partially turn a negative and painful experience at school into a somewhat more positive result.

Behavioral ironies portrayed in participants' recollections included students being "hit" by the teacher or principal for having "hit" another student; students getting into trouble for "throwing erasers" when the teacher was gone in one instance ("Rod" and "John's" experiences), yet in another instance a teacher herself getting mad at the students and "throwing erasers" at them ("Jack's" experience); and teachers and principals sending "mixed messages"–as recalled by "Betty"–about such

contradictory practices to students. In essence, this phenomenon emerged as another type of "double-standard" surrounding corporal punishment: not only were boys held to a different standard than girls, but all students in general were held to a different standard than school staff, especially concerning personal actions and behavior.

Other irony is that participants recalled being physically punished for having academic difficulty or intrinsic learning problems, such as spelling difficulty or dyslexia, and not just for exhibiting overt behavior problems. It is ironic that physical force was attempted for educational purposes by teachers, rather than the use of more differentiated instruction and appropriate remedial techniques. The abject pathos and irony in an innocent child–who is studying hard, trying his best, and still making poor grades because of a learning problem–being subjected to corporal punishment by a member of society who is supposed to being instructing him in the very areas in which he is struggling, emerged as a particularly unsettling theme. Physical paddling done to "teach" spelling words, as recalled by "Rod," for instance, is similar to using a real hammer to try to drive home some philosophical point. This is an irony or contradiction that a seemingly benevolent institution such as schools, which are designed to educate children in the core curriculum, were perceived as being more punitive than instructional in the experiences of some of the participants.

This instructional misuse of corporal punishment on a student merely having academic difficulty and trouble with learning material through no fault of his own, suggests that during previous decades the instructional staff in schools may not have known or understood as much about student learning problems and remediation

strategies as they do today. This implies that student academic difficulty, which was most likely associated with substantial frustration on the part of the student, was dealt with by the arbitrary application of corporal punishment, which no doubt caused much additional frustration for the student.

Not surprisingly, ironies abound in the perceptions portrayed in many of the vignettes. In addition to the irony of teachers using the same method to discipline students as the very action that the students had originally engaged in, the more often or more prevalent that corporal punishment was recalled as having occurred in the school environment, the more the participant reported being philosophically against it as an adult. This resulted in the disciplinary technique often backfiring against the perpetrators in the long run.

Metaphor. The paddle itself seemed to be an implied metaphor in many of the participants' recollections for pain, control, power, fear, conformity, hurt, anger, humiliation, retribution, hostility, revenge, distrust, uniformity, rigidity, sadness, intimidation, failure, social injustice, teacher dishonesty, and even abuse. On the other hand, it was also a metaphor for bravado and bravery when students got to sign their names to it. School corporal punishment as a "badge of courage" metaphor appeared to have a more positive connotation in the participants' stories, whereas the paddle as metaphor had much more of a negative connotation overall.

In Max's recollections, a soggy potato chip is a metaphor for students longing for attention from the significant adults in their lives. In the "law of the soggy potato chip" story, "Max" reflected on how students acted out in class because they weren't

getting positive attention at home or school and how they would do anything to get some negative attention, like corporal punishment, rather than get no attention at all. It is important to note that some students perceived being "ignored" as worse than being hit, and the soggy potato chip is an apt metaphor for this psychological phenomenon.

Myth and Lore. Corporal punishment practices and perceptions as "mythology" emerged as an unexpected but revealing theme across many of the participants' recollections and experiences, especially in the narratives of the men. Their memories of various "myths" and "lore" about this type of punishment included perceptions that boys often had about the practice and its instruments, rituals, and administration, such as the following: 1) an "oral tradition" or stories passed around about the practice; 2) holes drilled in the paddles for supposedly "greater wind resistance" or more pain; 3) derogatory names given to paddles; 4) certain words or terminology about its use, such as "whacking," etc.; 5) paddles having students' names on them from previous years; and 6) the principal supposedly having an "electric paddling machine" for unruly students. Other myths included: 7) certain rituals associated with its use; 8) teachers carrying their paddles from school to school as a shield of their trade; 9) students stealing the prized paddles to keep; 10) 1 x 4 boards being used for paddles; 11) students hearing that 2 x 4's were used; 12) the agri teacher making the paddles in shop class for the school; 13) teachers "trading licks" with students in an unbalanced trade; 14) students getting "birthday swats" on their birthday every year; 15) students thinking that teachers enjoyed administering

the pain and punishment; and 16) students hearing stories that a billfold or any other padding had to be removed from the back pocket before the paddle was used.

Recurring themes of myth and lore surround corporal punishment experiences, based on the participants' perceptions of rituals and traditions perpetuated in those time periods. These myths add an air or element of curiosity and fascination to an otherwise morbid and painful phenomenon. The myths and tales surrounding school corporal punishment seemed to "take on a life of their own," as "Max" explained this phenomenon. They may have been a way for boys to rationalize or cope with being the frequent targets of its use, or a device or emotional "salve" for boys to heal the emotional wounds with after having been hurt or harmed. The myths could be part of a broader oral tradition in which feats of human bravado, courage, and fearlessness are championed, glorified, and depicted in larger-than-life terms.

Another theme prevalent in the recalled experiences was corporal punishment as a metaphorical "badge" which was awarded for bravely sustaining the infliction of physical pain, much like the bestowing of a real military badge. Various participants recalled that school corporal punishment was considered a "badge of courage," a "badge of honor," or a "badge of pride" which made its male recipients a "hero," a "big guy," or a "macho" male at school. The "hero" theme here is likewise reminiscent of military feats in battle. The participants also remembered students getting "bragging rights" with their peers if they got corporal punishment; that the students earned the right to recount their brave deeds in tolerating the painful

punishment “blow-by-blow”; and that the other students looked up to them if they had handled it bravely without crying.

Whether or not the corporal punishment was painful–and most of the time it was–if a student acted like it had not really hurt, then he was admired and lionized by his male peers. However, this metaphorical theme appeared to be gender-specific and was not evident in the recollections by the female participants in their own corporal punishment experiences. Overall, a theme of endurance of corporal punishment in school was implied in the recollections of most of the participants, both male and female, resulting in a somber image of corporal punishment as an emotional feat of endurance throughout the breadth of the school years.

Summary of Results

The intent of this study was the use of qualitative research to add to the understanding and the knowledge base of the phenomenon of corporal punishment–as it is experienced and viewed by those who have “lived” it previously as students in school and who are perhaps now “re-living” it to some extent in their present memories and recollections. Themes were grouped into the four main categories of social contexts, perceptions of teachers’ behaviors, students’ emotional reactions, and irony, myth, and metaphor, with various sub-themes gathered in each group. All in all, the kaleidoscope of perceptions and remembrances of the participants’ experiences with corporal punishment resulted in varied themes, embedded throughout the narrative vignettes, which facilitate particular insights into the social

and emotional contexts of those experiences. Indications in the vignettes were used to support these themes and sub-themes, including illustrative quotes, poignant excerpts, and powerful statements about the perceptions of these experiences. These narrative elements help create "word pictures" of the phenomenological perceptions and the internal and external realities for participants. (See Appendix E for select illustrative quotes for some of the themes which emerged from the vignettes.)

Based on the analyses of these experiences portrayed in the narrative vignettes, the most commonly recalled negative effects associated with school corporal punishment were the student feeling scared or fearful, humiliated or embarrassed, feeling that the punishment was unfair, feeling physically hurt, and having hurt feelings or pride. However, of these five negative effects recalled by participants, the most common ones were feeling humiliation, fear, and physical pain. In fact, some participants recalled that humiliation was *the* worst part of school corporal punishment, especially if it had been done in front of the class. Despite these strong perceptions of various negative results which were recollected about the punishment, all 10 participants felt that the negative effects incurred had been of mostly short duration only and not lasting into adulthood, which was an unanticipated result.

In addition, there were the themes of gender differences, racial differences, and academic ability differences, with boys receiving corporal punishment more than girls, one black receiving it because his culture was not understood by whites, and slow learners receiving it simply because they had difficulty learning, through no

fault of their own. Emotional responses to school corporal punishment ranged the full gamut of human emotions and feelings, including humiliation, fear, anxiety, worry, anger, misunderstandings, embarrassment, hostility, distrust, aggressiveness, physical pain, psychological pain, unfairness, ridicule, shame, defensiveness, sadness, disappointment, and feelings of emotional abuse.

There was also a pervasive theme of substantial "irony" in the practice of corporal punishment, as illustrated by many ironic circumstances concerning its administration and application in schools. However, despite the common themes which emerged from the data, each participant's own experiences with school corporal punishment were unique, defining, and associated with perceptions and meanings specific to that individual. It was a noteworthy finding that participants frequently attributed their current opinions and views on corporal punishment to their earlier experiences with it in schools. Many of the participants regarded their decisions on discipline and punishment as a direct result or a continuing "effect" of the corporal punishment.

Besides recalling the obviously negative results of the school corporal punishment, noteworthy but unanticipated research results were that there were recollections of some occasional positive or some neutral results, or even some demonstration of emotional ambivalence toward the punishment, depending from which philosophical lens the respondent viewed the event. Some of these effects viewed by the participants as being positive might have been viewed as negative by someone else, such as learning lessons about unfairness or the harsh realities of life.

It is even possible that a potential respondent may even have "blocked" partial memories of the original event and may not have been able to recall everything that happened to them at the time, resulting in the perception of a more neutral effect from the corporal punishment, rather than a negative one, and possibly resulting in a perceptual under-reporting of the actual effects experienced by the participants. The results of this study on adverse effects could also be mitigated by possible emotional denial of certain effects of these experiences as well, especially since it was often the norm in times past for students to "act" like the punishment didn't hurt or affect them. This could have led to generalized and perpetuated feelings that it did not affect them in a negative sense.

An anticipated by-product or result of the research, however, is that the participants will hopefully acquire some degree of heightened "self-knowledge" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 46) from having engaged in the process of self-reflection, self-analysis, and narrative response. Both newly created and existing perceptions from each participant are all invaluable parts of the phenomenological landscape for viewing and interpreting the effects of school corporal punishment. Regardless of the potential outcomes for each of the 10 interviewees as a result of participating in this study, the resulting narrative transcriptions and vignettes which were compiled from the research will help give "voice" and credence to these various experiences with corporal punishment in schools and to give validity to those voices. Secondly, another expected result of the study was this phenomenological research becoming a phenomenological experience for this researcher, who experienced firsthand through

the interviewing process the unfolding of memory and story, perception and meaning in each participant's responses and "tellings."

Lastly, a rather intriguing and interesting theme arose out of the experiences with corporal punishment: that there is a "mythology" or "lore" about the rituals concerning this disciplinary practice which appeared to have fascinated the participants when they were students, even though they expressed memories of being fearful of the punishment as well as memories of it being very physically painful. However, participants recalled that the "times" were different then and that corporal punishment was a frequently expected, "normal," or predictable element of the school climate. In other words, school corporal punishment was a normative phenomenon in the context of that time period in the 1950s-1980s when the practice was more prevalent and pervasive in American culture. Overall for the participants, their perceptions of the effects of school corporal punishment appeared to have been shaped and couched in terms of the social climate and contexts of those times.

The research findings are significant for a composite scenario and chronology of the most common types of corporal punishment experiences from the recalled experiences of many of the participants: corporal punishment occurring more often than not in the principal's office in a small elementary or high school in a rural area of the Southwest; the student knowing the rules and the consequences for fighting at school and other infractions but choosing to break them anyway; the students involved most frequently being males, who overwhelmingly received both more corporal punishment and harsher punishment than girls; the students getting into

trouble and being paddled by an authoritarian-type teacher or principal; the students subsequently feeling scared, humiliated, physically hurt, wounded in pride, or frustrated with the unfairness of the punishment; and students thinking twice before getting into trouble again as a result of corporal punishment.

In the net analysis, whether the themes illustrate negative reactions or perhaps even ambivalence toward corporal punishment, they are all associated in some manner with "crime and punishment": students sustaining a harsh punishment for something which was perceived as a "crime" by the teacher or principal at the time. Emma, for instance, alludes to this over-arching context for school corporal punishment in her matter-of-fact recollection, "it was the punishment for the crime."

The collective "essences" of the respondents' experiences, which are found interwoven among the many common themes in the research results, almost comprise a stereotypical view of what corporal punishment was like then and what has been described as such in many articles on the subject. However, the essence of these common threads in the vignettes is not a stereotype at all, but rather a living account of what the participants experienced, remembered, and perceived as the meaning of those experiences. These research results–both the raw data of the narrative vignettes and the distilled data of the perceived themes–help "flesh out" the stories and the remembrances of those who have sustained corporal punishment in the past and give those who read and reflect upon them more awareness and empathetic understanding of the times, the contexts, and the feelings associated with those experiences.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Overview of Findings

"Fleshing out the voices" of experience with corporal punishment involved gathering and analyzing detailed, individual memories and descriptions of how these experiences have affected those who were subjected to physical punishment in school in order to gain greater awareness and insights of those experiences during childhood and adolescence. The personal narratives and the interpretations of them have shed light on not only when, where, and how the participants experienced school corporal punishment years ago, but also how they perceive those experiences and re-live them today. In accomplishing this purpose, this study affords participants a "voice" in their own experiences that they may never have had before and an opportunity for them to reflect back on them and share those meanings and perceptions with others. It also serves to augment current theory and understanding of the psychological effects of school corporal punishment.

After identifying the common themes in the voices and the perceptions of the participants, the synthesizing question then became: how do the research results attenuate or augment a present understanding of the psychological or social/emotional phenomenon of school corporal punishment? Secondly, what further questions do these new understandings derived from qualitative data pose for future research concerning corporal punishment in school? There is an ever-increasing awareness

and understanding of child development issues and behavior management practices in the field of education today, including more appropriate and effective disciplinary practices in the classroom, and research findings can help add to those understandings of what appropriate and inappropriate discipline entails and what the effects of inappropriate disciplinary measures are on children for the most part. Driven by theory on the effects of school corporal punishment on children, the present research can inform the theory to that end through its findings.

The results of the study overall indicate that the participants' perceptions supported the literature review on a number of the previously reported psychological effects of school corporal punishment, but some previously reported effects were not supported. In addition, some participants reported neutral or even beneficial effects which were not previously reported in the literature. However, the results supported the literature review in the recalling of significant and traumatic negative experiences and feelings commonly associated with having received this punishment in school and which had been previously verified by the research base, including perceptions or feelings of fear, humiliation, embarrassment, anxiety, anger, sadness, hostility, ambivalence, aggression, physical pain, passive-aggressive symptoms, and some isolated psychological pain, though not in the proportion or intensity indicated by previous research (Greven, 1990; Hyman, 1994). Though the literature on the effects of school corporal punishment is diverse and heterogeneous, the previous findings by

Greven and Hyman foreshadowed the negative effects on the participants' from their experiences.

The results also included themes and perceptions which voiced the concern that corporal punishment was hinged on "power" and "control" issues, two characteristics of traditional corporal punishment which had previously been cautioned against by Michel Foucault and Mahatma Gandhi in their philosophies on human punishment. The authoritarian power and control themes in the study become a Foucaultian metaphor for subjectification and the ways in which some schools have disciplined and isolated students in the past within their rigid walls.

One anticipated result which was based on the literature review but which did not materialize from the data analyses of the narrative vignettes was an adverse effect on the participants' perceptions of self-esteem and self-worth from the use of school corporal punishment. In addition, none of the following more severe adverse effects of corporal punishment was recalled or reflected in the present research study findings: feelings or difficulty with obsessive-compulsiveness, lack of empathy, clinical depression, disassociation, paranoia, vicious cycles of violence, sleep disturbance, memory problems, somatic complaints, thought disturbances, mutism, poor peer relationships, loss of self-control, hyper-alertness states, nightmares, sleepwalking, personal habit disorders, post-traumatic stress disorder, personality change, self-destructive behaviors, and other significant psychological disorders (Greven, 1990; Hyman, 1994). This other body of literature on corporal punishment may not relate to the present study because these more severe results from corporal

punishment occur from either more extreme or repeated experiences with it, none of which the participants indicated. The larger portion of the literature also is related more to home or parental corporal punishment rather than to school punishment, and this may explain why some of the previously reported adverse effects did not emerge in the study.

Unanticipated results from the analyses of the data also included none of the participants reporting any permanent "emotional scars" from their experiences with school corporal punishment, and actual "psychological pain" was specifically mentioned only one time by any of the participants in their recollections of their experiences. Other unanticipated results were that participants expressed a sense of resignation about their experiences with corporal punishment; that they had expected the punishment to happen in their schools during the time periods that they attended them; that corporal punishment had happened to them as expected; and that "life went on" after the punishment was received. These results are not surprising, however, considering the pervasive, normative practices of school corporal punishment in the U.S. which are reflected in the literature.

The over-arching research assumption was that most, but not all, of the adults interviewed will indicate some type of psychological or emotional effects to some degree from school corporal punishment, based on the results of the literature review of previous research on the adverse effects, and this assumption was borne out by the analyses of the research data collected for this study. However, some of the more severe results previously reported in the literature–such as clinical depression,

psychotic disorders, and personality disorders–may have been gathered in previous research because of the particular data collection methods used, including surveys and questionnaires which might have given preconceived answers for respondents to choose from in describing or characterizing their experiences with corporal punishment.

Perhaps open-ended questioning techniques, such as those used in this present study, allow more freedom and opportunity to answer questions with "self-generated answers" (Gubruim & Holstein, 2002, p. 541) and do not guide the respondents to answer in a certain way, pattern, or with certain expectations about their experiences in the ways that surveys and questionnaires with "forced-choice," multiple choice answers, leading questions, or true or false choice formats elicit responses. Perhaps some of the more extreme cases of school corporal punishment experiences cited in the research literature are random or isolated incidents and not the norm for corporal punishment the way that it is administered the majority of the time in schools.

In summative answer to the guiding research questions for this study–what are the psychological effects on adults later in life who received corporal punishment as a child in school, or what psychological effects does childhood corporal punishment sustained in a school setting have on adults later in life?–there appears to be a vast and varied number of negative effects for those who receive it, including fear, humiliation, embarrassment, anxiety, anger, sadness, hostility, ambivalence, aggression, physical pain, passive-aggressive symptoms, and some isolated

psychological pain, based on the results of this present study. In all, these are significant findings on the detrimental effects of corporal punishment in school.

Discussion of Findings

The literature correlates with the results of the study in the areas of fear and humiliation as frequent outcomes of school corporal punishment. The present research findings parallel the previous work of Greven (1990, p. 123), who theorized the following adverse effects of corporal punishment: anxiety, fear, dread, anger, ambivalence, aggressive behavior, and pain. The feeling of fear, which was recalled by participants as the second most common adverse effect in the findings, is what Greven terms a normal or expected response to corporal punishment. He explains this feeling of fear, which was prominent in the results, as being a natural by-product of being "assaulted violently in the name of discipline" (Greven, p. 124). The feeling of anger that some of the participants recalled is explained by Greven as:

> the key to an understanding of the long-term consequences of corporal punishment, for it is the central emotion that shapes our psyches long after the original pain has subsided and been forgotten or denied. Anger is a child's best (and often only) defense, for it arises out of a powerful sense of self, a self violated and abused by painful blows and hurtful words. . . .These powerful emotions are permanently stored in unconscious memories, but sometimes people also remember them quite consciously, years after the events that provoked the feelings. (Greven, 1990, p. 124)

This rationale could certainly be applied to understanding of the recollections of the research participants, who tried to recall feelings deep within their memories after many years.

Greven also points out that anger can be repressed inward or even "blanked out of conscious memory," which could explain why only a few of the participants recalled feeling this emotion when they were corporally punished, even though that type of punishment would normally be expected to produce feelings of anger toward the perpetrator (1990, p. 126). He claims this may be why many adults cannot remember the anger that they felt when they were physically punished as children and that they may feel ambivalence instead (Greven, p. 126), which was another research finding of the present study. "Children. . .learn early in life to distance themselves, or parts of themselves, from experiences too painful or frightening to bear. Traumas, both physical and emotional, are often coped with by denial and repression of the feelings they generate" (Greven, p. 148).

The findings of participants' perceptions of authoritarian power and control being intertwined in the corporal punishment experience are an example of what Greven describes as an unequal and unhealthy dynamic that is inherent in this type of punishment as well:

> With the introduction of physical discipline and the resultant pain in the equation, corporal punishment tips the fulcrum toward the side of adult power and obliterates the reciprocal balance between adult and child. In short, it makes a "sense of mutuality and respect impossible. (Greven, p. 128)

Greven's research shows that this controlling aspect of corporal punishment could result in the development of passive-aggressiveness and repressed hostility (p. 129-131), which was another finding in the current study. His research also shows that the physical punishment of children by adults in the name of discipline may be the main model for aggressive behavior (Greven, 1990, p. 194), another finding in the present study. Other findings from the current study included participants' feeling physical and psychological pain, and Greven's research in the literature supports these findings as well (p. 197).

Results from the present research are also supported by the previous work of Irwin Hyman, whose extensive body of work on the issue of school corporal punishment has identified the following negative or adverse effects of this type of punishment: feelings of fear, feelings of rejection and disappointment, feelings of humiliation and embarrassment, and feelings of pain (1999, pp. 54-55). All of these adverse effects previously reported in the literature were also identified as important findings in the present study. In addition, in other research studies by Hyman, the following possible adverse effects of school corporal punishment were found: fear, anger, anxiety, distrust, withdrawal, aggression, retaliation, feelings of helplessness, and other signs of emotional distress (pp. 92-97). Similarly, all of these negative effects of corporal punishment were findings in the present study as well.

Hyman's other studies on the consequences of both verbal and physical punishment of students include the following adverse effects for students: worrying, crying, aggressive behavior, picking on others, anxiety, self-deprecation, distrust or

loss of trust in adults, and fear of reoccurrence of harm, among others (pp. 94, 99-101). All of these findings were supported in the current study. Hyman also summarized a study by Chandler, Shermis, and Marsh (1985), which showed that children experience the following adverse effects of corporal punishment: feelings of resignation, helplessness, crying, and passive-aggresive behaviors (Hyman, 1999, p. 113). These, too, are consistent with present findings.

However, corporal punishment is not the only method by which a child's inner needs and psyche can be damaged, according to the research literature. Studies over the last three decades show that verbally attacking a child can be "even more psychologically harmful than physical violence" (Marshall, 2004). Murray Straus believes that just the opposite is true of the adage that "sticks and stones can break my bones, but words will never hurt me" (Straus, 2004). He states his research on the verbal versus physical forms of abuse and punishment shows that–other than life-threatening injuries–" 'psychologically' hitting kids does more damage in the long run" (Straus, 2004). This theme of verbal abuse being worse than the corporal punishment by teachers and coaches was another finding in the present study.

Other studies in the literature have shown that students feel pain, anger, humiliation, and many other emotional outcomes from receiving physical punishment (Haralambos et al., 2000), all of which are significant findings in this study. Likewise, researchers Edwards and Edwards at the University of Southern Mississippi and the Mississippi State Department of Education, respectively, found the following negative effects of corporal punishment: student anxiety and

aggressive behavior (Edwards & Edwards, 1987, p. 128), which are echoed in the present findings as well.

Previous studies have shown the stark gender differences in the occurrence rates of school corporal punishment, with male students being subjected to the punishment over four times more than female students, even though there are approximately the same number of both sexes in the student population (Gregory, pp. 457-458). This previous finding was reflected in the current study as well, with the men recalling that either no girls or very few girls received corporal punishment at school. In addition, the literature includes statistics that African-American students are hit at a rate more than double their percentage of the overall student population (Corporal, 2003). Though this perception was not recalled by the two African-Americans in the study, one of them did describe experiences with "Caucasian" teachers misunderstanding him, which would tend to support the previous finding.

Finally, the results of this study also corroborated a previous finding in the literature that students who had experienced school corporal punishment in the past felt that they had "recovered from the experiences and were not seriously damaged" by those experiences (Hyman, 1994, p. 98). In addition, some aspects of the present study did tend to support the research literature from J. Wilson that corporal punishment, though aversive, was an effective deterrent to future student misbehavior (2002, p. 409). Wilson concluded that it is effective as a deterrent to misbehavior because nobody likes physical pain, that it is effective as a method of reform because

it creates fear, and that it is fair in its use since all people dislike pain. The first two findings by Wilson were borne out by this study, but not the last view.

In general, the present findings on phenomenological perceptions of school corporal punishment are significant in several respects. First of all, they fill a gap in the current literature for reflective descriptions and personal narratives of first-hand experiences with corporal punishment which can then be analyzed qualitatively for common themes and perceptions of those events. Second, by using the technique of narrative transcription and narrative vignettes, the findings help "flesh out" and bring to life the various stories and "voices" of those who have been corporally punished in schools for the purposes of greater understanding and awareness. Third, they yielded valuable qualitative information on the various social and emotional effects of school corporal punishment in children and later on in life as adults. Fourth, they can be a springboard for further research into this enduring issue from either an oral history or a phenomenological perspective, which is likewise lacking in the current corporal punishment literature.

However, no matter how the findings of this present research might be used by others in studying or assessing the effects of school corporal punishment, it is important to note the following qualification that:

> Qualitative research is not done for purposes of generalization but rather to produce evidence based on the exploration of specific contexts and particular individuals. It is expected that readers will see similarities to their situations

> and judge the relevance of the information produced to their own circumstances. Because we make no claims that we can create universal and essential knowledge for policy or offer universal prescriptions for practice, we instead describe research projects to show how their results can inform. (Brantlinger et al., 2005, p. 203)

With this caution in mind, it is still possible to gain a broader perspective and appreciation of the totality of the experiences that people have had with school corporal punishment through this type of qualitative research. The present study findings reveal additional ranges to explore in the phenomenological landscape of corporal punishment experiences and give both the participants and future readers opportunities for experiential knowledge through exploration of the perceptions of these events in school. In anticipation of that beneficial by-product of this study, the interview audiotapes and transcriptions from this research will be donated to the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society, which has expressed an interest in obtaining them from this researcher for their oral history collection.

The findings of the present study are likewise significant in that they corroborate previous adverse effects of school corporal punishment reported in the literature, especially negative outcomes such as humiliation, embarrassment, fear, anxiety, anger, sadness, hostility, ambivalence, aggression, physical pain, passive-aggressive symptoms, and some isolated psychological pain (Greven, 1990; Hyman, 1994). They are significant in that they detail and illustrate the spectrum of various

negative effects of corporal punishment as recalled by the participants. The preponderance of negative outcomes in school corporal punishment, though not unexpected, serves to underscore the adverse results from corporal punishment previously reported in the literature. The findings are significant in the range of human emotions and feelings depicted, including humiliation, fear, anxiety, worry, anger, misunderstandings, embarrassment, hostility, aggressiveness, distrustfulness, physical pain, psychological pain, unfairness, ridicule, shame, defensiveness, sadness, disappointment, and feelings of emotional abuse, with the three most common negative effects recalled of all being feelings of humiliation, fear, and physical pain.

In fact, it is a significant finding that some participants recalled humiliation as being the worst part of school corporal punishment, especially if the punishment had been done in front of the class. Repeated multiple times in the personal recollections of the participants, it is significant that humiliation is voiced as the most adverse effect of the punishment. This finding has additional significance and application to teacher training in the use of more appropriate discipline practices or "positive behavioral supports" which preserve the dignity of the student. Adding to the significance of these findings are also a wealth of illustrative, first-hand quotations in the present research results which help "flesh out" the humiliation and the other negative effects of school corporal punishment in personal and unique ways.

Other significance of the present study is that it sheds light on other common elements arising from the experiences of corporal punishment–themes and motifs such as social and physical contexts, sociocultural differences, gender differences,

age differences, racial differences, instructional differences, student learner differences, time period differences, double standards, and overall school climate. These findings are significant in that many common threads and themes emerged in the vignettes surrounding the experiences with corporal punishment which had not previously been explored in the literature as such using narrative techniques. These rich contextual findings also helped provide valuable schema for understanding and interpreting the panorama of various recollections of school corporal punishment from multiple perspectives.

The study is further significant in that it both dispels some myths about school corporal punishment and yet adds understandings of other "myths" to the knowledge base. On one hand, the myth of corporal punishment usually resulting in significant bodily bruising is not borne out by the recollections, nor is the myth of students being irreparably damaged psychologically by the typically mild, "garden variety" of corporal punishment normally used in schools. The present findings also add other myths, "lore," and childhood stories connected with this type of punishment from the perspectives of students, such as the lore of the metaphorical "badge" of courage, honor, or pride associated with males receiving school corporal punishment. Myths such as the paddles being named almost personifies and brings to life a discipline method in terms of the perceptions of the research participants, and this metaphorical finding makes more tangible the recollections of pain and fear which are found in both the personal experiences and the literature. The findings from these participants

in the southwestern part of the U.S. also did not bear out the myth of the "spare the rod, spoil the child" philosophy which is pervasive in the South as well. However, the findings did parallel some previous, isolated reports in the literature of sadistic teacher behaviors in administering the corporal punishment.

Another significant finding is the overall composite scenario for the corporal punishment experience formed from the recollections of the participants, including its frequent occurrence in small schools, in rural or farming areas, in both earlier and later grades in schools, in the principal's office more often than not, and in front of the other students second most fequently. A significant finding in the collective scenario and sequence of events for school corporal punishment is the student knowing the rules and consequences for fighting and other infractions at school but choosing to disregard them anyway; the student, usually a male, getting into trouble for breaking the rules; the student being paddled by an authoritarian-type teacher or principal; boys overwhelmingly receiving both more corporal punishment and harsher punishment than girls; the students often feeling scared, humiliated, physically hurt, wounded in pride, and frustrated with the unfairness of the punishment; and the effects of the punishment being short-lived but making them think twice before getting into trouble again at school. Besides this backdrop for many school corporal punishment experiences, the study is significant in that it also sheds light on the specter of corporal punishment as a type of generational violence that is passed down not only from parent to child or from one generation to the next in families, from also

from one generation of teachers or "paddlers" to the next in a vicious, entrenched cycle in schools.

The findings are also significant in that they added new layers or dimensions of understanding about corporal punishment, such as the behavioral and academic antecedents, the teacher behaviors associated with it, the various physical punishment methods used, the relationship between both setting and effect and between social mores and effects, and the relationships between students and teachers. The findings further revealed a multitude of ironies and paradoxes about the use of corporal punishment in schools which, though not generalizable, can still serve to inform pedagogy and professional practice in the classroom and to increase awareness of healthier human relationships within the circle of teacher-student dynamics.

Limitations of the study include that it focused on narrative research from personal recollections and memories, that findings were based on the recall of events which took place many years ago, that the data sets were individuals' perceptions and interpretations of real events, and that the data sets were from research participants from one main geographic area. It was anticipated, however, that since some length of time–an average of several decades–had transpired since the original event and each participant's perceptions of it, that the data would reveal some long-lasting effects of corporal punishment, which it did not. Another limitation of the study is the social norms of the time periods represented by the participants, who to some

extent interpret their meanings and understandings of their experiences with corporal punishment from the educational standards and normative practices of those times.

An additional limitation of this type of phenomenological study is the occasional but understandable reluctance of participants to fully divulge personal and sensitive information about negative or traumatic experiences that they have had in the past, especially one-on-one with a researcher whom they had never met before. That would be a perfectly normal human response to any situation where they feel that they must talk about themselves and their experiences in detail "under the microscope" of social science research. Also, both the quality and completeness of memories of events–even traumatic ones–can naturally fade as time intervenes between the past event and the present. Despite these limitations, however, the research data did reveal a number of adverse effects from this particular punishment method; it corroborates previous findings in the literature in that area; and it resulted in enough significant findings to enable future readers to hopefully empathize with the participants' individual experiences with corporal punishment in school.

With the numerous adverse effects from school corporal punishment, it is recommended that schools, teachers, parents, and communities approach the issue from a position of increased awareness of the negative effects from this disciplinary practice, the potential for harm to be done unnecessarily, and the potential adverse impact on the child's development. It is also recommended that these stakeholders in public schools continue to avail themselves of helpful information on alternative

disciplinary measures, "best practice" trends in classroom management, and other developments in the field which inform educators on how best to motivate, reward, and inspire children to succeed in school, behavior, and self-management. To assist in that area, many professional, educational, and medical organizations have published formal position statements on school corporal punishment in hopes that these will encourage and reinforce the often difficult decisions that school systems make to ban this practice. These position statements can be helpful information for parents as well as school personnel. (See Appendices J through L for a sampling of these formalized policy statements on corporal punishment in schools.)

Another recommendation is for school psychologists, counselors, and social workers to be pro-active in educating parents, teachers, and administrators about the pros and cons of various methods of discipline and to offer information and fact sheets about alternatives preferable to corporal punishment. It is also recommended that schools offer parenting skills classes or parent training workshops, professional development classes for teachers on successful classroom management techniques and tips, and child development resource rooms with reading and audio materials for parents and teachers. As with research, information and the awareness that it brings with it is the first step in seeing the "big picture" and making wise decisions in child-rearing, teaching, and human relations. Further, these findings can be used to inform and educate legislators, school boards, and other policymakers on the numerous adverse psychological effects of school corporal punishment on children, in attempts to persuade more states and school districts to ban this disciplinary practice.

Suggestions for future research in the area of school corporal punishment include using the method of in-depth interviews in other corporal punishment research, or doing a second round of interviews with the first set of participants; researching and assembling a collection of the myths and lore surrounding corporal punishment practice; a specific gender study on the effects of the punishment; or regional studies on how the personal experiences vary phenomenologically from one geographic area of the country to another, such as from north to south, east coast to west coast, and urban to rural. Since one participant recalled being told that his father had received corporal punishment worse than what he himself had, and that his grandfather had received corporal punishment even worse than what his father had before him, a research study using phenomenology could be designed to study the cycle of corporal punishment across three generations. Another suggestion for a future research study is to explore the possible sociological connections between corporal punishment policy and capital punishment policy in American society.

As the literature review points out, schools in early America were "private" and initially started in homes, where corporal punishment was often administered to one's own children, so it is perhaps without any surprise that school discipline has historically been modeled after discipline in the home and that the two settings for raising and educating children are inextricably linked. However, that being said, there is still hope that "enlightenment," which one participant mentioned as guiding informed people to use better methods than corporal punishment, will continue to gain ground and momentum in the educational setting until one day, someday, school

corporal punishment will be a thing of the past, an sociohistorical relic of a different "time" and cultural norms from long ago. . .

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MASTER LIST OF RESULTS

Table A. Master List of Results From Interviews

	Rod	Max	Jack	Tom	Josh	Harris	John	Katherine	Betty	Emma	Kate	TOTAL
Physical Context												
Small school	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	9
Large school					X	X						2
Rural area	X	X	X	X			X		X		X	7
Urban area					X	X						2
Elementary school	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	11
Junior high		X	X									2
High school	X	X	X	X			X	X				6
Front of the classroom			X	X		X		X				4
Outside in the hallway			X		X			X		X		4
Principal's office	X	X	X	X	X		X		X			7
Social Context												
CP expected at school	X	X	X		X			X				5
Students know the rules	X	X	X				X	X		X		6
Parents support school CP		X	X		X	X		X				5
Parents criticize school CP	X						X					2
Parents use CP at home		X	X			X				X		4
Boys paddled > girls							X			X		2
Boys hit harder > girls									X			1
Girls not paddled at all	X	X										2
CP a "badge of courage"	X	X	X	X								4
Students boast of CP		X										1
Blacks misunderstood						X						1
Birthday swats common								X				1
Myths or lore about CP	X	X	X				X					4
"Spare rod, spoil the child"						X						1
A different "time" then	X	X	X		X							4
1950s-1960s period	X	X	X	X			X					5
1970s-1980s period					X	X		X	X	X	X	6

Table A. Master List of Results continued

	Rod	Max	Jack	Tom	Josh	Harris	John	Katherine	Betty	Emma	Kate	TOTAL
Behavioral Antecedents												
Student fighting or scuffling	X		X			X	X	X		X		6
Student talking out loud	X			X	X			X				4
Student chewing gum								X				1
Student out of seat											X	1
Student defending self	X					X						2
Seeking attention		X										1
Disobeying rules		X	X					X	X	X		5
Academic Antecedents												
Poor grades or failing tests	X	X					X	X				4
Developmental problems	X	X										2
Student bored in class	X	X										2
Not doing homework								X				1
Not knowing answer							X					1
Teacher Behaviors												
Gave warning or reminder	X			X								2
Became angry or upset		X		X	X			X	X			5
Knocked over desks		X	X									2
"Strutted" with paddles				X								1
Negative mood or affect				X	X			X				3
Displayed authoritarian style	X	X	X	X			X	X				6
Picked on a student							X					1
Acted "out of control"		X						X				2
Hit as hard as they could	X	X	X				X	X				5
One-size-fits-all discipline	X	X		X	X			X				5
Verbal belittling or critical				X								1
Displayed paddle in class					X					X		2
Swung paddle like a ball bat	X											1

Table A. Master List of Results continued

	Rod	Max	Jack	Tom	Josh	Harris	John	Katherine	Betty	Emma	Kate	TOTAL
Punishment Methods												
Paddle or board	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	10
Hard ruler					X		X	X				3
Rubber hose							X					1
Fly swatter	X											1
Eraser thrown			X									1
Teacher's hand											X	1
Confinement under desk			X									1
Negative Effects												
Student scared or fearful	X	X	X	X	X			X				6
Student anxious or worried		X		X	X							3
Student angry or mad				X	X	X						3
Student felt misunderstood	X				X	X	X					4
Humiliation, embarrassment	X		X	X	X	X		X	X		X	8
Hostility toward teacher					X	X						2
Didn't want to go to school				X			X					2
More aggressive behavior				X	X	X						3
Distrustful of authority						X						1
Got CP at home as result			X			X		X		X		4
Felt physical pain	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			8
Felt disappointment	X			X					X			3
CP seemed unfair	X		X		X			X		X	X	6
Ridiculed, laughed at						X						1
Felt sad, unhappy					X							1
School a poor role model		X										1
Felt abused by school staff	X	X										2
Hurt feelings or pride	X			X	X				X	X	X	6
Built defense mechanisms						X						1
Psychological/emotional pain					X			X				2

Table A. Master List of Results continued

	Rod	Max	Jack	Tom	Josh	Harris	John	Katherine	Betty	Emma	Kate	TOTAL
Length of Negative Effects												
Short-term	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	11
Long-term					X							1
Beneficial Effects												
Deterrent to misbehavior	X				X	X	X	X			X	6
Learned lessons about life	X											1
Won't use CP as parent	X		X	X		X						4
Want schools to ban CP	X	X	X			X						4
Neutral Effects												
Still respected teacher	X		X					X	X	X		5
Not against discipline per se				X		X						2
Had no - or + effect on them	X	X		X							X	4
Don't know if had any effect									X		X	2
TOTAL # OF NEGATIVE												
EFFECTS REPORTED												67
TOTAL # OF POSITIVE												
EFFECTS REPORTED												15
TOTAL # OF NEUTRAL												
EFFECTS REPORTED												13
TOTAL # OF EFFECTS												95

APPENDIX B

INDICATORS FOR THEMES

Table B. Indicators and Evidence for Data Results and Themes

Data Results and Themes	**Indicators, Definitions, and Evidence from the Interview Texts**
Students "know the rules"	know what's expected; know the consequence
CP a "badge of courage"	"badge of honor," "badge of pride," "hero," "macho"; students got bragging rights with their peers if they got corporal punishment; other students looked up to them if they handled the punishment bravely; they were considered the "big guy" if they got CP; student acted like the corporal punishment didn't really hurt
Blacks were misunderstood	white teachers do not understand African-American students or culture; white teachers need multicultural training so that they will better understand African-American experiences from their viewpoint on things
"Myths" or lore about CP	oral tradition about the practice; holes were for greater wind resistance or more pain; paddles were named after derogatory term; some had students' names on them; principal had "electric paddling machine"; certain rituals associated with its use; teachers made their own paddles; teachers carried them from school to school; students wanted to steal paddles; paddle looked like a piece of barn wood; students often had to bend over and grab their ankles; 1x4 boards used; some thought 2x4's used; the ag teacher made the paddles in shop class; teacher "traded licks" with students; students got "birthday swats" on their birthday every year, with one swat for each year of their age; students thought teachers enjoyed administering the corporal punishment
A "different time" then	different culture in the past; different norms; no one questioned CP; that's just the way it was back then; no one thought anything about it; parents didn't usually question the teacher's methods; it was an expected and accepted practice in schools back then;

	students had nothing else to compare it to; didn't think any less of the teacher if they used corporal punishment in that time period; corporal punishment was common at both home and school then; corporal punishment was generational in that social climate; corporal punishment seemed "normal" at the time
"Attention-seeking"	class "clown"; didn't get attention from parents at home; any attention was better than no attention; attention for misbehavior was the only way to get noticed; the "law of the soggy potato chip" analogy
"Disobeying rules"	general misbehavior; disregarding teacher's rules
"Developmental problems"	learning disabilities; slow learners; mental problems
"Strutted" with paddle	teacher or coach "brandished" paddle like a weapon; teacher or coach swaggered with paddle in front of students; teacher or coach showed paddle to students as a threat for possible misbehavior
"Authoritarian style"	"power" or "control" over students by teacher; no explanation given; strict, inflexible disciplinarian; the teachers made the rules and that was it; corporal punishment administered like a "judicial system"
Acted "out of control"	teacher in rage was capable of "murder" or doing severe harm to student; teacher lost temper at student; teacher swung paddle like a baseball bat at student; teacher hit student as hard as they could; teacher "gave it their all" in hitting student with paddle
"One-size-fits-all" discipline	"blanket" discipline; all students disciplined the same way regardless of infraction; no allowances made for individual circumstances, differences, or needs; all students in class were lined up single-file for corporal punishment to be administered by teacher; corporal punishment was the "standard" method
Verbal "belittling"	verbal criticism by teacher; derogatory statements; verbally abusive remarks; personal attacks
Student scared or fearful	afraid; fear; apprehension; terrified; frightened

Student anxious or worried	dread; didn't know what consequence was going to happen; very concerned; nervous; uneasy; troubled
Student or teacher acts mad	furious; upset; temper; enraged; raging like a "bull"; "parting the waves" in anger; frustrated; displeased
Student felt misunderstood	teacher or parent did not listen; did not have chance to give his or her viewpoint; not allowed to tell his or her side of the story; adults had preconceived ideas; didn't understand why they got the punishment; asked themselves, "Why me?"; felt teacher didn't try to find out the reasons or causes for their problem; the punishment or reason seemed like a puzzle to them
Student felt humiliated	embarrassment; ridiculed; laughed at; their pride or dignity was hurt; loss of face; felt ashamed
Hostility toward teacher	felt outraged at being corporally punished; felt abused by teacher; resentment; felt revengeful or vindictive; wanted to "get back" at teacher
Didn't want to go to school	used avoidance tactics; pretended to be sick; played hookey; developed secondary behaviors against work
Exhibited more aggression of various types	student acted out more as a consequence of corporal punishment; modeled aggressive behavior; student felt more defensive afterwards; student became more oppositional or defiant after the corporal punishment; student figured out ways to push teacher to the limits; had a "paradoxical" effect–student wanted to do the same thing to others that had been done to him, such as belittling, excessive criticism, or verbal abuse
Distrustful of authority	lost respect for teacher; questioned the real motives of the teacher; suspicious of adults in authoritarian roles
Felt disappointment	felt let-down; had regrets; wished things had been different or had made different choices; felt that himself, herself, or others did not live up to others' expectations; dissatisfied or discouraged by events; felt disapproval from others–parents and/or teacher

Punishment seemed unfair	one-sided discipline was used; student did not have a choice in the discipline; boys got paddled harder than the girls; boys got paddled more often than the girls; everyone got disciplined if just one or a few got into trouble; everyone in class got the same punishment regardless; double-standard existed for disciplining; felt like they didn't deserve to get the punishment; student felt "mistreated" by the teacher; felt wronged; didn't seem "right" or appropriate; seemed too harsh
Felt sad or unhappy	felt downcast or depressed for a while; felt "blue"; felt "low"; felt dejected; broken-hearted; felt dismal or miserable; glum"; "tearful"; tears in their eyes
School is poor role model if it uses corporal punishment	school sends a "mixed message" to students about using aggression to handle situations; school models aggression in using corporal punishment as a discipline method; school teaches parents that it's acceptable to use corporal punishment rather than other behavioral techniques; schools should model best practice for handling behavioral problems; a lot of parents look to the schools as a role model for how to raise and discipline their children appropriately
CP deterrent to misbehavior	corporal punishment made them think twice about doing something inappropriate again; didn't break the rules in class again; avoided teacher's displeasure in the future; tried to stay out of trouble afterwards; corporal punishment was considered a part of the instruction on the part of the teacher
Learned lessons about life	learned that life is often unfair and that nothing can be done about it sometimes; learned to "accept" some things the way that they are; learned firsthand that it's not a good way to discipline children; from their own experiences, they decided not to use it on their own children someday; learned that some teachers and adults have problems of their own; learned what *not* to do in certain situations in the future; learned to be more sympathetic to others in similar or worse situations; learned how to keep the teacher "happy"

	(Definitions for results which are self-explanatory are not given in this chart for the most part.)

APPENDIX C

COMMON THEMES FREQUENCY

Table C. Common Themes in Narrative Vignettes

COMMON THEMES	**TOTAL PARTICIPANTS**
Indicated in text of ≥ 5 of 10 vignettes (in at least half of the vignettes)	
Physical Context	
Done in small school	9
Lived in rural area	7
Done in elementary school	11
Done in high school	6
Done in principal's office	7
Social Context	
CP expected at school	5
Students know the rules	6
Parents support school CP	5
Boys paddled > & harder	5
Student Behaviors	
Student fighting or scuffling	6
Disobeying school rules	5
Teacher Behaviors	
Became angry or upset	5
Displayed authoritarian style	6
Hit student as hard as they could	5
Used one-size-fits-all discipline	5
Punishment Methods	
Used paddle or board	10

Table C. Common Themes in Narrative Vignettes continued

COMMON THEMES	TOTAL PARTICIPANTS
Negative Results	
Student scared or fearful	6
Humiliation, embarrassment	8
Felt physical pain	8
Seemed unfair	6
Hurt feelings or pride	6
Duration of Negative Results	
Short-term	11
Beneficial Results	
Deterrent to misbehavior	6
Neutral Results	
Still respected the teacher	5

SUMMARY OF RESULTS RECALLED	TOTAL NO. RESULTS*
Total Number of Negative Results Recalled	67 (71% of results)** (> 2/3 effects)
Total Number of Positive Results Recalled	15 (16% of results)
Total Number of Neutral Results Recalled	13 (13% of results)
Total Number of Results Recalled	95*
**From Table A. Master List of Results*	****Negative > Positive**

APPENDIX D

FOUR MAIN AREA THEMES

Table D. Four Main Areas of Themes and Sub-Themes in Narrative Vignettes

Social Context Perceptions

CP expected at school
Student know the rules
Parents support school CP
Some parents criticize CP
Parents use CP at home
Boys paddled more than girls
Boys hit harder than girls
Some girls not paddled at all
Black culture misunderstood
Birthday swats are common
"Spare the rod, spoil the child"
A different "time" then

Perceptions of Teacher Behaviors

Gave warnings or reminders
Became angry or upset
Knocked over desks
"Strutted" with paddles
Displayed a negative mood
Used an authoritarian style
Picked on a particular student
Acted "out of control"
Hit student as hard as could
One-size-fits-all discipline
Verbal belittling or critical
Displayed paddle in class
Swung paddle like a ball bat
Used paddle most often for CP

(Note: The other results were grouped under "Background and Setting" information.)

Students' Emotional Reactions

Scared or fearful
Anxious or worried
Angry or mad
Felt misunderstood
Humiliation or embarrassment
Hostility toward teacher
Didn't want to go to school
More aggressive behavior
Distrustful of authority
Felt physical pain
Felt disappointment
Thought CP was unfair
Felt shame at being ridiculed
Felt sad or unhappy
Thought school poor role model
Felt abused by school staff
Hurt feelings or pride
Built defense mechanisms
Psychological/emotional pain
Did not want to misbehave
Learned lesson about life
Won't use CP as a parent
Wants schools to ban CP
Still respected the teacher
Not against discipline per se
Felt that it didn't affect them
Don't know if it affected them

Myth, Metaphor, and Irony

CP a "badge of courage"
An "oral tradition" for CP
Paddles had names
Had holes for "wind resistance"
"Electric paddling machines"
Paddle as metaphor
Teachers hit students for hitting

Table D. Four Main Areas of Themes in Vignette--Frequency of Occurrences:

Social Context Perceptions--35

5--CP expected at school
6--Student know the rules
5--Parents support school CP
2--Some parents criticize CP
4--Parents use CP at home
2--Boys paddled more than girls
1--Boys hit harder than girls
2--Some girls not paddled at all
1--Black culture misunderstood
1--Birthday swats are common
1--"Spare the rod, spoil the child"
5--A different "time" then

Teacher Behaviors--42

2--Gave warnings or reminders
5--Became angry or upset
2--Knocked over desks
2--"Strutted" with paddles
1--Displayed a negative mood
3--Used an authoritarian style
1--Picked on a particular student
2--Acted "out of control"
5--Hit student as hard as could
5--One-size-fits-all discipline
1--Verbal belittling or critical
2--Displayed paddle in class
1--Swung paddle like a ball bat
10--Used paddle most often for CP

(Note: The ironies were not explicit and were inferred from comparisons of the participants' perceptions.)

Emotional Reactions--91

6--Scared or fearful
3--Anxious or worried
3--Angry or mad
4--Felt misunderstood
8--Humiliation or embarrassment
2--Hostility toward teacher
2--Didn't want to go to school
3--More aggressive behavior
1--Distrustful of authority
8--Felt physical pain
3--Felt disappointment
6--Thought CP was unfair
1--Felt shame at being ridiculed
1--Felt sad or unhappy
1--Felt school a poor role model
2--Felt abused by school staff
6--Hurt feelings or pride
1--Built defense mechanisms
2--Psychological/emotional pain
6--Did not want to misbehave
1--Learned lesson about life
4--Won't use CP as a parent
4--Wants schools to ban CP
5--Still respected the teacher
2--Not against discipline per se
4--Felt that it didn't affect them
2--Don't know if it affected them

Myth, Metaphor, & Irony--14

4--CP a "badge of courage"
1--An "oral tradition" for CP
2--Paddles had names
4--Holes for "wind resistance"
2--"Electric paddling machines"
1--Teacher hit students for hitting
0--Paddle as metaphor (inferred)

APPENDIX E

ILLUSTRATIVE QUOTES

Table E: Sample Illustrative Quotes for Themes in Narrative Vignettes

Common Themes	**Illustrative Quotes and Excerpts from Text**
1. Social Contexts	
CP expected in school climate	"Corporal punishment was administered pretty . . .predictably, and so on." ——— "It was part of the socialization that I think the school personnel thought was necessary." ——— "It was the culture--it went on in the school system I attended." ——— "I had no problem with this at the time, because everyone got licks and that's the way it was." ——— "It was not only accepted but encouraged then."
Students knew the rules for CP	"Pretty much everybody knew what the rules were." ——— "We all understood the rules, and I chose to break them." ——— "The thing is, we knew the rules: if you broke the rules, we knew what the consequences were, that you would get licks. It was pretty cut-and-dry." ——— "The rules were laid out for you, and you knew the consequences."

	"It was a pretty hard and fast rule."
Parents supported CP at school	"If I went home and told my dad, he would ask why and then he might say, 'Well, then you deserved it.' Simple as that." ——— "It did damage to the skin. I definitely had a bruise, and I even explained it to my mother when I went home that day. . .she didn't think nothing of it, so she told me to be careful in class and not get into trouble."
Parents used CP at home	"But keep in mind, we got corporal punishment at home, so that was part of our punishment at home, too." ——— "We all got spanked at home, too."
It was a different "time" then	"As I reflect today, corporal punishment in the '50s and '60s was a socially accepted means to show objection for antisocial behavior." ——— "There is also the cultural context of different eras in America and how the laws often parallel it." ——— "Remember, this is the fifties--there is absolutely no understanding of learning problems; everybody was expected to perform equally and be basically the same." ——— "It was a different time then." ——— "At the time, it was a normal thing. . .it was just normal to get swats in school."
2. Student Emotional Reactions	

Felt humiliation or embarrassment	"I think that was humiliating." _____ "It was just the being embarrassed about it--a difficult thing." _____ "There was a certain humiliation of being brought in front of the class and being in such a 'vulnerable' position." _____ "The humiliation was the worse part." _____ "The worse thing it did to me was the humiliation." _____ "I don't think this is a good way to handle it for students to bend over and touch their feet--especially humiliating--for female students, too." _____ "There was no discretion about it—it was in front of the whole class so you were ridiculed and laughed at. For weeks, fingers were pointed at you as the one who got in trouble." _____ "It wasn't the swat--it was the embarrassment of getting into trouble." _____ "Getting into trouble like that was embarrassing." _____ "I think it was mostly embarrassing because of our teacher."
CP made students scared, fearful	"It was pretty frightening at the time." _____

	"Obviously, there was the fear of getting caught and being punished." _____ "When someone was getting punished, the rest of the class was very quiet and tense and apprehensive." _____ "I remember the sensation of being scared--petrified about the pain--the apprehension about the punishment, not the reasons why I was being punished. The dread is the worse part of the punishment." _____ "As for why I received the punishment, I was not thinking about that as much as the fear of the pain." _____ "It made me fearful of getting this on a daily basis, because for some reason the behavior if I would act out or something, this would happen." _____ "At the time before the punishment was being administered, I had a lot of fear and anxiety." _____ "I can remember being deathly afraid of our principal. . .she could give licks without even thinking about it."
Doesn't want schools to use CP	"One thing I learned is I didn't want anyone doing it to my kids." _____ "Teachers should 'teach,' not physically punish kids." _____ "It had an effect on me--yes, I don't want

	children to go through this, and I want it taken out of schools. Gone, done away with--it serves no useful purpose." ——— "I promised my mom that I would never allow this to happen to my child. I do not feel corporal punishment is successful in a school setting. I think it is the parents' job to discipline."
He/she won't use CP as a parent	"Those of us who are enlightened somehow shouldn't be administering corporal punishment since we know better."
CP had neutral or no result	"For me, for the most part, corporal punishment was neither here nor there. I mean I don't think my life has been altered either positively or negatively." ——— "It honestly didn't warp me in any way. I think I turned out okay." ——— "Every kid I knew got spanked, and that had no effect on me psychologically that I know of." ——— "As far as how it affects me today, I guess I would have to say I don't think it leaves any lasting effect on me or any psychological issues or anything like that." ——— "I don't remember it having a whole lot of effect on me one way or another. It didn't have any effect on my behavior." ——— "I don't really feel one way or another about it . . .I have a neutral feeling about it now--it didn't scar me for life."

3. Teacher Behaviors	
Teacher became angry or upset	"But, boy, she had a temper." _____ "She'd come at you with a paddle almost like a bull and moved desks like 'parting of the waves.' " _____ "When he administered corporal punishment. . . you could hear the teacher as he was speaking to him pretty much in an angry tone." _____ "That set him off and he was completely out of control. . .for five minutes he was about as out of control as I have ever seen another human being. He was capable of murder at that point. . .he was totally out of control and raging."
Teacher had authoritarian style.	"It's a 'control' or 'who's in charge' or 'power' thing. . .you have no recourse." _____ "She was a very stern, serious disciplinarian--not a very joyful person."
Teachers hit as hard as they could	"The point of it was to inflict as much pain as possible. They didn't hold back: it was with all the force they could muster--they gave it their all." _____ "Sometimes he'd hit you so hard, he'd lift you airborne off the floor." _____ "I can remember he lifted me off of the ground . . .and I looked and I had big welts on my legs." _____ "Oh, yea, he hit hard, and I can remember

	wondering if I needed to go home and tell my mother or not."
CP was one-size-fits-all discipline	"There was a school policy that anyone caught fighting, regardless of who started the fight, would all be in equal trouble." ——— "Regardless of whatever you did that she didn't like, that was the punishment. . .It was a 'one-size-fits-all' punishment." ——— "Corporal punishment, the way it was being administered, should not be a 'blanket punishment' for every student, and each child has individual needs, and they all need different things." ——— "So, basically, she lined up everyone in the classroom single-file and we walked up in front to where she was, and she would give us swats."
CP given for poor grades on tests	"For a while there was a junior high teacher who gave swats to anyone who failed a test, to do better in your studies." ——— "It was used as a punishment for doing poorly in school." "It was a policy that if you failed the spelling test you got a paddling. . .if we didn't bring our grades up we'd get a paddling. And it was specific about the spelling--everything else was fine. I got good grades otherwise--no behavior problems."
4. Myth, Irony, and Metaphor	
Myths or lore existed about CP	"There was kind of a oral tradition about paddling at the time, and part of that was that

	you were ‘paddled,’ not ‘spanked’: ‘spanked’ was something usually for younger children at home that parents did, and ‘paddling’ was associated with school.” ——— “Some of the myths that were associated with the paddles: [they] were designed with holes in them so that they could be swung harder.” ——— “The folklore of it was that, you know, the principal had gotten a new ‘electric paddling machine’ and so on.” ——— “For some reason, they thought the holes helped make it more painful; we never knew if it was to reduce wind resistance or. . .make it hurt worse.” ——— “These events take on a life of their own.” ——— “The rumor always was in grade school that the principal had an electric paddle just to scare the heck out of everybody; ‘course she didn’t.” ——— “He had a big old paddle he called ‘Honyock’. . . it might be in German as a word for ‘undisciplined’ or ‘unruly child’. . .The coaches all named their paddles.” ——— “If you got paddled with it, you could sign your names on it, and we did. I wish I had that paddle to this day.”
CP was a “badge of courage”	“And at that time a high school boy who got paddled, it was more of a badge of courage or honor or at least something to talk about.” ———

	"We thought of it as a badge of pride." ——— "While I never liked getting the swats, afterwards I was the hero, and I could strut back into the classroom as the big guy because I was tougher and meaner than anyone else, so I liked that part." ——— "There was a big payoff: you could gather around your friends at recess and talk about it blow-by-blow, so to speak, so there was a lot of positive attention from your peers."
Metaphor	"Have you ever heard of. . . 'the law of the soggy potato chip'? In essence it goes something like this: if you are hungry and you want a snack, you want a crisp chip; if you don't have any and all you have is old, stale, soggy ones, then you will pick that instead. Well, kids are the same way. Kids would much prefer parents' good attention, but they will get parents' attention one way or another. If they can't get good attention, they will misbehave so they can get bad attention--it's better than no attention. So, that explains my behavior in school. I sought attention, I wanted attention, and getting in trouble always got you attention. While I never liked getting the swats. . .there was a lot of positive attention from your peers."

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Describe or tell about your experience with corporal punishment in school.

2. How did that experience with corporal punishment affect you at the time?

3. How does that experience with corporal punishment affect you today?

4. What are the effects of that experience with corporal punishment for you?

5. What else would you like to share about your experience with corporal punishment?

APPENDIX G

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH & TAPE RECORDED INTERVIEW

Date: March 1, 2005

Dear Prospective Research Participant:

I am a doctoral student under the direction of Professor Joan K. Smith in the College of Education's Educational Studies Department at The University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus. I invite you to participate in an interview as part of a research study being conducted entitled "The Effects of School Corporal Punishment in Adults." The purpose of this study is to gain greater understanding of the short-term and long-term effects of corporal punishment sustained in school by individuals, from their perspectives. Participants will be adults 18 years of age or older who experienced school corporal punishment previously as a child or student sometime in the past.

Your participation will involve being asked questions about the nature of the corporal punishment, how it affected you at the time, and what, if any, effects you feel that you may still be experiencing from the event. The interview will be audiotape recorded. It should only take about one to two hours, depending on the length of your responses. Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time. The results of the research study may be published, but your name will not be used: you will be given a pseudonym instead to use during the interview. In fact, the published results will be presented in narrative and summary form only. Your identity will remain completely confidential. It is also anticipated that the audiotapes of the interviews, using the pseudonym names for the participants, may be donated to the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City for their oral history collection, if you give permission below for your audiotaped interview to be included.

The findings from this project will provide information concerning both the immediate and lingering effects of corporal punishment on the individual, with no cost to you other than the time it takes for the interview. It is possible that you may experience some discomfort as a consequence of being interviewed as part of this study. If so, we encourage you to let the interviewer know, and you may choose not to answer any interview question which might cause you discomfort. Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the interview project at any time without any penalty or loss of benefits.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call me at (918) 299-1260 or send an e-mail to me at linda.e.sanders-1@ou.edu. Questions about your rights as a research participant or concerns about the project should be directed to the Institutional Review Board at the University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus at (405) 325-8110 or irb@ou.edu.

Please note that you may elect to participate in the research interview, but not to be audiotaped.
Please note that you may elect to participate in an audiotaped interview, but not for it to be donated to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Do you agree to participate in this research interview? If so, please sign and date the space below.

Yes: _____ (Participant) Date: _____

Do I have your permission to audiotape the interview? If so, please sign and date the space below.

Yes: _____ (Participant) Date: _____

Do I have your permission to donate the audiotaped interview to the Oklahoma Historical Society?

Yes: _____ (Participant) Date: _____

Thank you for your help!

Sincerely,
Linda Sanders, M.Ed.
OU Doctoral Student
(918) 299-1260
linda.e.sanders-1@ou.edu

APPENDIX H

HUMAN SUBJECTS APPROVAL

The University of Oklahoma

OFFICE FOR HUMAN RESEARCH PARTICIPANT PROTECTION

February 22, 2005

Ms. Linda E. Sanders
5432 E. 109th Street
Tulsa, OK, 74137

Dear Ms. Sanders:

The Institutional Review Board-Norman campus has reviewed your proposal, "The Effects of School Corporal Punishment in Adults," under the University's expedited review procedures, Category:

6. *Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.*

7. *Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.*

The Board found that this research would not constitute a risk to participants beyond those of normal, everyday life, except in the area of privacy, which is adequately protected by the confidentiality procedures. Therefore, the Board has approved the use of human subjects in this research.

This approval is for a period of twelve months from February 22, 2005, provided that the research procedures are not changed from those described in your approved protocol and attachments. Should you wish to deviate from the described subject protocol, you must notify this office, in writing, noting any changes or revisions in the protocol and/or informed consent document and obtain prior approval from the Board for the changes. A copy of the approved informed consent document is attached for your use.

At the end of the research, you must submit a short report describing your use of human subjects in the research and the results obtained. Should the research extend beyond 12 months, a progress report must be submitted with the request for continuation, and a final report must be submitted at the end of the research.

If data are still being collected after five years, resubmission of the protocol is required.

Should you have any questions, please contact me at 325-8110 or irb@ou.edu.

Cordially,

E. Laurette Taylor, Ph.D.
Chair
Institutional Review Board-Norman Campus (FWA #00003191)

FY2005-260

Cc: Dr. Joan K. Smith, Educational Studies
Graduate College

660 Parrington Oval, Suite 316, Norman, Oklahoma 73019-3085 PHONE: (405) 325-8110 FAX: (405) 325-2373

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH & TAPE RECORDED INTERVIEW

Date: March 1, 2005

Dear Prospective Research Participant:

I am a doctoral student under the direction of Professor Joan K. Smith in the College of Education's Educational Studies Department at The University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus. I invite you to participate in an interview as part of a research study being conducted entitled "The Effects of School Corporal Punishment in Adults." The purpose of this study is to gain greater understanding of the short-term and long-term effects of corporal punishment sustained in school by individuals, from their perspectives. Participants will be adults 18 years of age or older who experienced school corporal punishment previously as a child or student sometime in the past.

Your participation will involve being asked questions about the nature of the corporal punishment, how it affected you at the time, and what, if any, effects you feel that you may still be experiencing from the event. The interview will be audiotape recorded. It should only take about one to two hours, depending on the length of your responses. Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time. The results of the research study may be published, but your name will not be used; you will be given a pseudonym instead to use during the interview. In fact, the published results will be presented in narrative and summary form only. Your identity will remain completely confidential. It is also anticipated that the audiotapes of the interviews, using the pseudonym names for the participants, may be donated to the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City for their oral history collection, if you give permission below for your audiotaped interview to be included.

The findings from this project will provide information concerning both the immediate and lingering effects of corporal punishment on the individual, with no cost to you other than the time it takes for the interview. It is possible that you may experience some discomfort as a consequence of being interviewed as part of this study. If so, we encourage you to let the interviewer know, and you may choose not to answer any interview question which might cause you discomfort. Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the interview project at any time without any penalty or loss of benefits.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call me at (918) 299-1260 or send an e-mail to me at linda.e.sanders-1@ou.edu. Questions about your rights as a research participant or concerns about the project should be directed to the Institutional Review Board at the University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus at (405) 325-8110 or irb@ou.edu.

Please note that you may elect to participate in the research interview, but not to be audiotaped.
Please note that you may elect to participate in an audiotaped interview, but not for it to be donated to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Do you agree to participate in this research interview? If so, please sign and date the space below.

Yes: _____ (Participant) Date: _____

Do I have your permission to audiotape the interview? If so, please sign and date the space below.

Yes: _____ (Participant) Date: _____

Do I have your permission to donate the audiotaped interview to the Oklahoma Historical Society?

Yes: _____ (Participant) Date: _____

Thank you for your help!

Sincerely,
Linda Sanders, M.Ed.
OU Doctoral Student
(918) 299-1260
linda.e.sanders-1@ou.edu

APPROVAL
FEB 2 1 2006
EXPIRES

APPROVED
FEB 2 2 2005
OU-NC IRB

APPENDIX I

RESEARCH STUDY PROPOSAL

RESEARCH PROPOSAL

The Effects of School Corporal Punishment in Adults

The proposed research for this study will be qualitative research on the topic of corporal punishment which will be done from a phenomenological perspective using individual interviews and oral history narratives generated from participants. The research will focus on adult perceptions of their experiences with corporal punishment in the past as a child and student in school, and participants will be asked questions about their recollections of the original event and how it affected them both when it originally occurred and how they feel that it affects them now, if any, in the present. The purpose of the research will be to gain greater understanding of the short-term and long term effects of corporal punishment sustained in a school setting by individuals, from their perspectives as an adult. Participants will be adults 18 years of age or older who experienced school corporal punishment previously. The research will involve face-to-face audiotaping of individual interviews with the participants in a private conference room at a public library or other public place. Each participant will be asked to read and sign the informed consent and taped consent form before the interview is begun, and the research will not be done unless the informed consent document is signed for the interview. Once the consent form has been signed, the researcher will reconfirm and verify that audiotaping of the interview is acceptable to the participant. If the participant wishes to be interviewed but not to be recorded, the interview will still commence, but without the use of the audiotape recorder. Once these preliminary informed consent steps are completed, participants will be given a pseudonym for the purpose of conducting the interview and then will be asked a series of questions, which will be answered verbally (see "Interview Questions" sheet attached). While conducting the interview, field notes of the participants' verbal, facial, and physical/nonverbal responses may be taken. When the interview is completed after approximately one to two hours, depending on the response length time of each individual participant, I will thank each participant for his or her time and participation in the research project and reassure them of confidentiality and that their personal identities will not be linked to their responses on the audiotapes nor linked in any future publication of this research.

Principal Investigator:
Linda E. Sanders, M.Ed.
OU Doctoral Student
(918) 299-1260 (Home)
linda.e.sanders-1@ou.edu

APPENDIX J

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGISTS
POSITION STATEMENT

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGISTS

Position Statement on Corporal Punishment in Schools

The use of corporal punishment has been declining in U.S. schools. Waning public acceptance, increased litigation against school boards and educators regarding its use and legislative bans have led to the decline. More than half of the states ban its use. In states where it is allowed, many school boards voluntarily prohibit it. Yet, over 250,000 children are being hit yearly in public schools with a disproportionate number being minority children and children with disabilities. Corporal punishment is any intervention which is designed to or likely to cause physical pain in order to stop or change behavior. In the United States, the most typical form of school corporal punishment is the striking of a student's buttocks with a wooden paddle by a school authority because the authority believes the student has disobeyed a rule.

Discipline is important and schools have a strong role in teaching children to be self-disciplined. Self-discipline is the ability to understand a situation, to make appropriate decisions about one's behavior in that situation and to ordinarily perform the appropriate behavior when unsupervised by adults. Effective discipline is primarily a matter of instruction rather than punishment. Many means of effective and safe discipline are available. Punishment contingencies in general tend to have negative side effects including leading students to be sneaky and to lie about their behavior in order to escape punishment. Corporal punishment is a technique that can easily be abused leading to physical injuries. Evidence indicates that corporal punishment negatively effects the social, psychological and educational development of students and contributes to the cycle of child abuse and pro-violence attitudes of youth. The National Association of School Psychologists (NASP) reaffirms its opposition to the use of corporal punishment in schools and will actively support removal of legal sanctions for its use. NASP resolves to educate the public about the effects of corporal punishment and alternatives to its use, and will encourage research and the dissemination of information about corporal punishment effects and alternatives.

Alternatives to Corporal Punishment

Effective discipline includes programs and strategies for changing student behavior, for changing school or classroom environments, and for educating and supporting teachers and parents. Effective discipline includes prevention and intervention programs and strategies. It is empirically based rather than relying on custom or habit. The following are alternatives which can be initiated and developed or supported by school psychologists and other educators and which help provide an atmosphere where learning can take place and where students learn to be self-disciplined:

- Help students achieve academic success through identification of academic and behavioral deficiencies and strengths and help get them appropriate instruction
- Use behavioral contracting
- Encourage positive reinforcement of appropriate behavior
- Use individual and group counseling

- Encourage disciplinary consequences which are meaningful to students and have an instructional and/or reflection component
- Provide social skills training

Alternatives for changing the school and classroom environment:

- Encourage programs that emphasize early diagnosis and intervention for school problems including problems of staff and problems of students
- Encourage programs that emphasize values, school pride and personal responsibility and support the mental health needs of children
- Encourage development of fair, reasonable and consistent rules
- Support strong parent/school and community/ school communications and ties

Alternatives for educating and supporting teachers (as preventive measures):

- Provide information on effective discipline programs and resources
- Provide inservice programs on communication, classroom management, understanding of behavior and individual differences, and alternative ways for dealing with misbehavior
- Network with community groups and mental health agencies to provide programs and support for school staff
- Assist with development and monitoring of behavioral intervention programs - schoolwide, classwide or individual

Alternatives for educating and supporting parents:

- Provide parenting classes on effective discipline particularly as it relates to such issues as homework, school grades, peers, learning problems, developmental expectations and undesirable behavior
- Provide school-based consultation to parents on effectively managing child behavior
- Encourage home visitation programs for parents of babies and toddlers - programs which focus on developmental expectations, resources and discipline
- When corporal punishment is allowed, help parents to protect children by informing them about exemptions to corporal punishment that may exist such as written notification or amending the IEP as well as what actions parents should take if a child is injured (seeing a physician, contacting child protection authorities and the police, taking color photos of the injury and contacting advocacy organizations)

The Role of School Psychologists

School psychologists can take leadership roles in encouraging school districts to ban corporal punishment, if it is allowed, and in helping to develop effective discipline programs. They are trained in identifying learning and behavior problems which often lead to school discipline problems if undiagnosed and untreated. They are trained in developing appropriate programs and interventions for children with learning and behavior problems. Education programs for parents and teachers which focus on appropriate ways to deal with misbehavior and ways to foster self-discipline can be provided by school psychologists. Other direct services which can be provided by school psychologists include counseling of students and consultation with parents and school staff. School psychologists can bring to schools research about the development and evaluation of disciplinary codes, social skills training and the effectiveness of alternative discipline methods. School psychologists can bring to educators, the community, and policy makers information about the effects of corporal punishment and the need to eliminate its use.

Summary

NASP reaffirms its opposition to the use of corporal punishment in schools because of its harmful physical, educational, psychological and social effects on students. Corporal punishment contributes to the cycle of child abuse and pro-violence attitudes of youth by teaching that it is an acceptable way of controlling the behavior of others. Discipline is important and effective alternatives are available to help students develop self-discipline. These are primarily instructional in nature rather than punitive. School psychologists provide many direct services to improve discipline of individual children as well as services which improve classroom and schoolwide discipline. NASP will continue to work actively with other organizations to educate the public and policy makers about the effects of corporal punishment and alternatives to its use and will seek its complete prohibition in schools.

— Original Statement Adopted by NASP Delegate Assembly, April, 1986
— Revision adopted by NASP Delegate Assembly, April 18, 1998
— Revision adopted by NASP Delegate Assembly, July 21, 2001

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Please note that NASP periodically revises its Position Statements. We encourage you to check the NASP website at www.nasponline.org to ensure that you have the most current version of this Position Statement.

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APPENDIX K

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS
POSITION STATEMENT

☆ Corporal Punishment in Schools

AAP Policy:

In the United States, prisoners and members of the armed services have historically been provided with legal protection from corporal punishment. The Academy believes that school children should enjoy the same protection from physical discipline. In many states, however, it remains legal for teachers and other school employees to administer corporal punishment to children. This practice continues despite evidence that corporal punishment is less effective than non-violent forms of discipline. The Academy advocates for the enactment of laws forbidding corporal punishment in schools and for the repeal of laws allowing the practice.

2004 State Action:

Pennsylvania considered regulations that would ban corporal punishment in schools, but the measure did not pass. Legislation creating a similar ban on corporal punishment was defeated this year in **Missouri**, and **South Carolina** considered legislation banning corporal punishment in childcare facilities. A **Wisconsin** bill limiting the use of restraint or seclusion as means of discipline in schools (most commonly used for students with special health care needs) also failed to pass.

Twenty-eight (28) states and the **District of Columbia** now prohibit corporal punishment in schools.

Please see the following chart and map for more details.

AAP Resources:

Policy Statement: *Corporal Punishment in Schools*
http://www.aap.org/policy/re9754.html

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AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS

Committee on School Health

Corporal Punishment in Schools

ABSTRACT. The American Academy of Pediatrics recommends that corporal punishment in schools be abolished in all states by law and that alternative forms of student behavior management be used.

It is estimated that corporal punishment is administered between 1 and 2 million times a year in schools in the United States.[1] Increasingly, states are abolishing corporal punishment as a means of discipline, but statutes in some states still allow school officials to use this form of discipline.[2–4]

The American Academy of Pediatrics believes that corporal punishment may affect adversely a student's self-image and school achievement and that it may contribute to disruptive and violent student behavior.[1,5–7] Alternative methods of behavioral management have proved more effective than corporal punishment and are specifically described in the reference articles.[5–7] Physical force or constraint by a school official may be required in a limited number of carefully selected circumstances to protect students and staff from physical injury, to disarm a student, or to prevent property damage.

The American Academy of Pediatrics urges parents, educators, school administrators, school board members, legislators, and others to seek the legal prohibition by all states of corporal punishment in schools and to encourage the use of alternative methods of managing student behavior.

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The recommendations in this statement do not indicate an exclusive course of treatment or serve as a standard of medical care. Variations, taking into account individual circumstances, may be appropriate.
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APPENDIX L

AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
POSITION STATEMENT

American Psychological Association

Policy Manual: N. Public Interest - Part 1

The APA Policy Manual is a collection of policy actions taken by the APA Council of Representatives. This edition includes actions taken after 1960 and up to but not including August 2001. The texts included in the Manual are the texts of the actual motions passed by Council.

- VI. Corporal Punishment

VI. CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

1. 1975

WHEREAS: The resort to corporal punishment tends to reduce the likelihood of employing more effective, humane, and creative ways of interacting with children;

WHEREAS: It is evident that socially acceptable goals of education, training, and socialization can be achieved without the use of physical violence against children, and that children so raised, grow to moral and competent adulthood;

WHEREAS: Corporal punishment intended to influence "undesirable responses" may create in the child the impression that he or she is an "undesirable person"; and an impression that lowers self-esteem and may have chronic consequences;

WHEREAS: Research has shown that to a considerable extent children learn by imitating the behavior of adults, especially those they are dependent upon; and the use of corporal punishment by adults having authority over children is likely to train children to use physical violence to control behavior rather than rational persuasion, education, and intelligent forms of both positive and negative reinforcement;

WHEREAS: Research has shown that the effective use of punishment in eliminating undesirable behavior requires precision in timing, duration, intensity, and specificity, as well as considerable sophistication in controlling a variety of relevant environmental and cognitive factors, such that punishment administered in institutional settings, without attention to all these factors, is likely to instill hostility, rage, and a sense of powerlessness without reducing the undesirable behavior;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the American Psychological Association opposes the use of corporal punishment in schools, juvenile facilities, child care nurseries, and all other institutions, public or private, where children are cared for or educated.

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