

Modes of Misbehavior  
Pedagogy and Affect in the 19th-Century

by

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation historicizes the contemporary notions of student misbehavior through a critical study of 19th-century teacher manuals. Instead of reading the texts of the manuals as a window into the experiences of the past, I consider the manuals as discursive operations that enacted practices and ideals. In drawing upon historiographical and analytical methods inspired by Michel Foucault and Sara Ahmed, I explore how the intersection of student misbehavior with teacher pedagogy and disciplinary procedures enact “modes of subjection” (Foucault, 1995) and “affective orientations” (Ahmed, 2006) in the modernization of teacher pedagogy and schooling. I argue that the archive of manuals demonstrates the entanglement of student subjectivity and affect with modernizing regimes of governmentality and the marketplace. I equally argue that the modes of student misbehavior present in the archive provide avenues and strategies for thinking outside contemporary developmental and clinical framing of misbehavior. It is in rethinking misbehavior outside of contemporary frameworks that this dissertation provides an opportunity to reconsider how the boundaries of schooling and school participation might radically open up toward more diversity, inclusivity, and equity.

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## **Chapter 1. Outlining the Study**

In this dissertation, I explore the production of the misbehaving student in 19th-century teacher manuals. I approach this research not as a historian specializing in the time period but as a curriculum theorist and qualitative methodologist who, struck by the narrowness of contemporary misbehavior, felt the need to return to an earlier period to reconsider the limits of contemporary practices and frameworks. At root in this research is an interest in the entanglement of student behavior and teacher pedagogy, which is more broadly an interest in the entanglement of freedom and force, also action and coercion. I turn to misbehavior as a productive event in surfacing this entanglement, a tension that has disappeared from view in contemporary schooling. The intent is not to revel in morally problematic practices of the past but to reexamine the taken-for-granted of the present through the discordant, estranged, and forgotten events of 19th-century misbehavior. Doing so provides not just historical context to the all too often ahistorical state of contemporary schooling but also space and possibility to fashion alternative practices that reach toward greater inclusivity and equity.

This first chapter outlines the problems of our present framings of student misbehavior, introduces the research context and design, and overviews the dissertation with an outline of the chapters. Yet, first, I revisit two stories of 19th-century schooling. These are stories that demonstrate shift that historians have referred to as the modernization of teacher pedagogy (Brauner, 1964; Katz, 1970; Spring, 1994). My interest, however, is in how this shift has modernized student misbehavior. What these stories make clear is both how distant and how near the past is.

In his popular autobiographical account of early 19th-century schooling, Warren Burton (1833) recalls how he and fellow students “formed a mutiny” against their teacher. His recollections are instructive of the transformations that teacher pedagogy and student behavior underwent in the 19th century.

As the story goes: It was Burton’s “tenth winter” in school. A new teacher, Augustus Starr, had taken the helm. Mr. Starr, a former privateer, had no prior experience teaching and quickly gained a reputation for stern command and severe physical punishments. The students’ fear of their teacher came to a breaking point near the close of the school year when Starr disciplined one of the “smaller boys” in an “outrageously severe, and even cruel” manner.

A group of older students decided that they “would put [the teacher] by force out of the school-house” if any such cruelty happened again. Later that very afternoon, Mr. Starr smacked a young student in the face with a ruler, leaving his forehead covered in blood. As if on signal, the older boys surrounded and wrestled the teacher to the ground. They then carried him, “kicking and swearing,” out the school doors to an iced-over hill at the edge of the school grounds. Sure enough, they pitched the teacher down the hill: “Over he was thrust, as if he were a log; and down he went, giving one of his bearers a kick as he was shoved from their hands, which action of the foot sent him more swiftly on his way from the rebound.” With nothing to impede his descent, the teacher slid the entire way down the hill.

In a mix of joy and amazement, the students watched as Mr. Starr gathered himself and began his trek back up the hill. Yet a leader of the student bunch stopped him short of the top, loudly proclaiming:



Before you come much farther ... If you will come back peaceably, you may come; but, as sure as you meddle with any of us, we will make you acquainted with the *heft* and the hardness of our fits, and of the stones and clubs too, if we must. The ship is no longer yours; so, look out, for we are our own men now.

With this the teacher “had little further to say” and “sailed out of port the following night.” Without a teacher, the school “had been cut short by a week.”

In another autobiographical account of 19th-century schooling, published at the end of the century, Hiram Orcutt (1898) recounts his first days at a new school. This story is told from the perspective of Orcutt, the teacher, and demonstrates an altogether different approach to acquiring student obedience. As Orcutt reports:

When I entered this school the first morning, the room was filled with pupils, and much confusion prevailed. I rapped upon the desk as a signal for order, and waited until quiet was secured and all were seated. I issued not commands and made no laws, but kept my eyes and ears open, and watched the movements that I might learn the drift of public sentiment and the character and purpose of individual pupils. I began to make inquiries about the studies to be pursued and the textbooks to be used, but soon I observed half a dozen boys jumping out of the window and returning through the door. Others left their seats without permission, and chaos seemed again to rule the hour. The question was now to be settled, how to bring the school under control and to hold them under authority. By a special effort I gained their attention and told them I wished to talk to them a few moments, and they seemed ready to listen. I explained to them my position as master and teacher, and their position as pupils, and our mutual relations and duties to each other. I assured them that I was their friend, was interested in their improvement and welfare, and had come to aid them in securing a practical education. To this end, I needed their assistance and co-operation.... They seemed interested in my ideas and methods, and appeared ready to express their approval. I then asked all who favored their views, and were ready to pledge obedience and co-operation, to manifest it by raising. By a large majority they voted in the affirmative. I had thus gained complete moral power over them, and had created a favorable public opinion to aid me in my work. I knew I must now check and crush out every act of treachery and insubordination, and this I did promptly and effectually. At the end of the first week, the school was completely organized and under perfect control, and I was able to maintain my position to the end of the term, without resorting to severe punishment. (Orcutt, 1898, pp. 52–54)

These two accounts of schooling demonstrate the transformation not just of teacher pedagogy but also of student behavior. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, insurrectionist-style revolts against teachers by students occurred with some regularity. The revolts, often termed “turning out the teacher,” took many forms, including booby traps, smoke bombs, and public humiliations (Abbott, 1856), and suggests a dynamic in which teachers had to actively defend their work in the school and guard against wholesale revolts by the students.

This dynamic between the teacher and students changed with pedagogical and disciplinary reform movements of the 19th century. Earlier means of acquiring student obedience were that of Mr. Starr’s—the use of the lash, the ruler, the book, anything at hand. The reformers sought to acquire obedience not with the use of physical force but with newfound affection for students. The new methods called on teachers to befriend their students, show interest in them, and employ measures that are genteel to the sensibilities of the students. These were practices similar to that used by Hiram Orcutt in the story above. And, in large part, the reformers succeeded. By the end of the century, corporal punishment had fallen from favor and student rebellion had become a thing of the past (Finkelstein, 1989). Well, at least, the insurrectionist kind of rebellion. In modern schools, rebellion remains but in a much more subdued way. It is what contemporary educators refer to as misbehavior.

### **Contemporary Misbehavior and Classroom Management**

In his book *Building Classroom Discipline*, now in its 11th edition, C. M. Charles defines misbehavior as “behavior that violates class rules, demeans others, or is otherwise incompatible with the legal and social norms of the society” (2014, p. 10). He goes on to

list 13 types of misbehavior, “listed generally from less serious to more serious,” beginning with inattention, apathy, needless talk, moving about the room, annoying others, disrupting, lying, stealing, cheating, sexual harassment, aggression and fighting, malicious mischief, and defiance of authority (2014, p. 10). Each behavior has a brief description. The final, and “generally” most severe, describes defiance of authority as “talking back to the teacher, ignoring the teacher, or refusing to do as requested” (Charles, 2014, p. 11). Here the behavior of the student ties once again to the authority of the teacher. Acquiring student obedience is a matter of discipline. It is a matter of enforcing authority, standards, norms, and codes of conduct.

Implicit in this understanding is the need to eliminate misbehavior from the classroom. This task falls squarely in the hands of teachers and extends beyond the administration of discipline to include what contemporary educators refer to as classroom management. Classroom management concerns the organizational and governing strategies of a classroom (Evertson, 1994). Educators often emphasize classroom management as a preventative tool for addressing misbehaviors and disruptions before they actually occur (e.g. Belvel, 2009). The focus on classroom management in contemporary schools has been so thorough that notions of discipline are largely absent, or at the very least redefined as something other than punishment (e.g. Discipline as “what teachers do to help students conduct themselves appropriately in class” [Charles, 2014, p. 306]; Discipline is the practice of engaging students with positive, nonobstructive tactics [Jones, 2007]). Instead of punishing students into compliance, contemporary educators invoke alternative measures such as procedures and incentives.

Consider how two prominent instructional books, Harry Wong and Rosemary Wong's (1997) *The First Days of School* and Fred Jones's *Tools for Teaching*, modern day teacher manuals, widely popular in preservice teacher education programs and best sellers in education fields (Charles, 2014), describe the practice of teaching. Wong and Wong's *First Days of School* is a "how-to" book covering everything from teacher mindsets to classroom planning, yet procedures become the dominant motif and management technique of the book. For Wong and Wong, it is procedures, not discipline, that make for effective teaching and learning. The chapter on classroom management details how procedures for taking attendance, posting assignments, and entering and exiting the classroom can prevent students from misbehaving. As they advocate, the first two weeks of school should largely consist of developing and practicing procedures so as to eliminate opportunities for misbehavior. The focus on eliminating misbehavior through prevention is no less in Jones's *Tools for Teaching*. Instead of procedures, Jones focuses on positive engagement and incentivizing productivity. For Jones, it is the unengaged, time wasting students that become the misbehaviors of the class. Therefore, teachers are thus encouraged to actively employ students throughout the duration of the day and incentivize student involvement with increased responsibility and prefer activity time. The incentives function outside that of grading and assessment scores. They do not so much reward academic performance but behavioral compliance.

Something similar serves as the motor force behind what has been described as the most widely used and successful educational technology in the world, ClassDojo (Williamson, 2016). As an app and a website, ClassDojo provides teachers with features to monitor student behavior and communicate with fellow teachers and parents. As it

typically functions, each student in the class receives an avatar that the teacher projects onto a screen. When students behave according to teacher desires, the teacher rewards them with points that appear just above their avatar. Projected on a screen, each student's avatar and point total is displayed to the whole of the class. Often teacher will further reward students with additional prizes at point intervals. Students find themselves competing with one another for points and the attention of the teacher. Perhaps the mantra and orienting question of ClassDojo, also classroom management more generally, is that of "what works" to eliminate disorder, misbehavior and disruption from the classroom. The question is one of practice and means, not that of ends and purpose. In contemporary schools, the management of a classroom largely disconnects the means from the ends, the "how to" from the "towards what ends" (Butchart, 1998).

While classroom management typically designates practices addressing the class as a whole, more specific practices, referred to as behavior management, address the individual students. These are the students that tend to fail to heed the organizational and management tactics of the classroom. Behavior management is as narrowly focused as classroom management. It is almost exclusively thought of through behavioristic psychology. The predominant approaches employ "Positive Behavior Intervention" to similarly incentivize behaviors but through a more individualized and behaviorally targeted approach. For instance, when a student has a habit of speaking out of turn in class, the teacher, and increasingly school psychologist, counselors, and behavior intervention specialists, design a behavioral plan to not so much discipline or penalize the student but to reinforce behaviors that are more appropriate and desired to the school. These are plans that often include reinforcement strategies such as social skill and self-

regulation instruction, additional adult supervision, increased positive reinforcement, anticipator measures, a Functional Behavioral Analysis, and increased academic supports (Positive Behavioral Interventions & Supports, 2019). It is here that the behavior management strategies become thought of as behavior intervention strategies, aiming to not simply prevent but also “correct” undesired behaviors.

Behavior intervention are what students encounter when they persistently fail to comply with the procedural and engagement demands of the classroom. Interventions reside at the boundaries of normative schooling. For on the other side of interventions are disability labels and medical diagnoses. These are what misbehaving students increasingly encounter in specialized education programs and in segregated classrooms (Baker, 2002; Janzen, 2019). Such practices and arrangements that have long been noted for harboring stigma and racial disparity (Connor & Ferri, 2005; Davis, 2017; O’Connor & Fernandez, 2006; Tomlinson, 1984). Yet, like the contemporary focus classroom management, the focus on behavioral interventions and disability labels suggest a shift in the consideration of misbehavior away from penalizing discipline toward what are thought of as positive and productive measures, the instructional supports and accommodations that students with disability labels and medical diagnoses might receive. It is here, however, at the point of disability labels and medical diagnoses, that the notion of misbehavior tends to recede from view. Once a student is labeled with a disability, the behavior itself is rationalized, no longer an intentional act, defying the authority of the teacher, but a condition or a disorder of the individual student. It is in this framework that discipline as a kind of punishment is no longer relevant.

Yet all of this is not to suggest that traditional, punitive discipline has disappeared from schools. Practices such as detention, suspension, and expulsion remain very much present and entangled in discriminatory practices that disproportionately penalize not only the neurologically diverse but also the racially and ethnically diverse, specifically African American boys (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019). In fact, this was the subject of an Obama administration Dear Colleague letter, which called attention to disparities in disciplinary practices and provided guidance on how “to administer student discipline without discriminating on the basis of race, color, or national origin” (Lhamon & Samuels, 2014, para. 1). However, without much at stake administratively, the subsequent Trump administration withdrew the letter, citing concerns that “a student’s race and ... statistics [have become] more important than the safety of students and teachers” (DeVos as cited in Ujifusa, 2018, para. 1). In part, this suggests the depth of concern over order in the classroom, but it also suggests the depth that race continues to play in understandings of misbehavior. And it is perhaps here that misbehavior makes visible once again the authority, rule, and standard that had disappeared from view.

### **The Narrowness of Misbehavior**

The problem of misbehavior begins with the ahistorical and often atheoretical stance of contemporary educators and researchers working with and studying student misbehavior. It is in this light that the object of the misbehaving student has become an empirical fact, extracted from social, political and historical understanding. The result is a growing network of practices that effectively limit the parameters and accessibility of schooling. It is a problem that I document in the following two parts.

The first part resides in the presumption that misbehavior is itself the problem (e.g., Charles, 2014). This is not the presumption that misbehavior poses a problem, but that misbehavior is itself a “mis”behavior (Janzen, 2019). When misbehavior becomes a problem in itself, it becomes abstracted from the social and historical context from which it emerged. It becomes moralized and often pathologized (Baker, 2002; Graham, 2008). This is present in the ways that teachers are trained to address misbehaviors: They take courses on classroom management, learning about functional behavior assessments and behavioral intervention plans, about collecting and analyzing data on student behavior, about identifying the function of inappropriate behaviors, and about designing systems for the elimination of these behaviors (Flowers et al., 2017). What they do not learn about, or encounter in much less frequency, are how perspectives in the curriculum and schooling drastically alter one’s reference point for what would be decided as appropriate and inappropriate behaviors. The presumption of most teacher education programs is that the problem of student misbehavior resides in the student and not in the school or the curriculum. As a result, the behaviors of students are extracted from the context and isolated within the body of the student as a deficit, trauma, disorder, or disability, so as to put the student through a gauntlet of behavioral interventions and corrective measures (e.g., Cullinan, 2007). Perhaps what is presumed more than anything is the social and historical context of schooling, something this research aims to address.

The second part is the growing array of mechanisms to control the behavior of students. These are mechanisms that turn students into data points and numerical codes, connecting students to sample groupings and statistical norms (Manolev et al., 2019). Normalization plays an important role here, but it is under the framework of



corporatization and competition (e.g., Williamson, 2017). Schooling is not simply standardization, but increasingly is based on achievement, performance, and merit. Good behavior is recognized with rewards, privileges, and prizes (e.g., Robacker et al., 2016). It becomes difficult, at times impossible, to think of schooling outside of a framework of competition. Yet, importantly, it is with these two parts—the presumptions surrounding misbehavior and the regulatory mechanisms—that modern disciplinary practices not only exclude bodies, affects, and diversity from classrooms but also presume that these exclusions are necessary (e.g., Charles, 2014). In effect, it is this latter presumption that I seek to problematize with this research.

### **The Project**

This dissertation historicizes the contemporary misbehaving student. It explores 19th-century teacher manuals for pedagogical orientations and disciplinary practices that problematize clinical framings of misbehavior. Instead of reading the texts of the manuals as a window into the experiences of 19th-century schooling, I consider the manuals as discursive operations that function to enact practices and ideals. In drawing upon new historicism in line with Michel Foucault and contemporary theories of affect in line with Sara Ahmed, I explore how the emergence of modern pedagogy practices accompanied the modernization of student misbehavior. I analyze the teacher manuals by attending to the specific “modes of subjection” (Foucault, 1995) and “affective orientations” (Ahmed, 2006) effected in the arrangement and practice of the manuals. For, as this research demonstrates, the formation of misbehavior in 19th-century schooling glimpses not only the discursive but also the affective boundaries of the modern student. Importantly, these

are boundaries that render some bodies and modes of existence intelligible and others radically unintelligible. Thus, this research considers the following questions:

- What do the practices and techniques (i.e., schooling procedures, material arrangements, technological devices) for identifying and disciplining misbehaving students in 19th-century schools tell us about the affective-discursive-practical boundaries of student subjectivity?
- How do these practices and techniques affectively orient the 19th-century student subject?

Historians describe the first half of the 19th century as a transformational period in American schooling, one that saw the emergence of modern pedagogy (Spring, 1994). The transition is located in the shift from the bureaucratic discipline of the monitorial schools to the affectionate discipline of the New England schools. It is a transformation that reflects, if in reverse, the transitions of our contemporary disciplinary practices. For the bureaucratic discipline incorporated emulatory systems that awarded prizes and penalties for winning and losing students, whereas the affective discipline was built on deeply personal and emotionally intense relationships (Butchart, 1998).<sup>ii</sup> The return of emulatory practices and the continued interest in student affect and relationships in contemporary schooling suggest this as a rich moment of study.

What is important about misbehavior is that it acts at the edge of regimes of power and knowledge. It makes something close to a breakdown in sayable, knowable, doable and sensible of the classroom space. At the edge, the event of misbehavior provides both disruptive resistance and speculative possibility. As resistance, the misbehaving student brings to the foreground relations of power that had receded from

view, namely the authority of the teacher. As possibility, the event of misbehavior suggests something exterior and outside of the prevailing modes of experience, researching toward an alternative spatiotemporal existence. It is in both resistance and possibility that a study of misbehavior works toward an account of what is and presumptively has to be excluded from systems of school and, thus, how schooling might be thought otherwise.

This exploration into the production of misbehaving students provides a chance to historicize contemporary approaches to normalized student behavior. In doing so, it can open up not only taken-for-granted knowledges and practices surrounding acting out students but also taken-for-granted understandings of the material and affective dimensions of misbehavior. This research provides a way to consider how ideology as well as material and affective mechanisms mark the bodies of students, something that is central not only for understanding the construction of normative bodies, but also for countering the pervasive inequities, specifically racial inequities, of contemporary school disciplinary practices (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019).

### **Overview of the Dissertation**

I imagine that people who pick up an archival study on 19th-century teacher pedagogy and student misbehavior expect to encounter stories of outrageously scenarios and cruel disciplinary procedures. They expect to read about the brutality of corporal punishment, the use of lashes, rulers and rods for disciplining students and how bad students had it in those days. But this dissertation is not that kind of history. It is not about justifying contemporary practices or about moralizing the practices of the past. Certainly there is brutality and cruelty in the teacher manuals that I examine, yet my

focus is not on how students were treated but rather on how students were fashioned. In doing so, I build on scholarship that centers practices and discourses over phenomena and experience. Thus, the rest of the dissertation resides in the following four chapters.

In Chapter 2, I survey scholarly research on student misbehavior. I focus less on the field of psychology, which is the predominate avenue for considering student misbehavior in contemporary schools, in order to foreground how misbehavior has been understood as a social and historical text. What I suggest in this chapter is that research into student misbehavior that exists outside of psychology has confined itself to either contemporary practices or the realm of teacher pedagogy and has largely left the role and function of affect unconsidered. It is within these historical and affective gaps in the literature on student misbehavior that I position this dissertation.

In Chapter 3, I outline the theoretical concepts and methods employed for this research. In focusing on the affective and discursive boundaries of student subjectivity, I outline the work of Michel Foucault and Sara Ahmed. Foucault's interest in historical ruptures guided this research to the 19th century teacher manuals, a time when pedagogical practice began to modernize, and his focus on modes of subjection provided the first analytical for reading the teacher manuals. Ahmed's interest in affective orientation provided a second analytical device for reading how affect was deployed in the teacher manuals to orient and register individuals and bodies in practice of schooling. Both Foucault and Ahmed served as the theory and method for conceptualizing misbehavior as an event that evoked not just the behavior of the student but also the teacher pedagogy and their disciplinary practices. It is this event that I explore in the findings.

Chapter 4 serves as the findings chapter of this dissertation. I organize the findings into three primary sections: teacher pedagogy, classroom discipline and modes of misbehavior. Each of these sections reflect what I outlined in Chapter 3 as the event of misbehavior. However, the chapter closes with a brief consideration of how the pedagogical and disciplinary practices of the nineteenth century reflect contemporary schooling.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I return to the findings and function of the misbehaving student in the teacher manuals. It is here that I make the case that the 19th century teacher manuals provide insight into how the conventional and often taken-for-granted practices of the present can be resisted and challenged. I suggest that misbehavior functioned as an alternative mode of participation, something that contemporary educators might learn from. It is with this suggestion of alternative modes of participation that I return to the field of contemporary curriculum studies and the implications of this research for the field. The chapter and the dissertation itself closes with some reflective consideration about archival research and its intersection with contemporary affect theory.

i This account comes from Burton's (1833) *The School District as It Was* (pp. 154–162).

ii Emulation holds two means in contemporary society. But in 19th-century schools, it primarily referred to competition: “the desire for superior place or status over others, to be won competitively” (Butchart, 1998, p. 45n.17).

## Chapter 2. Misbehavior as Social and Historical Text

Contemporary understandings of student misbehavior are almost exclusively framed through the discipline of psychology. Perhaps this makes sense. For much of the 20th century, psychology as a field has centered on the study of behavior and behavior modification, with work on misbehavior playing a prominent role, all of which has had an outsized, some would say hegemonic (Pinar, 2012), influence in Western schooling. Yet, the centering of psychology, more specifically behavioral and developmental psychology, in the consideration of misbehavior brings as many assumptions and constraints as it does affordances. Chief among those is the idea that misbehavior is a problem that resides within individual students. This is something that is reflected in literature throughout the field.

For instance, consider how student misbehavior is both understood and studied. It is largely understood as an individual behavior that is disruptive to the collective class: “[misbehavior is] an activity that causes distress for teachers, interrupts the learning process and that leads teachers to make continual comments to the student” (Arbuckle & Little, 2004, p. 60); “[misbehavior is] any action or interaction that a student enacts that distracts or disrupts the learning environment” (Johnson et al., 2019, p. 2). Typical misbehaviors include “skipping or being late to class, disrupting instruction (e.g., speaking out of turn, swearing, getting out of seat without permission), verbal abuse or disrespect toward teachers, noncompliance (i.e., failure to follow directions), off-task behavior, bullying, harassment, and gang activity” (Aloe et al., 2014, p. 32). In each of these understandings the problem of the behavior is particularized to the individual student.

It is with this individualized understanding that researchers prioritize intervention research. Such research overwhelmingly focuses on what is referred to as “positive behavioral support” (PBS) (Conroy et al., 2005). Survey *Exceptional Children* and *Education and Treatment of Children*, flagship journals on classroom management and student misbehavior, and PBS appears in most articles. As it is defined,

PBS is an applied science that uses educational methods to expand an individual’s behavior repertoire and systems change methods to redesign an individual’s living environment to first enhance the individual’s quality of life and, second, to minimize his or her problem behavior.... *Positive behavior* includes all of those skills that increase the likelihood of success and personal satisfaction in normative academic, work, social, recreational, community, and family settings. (Carr et al., 2002, p. 4)

As an “applied science,” PBS approaches expand an “individual’s behavior repertoire.” The nod to “living environments” does little to change the fact the behavior is first and foremost an individual problem in need of correction. The “normative” settings, while modified at times, remain the standard to which individuals are expected to conform. While the “science” is operant psychology, the technique is Applied Behavior Analysis (ABA), a stimulus–response–reinforcement model has been taken up in schools across the country (Gable et al., 2014). What results is a systemic effort (assessments, interventions, data, accommodations [e.g., U. S. Department of Education, 2015]) to extract misbehaviors from the schooling environment. Yet all of this takes place with the same assumption that student misbehavior is in itself a problem in need of a remedy. As noted in Chapter 1, this approach to the issue of misbehavior narrowly concerns the means of getting students back to behavioral interactions deemed appropriate. It is a framing of misbehavior that leaves little room to think critically, nor historically, about the surrounding discourses and practices.

Therefore, in this dissertation research, I step aside from psychological concerns of “what works” to manage and modify the behaviors of students. In stepping aside from a psychological approach, I do not intend to ignore the value and importance that the field certainly offers, but rather open up the consideration of student misbehavior in different directions. Perhaps more than anything, I work towards an understanding of misbehavior that is situated within the discourses, practices, and affections the classroom. Thus, this research moves away from the technical “how to” of classroom management and behavior modification toward an interdisciplinary study of misbehavior as a social and historical text. Doing so positions this research within the study of curriculum, which is what I outline in the following.

The chapter is organized in the following fashion: The first section situates this research within the field of contemporary curriculum studies through a reconceptualized understanding of curriculum as to be studied. The second section carries forward the notion of text to read misbehavior as part of sociological scholarship, considering how ideas and practices surrounding misbehaving students have oriented toward collective knowledges and values. The third section continues in this direction but considers the historical account of practices and techniques that teachers and schools have deployed to identify and intervene upon misbehaving students. In the final section, I situate this research within a specific historical moment and outline the importance of considering misbehavior as a transgressive text.

### **Curriculum as Text**

In thinking about the boundaries of student subjectivity, I situate this within the broad field of curriculum studies. My intention is to decenter the prevailing behaviorist



and developmental discourses surrounding contemporary pedagogical and disciplinary practices to foreground social and political influences in the thought and practice surrounding student misbehavior. Situating this research within the curriculum field extends understandings of curriculum (also misbehavior) beyond its technical function to account for interdisciplinary and multifaceted experience of curriculum, not just the formal curriculum but also the informal, hidden, null, and neglected aspects of curriculum (Malewski, 2010; Pinar, 2012). This involves a reconceptualization of curriculum, but also misbehavior. Although reconceptualize misbehavior is an important focus of this project, the field of curriculum studies has undergone a series of reconceptualizations, which I outline below.

In the 1970s, in conjunction with the upheavals experienced in Western society at the time, curriculum scholars found the field's overriding interest in technical and practitioner concerns problematic. The scholarship in the field addressed quite narrowly issues of design, implementation, and evaluation, and relied on an equally narrow developmental and behavioristic rationale, leaving unaddressed the complicated social and historical context that schools resided within (Malewski, 2010). In what became known as the reconceptualization of curriculum, scholars questioned not just the narrowness of the focus of the curriculum field but also the degree to which curriculum existed within the planned materials (Goodlad, 1979) and if the curriculum could in fact be distinct from social and political forces that surrounded schools (Kliebard, 2004). Ultimately, the curriculum reconceptualists stepped away from the *development* of curriculum and toward an *understanding* of curriculum, bringing a host of new interests, theories, and methods along with them, as William Pinar states:

The function of this work [the reconceptualization of curriculum] would appear to be understanding, and this understanding is of the sort aimed at and sometimes achieved in the humanities. The humanities fields that have been influential thus far are history, philosophy, and literary criticism. Hence the dominant modes of inquiry for this group have been historical, philosophical, and literary. (Pinar, as cited in Pinar et al., 1995, p. 213)

This reconceptualization uprooted the idea that curriculum could simply be implemented and measured through empirical study in a presumptively atheoretical and ahistorical approach. Instead, curriculum reconceptualists worked in line with the humanities scholarship to bring theoretical understanding and historical interpretation back to the field of education. Increasingly, curriculum became studied as a mediating text, something that could be variously read as politicized, racialized, gendered, phenomenological, biographical, and aesthetic, along with many other manners of reading (Pinar et al., 1995). Embedded in the reconceptualization is a reexamination and retheorization of the social and political functions that undergird education and schooling experience.

In recent years, however, the curriculum scholars have taken the study of curriculum in multiple, often discordant directions. This is work that has been referred to as the post-reconceptualization (Malewski, 2010), and, for many, it is less of a continuation or expansion than an opening up and departure from the traditional, often canonized field (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009). In the introduction to the *Curriculum Studies Handbook: The Next Moment*, Malewski (2010) describes the post-reconceptualization as the proliferation of curriculum, with politically inspired scholarship that “engenders imagination, deliberation, and creativity” (p. 3). Like the reconceptualists, the post-reconceptualists reject the epistemological dominance that “neoliberal, neoconservative, and developmental discourses” have had on discussions of

curriculum (Malewski, 2010, p. xii). Yet, more prevalent in the post-reconceptualists movement are interventionist and activist orientations, calling into question the singular focus on understanding of the prior reconceptualist scholars. As Malewski notes, it is this activist orientation that turns the field toward post-empirical inquiry: “[It is] not attempting merely a different interpretation *of* curriculum but an intervention *within* curriculum itself” (2010, p. 7). Those working in the field take up new positions, often drawing upon postcolonial and critical race theories, as well as poststructural, posthuman, and new materialist philosophies, attempting to reformulate the object and boundaries of curriculum. Again, here curriculum is thought broadly to encompass the shaping of experience occurring both inside and outside of the school.

It is within these same reconceptualist and post-reconceptualist direction of curriculum studies that I situate the present investigation into student misbehavior. The post-reconceptualist grounding in interventionist or activist orientations, along with its post-empirical approach, overlaps well with the new historicism and affect theory of this research. More importantly, the issue of misbehavior is centrally about schooling experience. It is about the borders and boundaries of curriculum, what is included and excluded in the context of the classroom. As suggested above, research into misbehavior is rarely considered within the context of curriculum studies. In fact, it is typically positioned within the dominant developmental discourses that much of the reconceptualist and post-reconceptualist scholarship seeks to open up. Therefore, what this research works toward in its examination of the historical event of modern student misbehavior is not simply a reconsideration of the bodies, affects, and discourses that

constitute school curriculum, but also an attempt to reanimate and rearticulate the affective, discursive, and practical boundaries of curriculum itself.

### **Misbehavior as Sociological Texts**

Sociological research on misbehavior explores the influence of social systems in understandings of misbehavior. Instead of rooting misbehavior as a particular psychological or behavioral state (i.e., psychological approaches), sociological approaches tie understandings of misbehavior to the values and beliefs of particular social groups. Often this work takes a critical lens, suggesting that the practices surrounding misbehavior reinforce social inequities. Perhaps more than any other concept, this sociological research on misbehavior questions assumptions about normativity—the idea that particular individuals and behaviors are normal and natural while others are not. This questioning of normativity bridges this research with segments of the disability studies field. In the following, I consider aspects of both how sociological research has questioned the psychological nature of misbehavior and how the very notion of misbehavior suggests normativity.

The concept of normality has become so pervasive in modern culture that it is difficult to think about what life could be like without it. Yet, many argue that the concept is a rather recent invention, pointing to the early 19th century as its moment of emergence (Cryle & Stephens, 2017; Davis, 2017). This was a time that witnessed transformations in the fields of science, medicine, and notably math with the development of statistics (Cryle & Stephens, 2017). The popularization of things like the bell curve and normal distributions shaped collective thought in relation to not just science but also cultures and schooling. Individuals began to encounter a growing

network of evaluative measurements that ranked and ordered them among their peers. Normality was not simply an outgrowth of such practices; it became an ideological screen to view the world (Davis, 2017). It influenced how individuals were thought about and what could be expected of them, and it quickly shaped social policy for dealing with individuals (Cryle & Stephens, 2017; Davis, 2017). It is here in the 19th century that Davis (2017) locates “the invention of the disabled body” (p. 1). The processes by which individuals could be ranked among society shined a light on those at the edges of the rankings, in which those on the lower ends found themselves with disability labels. Yet, as Davis and others (Baker, 2002; Gould, 1996) have argued, the rise of the measurement and ranking of populations was far from an objective endeavor, as these ordering practices were not only manipulated to favor dominant social groupings (privileged white men) but actively driven by eugenicist ideas. And it is this problematic history that many point to when they question the very idea of normality.

Much like the invent of normativity, sociological researchers have made arguments about the nature of misbehaving, deviant, and behaviorally disordered children. For instance, in an early and influential example, Peter Conrad (1975) explores the “discovery of hyperkinesis,” now referred to as attention deficit disorder or attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADD or ADHD) (p. 12). His research traces the behavior back to a series of social (the emergence of the pharmaceutical industry), political (government initiatives to regulate the behavior of youth), and technological (the development of the drug Ritalin) developments in the early decades of the 20th century. Conrad maintains that prior to these developments, hyperkinesis had not congealed into a single and definitive entity. Yet, this changed with the invention of pharmaceutical drugs,

specifically Ritalin, which effectively provided a solution to a problem that had yet to be fully realized. In calming the bodies of children, according to Conrad, the problem of a wiggly body solidified, it became extracted from its larger context, and the behavior of hyperkinesis was discovered. But this also meant that it was medicalized. It became understood within a medical framework. The effects of medicalizing behavior are numerous, but Conrad (1975) identifies four:

- *The problem of expert control*: In the process of “defining a problem as medical it is removed from the public realm where there can be discussion by ordinary people and put on a plane where only medical people can discuss it” (Conrad, 1975, p. 18.). It is not simply that only medical people can discuss a child’s behavior, but that local and even parental knowledge is marginalized as specialists gain increasing authority.
- *The medicalization of social control*: Not only are individual behaviors more readily medicalized and controlled, but medicine increasingly becomes the solution to social problems.
- *The individualization of social problems*: “[B]y focusing on the symptoms ... we ignore the possibility that behavior is not an illness but an adaptation to a social situation” (Conrad, 1975, p. 19).
- *The depoliticization of deviant behavior*: After the problem behavior is located within the individual, it becomes easy to ignore the social and material factors that might themselves be the source of the problem, for “if we focused our analysis on the school system we might see the child’s behavior as symptomatic of some

‘disorder’ in the school or classroom situation, rather than symptomatic of an individual neurological disorder” (Conrad, 1975, p. 20).

For Conrad, these effects suggest that social practices not only construct behavior but have actual consequences, such as marginalizing and depoliticizing individuals. But he is also suggesting that social practices remain tied to particular social interests and that these interests benefit particular groups. This is something others report as well.

For instance, in another classic study, Sally Tomlinson (1984) explores the process for moving children from “normal education” to “special education,” and how the decisions for moving children reflect dominant social interests. What Tomlinson finds is that the final and most heavily weighted decision to place a child in special education lies in the hands of the professional class—namely, administrators and school psychologists. These individuals make decisions on systemic levels, relying upon functional norms and statistical averages rather than on individual and intuitional levels. The result is the privileging and reproduction of dominant and professional class values. Those who hold these values have a vested interest in maintaining social order, for disruption threatens social standings. Understood in this way, as Tomlinson (1984) argues, the growth of special education stems less from an interest in helping individual students by extending the offerings of the school than from a need to maintain order, ensuring that the “system runs smoothly without the presence of children who might create problems” (p. 342). Furthermore, like Conrad, Tomlinson maintains that the special education disability label delegitimizes individuals who challenge the order of the schools, for these students may now “legitimately be dismissed as ‘daft’” (Tomlinson, 1984, p. 342). What Tomlinson’s research, as well as Conrad’s, suggests is a need to

critically read the act of misbehavior. Assuming that misbehavior simply exists within an individual's actions fails to account for social, historical, and political contexts.

Within the last few decades, the sociological study of misbehavior has gathered momentum. It has largely been built upon the work mentioned above but with the interests of contemporary contexts. For instance, researchers explore how neoliberal values, those emphasizing “productivity” and “moderations,” shape definitions of mental disorders in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 4th edition (*DSM-IV*) (Crowe, 2000) and how national “codes of conduct” disadvantage those of marginal economic positions (Janzen & Schwartz, 2018). Others explore misbehavior through the growing contexts of special education, questioning the practice of labeling misbehaving students with a disability (Janzen, 2019), and suggesting that the growth of disability labels further normalizes the bodies and experiences of students in school (Baker, 2002). With the growth of special education and the increasing practice of labeling misbehaving students with disabilities, many continue to explore the ways that an individual's behavior takes on pathological and medical discourses (Graham, 2007, 2008; Janzen, 2019) and how problems of schooling institutions get displaced onto the students (Harwood, 2006; Thomas & Glenny, 2000). Still others explore the agency of misbehaving students, suggesting that these students are not simply labeled but actively resisting (Laws & Davies, 2000) or enacting different kinds of learning (Millei & Petersen, 2014). On the whole, this research rejects what might be thought of as a deficit model of student misbehavior, in which the problem of misbehavior is located within individual students, in favor of understanding how social interests and conflicts played out within discourses on misbehavior.



The challenges set forth by this sociological research are important, yet they also have limitations. In maintaining a social constructionist stance, as Baker (2002) suggests, this research leaves little room for difference. If misbehavior is simply a product of ideology, then the ways that a body might emerge in the world differently are neglected. In this way, the social constructionist approaches reinforce a “negative ontology,” suggesting “[difference] as a way of being that at all cost ought to be avoided” (Baker, 2002, p. 685). What I hope to do in this research is engage more directly with difference. This is one of the productive aspects of misbehavior. It harbors a moment of breakdown, where glimpses of alternative ontologies, alternative becomings, might be had. This is about affect as much as it is about ideology, for becoming in the world differently begins with the registering of affect differently (Massumi, 2015).

The challenge that much of sociological research encounters is its own presentism. In narrowly focusing on the contemporary moment, sociologists offer less in the way of how ideas and practices change. This is certainly the case in the sociology of student misbehavior. It effectively exposes the vested interests that various labeling and intervention practices retain, but it provides little in the way of an understanding of how practices and beliefs have been or might be different, which is what historical research can offer.

### **Misbehavior as Historical Texts**

In thinking about misbehavior as a historical text, I position this research within the subfield of curriculum history. Curriculum historians have approached the field variously (see Baker, 2009; Hendry, 2011; Tanner and Tanner, 1990), but few have approached the field of US curriculum studies quite as influentially as has Herbert

Kliebard (Pinar et al., 1995). In his most influential work, the book entitled *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*, Kliebard (2004) charts the evolution and influence of individuals, their ideas, and corresponding social movements in the formalization of United States school curriculum. He foregrounds not only the “struggle” over different ideas and practices but also the vested interest that curricular movements have held. The idea that curriculum and more generally knowledge and knowledge practices could have a vested interest and be politically motivated reflected the challenge to the presumed neutrality and objectivity of the curriculum field that reconceptualists had previously maintained. What Kliebard’s work, as well as others (Tanner & Tanner, 1990), provides is a project that positions the field of education and specifically knowledge within social and political contexts. While *Struggle* remains something of a staple in understanding the history of education, it stops short of what social and cultural historians refer to as history as it is experienced on the ground (Popkewitz et al., 2001). The historical experience and practice of students and teachers remains unaddressed. With movements to reconceptualize curriculum towards a cultural studies approach, as mentioned above, the work of social and cultural historians of education remain important.

Other curriculum histories have similarly challenged the presumed neutrality and universality of curriculum with focuses on social control, class, race and gender. Barry Franklin (1986, 1988), for instance, has explored the historical through lines of curriculum as a function of social discipline and control, finding and repurposing tactics and procedures that prioritize communities of homogeneity and consensus of dominant social classes. David Hamilton (2009) provides insight into how the very notions of class and curriculum have reflected industrializing and modernizing demands of a market

society, suggesting that systematization of schooling reflect the social and political context of the time and not simply progressive enlightenment. Spring (2003) has explored the intersections of market and consumer society as educating, perhaps indoctrinating, forces in the making of contemporary citizenship. Still others have powerfully explored the intersections of race, gender and sexuality in the formation of curriculum, in studies such as Watkin's (2009) 19th and 20th century look at Black curriculum orientations, Petra Hendry's (2011) reenvisioning of curriculum history through feminist theory, and William Pinar's (2001) 19th century study of the intersections of race, gender and sexuality. Each of these historical approaches attempt to redefine curriculum alongside social conflict, vested interest, and the politics of knowledge, thus situating their work not as traditional curriculum studies but in a reconceptualized and post-reconceptualized light.

The historical study of student misbehavior has largely fallen outside of the field of curriculum history. These studies have more properly fit within the broader history of education field. Yet in this research issue of misbehavior and misbehaving students is told through under the umbrella of teacher pedagogy and classroom discipline. These histories examine how ideas and practices at play in different historical periods affected the lives and experiences of students, with misbehavior as a secondary concept. Regardless these histories remain important for understanding the context of the present study. Thus, in the following, I draw upon the work of Butchart (1998), Danforth and Smith (2005), Finkelstein (1989), and Spring (1994) to synthesize five distinct periods in the history of United States classroom pedagogy and disciplinary practices. I focus on how these distinct approaches conceptualized misbehavior and enacted forms of

discipline. Doing so situates the questions, concerns, and challenges surrounding contemporary misbehavior and provides an opening for the present research.

- The first period can be thought of as the period of colonial discipline. It is here that schooling hinges around respecting authority, the development of virtue, and the maintenance of social order. Religion played a vital role as schools not only instructed with religious texts, emphasizing Christian-like behaviors in their students, but required knowledge of scripture and law. Teachers, like parents and most adults, acted as authoritarians, commanding students to memorize and recite verses. Such verses hammered in notions of obedience and submission to authority, as is seen in the following verses intended for children to memorize: “I will fear God, and honour the KING / I will honour my Father & Mother. / I will obey my Superiors. / I will Submit to my Elders” (Spring, 1994, p. 9). Fear was the governing affect of the classroom. Children who misbehaved received harsh rebuke and were physical punished and often shamed. The older children could receive expulsion and even death for disrespecting an adult. These were strict times where adults saw as part of their responsibility the obligation to lead children away from the bad and toward the good, using almost any means necessary.
- The second period can be thought of as a period of bureaucratic discipline. This was during a time of monitorial schooling. Classrooms were large, up to 50 or 60 students of ranging ages and abilities. Since the teachers couldn’t monitor and teach the entire class at once, the work often consisted of teachers working with individual students, while older and more advanced students “monitored” the

independent work of the remainder of the class. Discipline was had through fear, punishment, and intense competition. Rivalries were encouraged to inspire competition among the students. Winning students received rewards, while losing students received punishments. Misbehavior included everything from general defiance to simple mistakes, like the mispronouncing of a word or arriving late to school. Punishments ranged from shaming to physical beatings, as teachers often physically attacked and fought students for repeated disrespectful behavior. Bureaucratic discipline was widely associated with Joseph Lancaster, who is thought of as an early and influential advocate of school pedagogy.

- The third period, known as affective discipline, gained prominence in the later part of the 19th century. Affective discipline departed foremost from the competitive and emulatory practices of the bureaucratic model. Its advocates, notably Horace Mann, felt that rivalry and competition in the classroom detracted from the social and affective needs of the children. Instead, teachers built close, personal, and intense relationships with their students. They sought internal compliance, with students feeling compelled to follow the direction of the teacher. Misbehaving students continued to receive corporal punishment but the incentive to behave was channeled through the relational obligation that students had with their teacher. It is here in the affective model that historians suggest is the beginnings of modern teacher pedagogy. The emphasis was on the relationship between the student and the teacher, not the bureaucratic authority of the teacher. Even in contemporary classrooms, affective aspects of pedagogy remain present and can be rooted in these 19th-century pedagogies.

- The fourth period can be considered the progressive discipline, emerging at the turn of the 20th century. Influenced by new, child-centered ideas, the progressive approaches valued the freedom of children, which was to be found in movement, self-directed activity, and learning by doing (Butchart, 1998). They understood misbehavior to stem from unnatural constraints on expectations placed upon the child. “The issue,” as Butchart (1998) suggests, “was no longer willfulness, disobedience, or misbehavior; the issue was not even justice, equity, or democratic forms of social life.... [T]he issue was stress, anxiety and frustration, and finding ways of removing them from a child’s life” (p. 33). It is here in the early decades of the 20th century that teacher pedagogy, and specifically the concern over student discipline, took on psychological connotations. Cultivating, developing, and safeguarding the minds of students began to play a prominent role in the place of schooling.
- The fifth and most current period can be considered professional discipline. It dates back to the early 19th century but found its stride in the middle to late 20th century and continues in present-day classrooms. This form of discipline is most influenced by the field of psychology, specifically behaviorism. Like the progressive disciplinarians, the professionals saw misbehavior as a problem that needed something more than a punishment. Yet unlike the progressives, the professionals located the problem within the individual, as something that could be adjusted within the student. The behavioristic approach paid almost not attention to the emotional or affective dimension of students. They focused narrowly on behaviors and consequences, designing behavioral intervention

procedures to eliminate the undesired behaviors and reinforce the desired behaviors. It is at the same times that misbehaving students found themselves increasingly labeled with disabilities and disorders. It is this professionalized approach the continues to prevail in contemporary schooling.

Implicitly what these periods suggest is a linear and progressive reading of the history of education. It suggests that with the professionalization of teaching and with the development of scientific approaches schooling practices have become more enlightened and equitable. But what these readings of history do not account for are what curriculum historians refer to as the politics of knowledge and the situatedness of subjectivity (Baker, 2009; Pinar, 2015). With changes in teacher pedagogy and disciplinary practices also come changes in regimes of knowledge and truth, and subjectivity. It is the later of these three that is of particular interest for this dissertation.

Yet the overview of these historical periods hold value not simply to indicate how historians have understood the changing nature of teacher pedagogy, classroom discipline, and student behavior but also to indicate the moment when pedagogical practices embraced an affectionate approach. This is widely regarded as occurring in the early half of the 19th century and attributed to the modernization of teacher pedagogy (Hogan, 1990; Spring, 1994). It is here with the emergence of modern pedagogy that I return to explore what might also be thought of as the emergence of modern misbehavior. For as I maintain, misbehavior retains an intimate connection to the pedagogical and curricular practices of the school, and changes in the nature of pedagogy similarly involve changes in the nature of misbehavior, an important part of what this dissertation will explore.

As historians have described, the 19th century was a transformative period for US education. Formal schooling went from being largely private, focused on religion and aimed toward wealthy, Protestant whites, to being publicly funded, without religious association, and compulsory for all children (Spring, 1994). In the initial years, publicly funded schools were limited to the cities and lacked consistency: high rates of teacher turnover, few systems of formal teacher training, infrequent student attendance, and frequent interruptions to the schedule of the school (Tanner & Tanner, 1990). Common schools emerged in the early decades of the century, setting in motion schooling for the masses and bringing altruistic considerations to education discourses. Across the country school attendance increased. While the data is inconsistent and lacking for non-white children, attendance rates suggest a considerable rise with the growth of public schooling, increasing from 35 percent to 61 percent of children from the years 1830 to 1870 (Cremin, 1980, p. 178). Much of this growth was in the south and west, as schooling in the northeast had been further along and better attended. But throughout the country, schooling remained uneven and segregated. Even common schools, which served primarily children from working class and poor families, divided by race and gender, and forbid attendance to non-whites and enslaved children in the South (Cremin, 1980). Yet interest in schooling only intensified as the century rolled on.

As schooling grew so, too, did those interested in refining and systematizing teaching practices. Some of the first normal schools emerged in the early decades of the century (Spring, 1994). These schools took in young adults, often just out of school themselves, and trained them to begin and teach schools of their own. Efforts to systematize teacher pedagogy could be found throughout the country, but primarily in the



northeast—Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware (Cremin, 1980). In addition to and as an extension of the normal schools, teacher manuals began appearing across the country. They provided teachers and schools with the direction and consistency in practice that many had sought. The authors of the teacher manuals varied widely; many were written by the leaders of normal schools, while others were written by teachers isolated in their practice. What the growth of formal teacher training and teacher manuals suggests is the degree to which education was experiencing not simply change but a professionalization of the field. Teaching would now require training and systematized practices. Centrally these were the practices of Joseph Lancaster's monitorial instruction approach to learning (second period) and what became known as object teaching (third period), often attributed Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. It is these historical periods and reform movements that I build from to study the modernization of misbehavior.

### **Misbehavior as a Transgressive Text**

In closing, I want to propose a shift in thinking about misbehaving away from the improper or even a socially and historically fashioned notion toward the idea of transgression. Misbehavior as transgression decenters the assumed appropriateness and normality that accompanies the term misbehavior. It also decenters the assumption that the difference of misbehavior is simply produced by social discourses or practices. Instead, misbehavior as transgression returns consideration of the environment and suggests an event that marked the transgression. In this research I thought about the event of misbehavior in two senses.

First, the event was that of the 19th century pedagogical reforms. These were the reforms that modernized teacher pedagogy. As I indicated above, these were the reforms that systematized teacher pedagogy and formalized disciplinary practices. I take the emergence of monitorial instruction and object teaching as key markers of this event. Second, more specifically, the event is the intersection of a student's misbehavior with distinct pedagogical and disciplinary practices. In this second sense the event of misbehavior is the behavior of the student, the teacher pedagogy and the disciplinary practice. In referring to the event of misbehavior, I broadly refer to the historical period of this study and specifically refer to the intersection of teacher pedagogy, disciplinary practices, and mode of misbehavior. It is this event that serves as the grounds to think about misbehavior as existing in relation and, importantly, accounts for the ways in which a behavior might reach toward something exterior to discourse and practice, the transgressive aspect of misbehavior.

Stated more directly, I approach misbehaving students as those who transgress the pedagogical arrangements of the classroom and thus incite a disciplinary response. <sup>iii</sup> For the sake of this research, I thought of transgression as a breakdown in the mode of subjection, which could be anything from an interruption to a rebellion on the part of a student. Such events suggest pockets of freedom in which a student acts outside the boundaries of expectation. It is this notion of transgression and the possibility for different modes of freedom that much of the social and historical approaches into misbehavior neglect or take for granted.

Certainly, this approach holds challenges. One specific challenge is the tendency to thinking about misbehavior through a moralized and negative framing. Yet,

considering a time period more distant from the present might provide a way to open up and work around what is so often assumed and taken for granted in contemporary student misbehavior—namely, social and historical context, and the possibility of difference. This is what fails to be accounted for in the predominant psychological approaches to misbehavior, and it is equally what fails to be accounted for in many sociological and historical approaches. They presume the student subject of schooling, reading teacher pedagogy and classroom practices through a dialectic of latitude and constraint, freedom and force. Part of the aim of this research is to think outside of this dialectic.

Finally, what the social and historical research into misbehavior has left unaddressed is how affect has played into the formation of misbehavior. Only the field of psychology has addressed misbehaving students and affect, but almost exclusively from a normative perspective, assuming what is appropriate and inappropriate about feeling and emotion (e.g., Carr et al., 2002; Sun & Shek, 2012). These normative framings of affect and emotion have been challenged from a number of directions (e.g., Gregg & Seigworth, 2010), but largely without consideration to the behaviors of students in school. What I want to suggest is that not only has misbehavior been understood differently at different periods of time, but it has invoked a different classroom existence, one with different affective orientations and capacities. And, if pedagogical practices have in fact been modernized by way of affect, then might these new affectionate pedagogies also invoke new affections in students? And, if these changes to schooling emerged alongside normative frameworks, then might these normative frameworks also abnormalize? Might they relegate certain affective orientations and dispositions to the margins? And, if so, how have these modernized pedagogical and disciplinary practices reconfigured the

boundaries of student misbehavior? These are questions that reside around the specific questions of this research:

(a) What do the practices and techniques (i.e., schooling procedures, material arrangements, technological devices) for identifying and disciplining misbehaving students in 19th-century schools tell us about the affective-discursive-practical boundaries of student subjectivity?

(b) How do these practices and techniques affectively orient the 19th-century student subject?

In the following chapter, I explore how these questions are taken up in the course of this research. I outline theoretical orientations and methodological procedures for undertaking this research.

iii I am thinking about transgression and resistance synonymously. The difference between the two is largely that of intention. Resistance tends to invoke an intentional act, a refusal. When thinking about historical archives, intentionality gets muddled quickly. More to the point, intentionality is not needed when thinking about the modes of subjection and the breakdown or transgression of these modes. However, I still use the term resistance without any presumption of intentionality. In this way, a student who daydreams through a teacher's instruction resists, at least for a moment, the particular mode of subjection, whether that student did so intentionally or not. In fact, the student daydreaming addresses half of the challenge of thinking about misbehavior as transgression—the question of what is transgressed.

### **Chapter 3. On Subjectivity and Affect (Concepts and Methods)**

The prior chapter outlined the dilemmas of thinking about misbehaving students without an adequate consideration of social, historical, and curriculum contexts. In reconsidering contextual factors in the event of misbehavior, this research takes up critical theories of power and affect to study archival teacher manuals. The purpose of the present chapter is to outline the particular theories and methods undertaken to rethink student misbehavior. Therefore, the chapter begins with a discussion of two theoretical perspectives that inform this research: new historicism by way of Michel Foucault and affect theory by way of Sara Ahmed. Both Foucault and Ahmed provide a way to think about misbehavior without presupposing the subjective and affective constitution of the student. I then discuss the archives and the importance of 19th-century pedagogical changes for informing this research. Following this, I outline specifics about how I analyzed the data of this dissertation, using the concepts of “modes of subjection” (Foucault, 1995) and “affective orientation” (Ahmed, 2004, 2006) The chapter closes with consideration of representation, validity, and the limitations of this research.

#### **On Foucauldian Historiography (Subjectivation)**

The methodological starting point for this research can be thought of along the lines of New Historicism. Yet the term method is a stretch, as it is far from the systematic proceduralism often associated with qualitative methodology (Springgay & Truman, 2018). It is better thought of as an orientation for beginning. The orientation is not that of historical realism but that of concepts and practices, where they came from and what they do. In doing so this research sets aside the hardened distinctions between history and literature, between fact and fiction, as Hayden White notes: “the reluctance to consider

historical narratives as what they most manifestly are: verbal fictions, the contents of which are more *invented* than *found* and the forms of which have more in common with their counterparts in literature than they have with those in the sciences” (1978, p. 82; also see Barthes, 1986). In orienting toward concepts and practices, this research takes up the work of Michel Foucault, a figure behind much of the New Historicism. It is Foucault’s theorizing of power, knowledge, and subjectivity that provides particular relevance to a study of student misbehavior.

Foucault came to prominence at a time when structuralism and existentialism dominated the field of social thought. Influential figures like Ferdinand de Saussure and Jean-Paul Sartre hold center stage. Structuralists like Saussure were interested in identifying the primary elements that structured social life (Spivak, 2016). Existentialists like Sartre focused on consciousness and how individuals might free themselves from the constraints of society (Flynn, 2013). Foucault, on the other hand, sought to historicize the very structures that produced individual subjects and consciousness. In a way, he aligned more with the structuralist camp, in that his work repeatedly decenters the subject as the site of knowledge and understanding in order to explore the discursive practices and techniques that produced the subject. Yet, Foucault’s work equally challenged structuralist thought. His historical work exposed structuralist underpinnings (i.e., the human subject) as socially and historically situated. Thus, it was not structure or consciousness but instead power that Foucault sought out and studied. And it was his theorizing of power that proved most consequential.

The novelty of Foucault’s understanding of power comes through relationality. For Foucault, power is not a possession, object, or a property. It is not simply obtained

and does not exist on its own. Instead, power is found in and through relation, “a network of relations, constantly in tension, in activity” with individuals, bodies, discourses, and practices (Foucault, 1995, p. 26). And it functions in a multitude of manners.

Conventionally, we think of power as operating from the top down through repression. For Foucault, this is certainly one manner in which power operates, but in our modern era, it is not the only manner. In fact, Foucault argued that this understanding of power, which he terms the “repressive hypothesis,” is not the primary or even the most important means in which it operates. This is the argument made in his history on sexuality, that power is not solely found in the laws forbidding sexual practices of the 18th and 19th centuries, but also, and more importantly, in the proliferation of interest, concern, and discourse on sexuality (i.e., Freudian psychology and reproductive health). It is the relational pairing of discourses and practices that power incites as much as it represses. In describing the multiple manners in which Foucauldian power might operate, Eve Sedgwick states:

[P]ower operates through *producing* rather than through eliminating things/kinds of persons/behaviors/subjectivities.... [I]t operates through *internalized* and apparently voluntary mechanisms, rather than through external, spectacular negative sanctions.... [I]t bubbles up through *multiple*, often minute channels and discourses rather than through a singular law imposed from above.... [I]t operates through a single, *transcendental* prohibition rather than through local, explicit ones....[I]t operates by disguising itself as *nature* (i.e., as essence). Nature and essentialism are, and have always been, the defining ruses of repression/prohibition. (2003, p. 11)

This understanding of power has direct implications for historical work. Since power is not simply a property or object and found in generative and productive relations, then power can equally be found in generative and productive relations of knowing and knowledge. As Foucault states, “[P]ower and knowledge directly imply one another; that

there is not power relation without the correlative of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations” (Foucault, 1995, p. 27). Foucault (1980) is fond of writing the term “Power/Knowledge” to emphasize the mutual implication of knowledge and power. The conjunction of power/knowledge refers to the inherent force that accompanies any representation of knowledge. It is the force that accompanies any attempt to justify or legitimize a particular process, narrative, or worldview. In considering power/knowledge, historical work becomes less about studying “who is or is not free in relation to a power system” and more about how the terms of relation are themselves historically contingent (Foucault, 1980, p. 27). History for Foucault becomes a process of uncovering relations of power and knowledge—how individuals, ideas, and practices embed regimes of truth and discipline. History in this light is less about constructing new knowledge than about unearthing the taken for granted, forgotten, and subjugated within established practices and knowledge. For this reason, the Foucault approach to history can be thought of as a history of the present.

In approaching this research, I was interested not in yet another study of the outrageous and morally reprehensible practices of 19th-century schooling (e.g., Brodhead, 1988; Greydanus et al., 1992; Raichle, 1977). Such studies often miss an important feature needed to understand contemporary schooling: the role of power in the production of subjectivity. It is in understanding how student subjectivity intertwines with social and historical discourses and practices that 19th-century schooling might provide insight into contemporary subjectivity. It is in this way that this research too



might be thought of as a history of the present. But historicizing subjectivity requires an altogether different conception of the self, one that is first and foremost relational.

Much of what Foucault theorized around power and knowledge applies to his understandings of subjectivity. For Foucault, the subject is an emergent and relational effect of discourse (Downing, 2008). It is not the transcendental self or the phenomenological being that has been favored in Western thought. For Foucault, there is no core content or essence at the center of one's existence, nor is there a transhistorical being grounding all experience and knowledge (Butler, 2005). It is these latter approaches to the self that encompass thought and practice in contemporary schooling and responses to student misbehavior. Even fields such as developmental psychology, which think about the self as evolving (developing), fit within this framework. Perhaps more than anything else, these conventional notions of the self hold to an imaginary ideal through which individuals can be judged and evaluated. It is an ideal that is present throughout disciplines of psychology as well as history and sociology. The problem is that the ideal tends to neglect the sociohistorical context from which it has emerged. Perhaps more importantly, presuming an ideal self does not account for the pervasive workings of power. Thus, instead of the self, Foucault favored subjection, which implies relationality.

Foucault's relational notion of subjectivity operates on a different premise than that of an ideal. It requires setting aside the presumption of ontology—that being is given and transhistorical—in order to think about “being” as conferred through processes, relations, and conditions. This means thinking about existence alongside power, not in a deterministic or causal fashion, but always in relation—in relation to norms, conventions,

codes of conduct, and discourses. In this way, the self is “the story of relation,” a story of how one emerges and relates to practices, procedures, and regimes of knowledge and truth (Butler, 2005). This relational approach to subjectivity shifts the focus from objects to processes, from ideas and experiences to techniques and practices. It shifts the focus to what Foucault referred to as *assujettissement* (modes of subjection) (Heyes, 2014). It is here with this line of thought that the question of appropriate and inappropriate behavior can be understood in new light, as a manner of recognition and unrecognition, but equally as compliance and resistance. Therefore, *modes of subjection* serve as the first point of analysis in my approach to the teacher manuals. This is discussed below. The second point of analysis considers how the manuals invoked affect.

### **On Affect and Emotion (Feeling Orientation)**

In turning to affect, I want to think about how the manuals rely upon particular feelings to make some subjects appropriate and other as not. This extension into affect considers more specifically how feeling functions as an orienting device to the modes of subjection outlined above. Anyone who has spent time in schools knows just how saturated classrooms are in affect. Feelings of interest and anxiety, boredom and shame, exhaustion and irritation are just a sliver of the countless feelings experienced in the course of a class, and such feelings are certainly coded into events of student misbehavior. Yet in thinking about theories of power and subjectivity, the question of affect is not one of recovery but one of effect: how affections function and what they do. This focus on the function of affect suggests rethinking affect a socially and historically situated, something underway in contemporary affect theory.

In the fields of social sciences and the humanities, affect has acquired an increasing significance for the analysis and theorizing of culture, which is what Patricia Clough and Jean Halley (2007) refers to as the “affective turn.” Intersecting this uncommonly interdisciplinary field is a focus on affect that extends beyond individual bodies and toward collective networks. Thus, “what we imagine to be individual and specific—impulses, attitudes, emotions, and feelings—in fact [has] a social, historical and therefore shared dimension” (Smith, 2011, p. 5). This sort of research explores how political, economic, and cultural investments into affect redirect collective, “shared” thought and feeling. The focus is less on the experiences of individuals than on the affective configurations of bodies, discourses, technologies, and materiality, what Foucault might refer to as modes of subjection, but with specific attention to affect. But, like Foucault’s notions of subjectivity, understanding what would constitute affect in archival research requires a different tradition from that of conventional humanist inquiry.

According to Michael Hardt (2007), contemporary affect studies build upon two strands of preexisting academic scholarship: the social and philosophical study of the body, on the one hand, and on the other, that of emotion. Work on the body largely comes out of feminist theory such as Butler’s (1993) *Bodies That Matter* and Grosz’s (1994) *Volatile Bodies*, while work on emotion comes largely out of queer theory such as Sedgwick and Frank’s (1995) *Shame and its Sister* and Berlant’s (1998) *Intimacy*. These strands of scholarship rethink the mind’s and the body’s power to act away from an independent and dualistic perspective and toward a relational and ecological perspective. Accordingly, what affect theory adds to these scholarly fields is kind of a synthesis, not

simply between these two research strands but also between what scholarship on the body and scholarship on emotion have historically positioned themselves against—namely, the mind (contra body) and reason (contra emotion or the passions). Hardt states:

This is, in the first place, because affects refer equally to the body and the mind; and, in the second, because they involve both reason and the passions. Affects require us, as the term suggests, to enter the realm of causality, but they offer a complex view of causality because the affects belong simultaneously to both sides of the causal relationship. They illuminate, in other words, both our power to affect the world around us and our power to be affected by it, along with the relationship between these two powers. (2007, p. ix)

In this way, affect provides an avenue around the language problem that has gripped many social theorists and psychologists for much of the 20th century. Instead of wondering if we can ever know our world, or our bodies, beyond that of language, contemporary affect theory problematizes the very idea that material worlds and linguistic/discursive systems exist in a fundamentally divided sense. The point is that the long-held division between nature and culture needs reconsideration. Instead of choosing one or the other, contemporary affect theorists have sought out the divide itself, the affective nature of the division between the mind and the body, between emotion and reason.

It is certainly not the case, however, that all of the work that takes up or falls within the affective turns explicitly or even consciously follows Hardt's Spinozian lineage to affect. In their introduction to *The Affect Theory Reader*, Gregg and Seigworth (2010) identify multiple orientations or avenues into affect studies. They point to a watershed moment in 1995 with the publication of two essays, Eve Sedgwick and Adam Frank's (1995) "Shame and the Cybernetic Fold" and Brian Massumi's (2002) "Autonomy of Affect," which charted different paths forward in the study of affect:

Sedgwick and Frank's put forward a "psychobiology of differential affects," bringing the work of Silvan Tomkins to poststructural and queer theory, while Massumi developed affect through "Gilles Deleuze's Spinozist ethology of bodily capacities" (Seigworth & Gregg, 2010, p. 5). The two lines of inquiries represent a "reversal of flow," moving in different directions—inside-out/outside-in—yet often "interpenetrating" and "resonating" with one another (Seigworth & Gregg, 2010, p. 6).<sup>iv</sup> However, Tomkins by way of Sedgwick and Frank and Deleuze by way of Massumi only represent the beginnings of the field. Seigworth and Gregg note no less than eight additional strands, including work on cybernetics, Raymond William's "structure of feelings," and Nigel Thrift's "non-representational theory," to name just a few. Perhaps more than anything, this research unites in their challenge to intentionalist models of subjectivity, remaining open to the more-than-human, non-ideological drivers of social and political (shared) life.

All this is to say that in the present research, I am less interested in fitting within any particular scholarly field than in making use of concepts and practices that I find productive for the study of misbehavior. For me, affect serves this role well. But investigations into affect remain elusive. This is in part because a consensus understanding of affect does not exist. Each strand of affect studies approaches it differently, with some distinguishing it sharply from emotion and others not at all. In his essay on the autonomy of affect, Massumi (2002) charts a careful distinction between the emotion and affect, maintaining a different logic and in different order to each. For him, affect is an asignifying "intensity," present within an event but autonomous from subjective bodies and minds, whereas emotion is the personalization of experience, a "qualified intensity," "owned and recognized," and formed into "function and meaning"

(Massumi, 2002, pp. 27–28). Its lack of signifying properties makes it both productive and challenging. Yet in more recent work, Massumi (2015) has defined the relationship of affect and emotion in less fixed terms than in terms of differences of degree. Sianne Ngai refers to this as a “modal difference of intensity” rather than “formal difference of quality,” stating:

My assumption is that affects are *less* formed and structured than emotions, but not lacking form or structure altogether; *less* “socio-linguistically fixed,” but by no means code-free or meaningless; *less* “organized in response to our interpretation of situations,” but by no means entirely devoid of organization or diagnostic powers.... What the switch from formal to modal differences enables is an analysis of the *transitions* from one pole to the other: the passages whereby affects acquire the semantic density and narrative complexity of emotions, and emotions conversely denature into affects. (2005, p. 27)

It is this “modal difference” between affect and emotion that best fits the present research. Instead of a firm division between the two, I take them up together, not as the same but both as worth analysis. But to reaffirm a point made above, the analysis of emotion in the text of the teacher manuals is taken not as a reference to an individual’s experience but as part of a discourse or mode of experience. Emotions as affects are approached for what they do not just within the text but also in terms of orienting student subjectivity. It is what Sara Ahmed (2006) refers to as “affective orientation,” the ways in which affect functions to register particular bodies and objects. When thinking about the archival teacher manuals, attention to how affect functions to orient individuals and bodies to appropriate and the inappropriate, the behaving and the misbehaving, is important. Thus, *affective orientation* serves as the second point of analysis in my approach to the teacher manual, which I detail in the section on analysis.

### **On the Archive and the Period (of Data Collection)**

The archive of this research consists of teacher manuals published over the course of the 19th century. The manuals represent one of two prominent educational reform movements of the time, what I refer to as monitorial instruction/bureaucratic discipline and object teaching/affectionate discipline. Monitorial instruction and object teaching can be thought of as the two overarching pedagogies, whereas bureaucratic discipline and affectionate discipline can be thought of as the two specific disciplinary strategies. The pedagogies and disciplinary practices for the most part went hand in hand, with bureaucratic discipline accompanying monitorial instruction and affectionate discipline accompanying object teaching. What the advocates of both approaches maintained was a newfound concern for overly cruel disciplinary practices, typically related to the readiness of teachers to invoke corporal punishments. As such, these reform movements have been understood by historians as important factors in the modernization of teaching and specifically discipline (see Hogan, 1990; Spring, 1994). It is for this reason that these two reforms became the focus of this research. For if the modernization of teacher pedagogy followed the shift from monitorial/bureaucratic approaches to object/affectionate approaches, then these reforms would be equally important for understanding the emergence of contemporary misbehaving students. Therefore, these two reforms served as the initial criteria for identifying the manuals of the archive.

The teacher manuals proved to be particularly helpful for thinking about misbehaving students. They provided insight not only into stated ideas of the time, but also into the distinct practices appearing in schools. They are not merely reflections of events and experiences of school, as would be the case with diaries, or written primarily

for an academic or even professional audience, as would be the case with journal articles, but were instead practical instructions for how to organize and facilitate a school. The goal of using teacher manuals was not to get first-hand accounts of student misbehavior, of course this would not work. But, rather, they provided something of a script that teachers would follow in the day to day workings of their class. Certainly, teaching practices varied. And there is no guarantee, or even likelihood, that teachers followed the manuals to a T. But in the procedural directness that often accompanies manuals, I got an indication of not just what the teachers sought to do but also what the teachers sought to respond to. It is the proactive nature of the teacher manuals that gets at the outlines of what a misbehavior student was: e.g., when a manual calls on teachers to maximize the interests of students, then it can be assumed that the disinterested student was something close to the misbehaving student. This practical emphasis was important. Reading the practical applications of the teacher manual for what is missing and what the practices are put up against provides an entry point into understanding the misbehavior of the time. I identified a teacher manual as an explanatory text written to an audience of teachers. Not all of the texts in the archive used the term manual in the title, nor were all of the text written to be or published as a book. Some were a collection of lectures, others had biographical and autobiographical segments in the book, and many had reprints of earlier texts in the manuals. I included these “books” in the archive as long as at least one section was dedicated to the “how to” of pedagogical or disciplinary practices.

The archive itself is intentionally loose. The goal was less to be comprehensive than to be descriptive of the distinct pedagogical and disciplinary practices put forward in the monitorial/bureaucratic and object/affectionate reforms. Therefore, certain texts were



more productive than others and found their way into the archive. My process began with references from two contemporary histories on 19th-century teacher pedagogy: Barbara Finkelstein's (1989) *Governing the Young* and David Hogan's (1990) "Modes of Discipline." These sources worked directly with archival teacher manuals, the former providing a bibliography of manuals of the era. This gave me about 50 manuals to start with, all written in the 19th century. I then identified manuals that explicitly referenced key terms in either the title or table of contents. This included the following terms: Lancaster, monitorial instruction, mutual instruction, object teaching, object lessons, and Pestalozzi. I quickly found that many of the manuals reproduced writings from other manuals, such that one manual might take an entire chapter from another manual. Often these reproductions would refer back to just a few individuals. These individuals made up the initial archive, which included Joseph Lancaster, Andrew Bell, Henry Barnard, and Jacob Abbott. Each served as an epistemic reform figure, with Lancaster and Bell representing the monitorial/bureaucratic approach and Abbott and Barnard representing the object/affectionate approach. I then went back through the manuals to identify those which specifically addressed disciplinary or governance practices in a section or chapter. This provided me with an extended archive of individuals and manuals. Many of these manuals provided greater description and detail of the routines and procedures first outlined by the above figures. The authors of these manuals included David Page, William Russell, John Griscom, Sam Hall, Alonzo Potter, George Emerson, Elizabeth Mayo, and Warren Colburn. In total, 12 manuals composed the archive. The manuals are listed below in chronological order.

- *Improvements in Education*, 1805

- By Joseph Lancaster
- Monitorial Instruction/Bureaucratic Discipline
- In the 19th century, Lancaster's name went synonymously with monitorial instruction. In England, he popularized his approach and published many books and came to the US to advance his approach. *Improvements* is a comprehensive look at monitorial instruction.
- ***First Lessons in Arithmetic on the Plan of Pestalozzi*, 1821**
  - By Warren Colburn
  - Object Teaching/Affectionate Discipline
  - Colburn's is likely the first published Pestalozzian manual, although Pestalozzi's approach did not gain traction until later in the century. Colburn lived his life in Massachusetts. The manuals reflect object teaching and affectionate discipline.
- ***Mutual Tuition and Moral Discipline*, 1823**
  - By Andrew Bell
  - Monitorial Instruction/Bureaucratic Discipline
  - Many credited Bell as the original founder of the monitorial system, though it is typically credited to Lancaster. Bell was a Scottish educator and reformer, who developed his system of education in India and brought it back to Europe. It found its way into the US alongside Lancaster's approach.
- ***Monitorial Instruction*, 1825**
  - By John Griscom

- Monitorial Instruction/Bureaucratic Discipline
- Griscom was a New Yorker, a professor, and a philosopher. His manual is a single lecture on monitorial methods. The manual contains a lengthy appendix of reproduced reports on monitorial approaches from around the country and world.
- ***Manual of Mutual Instruction*, 1826**
  - By William Russell
  - Monitorial Instruction/Bureaucratic Discipline
  - William Russell was a noted educator and editor of the *American Journal of Education*. He spent most of his life in the Northeast, living in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut.
- ***Lectures on School-keeping*, 1829**
  - By Samuel Hall
  - Object Teaching/Affectionate Discipline
  - Hall was an education leader and is credited with founding the second teacher training college in the country. This manual is an early articulation of affectionate discipline.
- ***Lessons on Objects: Their Origin, Nature and Uses, for the use of Schools and Families*, 1839**
  - By Elizabeth Mayo
  - Object Teaching/Affectionate Discipline
  - Elizabeth Mayo studied with Pestalozzi to learn the object method. Her manuals are a series of scripted lessons that follow a sequential order.

*Lessons on Objects* was quite popular and widely referenced in both England and the US.

- ***The School and the School Master*, 1842**
  - By Alonzo Potter and George Emerson
  - Object Teaching/Affectionate Discipline
  - This is actually two manuals in one. The first half was written by Potter and the second by Emerson. The manual was popular, though much of the book had been reprinted from other manuals. Both authors worked out of Pennsylvania.
  
- ***Theory and Practice of Teaching: The Motives and Methods of Good School-Keeping*, 1849**
  - By David Page
  - Object Teaching/Affectionate Discipline
  - Page's manual provided the most in the way of articulating punishment practices from an affectionate discipline approach. Page was a New Yorker and founded New York's normal school.
  
- ***The Teacher: Moral Influences Employed in the Instruction and Government of the Young*, 1856**
  - By Jacob Abbott
  - Object Teaching/Affectionate Discipline
  - Abbott was a widely read author of children's books and the occasional writer on education. His manual reached many. Abbott's approaches were

referenced and reproduced in many of the other teacher manuals. Abbott lived and worked in Maine.

- ***Gentle Measures in the Management and Training of the Young*, 1871**
  - By Jacob Abbott
  - Object Teaching/Affectionate Discipline
  - Abbott is the only author who has two manuals in the archive. This manual provides the most detail of any that I encountered about the meaning and practice of sympathy. It provided a valuable resource for understanding his teacher-focused manual above.
  
- ***Pestalozzi and his Educational System*, 1874**
  - By Henry Barnard
  - Object Teaching/Affectionate Discipline
  - Barnard served as the editor of numerous education journals and as head of multiple universities, including the University of Michigan and the University of Wisconsin–Madison. He started the first normal school in Rhode Island. He wrote prolifically. This manual is more than 900 pages and includes his writings, reproductions of Pestalozzi’s writings, and the writings of others.

The manuals served as starting rather than ending points. My intention in studying the manuals was to remain open enough to follow discourses and practices as they tracked into larger sociohistorical contexts. Therefore, I found myself working through two additional sets of data. The first, education journals: *Common School Journal* and *American Annals of Education*. The second, recollections of schooling experience from a

published archive of teacher and student journals (see Finkelstein, 1989). Both additional sets of data functioned to contextualize and extend the ideas and practices encountered in the manuals. They were not systematically analyzed but used as descriptive support. For instance, in order to understand what bureaucratic and affectionate disciplinary practices looked like in the classroom, I read recollections of teachers and students, and, in order to better understand the argument against emulation, I read for journal articles. In all of the datasets, my aim was not simply to find depictions of students misbehaving or teachers disciplining students. It was equally not to presuppose the nature of misbehavior, what it meant or communicated. Instead, the aim was to work through the archives to identify the operations, practices, and techniques that brought an understanding and experience of misbehavior into the classroom existence. In short, I attended to the particular modes of subjection and affective orientations present in the manuals. It is through this framework that misbehavior can be considered for its transgressive, resistant, and counter-actualizing potential.

### **On Modes of Analysis (Reading Data)**

In putting Foucault together with affect theory, I consider this research a kind of “thinking with theory” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2011). In doing so, I did not approach the data of the archives as brute material, hollowed out of theoretical interpretation. Nor did I presume to account for or generalize from the data as a whole, which all too often sweeps away the “quality” of the database (Cicourel, 1979). Instead I relied upon theory to determine what constituted data and what data were worth analyzing (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). This meant that I worked away from a strictly linear and systematic process of data collection and analysis characterized by “traditional coding and thematic,

conventional analysis of data” toward a “process” of “plugging in” theoretical concepts not to simply represent but to “create” new conceptual relations, a process that Jackson and Mazzei (2011) describe as involving:

- Putting philosophical concepts to work via disrupting the theory/practice binary by decentering each and instead showing how they *constitute or make one another*;
- Being deliberate and transparent in what analytical questions are made possible by a specific theoretical concept...and how the questions that are used to think with *emerged in the middle* of plugging in;
- Working the same data chunks repeatedly to “deform [them], to make [them] groan and protest” with an overabundance of meaning, which in turn not only creates new knowledge but also show the *suppleness of each when plugged in*. (p. 5)

In putting theory to work, I began with two philosophical concepts, one from Michel Foucault and the other from Sara Ahmed, both of which are outlined below. The concepts provided less of a methodological script to follow than a process for tracing practices and attuning to sensations in the text. Guided by tracing and attunements, I gathered texts early and late in the process of the research. I jumped forward and backwards, working concepts and practices into and across the archive. I aimed to work the text through the concepts, but also work the concepts through the texts. The idea was not just to “deform” the meaning of the text but to “deform” or historicize the ideas of the present, specifically that of misbehavior.

As outline in Chapter 2, I understood misbehavior as an event, not an act initiated solely within an individual student, but an intersection of teacher pedagogy and disciplinary practices. The point of misbehavior as an event is to foreground the entanglement of student behavior and teacher pedagogy. Thus, in reading the data of the archives, I centered these three elements: teacher pedagogy, disciplinary practices, and modes of misbehavior. I understood teacher pedagogy as the distinct orientation, way of

thinking and set of processes for conducting the operations of the school (Smith, 2019). I understood disciplinary practices as the distinct methods and procedures for governing the classroom and intervening upon students that misbehaved. I understood misbehavior as the dispositions, behaviors, and affects that the texts of the teacher manuals positioned as exterior to the classroom and in need of remediation, intervention, or punishment. Misbehaviors could be represented explicitly in the manuals as, for instance, immorality in an incident of a student using “profane” language; or it could be represented implicitly, for instance, as a disinterested student through an overarching focus in the manuals on student engagement. As alluded to above, the manuals all responded to and effectively produced a particular mode of misbehavior. It was this mode and the larger event of misbehavior that I read alongside the following two concepts.

### **Modes of Subjection**

The use of modes of subjection in analysis turns attention away from individual students, groups and institutions to discourses, practices, techniques of subjection, the “government of individualization” (Foucault, 1992, p. 306) The aim is to read the data for the way in which the discourse of the teacher manuals effected a particular subject, considering how classroom practices offer a way of behaving and a field of relating and how these practices fit within larger strategies of control. Thus, I foregrounded both teacher pedagogy and disciplinary practices. These pedagogical and disciplinary practices provided an idea of the boundaries of the classroom, what was afforded and encouraged and what was not. Part of this involved reading the data for presences and absences, what manners of behaving, acting, and relating were present and what were not. But it also involved a consideration for how particular arrangements fit within broader discourses



and strategies of regulation, i.e. how classroom practices existed alongside transformations within the criminal justice system and market economy of the nineteenth century. More than anything modes of subjection is an orientation to the ways in which power functions within a discourse: how systems of education differentiated students, how this differentiation functions towards particular ends, in what manner particular manner are students positioned to relate to one another, and how such practices are rationalized. As Foucault (1990) states on his method of analysis:

[I]t is a question of orienting ourselves to a conception of power which replaces the privilege of the law with the viewpoint of the objective, the privilege of prohibition with the viewpoint of tactical efficacy, the privilege of sovereignty with the analysis of multiple and mobile field of force relations, wherein far-reaching, but never completely stable, effects of domination are produced. (p. 102)

Data analysis in line with Foucault looks not for the ways in which institutions or discourses *affected* individual subjects but for the ways in which they *fashioned* these subjects. In a similar way, I read the archives for how the specific pedagogical and disciplinary practices fashioned student subjectivity.

### **Affective Orientation**

If modes of subjection is the analytic for considering the arrival of subjectivity, the conditions of subjection, then affective orientation is a more specific analytic for considering not just how feeling functions in that process but how feelings orient subjects towards others in the world. Affective orientation is a notion compiled from Ahmed's (2004, 2006) work on the cultural politics of emotion and queer phenomenology. It aims to understand how affect orients individual bodies towards different ends. The concern of affective orientation is not simply how affects move bodies but more importantly how "[affective] orientations invoke the different ways of registering the proximity of bodies

and objects” (Ahmed, 2006, p. 3). Accordingly, it is through orientation that individuals, also environments and surroundings, surface and begin to matter, with some feelings and bodies near and others distant. Working with the notion of affective orientation require reading the manuals for affective terms, those signaling feeling, sensation, mood and emotion, and then considering how those affects register particular bodies, subjects and objects and towards what ends. Often this involved thinking about what was near and distant in relation to the affects of the texts, i.e. how particular affects aligned with competition, making cooperation distant. This equally served for reading events of misbehavior. Behaviors tagged as misbehavior were akin to the “less proximate” bodies and objects. Therefore, in addition to the condition of emergence, I read the archives for devices of affective orientation, how the sentiments and feelings of student subjects were being directed towards particular ends, and how these devices had been transgressed through misbehavior.

### **On Representation and Validation (Problematization)**

How would a history of the present think about issues of representation, validity, and truth? In remaining faithful to the theoretical orientations outlined above, I cannot approach these terms as they have been conceptualized in conventional qualitative research. Conventionally, these are terms that presuppose reality as ontologically distinct and separate from individual subjectivity (Law, 2004). They fit within positivist and post-positivist paradigms, angling to predict, explain, and control external worlds. Perhaps more than anything, these are notions that depend upon objectivity. Whereas truth implies verification and validity implies reproducibility, both imply objectivity—a belief that our relational and situated ties to the world can be cut so as to observe and document free

from the influence of others. These are perspectives quite different from what is put forward here. The very notion of a mode of subjection suggests subjectivity as situated and relational, and immersed within ecologies of discourses, practices, matter, and affect (see Butler, 2005). Objectivity does not fit within this paradigm. In fact, the approach advocated here is one that challenges the idea of “objective” scholarly inquiry. In this way, it exists in a different paradigm, with different commitments and orientations.

If this research had to be categorized, it would probably fit into the field of post qualitative inquiry. The field of post qualitative inquiry departs from “conventional humanist qualitative methodology” in its aim “to produce different knowledge and produce knowledge differently” (St. Pierre, 2011, p. 613). For St. Pierre (2011), the field emerged out of the concern that qualitative research methods have become too “conventional” and thus unable to effect substantive change. While no singular approach encompasses this work, it is broadly oriented toward poststructural and new materialist philosophies (Lather, 2016). Accordingly, it maintains an ontological and epistemological anti-foundationalism and thereby challenges foundational concepts/practices in qualitative inquiry, including that of interviewing, reflexivity, and validation (St. Pierre, 2011). Perhaps most characteristic are its challenge and attempts to open up notions of the human, materiality, and data outside of traditional human-centered and empirical research traditions (see Jackson, 2013; St. Pierre, 2019). It is in this reorientation that post qualitative inquiry embraces not so much methods or procedures but theory and an experimental “methodology-to-come” (Lather, 2016, p. 635).

Yet, in drawing on poststructural and new materialist ideas, the field opens itself to a growing chorus of critique from scholars of color and indigenous perspectives. In

part, these scholars are skeptical of moving beyond the humanist subject at a time when indigenous groups and people of color have only just begun to be recognized within such categories (King, 2017). Other scholars question the newness of new materialism and its adherence to European traditions, maintaining that these academic movements marginalize indigenous ideas that have long maintained similar worldviews, i.e., processual and dynamic materiality (Todd, 2016). Further, scholars challenge the assumption that a vibrant materialism is inherently beneficial to those of already marginalized personhoods (McMillian, 2015). Such critiques raise important questions about who has space in the field of post qualitative inquiry and what sorts of lives are available within the field. I do not attempt to answer these questions here but want to recognize the importance of the critiques, which are valued and needed.

It is with these critiques in mind that I want to point to some of the challenges that critical scholars of color and those working in traditions direct to the tradition of qualitative inquiry. One of the central challenges regards data collection. It has been challenged on both political and epistemological grounds. Politically, the idea of collecting other people's data, whether through artifacts or observations, has been called into question and exposed for its non-neutrality (Tuck & Yang, 2014). Epistemologically, the idea of data tends to reify and thus negate social effects that constituted the data (Koro-Ljungberg & MacLure, 2013). Both critiques prompt concerns for the provenance of data, where they come from and how they are acquired (Strathern, 1999). However, the very notion of data invokes a particular empirical tradition, one that assumes a determinant material world. Yet, the same can be and has been said for other foundational concepts in qualitative research, such as validity, reflexivity, and transferability, which

not only hinge upon a post-positivist orientation toward research but also a determinant and predictable world (Clough, 1998). These are notions that I attempt to move away from in this research, not because they are bad or inherently problematic, but because my aim is not that of prediction, explanation, or understanding. Instead, this research aims at opening up the ideas and practices that surround misbehaving students. But this does not mean that this research is unaccountable.

This research aims to problematize conventional thought and practice surrounding student misbehavior. Problematization is a concept present throughout Foucault's historical work. It refers to the critical examination of an idea, thought, or practice that resides neither for nor against what it critiques (Koopman, 2013). The aim of a problematization is to reveal limitations and plays of power that underlie what has been taken for granted, normalized, and naturalized. The name, problematization, comes from the practice of surfacing problems out of that which seemed to have none. In the present research, the exploration into historical ideas and practices surrounding misbehavior serves as a kind of problematization. This research aims to surface modes of recognizing and intervening upon misbehaving students that reveal and speak to the boundaries of contemporary practices. It is in resurfacing boundaries and problematics of practices that a new agency similarly resurfaces. For what was once taken for granted and assumed can now be reconsidered and explored in alternative directions.

It is here in this notion of problematization that this research approaches what has traditionally been referred to as validity in conventional qualitative research methods. As I approach it in this research, validity does not have to do with claims to truth or reliability but with the degree to which concepts and practices are effectively

problematized. It is the degree to which the boundaries of contemporary misbehavior are exposed as problematic. This is what Lather refers to as transgressive validity:

Its goal is to foster differences and let contradictions remain in tension.... It is about the search for instabilities and the undermining of the framework within which previous “normal science” has been conducted.... Its goal is something not entirely subordinated to a system’s goals, yet not so abruptly destabilizing of a system that it is ignored or repressed. (1993, p. 679)

Validity in this light is not representational; rather it is interested in how discourses of representation function to mystify difference in the formation of their concepts. A transgressive notion of validity works to the degree that the research does in fact transgress its concepts. In the present research, this would be the degree to which notions of subjectivity and misbehavior can be thought and experienced anew, the degree to which their taken-for-granted notions are transgressed. This is what makes the validity pragmatic. The text either works or to problematize or it does not, but notions of representation and validity need not apply.

On this note, this research is not a conventional history. Its focus is not on individuals, ideas, or experiences. It is equally not focused on re-creating narratives and through lines from 19th-century schooling to the present. Such foci would reposition this work within the positivist and post-positivist paradigms mentioned above. Instead, this research decenters the individual, the human subject, and the concern for individual experience so as to focus on the function of the discourses and practices of the manuals. However, this does not mean that individuals played no role in the write-up of this research. In fact, much of Chapter 4 speaks through the individual authors of the manuals. The point, though, is not on the individual actions or intentions but on how the

practices of these individuals afforded action and intention on others. The focus returns to the specific modes of subjection and affective orientation.

The structure of the findings follows that of the analysis and the research question. I focus on the particular modes of student misbehavior, the affective dimensions of teacher pedagogy, and the function of power in disciplinary practices. As I nodded to above, much of the findings revolve around two distinct pedagogical and disciplinary approaches. The first pedagogical/disciplinary approach is the monitorial instruction/bureaucratic discipline. Monitorial instruction is the term chosen to describe early 19th-century pedagogy. However, the archives equally refer to this approach as mutual instruction and Lancastrian schooling. For ease of writing, I often shorten the term to monitorial approach. Since none of the archival manuals label their disciplinary approaches, the term bureaucratic discipline comes from contemporary historians (see Butchart, 1998; Hogan, 1990). The second pedagogical/disciplinary approach is object teaching/affectionate discipline. Object teaching is the term chosen to describe pedagogy in the later decades of the 19th century. The archival manuals equally refer to object teaching as object lessons and the Pestalozzi approach. For ease of writing, I often shorten the term to object approach. Affectionate discipline is a term that came from contemporary historians (see Butchart, 1998; Hogan, 1990). The archives tend to refer to this approach as moral education or moral governance and do not use the term affectionate discipline. I went back and forth on how to refer to this practice. Describing it as affectionate suggests that the bureaucratic approach did not involve affect, which it certainly did. Yet affectionate primarily means tenderness, loving, and sympathetic, which is what the authors of the manuals thought they were practicing in their

disciplinary approaches. Thus, I use affectionate to refer to this approach, though at times I refer to it as the sympathetic approach. Lastly, the manuals all reflected the gendered language of the era. Masculine pronouns were exclusively used when speaking of a hypothetical individual. To counter this tendency, I deliberately inserted feminine pronouns when referring to hypothetical teachers and students as long as this would not interfere with the meaning of the texts in the manuals. While women in schools were a minority, they certainly had a presence not reflected in the manuals. Adding gendered pronouns makes this presence known.

### **On Limitations (Enabling Constraints)**

Perhaps the obvious limitation in this study is in the archive. While the aim of this research is to problematize thought and practice surrounding misbehaving students, to do this I rely upon an archive written almost exclusively by white males. To some extent this is intentional. I wanted to challenge and open up the history of misbehaving students from within the narratives of our past. These narratives are told through these individuals. But the goal is not to reaffirm their place in history or even to do justice to their ideas and experience. The goal is to do the opposite. It is to expose the persistent hold that particular ideas and modes of subjection have on our contemporary selves. In a sense it is to delegitimize the hold that these practices continue to have.

Another limitation of the data comes in its format. The manuals are text based, with very few images. The focus of analysis is almost exclusively on the texts of the manuals. Certainly, something is lost and unrecoverable in the texts. I was not able to interview individuals or visit remaining sites of the schoolhouses. This is especially limiting when trying to think about affect. While written texts certainly had affect and are



affecting, the affect is not quite the same as what would be experienced in person. But this is the challenge of all archival research.

Finally, since this research focused on practitioner manuals, some of the important and influential figures of the time go unaddressed. On the one hand, I am thinking about Horace Mann, who led the reform movement of 19th-century schools. His famous debate with Boston grammar school teachers sparked a movement toward more compassionate education and much of the ideas reflected in the object teaching and affectionate discipline approaches. However, Horace Mann was not writing practitioner manuals. For this reason, I did not include him in the official archive. Something similar can be said about both John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for on a broad scale their ideas influenced the reforms throughout the century. But this research was not a history of ideas, but rather practices. And in this way, it points to an important facet of curriculum scholarship. Curriculum resides not simply in the ideas but also in the practices of education. It is the practices that often go overlooked but perhaps are most important.

<sup>iv</sup> For examples of work putting Tomkins and Deleuze together, see Sianne Ngai's (2005) *Ugly Feelings* (especially chapter 1). Also, Elspeth Probyn's (2010) essay "Writing Shame" in Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth's (2010) *The Affect Theory Reader*.

<sup>v</sup> Of course, in maintaining the theory outlined above, teacher pedagogy and disciplinary practices have much overlap, as processes for conducting the operations and ways of thinking about schooling imply manners of governance. The distinction I maintained between the two regarded whether a practice was directed to the intervention or prevention of a misbehavior (disciplinary practice) or whether a practice was directed to the incitement of appropriate behavior (pedagogical practice).

## **Chapter 4. “A Good Boy Loves Study” and Other Findings**

In drawing on theories of affect and subjectivity—namely, the concepts of affective orientation and modes of subjection—this chapter explores the archive of teacher manuals for how educators identified and responded to misbehaving students, and for how those processes reflect orientations of affect. The chapter unfolds in these four main sections. The first section considers how the two primary pedagogical approaches—monitorial instruction and object teaching—articulated in the archive of manuals understood the task of education and drew upon affective mechanisms in their practices. The second section considers the disciplinary measures present in the archive. These were the practices, procedures, and orientations that educators invoked in response to misbehaving students. The third section considers the different modes of misbehavior present in the teacher manual archive, how the manuals articulated the transgression of students in the manuals. The fourth section serves to contextualize key findings in relation to critical discourse of the era. The final section offers a brief conclusion to the chapter.

### **Pedagogical Orientations**

As stated above, the archive of manuals demonstrated two prominent pedagogical approaches. These were monitorial instruction and object teaching. Monitorial instruction appeared earlier in the century and was popularized in poor and working-class community schools, i.e., common schools (Spring, 1994). Object teaching gained traction in the later decades of the 19th century. Advocates of both approaches saw themselves as providing efficiency and refinement to traditional schooling practices. An important and intersecting concern in both approaches was the use of *fear* in traditional schooling to

acquire student obedience, a use which was seen as cruel and ineffective. Instead the authors of the manuals called on teachers to *interest* students in the matter of schooling. This shift towards interest played the most important role in the visions of the teacher manuals for mitigating the misbehaviors of students. Yet both monitorial and object teaching approached this task with not just different values and beliefs but different affective orientations. It is in understanding these orientations, the practices and techniques for interesting students, that a different understanding of the student misbehavior emerges.

### **Monitors and Emulation**

The monitorial approach to schooling has its roots in the work and advocacy of Joseph Lancaster. Lancaster was a Quaker who was troubled by the limitations and exclusion of the early 19th-century school (Corston, 2014). He sought to develop a schooling system for the working classes, something that could benefit not just the privileged aristocracy but the boys and girls of the “industry” (Lancaster, 1805). His most influential book, *Improvements in Education*, developed this system with considerable influence.<sup>vi</sup> In fact, the schools behind the growth of public education in the 19th century were regularly referred to as Lancasterian schools in his name (Spring, 1994). In one way or another, all of the 19th-century teaching manuals considered in this study reflected Lancaster’s influence, be it the reproduction or repudiation of his approach. Although his name fell from favor in the middle and later decades of the 19th century, much of Lancaster’s monitorial pedagogical spirit remained.

The functioning of the system depended upon the peer teachers and supervisors, referred to as monitors. Every student but the very youngest served as a monitor in one

fashion or another. For one part of the day, a child would play the role of the student, practicing basic arithmetic, the sciences of astronomy and navigation, and the reading, writing, and memorization of scripture. Then, in the other part of the day, the child would play the role of the monitor, facilitating lessons and overseeing younger and less advanced peers (Bell, 1823, p. 25). In part, the use of monitors reflected a theory of learning present in the manuals: “He who teaches learns” (Griscom, 1825, p. 37); “Experience has discovered in [monitorial instruction] a far greater benefit ... through practical education acquired by those children who are required to teach as well as learn” (Russell, 1826, p. 4). Yet the use of monitors also reflected aspects of the schooling context, which served large numbers of students, often from poor and working-class backgrounds, with little to no money and resources. Monitors were thus seen as central to maintaining order in the classroom.

At any given time, a monitor supervised anywhere from five to 10 students, teaching the lessons learned earlier in the week. With over 100 students in a single room, the monitorial schools required well-designed procedures and smoothly functioning routines, much of which fell to the hands of the monitors. A typical class (the group of students a monitor taught) operated in a semicircle on a designated space against the wall of the school. Only monitors spoke, ideally in hushed tones, while the students carried out their directions, any aspect of the curriculum: copying sentences, solving math problem, drawing maps, etc. (see Figures 1, 2, & 3). Yet the monitors equally played the part of school police. They were tasked with surveilling their peers, administering citations, and awarding certificates of merit and demerit. Each student remained not only under the eye of another, but often multiple levels of others: “The *Police* of the school

consists of a head monitor, a monitor of attendance, a monitor of dictation, and as many sub-monitors as there are sections, each of whom has an assistant” (Russell, 1826, p. 95). With students, monitors, and monitors of monitors all surveilled by one another, “the attention of the [schoolmaster was] greatly multiplied” (Griscom, 1825, p. 37).

Yet the innovation of the monitorial approach was not simply the diffusion of surveillance among students and their peers. It was equally an affective investment, one that centered on competition, rivalry, and most of all emulation: “virtuous and generous emulation” (Bell, 1823, p. 18). The term emulation had yet to acquire its 20th-century meaning—i.e., imitation—but rather referred to “the desire for superior place or status over others, to be won competitively” (Butchart, 1998, p. 45) (also see Beecher, 1833, p. 29). Competitive interest and class status penetrated deep into the fabric of the schooling system. Teachers understood their job as kindling an atmosphere of competition. They spoke of emulation in collective terms, as the “spirit” of the school (Bell, 1823, p. 65; Lancaster, 1805, p. 91). Some would even refer to the school as “an arena” and to students as “scholastic combatants” (Bell, 1823, p. 64). The procedures for ranking and ordering students that the monitorial approaches became famous for fit well within this emulatory spirit.<sup>vii</sup> For not only did every student have something to do, as Lancaster proclaimed, “Let every child at every moment have something to do and a motive for doing it” (as cited in Spring, 1994, p. 45), but every student had something to compete for—namely, their place in the school: “Every boy is placed next to one who can do as well or better than himself: his business is to excel him, in which case he takes precedence of him” (Lancaster, 1805, p. 89). With emulation, schooling took on qualities

of activation and served as an incitement, something not present in the traditional religious approach to schooling.

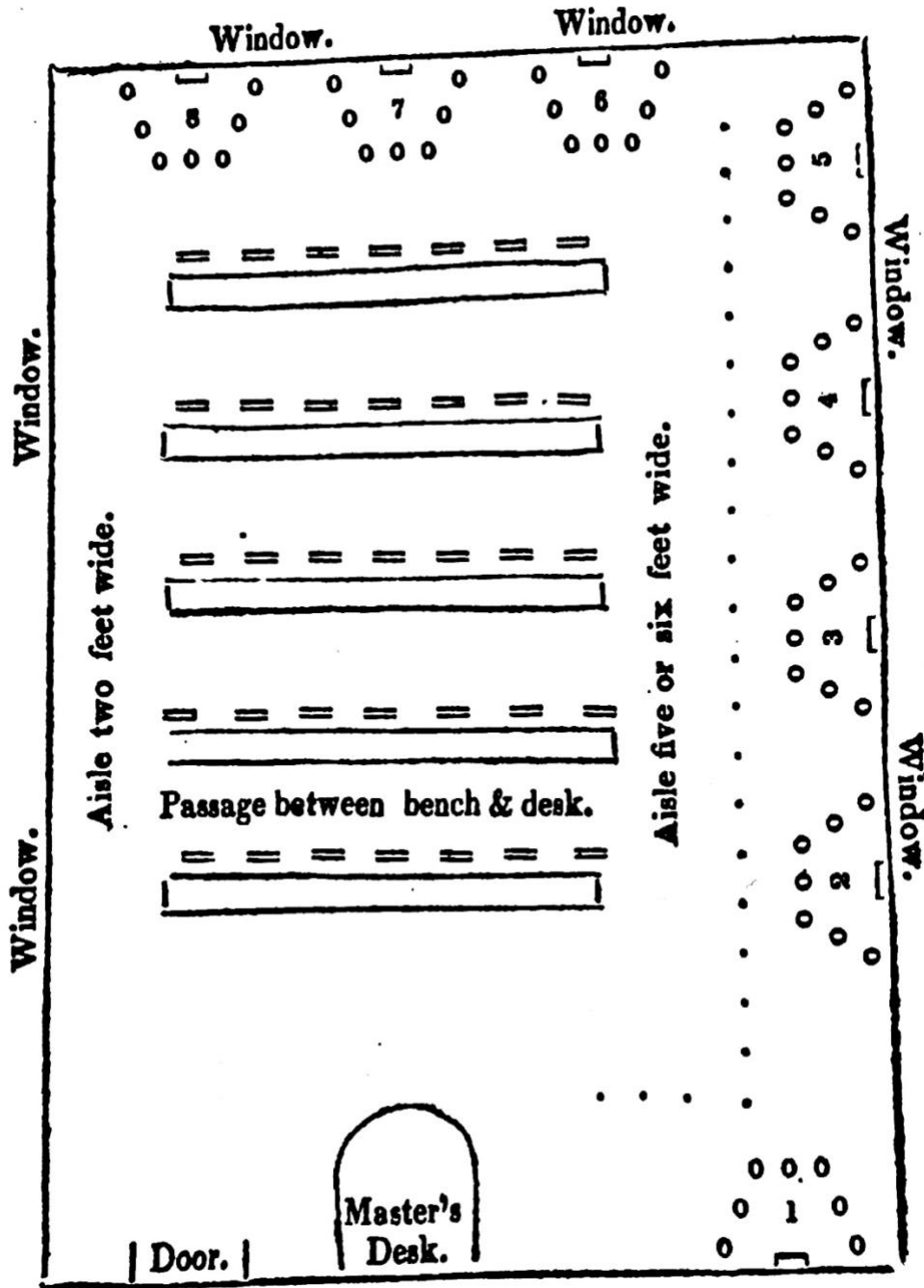
What was at stake was a struggle over the production of student subjectivity. The deference and renunciation of the body and material world in earlier religious education found new skepticism. Things that had previously been seen as necessities, i.e., the complete negation of the body, became a health concern for those advocating the monitorial approach:

Restraint and constraint are alike irksome and exhausting: they entail languor and debility, and produce, perhaps, much of that inactivity of the body and mind, which are the great barriers to success in the various departments of man's social relations. The constant suppression of the animal spirits, which it has too commonly been deemed the duty of teachers to enforce on the children committed to their care—is perhaps, one great cause of that debility which generates dyspepsy and consumption—the great enemies of health and happiness, in this region of the United States. (Russell, 1826, p. 35)

Instead, monitorial instruction advocates claimed to leverage the interests and desires of the individual. The passions of the child, “animal spirits,” became the means of education, not simply to be condemned and repressed. repressed. But what the system of monitorial schooling suggests is a shift towards the alignment of the interests and desires of students with that of the broader society, fitting the demands of an industrializing economy quite nicely. cultivated meritocratic principles and secularizing values, collapsing the interests of students with that of the marketplace. With emulation as its driving force, the monitorial approach did much more than surveil its students. It served as a stepping-stone into the affective sphere of competitive capitalism.

Figure 1

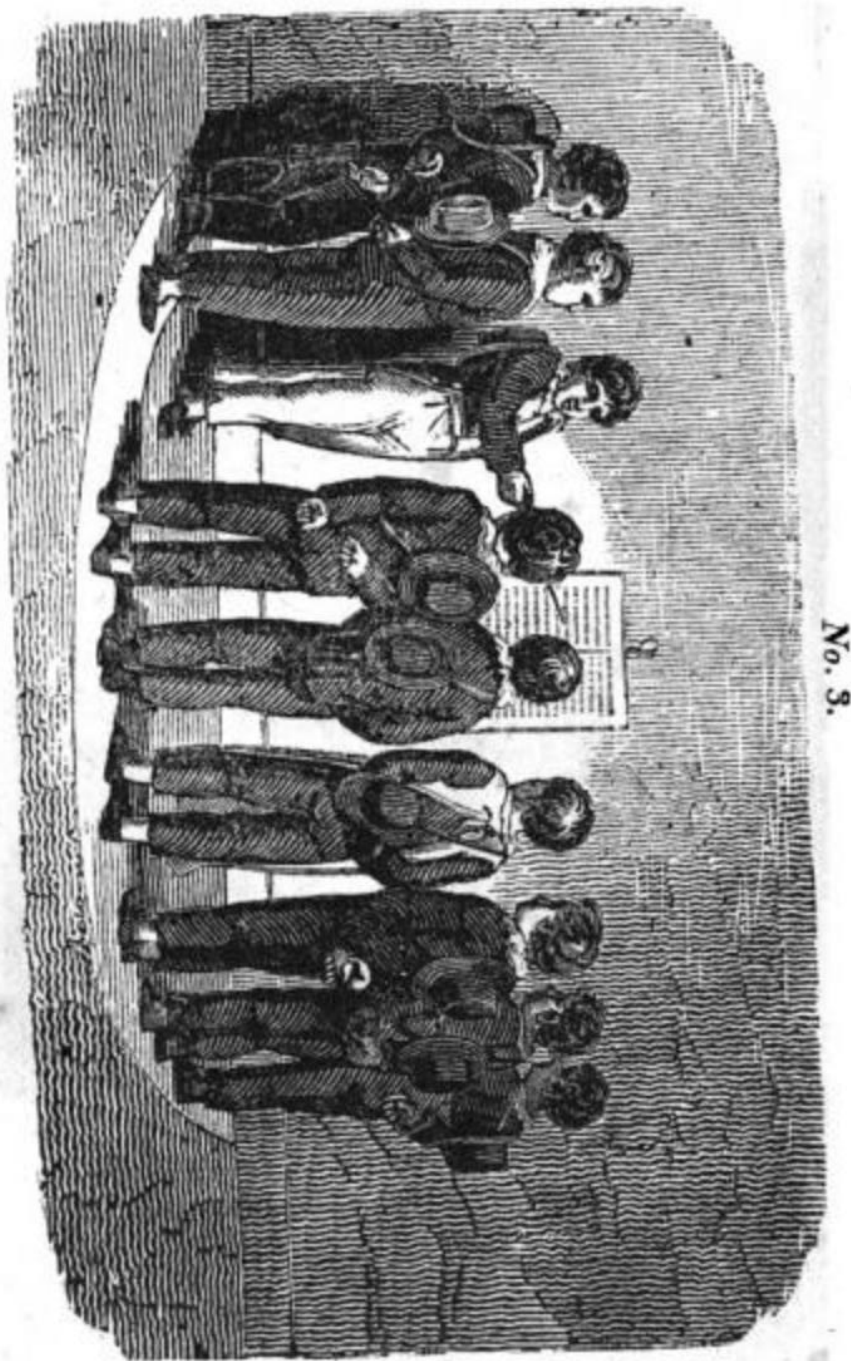
Diagram of a Monitorial School Designed for 100 Students



Note. From *Manual of Mutual Instruction*, by William Russell, 1826 (Wait & Greene), p. 7. In the public domain.

**Figure 2**

*A Depiction of "Proper" Monitorial Instruction*

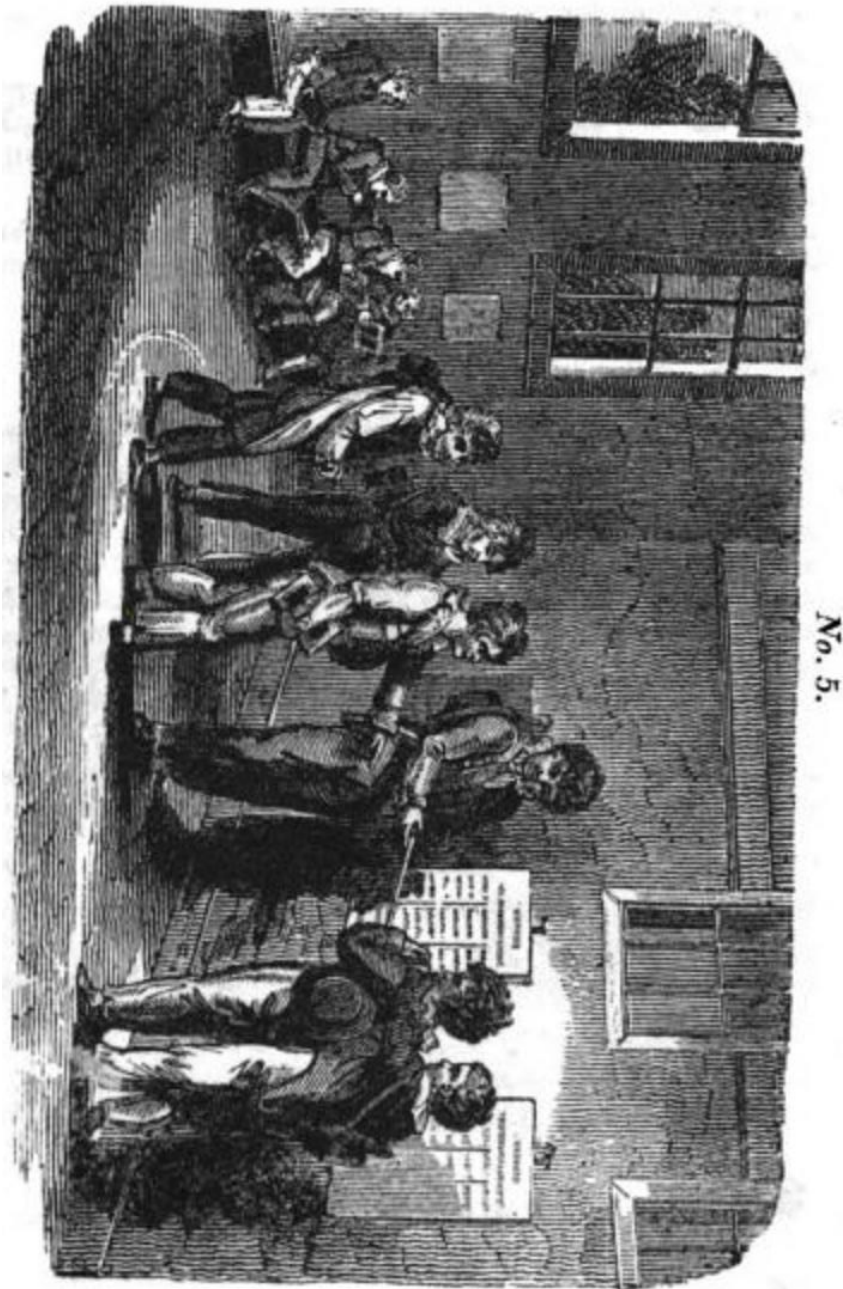


*Note.* From *The British System of Education*, by Joseph Lancaster, 1810 (Longman and Company Publishing). In the public domain.



**Figure 3**

*A Depiction of "Improper" Monitorial Instruction*



*Note.* Notice arrangement of boys. From *The British System of Education*, by Joseph Lancaster, 1810 (Longman and Company Publishing). In the public domain.

Yet something further can be said about the affective dimension of the monitorial approach. Perhaps the most lasting impact of the monitorial approach is in its defining of life through emulation. In the monitorial school, the concept of life itself oriented sharply toward the market values and principles of competition and compensation. In his manual, *Monitorial Instruction*, John Griscom lays out this relation with striking clarity:

The spirit of emulation which [monitorial instruction] introduces, the vivacity and sprightliness which accompany its movements, the ambition which every noble minded boy will feel to become the monitor of his class, and to rise in gradation from class to class, the fear which the monitors themselves will be under of losing their places, in consequence of the appeal which ever lies open from his decision to the master, by every boy in the class, give to this system, when properly managed, an activity, industry, and vigour, which a school under the direction of a master and hired assistants, alone cannot easily acquire. (1825, p. 40)

By coupling “vivacity,” “sprightliness,” and “vigour” with emulatory desire, and by contrasting its approach to the earlier era of “constraints and restraints,” the monitorial approach not only naturalized the competitive atmosphere of the classroom but conjoined life and activity with competition. The social makeup of the classroom was zero-sum, that of winners and losers. The agency of students operated narrowly through rivalry, competition, and calculus. The ambition of “every noble minded boy” was that of overtaking his peer. While students no longer feared the lash of the schoolmaster, they now feared the ambition of their peers. It was no longer exclusion but a mandate to compete, produce, perform, and live accordingly.

Yet, by the middle decades of the 19th century, the monitorial approach fell from favor. It became associated with schooling for the working class, those in the city, and the non-white (Katz, 1970). Many found it too steeped in unhelpful, potentially dangerous values—those of rivalry and competition. The famous debate between Horace Mann and Boston grammar school teachers captured much of the critique that the new reformers

saw in the monitorial schools (Cremin, 1980). What emerged was an approach with a different set of practices and affective investments, many of which directly countered those of the market.

### **Objects and Sympathy**

While the reformers of the first half of the 19th century favored the ideals and practices of Joseph Lancaster, reformers in the second half of the century favored those of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. Pestalozzi was a Swiss educator, influenced by Rousseau, who aspired to create a holistic approach to education, embracing both physical and spiritual sides of the individual (Brauner, 1964). His approach, often referred to as object teaching, tied sensory experience of the world to intellectual and moral reasoning. For many, the Pestalozzian object approach served as a direct refutation of the practices and procedures of monitorial instruction, most notably that of emulation, which object teachers found counter to the aims of education. Of the manuals in the archive, all of those in the affectionate discipline group reflected characteristics of the object teaching, regardless of whether they employed the term. Just as the monitorial approaches effected a new subject of schooling, one entangled in the emulatory affects of the marketplace, so too did the object approach, though not the collective subject of market but the individualized and interiorized subject of discipline. Some background into Pestalozzi will help in understanding the approaches advocated in the manuals.

Pestalozzi maintained formal education as the principal means of correcting the corrupting influences of society. For him, the natural world harbored goodness, but a goodness only realized with assistance—his method of education, termed *Anschauung* (Takaya, 2003). In Pestalozzi's writings, *Anschauung* referred variously to sense-

impression, observation, intuition, seen objects, contemplation, and measurement-form (Pestalozzi, 1898, pp. 8–14). The method of *Anschauung* basically involved matching external objects with internal ideas so as to better reflect ideas with the reality, not beliefs or dogmas. Doing so would harmonize the external world of bodies and sensations with the inner world of thought, rationality, and morality. In organizing his method, Pestalozzi began with what were often vague sensations and moved toward the direction of perceptions, conceptions, volition, and ultimately morality. While it was not quite systematic, Pestalozzi outlined his approach in the following 11 steps:

1. Begin with the sense.
2. Never tell a child what he can discover for himself.
3. Activity is a law of childhood. Train the child not merely to listen, but to do.  
Educate the hands.
4. Love of variety is a law of childhood—change is rest.
5. Cultivate the faculties in their natural order. First, form the mind, then furnish it.
6. Reduce every subject to its elements, and present one difficulty at a time.
7. Proceed step by step. Be thorough. The measure of information is not what you can give, but what the child can receive.
8. Let every lesson have a definite point.
9. First develop the idea and then give the term. Cultivate language.
10. Proceed from the simple to the difficult, i.e., from the known to the unknown, from the particular to the general, from the concrete to the abstract.

11. Synthesis before analysis—not the order of the subject, but the order of nature. (Pestalozzi, as cited in Dearborn, 1925, pp. 69–71)

This graded and sequential process taught students “how to act morally based on an individual view of the world” (Carter, 2010, p. 8). These are steps that exhibit the contrast between the monitorial approach and that of object teaching. The focus was no longer strict efficiency, nor was it emulation. The process of struggling over ideas found value in the object approach, e.g., “Never tell a child what he can discover for himself,” so too did the understanding of the content, e.g., “First develop the idea and then give the term. Cultivate language,” which took a backseat to the memorization and recitation of earlier approaches. What Pestalozzi worked toward was a theory of the mind, as he once stated: “I am trying to psychologize the instruction of mankind; I am trying to bring it in harmony with the nature of my mind, with that of my circumstances and my relations to others” (Pestalozzi, 1898, p. 315). The result was a series of principles and practical steps to be taken with the end result being clear and distinct moral reasoning and personal responsibility.

What this looked like in the classroom varied but, in her manual, *Lessons on Object Teaching*, Elizabeth Mayo (1839) provides some clarity. The starting point of object teaching was a familiar object, something that the students would certainly know, so as to teach an unfamiliar concept—e.g., a stalk of corn to teach about propagation or a piece of gum to teach about adhesion. Mayo’s manual is filled with dozens of lessons, ordered in a progression from beginner to advanced, many with complete scripts to follow. For instance, one of the beginner level lessons begins with the object of a sponge. The teacher prompts the students to compile a list of observations about the sponge,

attempting to draw out as many observations from children as possible and encouraging the students to employ all of their five senses in their observations. “It is porous. Absorbent. Soft. Tough. Opaque. Elastic, or springy. Flexible, or easily bent. Light brown” (Mayo, 1839, p. 27). Once recorded, the teacher moves on to a brainstorm of any and all possible uses the object might have. At this point, the idea is for the students to begin to determine the object’s primary and secondary uses, e.g., a sponge’s primary use could be for washing and its secondary use could be that of padding in a shoe. Object teachers were encouraged to let the students struggle over a teacher’s questions, often withholding answers until the following day or week. In these early lessons, the goal was to refine the students’ observation and inferencing skills, sensory and perceptual processes, which served as the building blocks of adequate judgment, reasoning, and ultimately morality.

As was the case with monitorial instructors, object teachers sought to interest students in the schooling, though through different mechanisms and strategies than did monitorial instructors. No longer were the emulatory affections of Lancaster’s monitorial approach adequate. Competition would cultivate the wrong feelings—that of rivalry and resentment. According to the reformers, these were affects that had no place in the classroom (Mann, 1969). Instead, object teachers called for sympathetic affections to garner the interests of students. No manuals considered for this study spoke to the role of sympathy in the classroom in as much detail as did the manuals of Jacob Abbott.

Abbott authored numerous influential books in the 19th century, most of which were stories for children, but some were directed toward teachers and parents. The two reviewed in the archive of manuals stand out for the detailed case they make for

sympathy as a governing practice: *The Teacher: Moral Influences Employed in the Instruction and Government of the Young* and *Gentle Measures in the Management and Training of the Young* (see Abbott, 1856, 1871). Abbott's writings were not only widely read but often reprinted in other teacher manuals of the era. To make his cases for particular practices, he relied upon short stories and vignettes with moral lessons. This is seen in the following example in which a "gentleman" new to town desires to "be on good terms with the boys in the streets," and thus employs sympathetic practices. As Abbott tells the story:

On going into the village one day, we will suppose [the gentleman] sees two small boys playing horse. One boy is horse, and the other driver. As they draw near, they check the play a little, to be more decorous in passing by the stranger. He stops to look at them with a pleased expression of countenance, and then says, addressing the driver, with a face of much seriousness, "That's a first-rate horse of yours. Would you like to sell him? He seems to be very spirited." The horse immediately begins to prance and caper. "You have paid a high price for him. You must take good care of him. Give him plenty of oats, and don't drive him hard when it is hot weather. And if ever you conclude to sell him, I wish you would let me know." (1871, p. 91)

Abbott proceeds to explain the importance of this kind of practice, one of gaining the goodwill of students, which he describes as bringing "ourselves near to the hearts of children" (1871, p. 95). It is how an adult might embrace the practice of sympathy, a willingness to feel alongside a child. Abbott provides little in the way of a definition of sympathy. It is mostly assumed that readers will understand sympathy as a "fellow feeling" found in affective, emotional, and/or dispositional identification with another. Most broadly, sympathy is a harmonizing feeling and logically extends Pestalozzi's aim of harmonizing the world of sensation with that of thought. For, according to Abbott, an individual's thoughts and feelings are most effectively shaped through sympathy:

"People's opinions are not generally formed or controlled by arguments or reasonings, as

they fondly suppose. They are imbued by sympathy from those whom they like or love, and who are or have been their associates” (1871, p. 86). This belief is reflected across the manuals and often appeared in the call to love your children: “The teacher should be endowed with sympathy; that is, the power to put himself in the child’s place and to feel with him and for him” (Page, 1849, p. 28); “If you succeed in gaining their love, your influence will be greater in some respects than that of parents themselves” (Hall, 1829, p. 47); “A teacher, therefore, should be a lover of children” (Potter & Emerson, 1842, p. 281) (also see Figure 4 & 5). In beginning with affections, influence comes with greater ease and could be had without consideration, referred to as the “wonderful power of sympathy” (Abbott, 1871, p. 86). The teacher’s sympathizing with students functioned as a remedy to the situation, be it a problematic student or a lack of knowledge.

Yet the call for sympathy went further than harmonizing. It equally required positivity. The belief was that affections infect one another: “A person of a joyous and happy disposition often brightens up at once any little circle into which he enters, while a morose and melancholy man carries gloom with him wherever he goes” (Abbott, 1871, p. 85). A melancholic student might turn other students similarly melancholic, or angry students might turn others similarly angry. Certainly, a problem to be avoided. But the problem might best be understood as affective discord. In the 19th-century object teaching classroom, there was no space for discordant affections. Failure to effect mutual feelings interfered with the idea of a proper education and constituted a misbehavior. And with the end goal of moral reasoning and personal responsibility, it equally interfered with proper subjection.



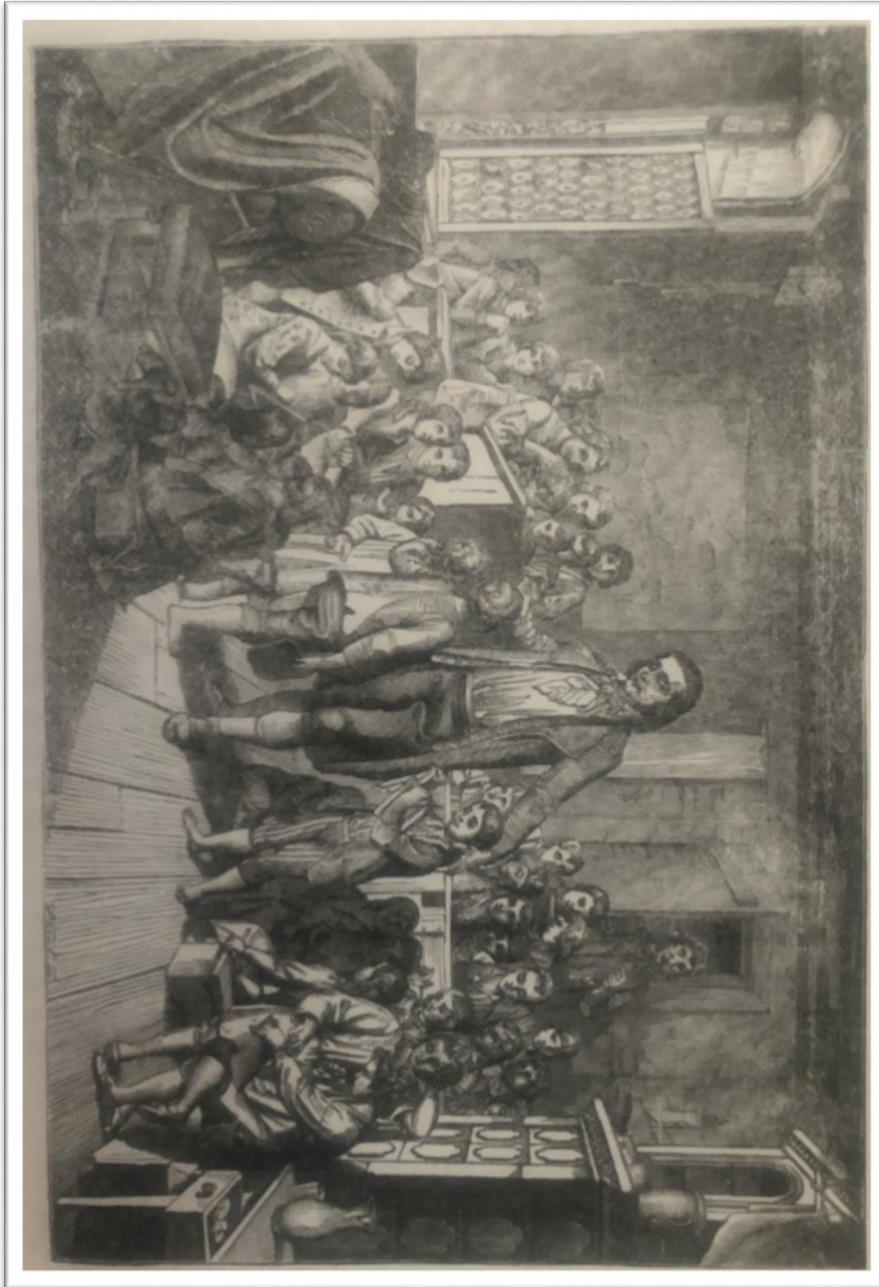
This advocacy of sympathy marks an important shift in teacher pedagogy. Absent are the fear- and shame-based governing practices of the prior century. Also absent are the surveillance and rivalry cultivated in the monitorial schools. Instead teachers were called to create agreeable classroom environments. The external order and efficiency of the monitorial classroom took a backseat to an internal order and efficiency of the body, the mind, and morality. Yet, while object teachers rejected the rivalrous and emulatory practices of the monitorial approach, they continued to center instruction around the interests of students. The reintroduction of observation and exploration into the classroom was one such attempt, but so was the relational bond between students and the teacher. The reintroduction of observation and exploration into the classroom was one such attempt, but so was the relational bond between students and the teacher. It effectively compelled students to feel interested in their schooling.

Many have pointed to Pestalozzi as a key influence in the modernization of teacher pedagogy. What the archive demonstrates is that the modernizing influence of Pestalozzi was not simply an idea or belief; it was equally a practice and an affect. Object teaching brought “feel right” into the classroom. With a microscope to the body, everything from sensation to thought would be oriented toward this notion of feeling right, a moral feeling. Object teaching remained popular until the end of the 19th century. While progressive movements popularized around the turn of the century, object teaching most closely links to the mental hygiene movement of the 1920s, where the concern for feeling right became a concern for feeling healthy. Yet calls for sympathy and feeling right remain in the contemporary classroom, and it is something returned to in the following chapter. For now, this chapter in the following section turns to the question of

discipline, and how the manuals articulated approaches for dealing with the students who persistently misbehaved.

**Figure 4**

*A Depiction of Pestalozzi in the Classroom Environment*



*Note.* From *Pestalozzi and His System of Education*, by Henry Barnard, 1876 (Bardeen). In public domain.

**Figure 5**

*Pestalozzi with Students*



*Note.* Notice the contrast between his demeanor and the monitorial approach. From *Pestalozzi and His System of Education*, by Henry Barnard, 1876 (Bardeen). In public domain.

## **Classroom Governance**

One of the interesting things about the archive of manuals is the near absence of formal discipline. Most manuals spoke nothing of discipline, favoring instead the idea of governance. Their discussion of governance included measures to ensure the procedures and design of the school went accordingly. But the manuals seldom addressed what would happen when a student simply refused to cooperate and persisted in misbehaving. Perhaps this was due to the growing negative connotation that disciplinary practices would acquire over the 19th century (see contextualizing findings section below). It certainly had something to do with the legacy of corporal punishment, which the reforms of the manuals sought to work around. Yet in considering how the manuals articulated a response to students who misbehaved, persisted in acting outside the parameters of the curriculum, an image of what was at stake in the system of schooling becomes visible. Thus, the following explores prominent governing and disciplinary practices of the manuals, beginning with the monitorial approaches, then discussing punishment practices across the manuals, and ending with object teaching approaches to affectionate discipline, which effectively removed punishment from the classroom.

### **Procedures and Commands**

If it is possible to think about the transformation of classroom discipline as existing on a continuum from traditional to modern, then Joseph Lancaster would exist on the middle point of the continuum. Lancaster touted his monitorial approach for eliminating the need to hit students. In part, student obedience would come through incentives, i.e., awards, prizes, privileges, and even money. But obedience would also come through a technique of bureaucratic authority, veiling the role of the schoolmaster

in the process of governing, while favoring governance through rules, duties, and procedures.

Procedures played an important role in his manual. They appeared everywhere: a procedure for teaching math, a procedure for teaching reading, a procedure for distributing classroom supplies, a procedure for awarding merit points, and so on. The famous Lancasterian motto “A place for everything and everything in its place” (Spring, 1994, p. 45) could equally be restated about procedures—a procedure for everything and everything a procedure. On some level, it makes sense that procedures would figure so prominently in a manual for teaching. At a time when formal knowledge about classroom practices was scant at best, the concrete practicality and how-to style provided by Lancaster, and other monitorial instruction manuals, likely drew in an audience. But the emphasis on procedures also evinces an important disciplinary shift. It is a shift that decenters the figure of the teacher and normalizes the relational and affective makeup of the classroom.

Consider the attention that Joseph Lancaster puts toward the inauguration of a procedure, what he referred to as the “command.” It is a topic that covers the first five pages in the chapter entitled “Order” of his influential manual, *Improvements in Education*. The problem of the command was how to issue it without jeopardizing the authority of the teacher. More importantly, the problem of the command was how to acquire the obedience of students without revealing the teacher behind the command. This is a problem found throughout the archive of teacher manuals. And it relates to the problem of student rebellion mentioned above. Without the rod or lash as backup, the

command could easily become hollow, unheeded, and without its needed effect. The following are Lancaster-provided suggestions for working around these challenges:

- Commands, whenever possible, were to be issued by monitors, not the master teacher: “many of the commands ... are given by the monitors.”
- Commands should be systematized, reduced in frequency, not given out at random: “write down on paper the commands most necessary.”
- Commands should be short and direct, but without military association: “I am careful to avoid all commands which are strictly military” (1805, pp. 107–108).

Each of these is important but the last is most informative. The problem of military-style commands, those such as *March* and *Halt*, lies in the effect the commands have on the youth, “rais[ing] the love of war or false glory in the youthful mind” (1805, p. 107). A command that cultivated “the love of war” was a risky move at a time when students actively rebelled against their teachers. But, more importantly, these were commands that directly exposed the authority of the teacher, revealing *the* figure to be contended with. A better command would divert attention away from the teacher, hence the monitor issuing the command. But the monitors only partially addressed the problem, for the authoritative nature of the command remained.

Lancaster also questioned the necessity of a spoken command and encouraged his monitors not to use verbal directives, which risked the “military spirit,” but instead use “signs” and “gestures.” They would raise their hands to signal a switch from math to science or to begin attendance or to close the school. Alternatively, a monitor might hold up a placard to indicate a transition, e.g., when to go in or out of the building for recess and lunch. Perhaps this was most refined later in the century with Jacob Abbott’s

invention of the “study card,” which further subtracted the individual figure from the command (see Figure 6). Students could now transition in and out of class without ever having to hear from their teacher.

**Figure 6**

*A Device for Securing Student Attention*



*Note.* From *The Teacher*, by Jacob Abbott, 1856 (Harper & Brothers Publisher). In public domain.

But the success of the command equally hinged upon the ensuing procedure. For Lancaster, procedures should be “trifling in appearance,” requiring little effort to follow along. And if the simplicity of the procedure was not enough, students often practiced and performed their procedures down to the smallest tasks, at times “measuring [one’s] steps when going around the school in close order, to prevent ... the treading on each

other's heels, or pushing each other down" (Lancaster, 1805, p. 108). In effect, the procedure channeled the activity, the restlessness, and the excitement of students into the object of the task. The effectiveness of the procedure only coupled with the collective "force of example," in which students saw their peers successfully navigating through and being recognized for their participation that they would then feel compelled to follow along themselves. The combination of the sign, the ease of the procedure, and the collective recognition afforded by the procedure gave students little reason not to follow along. The whole idea was for obedience to be easy: "When a new scholar is first admitted, he is pleased with the uniformity, novelty, and simplicity of the motions made by the class he is in. Under the influence of this pleasure he readily obeys" (Lancaster, 1805, p. 108). Now students not only "fell in line" but found "pleasure" in obeying.

This is what Lancaster referred to as implicit obedience: "obedience occurring before [the student] is aware of what he has been allured into" (1805, p. 109). An implicit obedience is unquestioned. It is how obedience becomes habit, taken for granted, and assumed. Perhaps this is the beginnings of naturalizing behavior in a classroom. As others have noted (see Hogan, 1989), Lancaster's reliance on implicit obedience marks a shift from personal authority to impersonal authority, a shift from the figure of the teacher to the rule, the procedure, and the duty. It is an abstraction of authority, and reflective of what Foucault (1995) described as disciplinary power. Yet obedience was not the only function of the procedure, nor was it the only aspiration of the monitorial system. Perhaps what made the monitorial system most innovative were the techniques for drawing out rather than curtailing particular modes of behavior.



Consider how Lancaster discusses the procedure for taking attendance, referred to as “muster” and “roll-call.” In a school that regularly held more than 100 students, attendance, calling out individual students one by one, was “tiresome and noisy” (1805, p. 111). Instead, for Lancaster, the schoolmaster would conduct attendance through the physical arrangement of students. The procedure begins in the initial days of the school year by numbering the students: “classes are numbered—each beginning at 1, and ending its series of numbers at 30, 70, 130, or any other number of which the class may consist” (1805, p. 111). Monitors then keep the list of each class (e.g., 1. Jones; 2. Tomas; 3. Brown). Following this series of student numbers are a series of printed numbers posted head high around the walls of the classroom. Often these numbers correlated directly with the students’ rank in the school. With all of this set in place, the day-to-day procedure for taking attendance proceeds with a single monitor, “only the monitor needs to speak,” calling the students to muster. The students exit their seats and line up against the wall beneath their number, leaving visible the missing students. As Lancaster states, “By this means the absentees are pointed out at once—every boy who is absent will leave a number vacant” (1805, p. 112).

The procedure is rather simple. While perhaps unimportant in the grand narrative of the history of education, it betrays something new, positive (in the productive sense), and inciting in the functioning of schooling. The etymology of the word “muster” is helpful in understanding this. Muster has Latin roots and is found in modern and old French. The modern French meaning links to the Latin word *montrer*, meaning “to show,” but with a distinct military association, something that is equally present in English language and culture (Online Etymology Dictionary, n.d.). Calling to muster in

this sense might be thought of as a formal military inspection. The older French meaning links to the Latin word *monstrum*, meaning a “divine omen (especially one indicating misfortune), portent, sign; abnormal shape; monster, monstrosity,” and figuratively “repulsive character, object of dread, awful deed, abomination” (Online Etymology Dictionary, n.d.). The meaning of muster in Lancaster’s procedures lands somewhere in the middle and holds both literal and metaphorical association.

On the one hand, Lancaster’s emphasis on attendance and calling his class to muster reflects the origins of *montrer*, to show, as in an inspection. It links his pedagogical approach to its military and drill-based influences, which was certainly the case. The emphasis on procedures, hierarchical ordering, and classroom assessments all functioned in ways similar to an inspection. But, on the other hand, as discussed above, Lancaster carefully avoided military association and the explicit authority that accompanies military commands. Thus, his focus on attendance also reflects a kind of *monstrum*, the older meaning. The “divine omen (especially one indicating misfortune)” presented itself to the student exposed as absent or truant, for the student was sure to encounter punishments (see below). But this part of the meaning is largely metaphorical. The second part of the meaning, the “abnormal shape; monster, monstrosity,” reflected the function of muster best. Muster was a technique that brought forth the non-participating students and marked them in the realm of the abnormal and the monstrous. Yet the term “marked” is insufficient. It suggests that the procedure simply labeled students. In fact, the procedure did more. It *actualized* monstrosity and abnormality. The purpose of the ordering and the ranking was to make the deviant known, make present the “repulsive,” the “dread,” and the “awful.” For when the ordering of the classroom is

complete and peers land on different sides of the room, everyone knows who deviates from the others. It is the constitution of a particular mode of subjection.

Perhaps the true monstrosity comes through in the affective distance of the procedure, its naturalizing function. Monitors remained persistently “cool,” “calm,” and “quiet,” even when they were expected to issue a punishment. The first step after the taking of attendance involved tracking down the absentee. Students would take on this task, carrying notes intended for parents, such as “J. Brown, absent from school this morning” or “T. Williams, absent from school this afternoon,” They were sent in pairs, usually the older students, to forcibly bring back any student who refused not to return. Lancaster describes this process and the resultant punishments in some detail:

When [truants] are brought to school, either by their friends, or by a number of boys sent on purpose to bring them, the monitor of absentees ties a large card round his neck, lettered in capital letters, TRUANT; and he is then tied to a post. When any boy repeats the crime, or is incorrigible, he is sometimes tied up in a blanket, and left to sleep at night on the floor, in the school-house. When boys are frequently in the habit of playing truant, we may conclude that they have formed some bad connections; and, that nothing but keeping them apart can effect a reform. (1805, p. 114)

What occurs was both public exposure and shaming. The misbehavior, the “crime,” was not simply punished for violating a rule but would begin to effect subjectivity outside the norm. The label of “truant,” visible to the peers in capital letters, speaks more to the affective soul of the student than the particular rule infraction. This is the beginnings of what Foucault (1995) identified as the internalizing aspects of disciplinary power. It had the dual function of drawing out (muster as inspection) and internalizing (muster as abnormality) differences among students. And, it is not just present in Lancaster. It is present throughout the monitorial approach. The idea was to naturalize the disciplinary process of a system. But sometimes the naturalizing process

broke down, and students persisted in their refusal, their stubbornness, their wickedness, which opened the door to punishment.

### **Objects of Punishment**

One of the defining features of the archive is the displacement of corporal punishment in schools. The once ubiquitous practice now symbolized the cruelty and inefficiency of an earlier generation of teachers. Of the manuals, only David Page's, *Theory and Practice of Teaching*, kept to the practice, but only as a last-ditch effort to maintain authority in the classroom. The rest of the manuals refuted corporal punishment in its entirety. To be certain, the hitting of students, whether with a lash, a ruler, or the back of one's hand, was not a thing of the past. It simply lost the sanction it once had in educational discourse. But the shift in the discourse on school punishment reflects the reoccurring dilemma of teacher authority over the course of the century. The dilemma was not yet how to justify one's authority but how to hide it.

The following considers two figures: Lancaster, again, and David Page. Of the manuals in the archive, both Lancaster's and Page's spoke most directly to the function of punishment in the classroom. Although they represent different periods, early 19th century (Lancaster) and mid-19th century (Page), and although they present different approaches, bureaucratic (Lancaster) and affectionate (Page), taken together the two glimpse the beginnings of a new regime for managing student behavior—one that aimed to eliminate not just punishment but also the possibility of acting out.<sup>viii</sup> Yet the two authors speak to the role and authority of the teacher differently and, as demonstrated in the follow section, rely upon different relational and affective practices. I begin chronologically with Lancaster and then discuss Page.

In his influential manual, *Improvements in Education*, Joseph Lancaster outlines a disciplinary process that begins once again with monitors, not the schoolmaster. It was the monitor's responsibility, "bound in duty," to lodge an accusation of "misdemeanor" when he or she witnessed an offense (1805, p. 101). An offense could be anything from a fistfight to a mistake in one's writing or a stumble in one's recitation. First-level offenses might not actually constitute a punishment but rather a demerit as part of the monitorial system. If it was the first offense, then the monitor issued the student a card stating something to the effect of "I have seen this boy errant." The offending student would hold on to the card and present it to the schoolmaster at the end of the day, when the rest of the school assembled for the ceremony of merits and demerits. In front of the school, each student who received a demerit card would present the card to the schoolmaster, who deducted the appropriate amount of points and then retallied and re-ranked the students in the school. Yet, this only constituted the beginnings of punishment and might not even fit the criteria of punishment, since no rule needed to be transgressed to receive a demerit. Certainly, some students were motivated by the fear of the public shaming that accompanied the issuance of a demerit, but degrees of exposure and shaming were baked into the system. The more intensified shaming procedures would come through the official punishments.

Official punishments followed frequent and repeated offenses, such as that of idleness and play. Lancaster's punishments served more than anything as a penalty and deterrence for future transgressions. Punishments were to physically and psychologically exhaust the student. In the case of an idle student—for instance, one who stayed out too long at lunch—the sentence was decided by the monitor who might "put a wooden log

round [the offender's] neck, which serves him as a pillory, and with this he is sent to his desk" (1805, p. 101). Or, if a log was unavailable, alternatives included wooden shackles that could "fasten the legs of offenders together" or "fastened from elbow to elbow, behind the back" (1805, p. 102). The students, shackled together or pilloried to a log, would then be made to walk around the class or sit up straight "till tired out" (1805, p. 102). Other physically exhausting punishments included "sitting-on-nothing" (squatting at a ninety degree angle against the wall), "corner-stands" (standing in the corner for the day without support of a chair or wall), and "holding-the-nail-to-the-floor" (bending over to place a single finger on the head of a nail in the floor for an extended length of time). Lancaster reserved what he understood as the most severe punishments for those perpetrated by monitors themselves. These involved less physically exhausting than publicly humiliating tasks, such as those in which "[the offender] is put in a sack, or in a basket, suspended to the roof of the school, in the sight of all the pupils, who frequently smile.... [T]his punishment is one of the most terrible that can be inflicted on boy of sense and abilities" (1805, p. 102).

For Lancaster, the issuance of punishment followed less of a systematic procedure than a grab bag of techniques of "what works." And it was not uncommon for punishment to invoke gendered, even racialized, discourses. For instance, Lancaster suggests "[w]hen a boy comes to school with dirty face or hands ... a girl is appointed to wash his face in the sight of the whole school," which "creates much diversion, especially when ... she gives his cheeks a few *gentle strokes of correction* with her hand" (1805, p. 103). Or, if a student is a repeat offender in coming to school dirty, she is required to "walk round the school, preceded by a boy proclaiming her fault" (1805, p. 103). Such

practices, Lancaster triumphantly pronounces, “turns the *public spirit* of the whole school against the culprit” (1805, p. 103). With a variety of measures at hand, the administration of punishment was far from a scripted endeavor. If it was pillory one day, it was shackling the next. As Lancaster maintained, “[N]othing but variety can continue [its] power” (1805, p. 104).

What is visible is the absence of the teacher in the act of the punishment. The administration of the punishment became the “duty” of the monitor. The physical confrontation of the teacher and the student disappeared from the classroom. If anything, the teacher played the role of technical overseer, carefully crafting and advising on novel punishment practices but removed from the act itself, leaving the infliction of pain and humiliation to the monitor, to the peers, or to the internal effects of one’s own physical exhaustion. This removed role marked a change from an earlier time in which the teacher was expected to be quick with the ruler, the hand, and the lash. But not everyone adhered to Lancaster’s methods. In fact, most of the manuals in the archive specifically called out Lancaster’s methods for their cruelty and supposed ineffectiveness, and all of the other manuals called for a series of more agreeable measures to be employed. These were measures that sought to account for the humanity of the students, perhaps for the first time. Nowhere in the archive is this more explicit than in David Page’s discussion on proper and improper punishments.

Page was concerned with the license that teachers of the 19th century employed when disciplining students. They hit students too often, with the mentality of “lickin’ an’ larnin’ go together” (MacLeod, 2002, p. 186). But Page’s concern lies not so much in the cruelty of the hitting but in the manner in which it was done. This he sought to rectify.

For Page, improper punishments fell within three groups: The first are those that “excite the feeling in the pupil that an indignity has been committed against his person” (Page, 1849, p. 179). These punishments included the twisting of an ear, the pulling of hair, and the wringing of the nose, as well as the scolding of students from a teacher. The second are those “that from their nature imply in the inflictor a love of prolonged torture” (Page, 1849, p. 183). This was an indirect reference to the arduous approach favored by Lancaster, which required of the students extended physical effort (“sitting-on-nothing,” “holding-the-nail-to-the-floor,” etc.) or public humiliation (being tied to a post or tree). The third are those that invoke verbal ridicule, which “cut deeper than [the teacher] who uses [them] imagines” (Page, 1849, p. 185). Of new concern were the feelings and dignity of the student, that a punishment might result in the student feeling “that his sensibilities have been outraged” and that he might then turn on and resent the teacher (Page, 1849, p. 186). This concern of students turning on the teacher appears throughout the archives, often referred to as the “hardening of the student” (see Potter & Emerson, 1842, p. 503). It makes sense. The pervasiveness of student protests and rebellion likely played a part in the new sensitivity to the students. But the new proper punishments were equally seen as more effective in acquiring the obedience of students.

Page’s list of proper punishments included kind reproof, loss of a privilege, confinement, humiliation, the imposition of a task, and on rare occasions the use of the rod. Kind reproof is a defining feature of the affectionate approaches in the second half of the 19th century. Yet it fails to meet Page’s stated criteria of a punishment, “requiring a penalty,” unless conversation with a teacher constitutes a penalty. Page’s use of kind reproof might be thought of alongside Lancaster’s use of demerit. It did not require a



transgression of a rule. Not to diminish the importance of this new tactic—teachers conversing/reasoning with their students—kind reproof can be more broadly thought of as a pedagogical/disciplinary approach (the subject of the following section). But the remaining punishments—loss of a privilege, confinement, humiliation, imposition of a task, and use of the rod—provide indication of another shift underway in the administration of punishment. It is a shift that not only backgrounds the role of the teacher but further normalizes student behavior.

Consider in more detail the practices that Page recommends. In reverse order: Punishment with the rod constitutes corporal punishment. Yet it remained a last resort. Not only should it be rarely employed, but the use of corporal punishment was seen as a failure on the teacher's part (more on this below). The imposition of a task involved the assigning of chores, sweeping or cleaning the furnace, to disorderly students, though “always assigned pleasantly by the teacher” (Page, 1849, p. 192). The novelty of this, imposing tasks, as a punishment can be seen in the fact that parental approval was needed, at the very least suggesting something rare and different. No other manual mentioned the use of tasks as a punishment, though it is certainly present in contemporary schooling. Humiliation referred not to the shaming tactics of Lancaster, but more simply to the act of a public confession. But since public confessions often incited other students against the culprit or even the teacher, Page suggests reserving the mandate for a public confession to cases of lying and theft. The practice of restraint, what others termed “solitary confinement” (Bell, 1823), involved isolating a student from her or his peers, typically in spare rooms or closets of the school. Many found restraint especially effective. Even Lancaster praised its use, though he often “strung up” students to their

desk and left them overnight. The dilemma of restraint resided in not having the space to isolate the student or enough supervision to monitor the student. Thus, according to Page, restraint was less often used, nor were most of the above punishments. Outside of kind reproof, the only remaining punishment that Page found appropriate was the loss of a privilege. Typically, a loss of a privilege involved “the forfeiture of [merits/tickets] which the boys have obtained” (for monitorial schools) (Bell, 1823, p. 66) or “the loss of recess/lunch” (Russell, 1826, p. 87). This was a favorite practice of the manuals, present throughout the archive. The key to its effectiveness lies in the design. The misbehavior or rule transgression of the student should “naturally lead to its punishment as a consequence” (Page, 1849, p. 190). If a child played with her chair, she would lose the privilege of a seat. Or, if a child arrived late to school, she would lose the privilege to leave school on time.

The loss of a privilege speaks to two specific developments in the history of schooling. First, it speaks to the naturalization of punishments. Whereas Lancaster normalized discipline, Page naturalized punishment. When a student’s misbehavior becomes “logically” tied to a consequence, then the punishment process could be logically assumed. The process falls back on abstract rules and procedures rather than the discretion of the schoolmaster. It is here that a distinction between Lancaster and Page emerges. For Lancaster, the issuance of a punishment was up to the discretion of the master, or supervising monitor, and the novelty of the punishment remained a central characteristic. For Page, novelty reintroduced the subjectivity of the teacher into the process, interfering with the rationality of naturalized punishments. Second, the loss of privilege speaks to a new rights-based conception of the student. The essence of the

student would be found less in the physical body than in an abstract notion of the self. Punishments responded to ideals of humanity and hinged upon moral codes. The authors of the manuals spoke to these ideals through the privileges that they revoked in the event of misbehavior. It was these abstractions—ideals, rights, privileges—that became the new object of punishment. This is the inklings of the modern self, one which hinges on new relations, tensions, and affective dispositions.

With logical consequences and teachers affectively disinterested in the administration of the punishment, it seems that students had fewer avenues to channel their refusal and resistance to schooling. With less clarity of the object of refusal, the act of misbehavior, acting out, gained an increasingly irrational connotation. This is the beginnings of the normalization of classroom behavior. It is not just the fact that punishment practices became more humane but that they equally became more effective, normalizing students and eliminating the possibility for disorder. What the following demonstrates is how this normalizing process extended beyond beliefs and knowledge and into the affective, sensory, and felt bodies of the students, creating a way to think about student behavior as not just doing right and wrong but feeling right and wrong.

### **Morality and Sensibility**

The manuals that reflected object teaching drew upon a different set of disciplinary techniques than did those of the monitorial approach. The design of the monitorial approach sought to minimize the possibility of misbehavior, yet when it occurred it was penalized, quite simply. Object teachers understood misbehavior not simply as an infraction but as an opportunity to teach about morality. In doing so, they

appealed to a sympathetic student, a student who could affectionately resonate with the teacher. The result was the heightened moral sense of education.

In his manual *The Teacher*, Jacob Abbott provides an instructive example of what many termed moral discipline. He tells of a story: One Saturday afternoon, walking in the woods, a teacher came upon a group of students gathering chestnuts. Struggling to open what were green chestnut burrs, one of the boys, Roger, became impatient, pounding them with a rock, “scolding in a loud, angry tone against the burrs” (Abbott, 1856, p. 296). Upon finally breaking open the burrs, he jumped up hollering “profane and wicked words,” only to see the teacher standing just across the way to which “he felt very much ashamed and afraid, and hung down his head” (Abbott, 1856, p. 296). The teacher made nothing of the boy’s language and simply greeted them and asked how they were doing, before bidding them a farewell. Upon the teacher leaving, one of the boys expressed relief, although another correctly assured the others that the teacher had heard the “profane and wicked” language and would not forget.

Sure enough, the next day at school, the teacher presented the class with a chestnut, asking whether any of the students knew what it was for and, specifically, since it was green, “what is this rough, prickly, covering for” (Abbott, 1856, p. 297). In object teaching fashion, students shared answers to which the teacher posed new questions as they worked their way toward an understanding of the chestnut. At one point, the teacher mentioned that he had observed a student frustrated in the woods hollering that these nuts “ought not be made to grow so,” referring to its prickly outsides, and wondered what the outsides could be for. Eventually the students came to the decision that the prickly outside served as protection for the meat of the nut, which needs time to grow over the

summer before harvesting. The teacher then explained that many objects in nature are designed with different but similarly functioning mechanisms, noting how apples and strawberries are sour before they ripen and that if you eat them before they ripen, you will get sick. When the discussion ended, the teacher dismissed the class but asked the offending student, “Roger, to wait until the rest had gone, as he wished to see him alone” (Abbott, 1856, p. 299).

If the lesson of the story was not clear: the teacher’s point was that nature rewards patience, with impatience being a source of immorality. So instead of issuing a penalty or punishment for Roger’s language, the teacher taught a lesson on the morality of patience, with the aim of reforming a disposition. Some of the techniques that the teacher employed merit consideration: the teacher waited until the following day to present the lesson; the lesson was general to the whole class, not specific to any one student; the teacher remained neutral, unaffected by the misbehaving actions. These are techniques that managed affect and in doing so ensured the moral learning. The delay in addressing the misbehavior provided the teacher with time to create a course of action. But it equally left students with time, in an uncertain state, forced to reflect upon their actions, before their inevitable encounter with the teacher; as one of the boys was quick to note, misbehaviors would not be forgotten. Yet instead of addressing the boy alone, the teacher first addressed the class. In the manner of object teaching, the teacher engaged the students in a discussion guided by problems and observations. In part, the idea was that if one student required the lesson, then others might as well. It was a matter of efficiency. But, coupled with the neutrality of the teacher’s affect, there was an exposure of the invalidity of the student’s affect. Something like impatience could be reasonably

explained through the laws of God and nature. Roger would now know that his frustration was simply ignorance and unwarranted, which led him to the “profane and wicked,” the immoral. In this way, the teacher’s intervention was centrally directed to negative affections of the students, and it was certainly not an exception.

These are disciplinary practices that mark a shift from penalizing misbehavior to reforming misbehavior. Misbehavior began to be seen as a condition while schools began to be seen as the remedy to the condition. This accompanied the idea that the institution of schooling could create better, morally responsible citizens and that schools could develop the character of students in addition to their knowledge bases. The idea is reflected throughout the object teaching archive of manuals. In important ways this contrasted with the monitorial approach. The monitorial approach relied upon procedures and emulatory systems to basically crowd out what would be thought of as misbehaviors and immoralities. Teachers directed less attention to how the student felt and more attention to the simple act of compliance. Character would be found in participation. Object teachers retained the connection between character and participation but extended the assessment of character to one’s disposition. Character involved how one felt as much as how one acted. So, while object teachers rejected the emulatory and rivalrous aspects of the monitorial approach, they extended the demand for participation of students internally, to the students’ affects and emotions.

But sometimes students persistently misbehaved and openly refused their teacher. For monitorial advocates, this brought penalty, punishment, and possibly expulsion. Object teachers called all the more on sympathetic and affectionate measures. Object teachers sought to not only understand but befriend the persistently misbehaving student.

For these students, Abbott urged teachers not to be too quick to reform, but first to secure connection and sympathetic attachment, determining the “peculiar sources of enjoyment and objects of pursuit” that guided the student’s behavior (1856, p. 164). Often this was done by simply asking the student to assist with the operation of the school, i.e., “The teacher can awaken in the hearts of his pupils a personal attachment for him by asking in various ways their assistance in school, and then appearing honestly gratified with the assistance rendered” (Abbott, 1856, p. 166). The effect was a harmonizing of feeling, breaking down the affective discord between the student and the school. The aim was again to positive affect: “desirous to make him happy, not merely to obtain his good will ... Actually be the boy’s friend. Really desire to make him happy—happy, too, in his own way, not in yours” (Abbott, 1856, p. 165). All of this would be done in an affectionate manner through sympathetic conversations, often outside of school hours and school grounds. As Abbott suggests, once away from their peers and the affective guards carried at school, the teacher and student can dialogue in a reasonable and rational fashion. This was rapport building. It was about getting the student on the side of the teacher, a delicate task:

The more delicately you touch the feelings of your pupils, the more tender these feelings will become. Many a teacher hardens and stupefies the moral sense of his pupils by the harsh and rough exposures to which he drags out the private feelings of the heart. A man may easily produce such a state of feeling in his schoolroom, that to address even the gentlest reproof to any individual, in the hearing of the next, would be a most severe punishment; and, on the other hand, he may so destroy that sensitiveness that his vociferated reproaches will be as unheeded as the idle wind. (Abbott, 1856, p. 171)

Two things stand out in this affectionate approach. First, punishment understood as a penalty seems to have no place in the affectionate approach. A penalty invokes pain, be it physical or psychological, and risks hardening the moral sensibilities of the student.

With moral sensibility as its end, a rational understanding of right and wrong, the object approach found in punishment a kind of irrationality. If moral reasoning was in fact a process of various grades of embodied perception, as the object approach maintained, then a congruent disciplinary procedure would need to begin affectionately with the sensibilities of students. Punishment would thus have no place in the approach. Second, a different, perhaps modern, subject emerges. It is a subject that exists at the divide between the individual and the group, between selfishness and selflessness, with the selfless designating virtue and the selfish designated vice. Misbehaving students were understood more clearly than before as selfish. And with the emergence of negative affect as a kind of misbehavior, the refusal to be happy became a moral transgression, an act of selfishness. It is here that selfishness, morality, and sentimentality intersect at the body of students, as teachers affectionately reoriented students toward the collective status quo.

### **Modes of Misbehavior**

Student rebellion played an important role in pedagogical reforms in the 19th century. As suggested in the opening vignettes of this dissertation, the rebellion and overthrowing of a teacher was not altogether uncommon. But unrest of this sort certainly was not an everyday occurrence. A teacher more often witnessed something akin to resistance, found in various refusals and disruptions to the everyday workings of the school. Most frequently the manuals refer to this sort of behavior as “mischief” (Abbott, 1856, p. 22). They also refer to it as “disobedience” (Lancaster, 1805, p. 103) and “insubordination” (Russell, 1826, p. 42). These are largely familiar terms in the contemporary classroom, and so, too, are many of the referred to behaviors. For instance,



in his manual, *Theory and Practice of Teaching*, David Page documents his observations of a misbehaving classroom:

The class occupied the back seats, while the teacher stood by the desk in front of the school. The children between the teacher and his class were variously employed—some manufacturing paper flying boxes, some whittling the benches—it was in New England; some were trying their skill at a spitball warfare; others were making voyages of exploration beneath the seats. The school, consisting of some seventy pupils, were as busy as the occupants of an ant-hill. The sentence to be parsed was, “A good boy loves study.” No written description can present the scene as it was acted in real life. (1849, p. 203)

Although this text was written in the middle of the 19th century, the misbehaviors of students it describes, “spitball warfare” and making “paper flying boxes,” seem rather familiar. But this research is less interested in the familiarity of student behavior than it is in difference, the ways in which student behavior and existence in the classroom might appear strange, problematizing contemporary understandings. Therefore, rather than being comprehensive in cataloging every misbehavior, this section describes the particularly disjunctive modes of misbehavior present in the archives. These are misbehaviors that do not quite resonate with behavioral expectations of contemporary schooling. That is, they act outside the historical narrative of the history of education. And it is in this sense that they themselves misbehave. They are misbehaving misbehaviors. Misbehaving misbehaviors are transgressive modes of subjection. Not necessarily transgressive for the 19th century, but transgressive in the present, to the contemporary boundaries of misbehaving students.

Much went in the way of conceptualizing the distinctions between each mode of misbehavior. The plural denotation of mode in the section heading refers to the multiple manners in which students might transgress. Thus, modes of misbehavior might equally be read as modes of transgression, of which the following presents four: truancy,

idleness, stubbornness, and wickedness. Each of these modes exists with embodied and affective dimensions, some distinct and recognizable and others not. Yet each mode has as much overlap as it does a distinction. Perhaps the through line is that of non-participation. Each misbehavior eludes the pedagogical demands to participate: to produce, to compete, to sympathize, and to obey.

Following these descriptions is a conceptual diagram of the surrounding tensions, affects, and discourses (see Figure 7). The diagram depicts not simply the misbehaviors of students but an ecology of concepts and practices that sought to define the appropriate and the inappropriate of student behavior. Yet, instead of re-presenting the archives, the diagram introduces modes of non-participation—movement that eludes capture. In doing so, the diagram itself misbehaves, but with the aim of opening up static representations and conventionalized understandings of misbehavior.

## **Truancy**

The truant student was in many accounts the most endemic problem of 19th-century schools. According to a 19th-century law, truancy constituted “any child between the ages of six and fifteen who was neither in school nor at work” (Cremin, 1980, p. 424). Truant students were not simply absent. Absent students were those who did not attend but were accounted for, i.e. they were ill, they were needed to help around the house, they were employed, etc. The truant student went unaccounted for. In doing so, they refused school, be it for a single day or in its entirety. The manuals speak of truant students with immoral connotations: “a boy hardened as a liar and truant” (Lancaster, 1805, p. 207); “[a student who] misbehaves ... late boys, truants or defaulters” (Bell, 1823, p. 64); “moral offences, such as ... playing truant” (Griscom, 1825, p. 129). In monitorial schools

especially, absent students posed a problem. Without regular attendance, students were unable to master the lessons that they were later expected to teach, halting not only their own progress in the system but also those below them. But the truant student posed an even greater problem. Schooling in the 19th century increasingly depended upon student investment. In monitorial schools, which relied upon emulation, student buy-in had to be complete. The rejection of one student risked interfering with the competitive and rivalrous design of the whole school. Without regular participation, the system of schooling would fail. The truancy of the truant student exposed the authoritative role of the teacher, masked by the dynamics of rivalry and competition. The mere fact that states enacted truancy laws indicates the degree to which it was a problem. Yet the manuals published in the later decades of the century provided almost no references to truancy. Certainly, truancy remained a problem, but it became a matter to be resolved less by teachers and parents than by legal systems. Both inside and outside of the class, non-participation was no longer an option. In this way, the truant student became a criminal. As explored above in the chapter, schooling practices in the 19th century reflected much of the capitalist and disciplinary influences of the larger society. Thus, the truant student might equally be thought of in this social and political context.

### **Idleness**

One of the most persistent concerns throughout all the manuals was that of the idle student. The idle student was one who failed to respond to the formal procedures of the school. Idleness could be a momentary act or a persistent behavior. At times it was a mental distraction like daydreaming, listlessness, forgetfulness, and inattention as well as disruptive behaviors like talking out of turn, lazy posture, and leaning backward (Abbott,

1856, p. 155; Hall, 1829, p. 96; Russell, 1826, p. 105). At other times it was playfulness, trickery, or deception. As Jacob Abbott reports, idle students were those engaged in “such exploits as stopping up the keyhole of the door, upsetting the teacher’s inkstand, or fixing something to his desk to make a noise and interrupt the school” (1856, p. 141). Notions of the idle student became associated with “inferiority” (Griscom, 1825, p. 37) and “impropriety” (Lancaster, 1805, p. 100). The manuals report on the idle as gloomy and tempestuous with luring capacities (Russell, 1826, p. 36). The idle student was a bad influence, contagious to others. Yet, the idle could equally be found within a lesson, as in “idle stories,” those who do not contribute to “useful knowledge” (Bell, 1823, p. 21). When idleness was witnessed among students, teachers were expected to stamp it out: “if they are idle, it is immediately detected, and as rapidly punish” (Lancaster, 1805, p. 93); “No pupil for whatever reason is allowed to be idle” (Russell, 1826, p. 84).

Idleness held a distinct connection to use and utility. If a student was seen as not usefully employed in the schooling, she would be considered idle. This idleness was considered both inaction and disruption. In a way that is not altogether different from the truant student, the idle student posed a problem to the working of the school. While the idle student was not absent, her participatory status existed outside the confines of the curriculum. It was a particular mode of being, sometimes playful, sometimes deceptive, that resisted the formal arrangement of the school as defined by a particular brand of usefulness and value. Notions of usefulness and values connect to the historical moment. In the early 19th century, the emergence of the market and the growth of industrialization demanded efficiency and usefulness on a national scale (Polani, 1944). Students in school were no exception. The concern over the idle student might not have been altogether new,

yet the newness was the intensity with which educators sought out the idle, demanding not just action but useful and efficient action. No longer would an idle, non-participating student be tolerated. What this moment marks with its heightened concern over non-participating behaviors such as truancy and idleness is the bridging of schooling concerns and national concerns. Here misbehavior could be seen as a problem for the nation-state.

### **Stubbornness**

In an 1850s report on students expelled from school, misbehavior overwhelmingly consisted of two types: theft and stubbornness. Since it retains its historical meaning, theft needs no explanation. Within the teacher's manuals, theft is only marginally mentioned, and it is better considered a moral transgression (see wickedness below). This is likely because the report addressed expulsion-level behaviors, less common in manuals written for everyday schools. Stubbornness, on the other hand, was certainly referenced in the manuals and it could use explanation. It referred not to a single behavior but to a catch-all category of problem behaviors. The following indicates examples of stubborn behavior from "stubborn student" case histories:

- [This student] has spent most of his time idling about the streets in company with other bad boys, and has been addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors and tobacco; has often been intoxicated, has indulged in lying, profanity, pilfering, and sleeping out.
- [This student] was sent to the House of Correction a year since, for stubbornness. For four or five years has been in the habit of pilfering money and small articles from his mother; has been notoriously profane, having formed the habit of lying, and associated with a bad class of boys, often returning to his mother late at night.

- [This student] is a notorious truant from school, and home; addicted to the habits of chewing tobacco and profanity. He has associated with the worst class of boys, ran away from home many times, often staying away several days, and even months at a time, sleeping nights in stables, or any place that might afford him shelter. At two different time he was absent three months.
- [This student's] father died about ten years since. He has often taken money from his mother, and treated her in the most insulting and shameful manner; throwing billets of wood at her, and threatening her life, so that she has been obliged to call in the neighbors and the watchman.
- [This student] was once fined for throwing stones at a market man; is a notorious pilferer, having taken money and small articles too numerous to mention; also addicted to the habits of chewing and smoking tobacco, lying, profanity, and Sabbath breaking. (Katz, 1970, p. 179)

What this suggests is that a student could be labeled stubborn for any number of behaviors at the time. But a couple behaviors stand out: the tendency toward disagreeable substances, “intoxicating liquors and tobacco”; the tendency to associate with questionable peers, “bad boys”; the tendency to refuse their parents, sleep out, and come home late. Individually these are actions that did not constitute a violation but when repeated and persistent, stubbornness took on an existence of its own.

One of the factors that made stubbornness relevant in the moment was a particular belief about the development of children. The belief was that children's dispositions could harden, making them insensitive to others, their teachers, parents, and the larger society. Hardened students lashed out against their teachers, fought with their peers, and

most problematically rejected authority. In one form or another, every manual spoke to this, though mostly through a concern that traditional teaching methods were hardening and had hardened students. The authors of the manuals understood their reforms as doing the opposite. They sought to create gentle students, also flexible and malleable students. Thus, on one level, one could say that the stubborn student was a hardened student and that the 19th-century pedagogical reforms sought to eliminate stubbornness.

### **Wickedness**

Throughout the 19th century, schools moved increasingly away from their religious purposes, yet many religious principles and values remained. This religious influence played no small part in orienting teachers' understandings of misbehavior as wicked. Wicked students were those who engaged in vice-like and immoral behaviors. Such behaviors included those of dishonesty, profane language, licentiousness, any expression of secularism, and gambling, to name just a few. Notions of immorality played a strong role in the latter half of the century when pedagogical reforms turned to the development of character and moral education. The manuals most frequently referred to the use of profane language (swearing) and lying as the vices of students in schools. The labeling of such behaviors functioned, on the one hand, to solidify the order and rules of the classroom and, on the other hand, to demarcate inferiorities, as immorality went hand in hand with incivility and the unrefined. Consider the following two examples:

The principal evils attendant on the usual mode of education among the poor, are, first, improper and immoral persons having youth under their care. What can we expect from the children of the poor, when the gamester, the drunkard, the profane, and the infidel, are entrusted with their education? (Lancaster, 1805, p. 188)

In every country on the globe, where the mass of the people are best instructed, will be found the most liberty, the most virtue, the most happiness. Look at North Britain, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, and above all, these United States. And just in proportion to the want of instruction, will be found oppression, poverty, vice, and wretchedness. (Russell, 1826, p. 80).

Teachers were encouraged to understand misbehaviors as stemming from the immoralities of the students' environments, uniformly thought of as poor and depraved. As they understood their role, teachers sought to lead students away from their wickedness: "The good will be made better; the conscientious more conscientious still; and the rude and savage will be subdued and softened by the daily attempt to lead them to the throne of their Creator" (Abbott, 1856, p. 329). Here wickedness might be better thought of ontologically as a kind of existence, an immoral, depraved, and savage existence. The teacher's job was as much that of correcting a behavior as it was saving a soul.

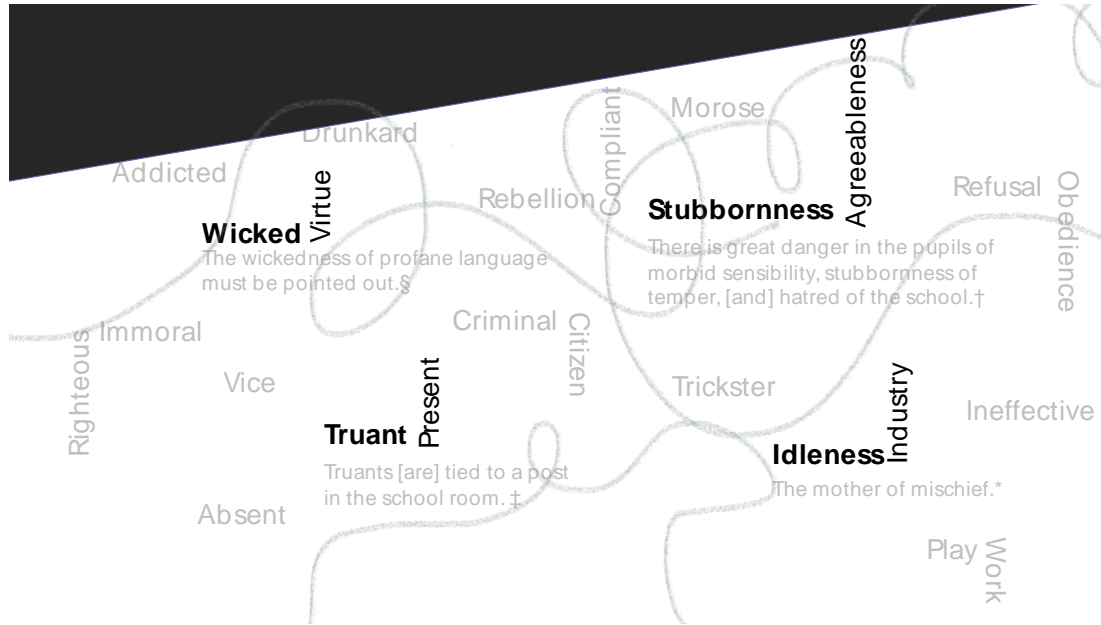
The racialized connotations of thinking about misbehavior in this light appear in the quotation above. The virtuous countries are those that are white and of the West. The wretched are the non-white and the poor. This is as explicit as the manuals get regarding race. For mention of race appears remarkably few times, probably less than a hand count, suggesting something about the presumption of whiteness in audiences of the manuals. It equally suggests something about the entanglement of misbehavior, vice, and immorality with the whiteness and colonialism of the time. The proper, the civilized, and the refined all stemmed from white Christian values. These same values were marshaled to locate individuals and modes of existing outside of the curriculum and space of the school. Educators maintained hope that white youth engaged in wickedness could be led back "to the throne." Yet, the same cannot be said for non-whites who remain only inferentially



present, latently present, in the manuals as the rude, the savage, the unrefined, and the immoral.

**Figure 7**

*Diagram of Modes of Resistance*



*Note.* \*Page, 1849, p. 194; †Woodbridge, 1833, p. 283; ‡Lancaster, 1805, p. 52; §Potter & Emerson, 1843, p. 357.

### **Contextualizing Key Findings**

Part of what the pedagogical and disciplinary shifts in the archive of manuals reflect is a new concern over the relationship of teacher authority and student participation. The new pedagogical approaches required the participation of students. But they equally called for the backgrounding and masking of teacher authority. Compelling students to participate without force became the principal dilemma of the teacher. The work around was that of affect. The job of the teacher would require interesting the students in the school. This occurred through rewards and status in the monitorial

approach and through affectionate bonds in the object approach. Yet these shifts towards the interests of student also reflect larger disciplinary shifts in society, those which incited modern subjectivity, and continue to influence contemporary schooling practices. These are what I outline in the following.

### **Modernizing Discipline**

One of the important findings of this research concerned the strategies that teachers employed to veil their authority in the administration of disciplinary practices. This is a finding that parallels judicial transformations of the 18th and 19th centuries. In the book *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault (1995) argues that the transformations were marked by two pieces of reform: the disappearance of punishment as spectacle and the elimination of pain in the process of punishment. The reforms addressed what Foucault describes as “the gloomy festival of punishment” and the perceived savage nature of punishment, both of which would no longer be tolerated (1995, pp. 7–8). The result was a “modernized” justice system with new moral and political justifications for the rights of the condemned. It is here within these judicial and legal transformations, which had regularly been written off as a process of humanization, that Foucault locates a new regime of power and knowledge—a normalizing regime—which does not so much eliminate but hide punishment.

Several consequences followed. First, punishment became an abstraction. It left the domain of everyday perception and addressed the conscience (see also McGowen, 1986). Second, punishment now operated through inevitability, not through the intensity of pain. Sentencing became systematized and inescapable, and judicial practices like discretion lost legitimacy (see also McGowen, 1983). Third, the administration of

punishment became obligatory, administered out of duty, no longer a display of power to be revealed in (see also Ignatieff, 1978). It is also here that punishment became privatized, eliminating not simply the spectacle of torture but also the possibility of martyrdom of the condemned: “The publicity [of punishment] has shifted to the trial,” which condemns the offender in an “unequivocally negative sign,” leaving the penalty to be concealed, private, behind the walls of prisons and hospitals (Foucault, 1995, pp. 9–10). In all of this, the modernization of punishment found a new object, no longer the body but the soul of the condemned.

Something similar is reflected in the archive of teacher manuals. In the shift from bureaucratic to affectionate modes of discipline, the physical infliction of pain on the body became a cruelty, regardless of whether imposed by lash or posture. And in both approaches, the strategies that teachers employed background their role in the process of discipline. The newfound emphasis on procedures and the ranking and ordering of students effectively normalized student obedience. A similar process occurred when teachers enacted punishments that “naturally” led from the misbehavior. These were steps that systematized punishments and increasingly removed the figure of the teacher from the process. Punishment would become seen more as a reform than as a penalty. When students fail, refuse, or neglect to behave appropriately, they not only violate a rule or code of conduct but expose themselves to the sights of normalizing intervention. In effect, the misbehaving student would now be seen as having what amounted to a new set of needs.

On the one hand, these are shifts that readied the student subject for the 20th century, when the practices of discipline crept further into the realm of normative

discourses through biological and psychological frameworks. In part this is seen in the natural consequences (e.g., Pryor & Tollerud, 1999), also referred to as logical consequences (e.g., Nelson, 1985), that continue in contemporary schools, as do privilege and rights-based consequences (Gilham, 2012). These are consequences that solidify the cause and effect of one's behavior without invoking the authority of the teacher. But they equally lead to a normative conception of the student, one which makes "different" students a problem, perhaps those whose refuse the logic of the consequence. This normalization of discipline is the more lasting consequence.

Consider how discipline operates in contemporary schools. The notion of discipline, let alone a penalty or punishment, is largely absent. Instead responses to misbehaving students align with interventions, treatments, and reforms (e.g., Sailor et al., 2008). The discourse is clinical, as are the practices. Students who misbehave encounter behavioral interventionists and behavioral specialists. Intervention and treatment plans are designed to modify and reform problematic behaviors. Here the idea of a punishment for an infraction to the rules of a class seems inappropriate. This is reflected in the positive behavioral support interventions (e.g., Conroy et al., 2005). The positive features of the "supports" replace the use of punishment, the supports being the interventions, treatments, and reforms needed to modify a student's behavior. Through using these supports, teachers aim to operationalize the desired behaviors while ignoring or minimizing the bad. Yet this is only the initial tier or secondary tier of intervention supports. For the students who "do not respond" to these interventions, they encounter additional intervention techniques to the point of receiving a medical diagnosis, medication, and a disability label. It is here that misbehaviors can be reframed as

conditions, deficits, and disorders. What largely has not changed is the degree to which compliance and participation are required.

For instance, in the 21st-century school, when students refuse and persistently refuse the prescriptions of the school, they encounter many of the same end line punishment practices as described within the manuals. David Page's (1849) list of appropriate punishments can all be found in contemporary US education, from the "imposition of a task" to "confessions" of wrongdoing. Even, to the surprise of many, corporal punishment remains explicitly legal and practiced in about 15 states (see King, 2016). Moreover, the practice of "restraint" or "solitary confinement" continues in the realm of special education. While not as dangerous as what Lancaster practiced, e.g., "suspending students to the roof of the school," physical restraint and seclusion are certainly practiced (U.S. Department of Education, 2018) and dangerous (Schuknecht, 2018). While the protocols and procedures of these practices have been systematized and articulated in legalese, the embodiment of control remains at the boundaries of schooling. And perhaps this is the only or at least most important thing that has changed.

From Lancaster's early attempts at monitorial schooling to "clinical" approaches of our contemporary moment, the expression of authority appears at the boundaries of the schooling system. It appears in the demand to participate at all costs. Lashes and disciplinary rods are no longer hung on the wall behind the desk of the teacher. Normative procedures and techniques cloak what become authoritative demands of the school; allowing misbehavior is read in individualistic terms. Even when the problem of misbehavior is understood as existing within a network, or ecology, the problematic aspects are presupposed (e.g., Lucyshyn et al., 1997). They are thought of as disorders

exterior to the system of measurement. What is not considered is that these disciplinary interventions and measurement processes might themselves hold disorder—how the process for normalizing discipline and medicalizing punishment negates not just social and historical context but difference itself. The idea that people can and perhaps should exist differently in the world is unreconciled in the disciplinary practices emergent in the archive of manuals and present in contemporary schools. In doing so, schooling operates with ontological singularity, effectively “outlawing” difference (Baker, 2002). But, again, this occurs in a fashion that veils the authority of the teacher, leaving much to be presupposed as normal and natural.

### **Modernizing Pedagogy**

Much of the claim to the modernization of teacher pedagogy in the 19th century invokes the turn away from corporal punishment and punitive disciplinary practices in the governance, management, and regulation of students in the classroom. As stated in the previous chapter, all of the manuals in the archive similarly worked away from corporal punishment and punitive discipline. In doing so, the manuals called upon a different set of affective dimensions to motivate and garner the obedience of students. Rather than governing through fear, the reformers of the manuals sought to govern through interest. Certainly fear was present in the pedagogies as described in the manuals, but it functioned more through exposure than through physical pain, as was the case in traditional schooling with the use of corporal punishment. The manuals, however, offered different avenues into interesting students into the curriculum, and each avenue presented a different set of practices and orientations.

In what I referred to as monitorial instruction and bureaucratic discipline, teachers interested students through a combination of surveillance and emulation. Surveillance functioned through the various levels of monitors and the newfound “duties” of individual students to monitor their peers. But coupled with this network of surveillance was the “spirit of emulation” (Bell, 1823). This was the orienting of classrooms and pedagogy toward competition and rivalry. Students competed for their rank position and received rewards for progressing through the ranks. Teachers were encouraged to think of their classroom as an arena and students as competitors (Bell, 1823). The forwardness of the language is striking, but many of these practices are reflected in contemporary schools and perhaps more pervasively. Simply examine state testing procedures. Whether “high stakes” or not, students are ranked through percentile scores in reading, math, writing, and science. Often testing scores are broken down even further into percentile ranks for reading comprehension, reading fluency, math calculation, and math reasoning. While public exposure is not quite lining up against a wall, students learn quite quickly what a percentile rank means. In part, what emulatory procedures of the monitorial schooling has done is define academic achievement and ambition through competition: to succeed means to succeed over another. The pairing of achievement and competition has become so thorough that it is difficult to think about schooling without it. It remains the foundation of our educational system, e.g., “Race to the Top” (U.S. Department of Education, 2015). But something further is occurring as well. In contrasting the monitorial approach with the “constraints” and “restraints” of traditional schooling, the monitorial manuals redefine life through marketplace principles. Being free of constraints means being free to compete and earn, meritocratically. The life and vibrancy of the

classroom would be understood through the making of oneself useful, always related back to the collective and the economy. Certainly, part of the legacy can be found in the vocational emphasis of contemporary schooling (Willis, 1981) as well as in the continued encroachment of market and neoliberal organizing principles in public schooling (Apple, 2006). Thus, the emulatory practices of schooling can be thought to extend beyond student subjectivity and into the organizational structure of the school. This is an extension of emulation that even the manuals did not account for.

The second avenue for interesting students in the operations of the 19th-century school was that of object teaching. Object teachers rejected the idea that schooling should be governed through the spirit of emulation. In fact, the very idea of marketplace values ran counter to their understandings of education (Hogan, 1990). Instead of competition and rivalry, object teachers garnered student interest through sympathetic attachments. Teachers befriended their students and were called to “love” students as if they were their own children (Abbott, 1856). Sympathy would be understood as “fellow feeling” and it informed the novel theory of learning put forward in the object teaching manuals, i.e., learning and influence occurred first and foremost through affections. Sympathy functioned through the harmonizing of feelings, something necessary for learning to occur. But in considering pedagogy as an orienting device, sympathy retained normalizing functions. It effectively canceled discord and conflict from the classroom space. It canceled out difference. All of this was done in the name of moral education. For moral reasoning would be the end goal of an object approach to education, leaving everything from sensory perception to judgment and reasoning in the hands of the teacher. The legacy of object teaching can be found in contemporary moral and character



education initiatives that appear in schools and universities across the country (Smagorinsky & Taxel, 2005). It can also be seen in a more general consensus that the classroom space is one of positive affect. In traditional schooling, the teacher's job did not necessarily involve tending to the affections of students; now it certainly does. It is yet another way that teachers continue to interest students in the classroom.

Yet the manuals, both on object teaching and monitorial instruction, can be thought of as modernizing pedagogy in the way they conceptualize student subjectivity. No longer was the student simply that of the Christian tradition, called to renunciate the material world, atone for the sinful and the bad, and deny the drives and passions of the body (Foucault, 1988). The modern student emerged with degrees of both goodness and badness. The job of teachers shifted from instilling the word of God into their students and facilitating the renunciation of the self, the material world, and the body to that of cultivating and drawing out the good within the student. This is seen in the general turn toward the interests of students, the affirmations of the emulatory, and the sympathetic drives of the students. Through this shift, the direction of the curriculum also turned inward, calling on students to reflect upon and contemplate their actions. This was the task of moral education. The good as well as the bad of each student would be identified and sorted. The question of whether one acted selflessly or selfishly became the guiding moral dilemma. The imperative clearly outlined in the manuals was to act selflessly, to sacrifice yourself for the collective. This is what was at play in the demand for students to be happy. If expressions of negative affect would create more negative affect, the belief in the 19th century (perhaps still a belief), then one would no longer have right to those affections, at least in public.

Regulation became an important feature of the self and object of schooling. In part it involved denying oneself so as to maintain the collective, but it equally involved maintaining oneself. Often termed, self-governance, these were regulations related to the various practices of preservation, including the emergence of “less cruel” punishments and an emphasis on caring for the health and well-being of the students. In fact, this was an emphasis that extended to teachers, as many of the manuals had dedicated chapters with proscriptions for teachers and schoolmasters on how, to care for, exercise and diet their bodies. This was all part of the regulation of the self, and it was always couched in the logic of the collective. The manuals called on teachers to care for themselves so they could continue to work effectively as teachers of students. And, in the same way, the manuals called on teachers to teach practices of care and responsibility to their students so they, too, could effectively govern themselves, but also in service of the collective, i.e., to continue to devour resources and possess wealth. It is through this notion of self-care that the manuals present a modernized subject of schooling, one that ultimately sustains the collective.

Perhaps this moment set the stage for the 20th-century concern over social and antisocial, a dominant framework for understanding contemporary student behavior. Often this framework presumes the moral dilemma of the self and the collective, requiring individuals to regulate their bodies so as to not disturb the collective. While not explicitly stated in the manuals, each of the misbehaviors—modes of resistance—identified can be thought of as a disturbance to the collective. For the growth of the schools required participation, compliance, and efficiency, aspects which the resistant students refused.

## Conclusion

Schooling reforms of the 19th century responded in no small part to the chaotic and insurrectionist environment of the time. It equally responded to calls for a more humane, refined, and professionalized approach to education. Many have pointed to these changes as effecting the modernization of teaching (see Hogan, 1990; Spring; 1994). Yet what these changes have meant for students on the outside of curriculum has been the focus of this chapter. More specifically, this chapter considered how these changes reshape the parameter of contemporary thought and practice surrounding the event of student misbehavior, problematizing the neutrality of teacher pedagogy and disciplinary reforms. In the following chapter, I consider what the different modes of misbehavior might offer in way of reconceptualizing the parameters of schooling, making the case for the reclaiming of non-participation in schools.

vi In the US, the monitorial method is largely attributed to Joseph Lancaster for good reason: Lancaster spent years in the US advocating and building his system of schools. Yet, it is probably not accurate to say that the monitorial method itself was designed by Lancaster. Andrew Bell, working in Madras, India, is likely the originator of the practice, which Lancaster has mistakenly received credit for (see Bell, 1823).

vii Every student in monitorial schools received a rank number, which averaged their performance across subject areas. In a school of 100 students, one might be ranked 56 in arithmetic, 22 in spelling, and 45 in geography, with an overall ranking of perhaps 41. The student's rank determines which class to attend during the instruction time and whether or not that student held a monitor position.

viii Worth noting: A clear divide between what constitutes discipline and what constitutes punishment is not easily had. The term "discipline" has taken on different meanings over time and currently refers to both "a disposition governing or guiding an activity" and "and action done *to* others who are unruly or disobedient" (Beyer, 1998, p. 54). The term "punishment" typically has a more specific meaning, referring to the imposition of a penalty for an offense, but less formally it can mean rough or painstaking treatment (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Within the latter understanding, it can be argued that the mere requirement to attend school, in all its severity, is itself a punishment. For the sake of this discussion, I take up discipline in its dispositional understanding, as the manner required for an activity. I take up punishment in its penalizing understanding, as penalty or loss inflicted for an offense. This distinction might more generally be described as the regulating mechanisms that fit inside and outside the curriculum, with discipline addressing difference within the curriculum and punishment addressing difference outside of the curriculum.

## **Chapter 5. Reclaiming Uncommon Participation: Past and Present**

Stories of schooling, its function and purpose, often tie to notions of progress and enlightenment. Just think of the ubiquity of phrases that equate knowledge with empowerment and learning with liberation. The idea is that education, when done right, can transcend its social and historical milieu. The story of the modernization of teacher pedagogy fits well within this genre. As it is told, over the course of the nineteenth century pedagogical practices became increasingly less cruel and more humane (e.g., Greydanus et al., 1992; Hiner, 1979; Raichle, 1977). The field of education professionalized and adopted rigorous, carefully planned practices. The disciplines of psychology and physiology rightfully gained important. And so too did the disciplines of economics and natural science. According to the story, these were changes that effectively liberated the experience of schooling, freeing students from the constraints of traditional and colonial days (e.g., Hyman & Wise, 1979). The presumption of these historical narratives is again the ideal of progress, that knowledge and reason has enlightened profession of education.

What the pedagogical changes of the nineteenth century teacher manuals reveal is something quite different. The relationship between modernized pedagogy and repressive discipline was much more nuanced than the definitive presumptions of historical progress. I chose to examine the moment when schooling practices turned from the cruelty of corporal punishment towards a more “modernized” and “enlightened” practice to reexamine for this exact nuance. Informed by Foucauldian theories of subjectivity, I sought to understand how these new pedagogical practices embedded modes of subjection, how they fashioned the subjectivity of students. Informed also by theories of

affect drawn from Sara Ahmed, I sought to understand how these modes of subjection similarly oriented towards particular affective dimensions, how schooling practices enabled students to register particular realities. But I also wanted to think about how these realities and processes breakdown, and what happens when students resist their particular mode of subjection. Thus, in addition to pedagogy, I considered disciplinary practices and modes of misbehavior present in the manuals. It was in these three features—pedagogy, discipline, and misbehavior—that I found productive space to reconsider the entanglement of teacher and student, freedom and coercion.

The findings of chapter four are numerous but three overarching points are worth noting: First, the disciplinary practices of the nineteenth century found a new object of punishment, no longer the body but now an abstracted notion of the self. Physical punishment became morally suspect and distained. The new punishments acted upon the privileges and rights of the student (i.e. loss of recess, after school detention) and functioned through procedures and systems rather than teacher discretion. Yet, all of this effectively cloaked the authority of the teacher in the act of discipline, normalizing and naturalizing the practice of punishment.

Second, the evolution of teacher pedagogy found not just new beliefs and practices but new investments in affect and sentimentality. This was a shift from the fear-based practices of traditional schooling to the interest-based practices of the monitorial and object approaches. In doing so, understandings of student subjectivity came to reflect the logics of the marketplace and governmentality, with monitorial instructors approaching student subjectivity through rank, order, and emulation, and object instructors approaching student subjectivity through moralized sympathy.

Third, negative affections of students emerged as misbehavior. The new focus on affective incitement required the incitement of the correct kind. Students would not only have to participate but enjoy their participation. When they did not, teachers were called to investigate their students, study the drives and interests of their students, and then find ways to divert those interests back to classroom. It effectively eliminated the role of punishment in the classroom. But, in doing so, it opened the door to the clinical approaches of the 20th century.

These three overarching findings fit within what I think of as a new demand for student participation. It was a demand to experience and exist in a particular manner and with a particular orientation. But sometimes students rebuked this demand and rebuffed this incitement. They refused to participate. What I want to consider in this chapter is how this refusal to participate provides space to retheorize spatiotemporal dimensions of schooling, how particular modes of misbehavior might orient toward different experience and existence. Thus, in the following, I consider first how the modes of misbehavior uncommonly participated in the archive and then consider what these uncommon participations might look like in the present. I close with reflective thoughts and propositions on archival research, affect theory and future inquiry.

### **Uncommon Participation: Past**

As the practice of education shifted from an offering to the privilege classes to a mandate of the working classes, students would be compelled to not only attend school but to actively participate in their schooling. This compelling of participation is perhaps the most innovative and lasting impact of the nineteenth century reforms. However, what Chapter 4 demonstrated was the non-neutrality of this new demand for participation. It

demonstrated how the demand for students to participate in the classroom intersected with regimes of knowledge, power and affect. In the monitorial approach participation hinged upon manners of the marketplace—competition, rivalry, and emulation; whereas, in the object approach participation hinged upon manners of sympathy—an obligation to feel right. The teachers job became that of compelling participation, but not just any kind of participation, the “right” kind would be required.

It is within this context, the mandate of student participation, that the misbehaviors discussed in chapter four might be thought about as modes of uncommon participation, with each mode effecting participation differently: truancy through absence, idleness through play, stubbornness through refusal, wickedness through counter existence. The pedagogical strategies and reforms of the teacher manuals aimed to eliminate these alternative modes of participation. In large part they succeeded. Of the four behaviors truancy might be the only mode that remains in frameworks of contemporary schooling. But even truancy is barely present when compared to the degree of the challenge of truancy in 19th century schooling. In this section I want to suggest that the framing the modes of misbehavior present in the teacher manuals as uncommon modes of participation has distinct value. It is a value that can be read as extending beyond resistance toward enactments of alternative spatial and temporal experience, what might also be thought of as uncommon modes of existence.

In Chapter 4, I designated wickedness as the mode of misbehavior that functions through counter existence. It referred to modes of misbehavior that existed on the outside of Western Christian value systems. It suggested a lifestyle of immorality and depravity. But it was equally a reference point used to code transgressions. Wickedness could be

found in the stubborn, the truant, and the idle. I kept wickedness as a distinct mode because each of the other modes could appear without the designation of wickedness. On a general level wickedness could serve as an umbrella category, especially for considering misbehaviors as enacting alternative spatialities and temporalities. In the following I do just this. I consider how the different modes of misbehavior work toward different modes of experience and perhaps existence. I focus on stubbornness and idleness, leaving aside truancy. As a practice truancy functions through absence and is thus difficult to analyze. It participates but in a non-existent manner. The refusal of truancy is complete and leaves fewer avenues for considering it as enacting uncommon modes of experience. However, since absence and non-existence function latently in the other modes of misbehavior, which I explore below, truancy might function as yet another umbrella term.

In working toward uncommon modes of participation, I do not aim to reify a particular experience or even existence of historical misbehavior. Instead I aim to speculate as to how the object of misbehavior fashioned in the teacher manuals undermines not just the claims of historical progress but also the universalizing claims of the manuals themselves: that participation both practical and affective could be called on in a singular, common manner. It is this that I work towards through speculation on stubbornness and idleness.

First, consider stubbornness. Stubborn students did more than refuse the demand to participate in the everyday workings of the curriculum. They also refused an affective orientation. In doing so they enacted a different mode of experience. The pedagogical and disciplinary demands in the archive oriented toward what contemporary educators and



researchers refer to as neutrality and objectivity. Teachers were called to distance themselves from the subjective action in the classroom. They were called to withhold their affections. This is what was under way in the proceduralism of Lancaster's disciplinary approaches, a removal or backgrounding of the individual in favor of the disinterested rule or process. This is also what was under way in the sense training of the object approach, as students learned to rationalize away the subjective data of the world. It is not that the manuals put forward an education without affect, even though this might have been what they believe. What the manuals put forward was an orientation that effected calm, cool, and collected subjects. This is the affective orientation that the stubborn student refused.

Yet in their refusal, stubborn students make present a different orientation, a mode of experience that is entangled within the affective and material world. At its core, in 19th century schools, what the stubborn student refused to comply with was the demand for a presumptively transcendent and objective subjectivity. This is seen in the ways that stubbornness invokes negative affect. In the classroom, the stubborn student refused the directives of the teacher not through detachment, objectivity, or rationality but foremost through affect. Stubborn students were those that were irritated, temperamental, and angry. Their refusal was one that entangled with the desires and passions of the body. Stubborn students also held material connotations. The stubborn student was object-like, unwilling to bend to the demands of the classroom. The stubborn student was stuck in their place and stuck in their ways. It is with these material and affective connotations that teachers could think about stubborn students as lacking freedom and will. This is seen in the associations of stubbornness and bad habits or addictions, like drinking and

smoking, but also in that stubbornness could designate a student that would not or could not progress through the curriculum. But, of course, material and affective detachment never actually occurs, for the cold disinterest of objectivity is itself an affect. So what stubbornness does is it returns the entanglement of materiality and affect to the space of the classroom. It returns attention to the affective and discursive parameters of the classroom space. In an ontology that presupposes transcendence, the return of embodied relationality proves disruptive.

Now consider idleness. Idleness functions to participate in a manner different than that of stubbornness. The idle student was not absent from work or activity. For it is entirely possible that the overly active student would receive the idle label. Rather idleness introduced something akin to play but also something akin to uselessness in the classroom. Whatever the idle student did, it failed to produce value. By this I mean that the doings of the idle student resisted the attempts of the teacher to quantify the behavior, to make the actions of the student reducible to a normative order and system of judgement. Thus, the student leaning in the chair in the back of the class, the tangential story from the book, and a moment of daydreaming could all garner the designation of idleness. But the designation of idleness only came in relation to the system of values and use of the schooling. To be more specific, idleness was understood as play and without use value only in relation to the linear orientations of 19th century educators. Monitorial teachers, for instance, recognized the idle student in conjunction with their own predetermined systems, that of sequential and hierarchical ordering, distinct starting points and ending points, and planned procedures and daily schedules. This same orientation extended into the outcomes and purpose of education. For monitorial teachers,

education would be seen as a steppingstone in the path towards moral virtuosity and capitalist production, which were one and the same thing. Idleness could only be attributed from a particular orientation. But unlike stubbornness, the orientation of idleness is not immediately clear. Perhaps idleness does not operate through an orientation but, in fact, operates by a suspension of orientation, a halting of the tendency toward reference and direction.

Orientations serve as a device for positioning ourselves and others in the world. They tend to be associated with points of reference for beliefs and values. Schools can be thought of as orienting toward particular ideals or practices, such as that of democracy, capitalism, and competition, to name just a few. But orientations can also be thought of as reference points of feelings and affects, such as that of happiness, compassion, and competition, to name just a few. The suspending of orientation is thus a suspension of points of reference. It is a halt in the movement toward a set of beliefs, values, practices and affects. In effect it is a halt on a particular mode of experience a particular mode of participation. But perhaps what makes the idleness of the idle student different from misbehaviors such as stubbornness is that the idleness does not land with another orientation. It is not principled, with heels dug into the ground, as is the case with stubbornness. Instead it suspends principle, unmoored to a perceivable orientation. A suspended orientation is the suspension of the linear ordering of the curriculum. In this sense, idleness is disjunctive, but without conjunction, or at least an immediate re-conjunction.

To be disjoined and suspended from an orientation might also suggest an engagement with a different temporality. In this way that the idle student can be

understood as not flowing. According to the teachers, what the idle student registered were not the sequential requirements of the curriculum but something exterior, interrupting the flow of the curriculum. The idle student experienced and experimented in ways that could not be easily framed within the curriculum of the school. They played and engaged in things that did not have clear or distinct purpose or value. Certainly this was not the case with all of the actions and students considered to be idle. The point is, however, that the idle student engaged something that was not explicitly counter or oppositional but rather exterior and other to the formal experience of the curriculum. The idle student did not flow in the sense that her experience could not be incorporated into the temporal frame of the school.

Something that resists incorporation can be thought of as useless. In order to have use, an incorporating frame of reference is needed. In 19th century schooling, the frame was that of the market and the burgeoning fields of psychology and the social sciences. Something that resisted these frames of reference would be found unproductive and useless. This is what the idle student did. It introduced play into the space of the classroom. Perhaps this was why it was so problematic. Idle play and uselessness abstained from the disciplinary practices of the time, practices which intended to center student interest. In a system that demands participation, the interest of students, the idle student becomes transgressive. It functions to expose something exterior to the frame of reference. It exposes playfulness. But it is a playfulness that is not entirely separate from the classroom. It is just unactualized. And, in a way, this is the paradox of idleness: it is not idle but active. The idle student makes registered something more, something active that resists its incorporation. This is the difference between the idle student and the truant

student. Where truancy resists through absence alone, idleness resists through absence in the present or by making present the absent.

Something to this effect is demonstrated in the modes of misbehavior diagram of Chapter 4. It is a diagram that is not entirely functional. Not all of its aspects behave toward the same end. Traces of uncontained lines cut through the diagram in a playfully disruptive manner. The concepts that appeared in the archive appear in the diagram. Some concepts appear next to contrary and contradictory terms. Some simply appear on their own. Quotations provide context, but also a feeling for how these terms existed within the manuals. Taken together the diagram composes an ecology of misbehaviors, some distant and some near, not just to one another but to our present location. The ecology speaks less to the historical moment of the manuals than to the historical moment of our present, like idleness making present something absent.

Perhaps this is another way to think about both stubbornness and idleness. They not only make present things that have disappeared from view but also function on more than one scale. In Chapter 4, I referred to these sorts of misbehaviors as misbehaving misbehaviors. Misbehaving misbehaviors are the misbehaviors of the archive that resist our contemporary frames of reference. In some ways, all modes of misbehavior foregrounded in the findings were of this sort. None of them easily fit within the clinical, developmental, and legal frameworks of contemporary schooling (minus that of truancy which can be thought about legally). They also do not fit easily into historical frameworks of student subjectivity. Instead of invoking distance and neutrality, the idle and the stubborn evoke relationality and affect. They bring to the foreground uncommon pairings and position the student in unfamiliar relation. They reintroduce something

exterior, something playful and something transgressive, making present something absent. Perhaps the event of misbehavior itself is another way of thinking about history of the present, registering the outsides of our present, a misbehaving of history.

It is this that I want to reclaim in conversations of education. The outsides and the uncommon of our present are all too often taken-for-granted and dismissed. The boundaries of schooling and subjectivity go unconsidered. The parameters of experience and agency in schools collapsed into normative and naturalized frames of reference. These are frames of reference that should be problematized and opened up.

### **Uncommon Participation: Present**

Since the reconceptualization of curriculum in the 1970s, scholars have taken to the study of curriculum in a number of new and different directions. One of the most influential directions has been the study of the self, the biographical and autobiographical aspects of curriculum (Miller, 2005). Curriculum as an autobiographical project invokes a study into the self and subjectivity as situated within social, historical and political milieus (Pinar, 2015). When curriculum centers study on the situatedness of the self, it becomes another way of thinking about the self as relational and emergent rather than essential and transhistorical. In light of the hold that the later notions have on conventional understandings, framing curriculum as the drama of the relational and emergent aspects of the self becomes another kind of history of the present. Curriculum becomes what William Pinar (2015) describes as the task of excavating the “non-coincidence” of one’s present subjectivity.

The story of 19th century misbehavior suggests something similar. It suggests the non-coincidence of our contemporary medley of behavioral and pedagogical

interventions for misbehaving students. Perhaps more importantly, the story of 19th century misbehavior suggests the non-coincidence of the particular modes of subjection that continue to exist within contemporary schooling. This is seen quite clearly in the ways that schools continue to respond to student misbehavior. The moralizing and internalizing discourse of affectionate disciplinarians remains very much present in the “hunt for disability” and the drive to regulate students' internal states through behavioral interventions and medical diagnosis (Baker, 2002; Harwood, 2006). The emulatory discourses are perhaps more present in contemporary schooling through a growing array of competitive mechanisms and objectives that pin students to a particular kind of disciplined and market-oriented subjectivity.

Gilles Deleuze alludes to this in his May of 1990 article, entitled “Postscript on the Societies of Control.” The six-page article outlines “a new system of domination” (Deleuze, 1992, p. 5) taking shape in Western societies. It is a system founded more so on control than the discipline that Foucault had proposed of the centuries prior. In many ways the article anticipated the security state and surveillance regimes that arose in the proceeding years. Yet it seems just as relevant to understand the reemergence of emulatory practices on contemporary schooling.

What Deleuze describes is a society that is no longer enclosed by the disciplinary walls of institutions but one that is radically interconnected and controlled. Of less concern are the normative discourses, casts and molds, of institutional structures than the modulatory techniques and devices for extending bodies across networks of competition. Confinement gives way to a radical openness, one that proliferates discipline across all sectors of society. What reigns supreme is the logic of competition as tactics of emulation

and rivalry return to the fore: Deleuze (1992) says, “the corporation has replaced the factory” (p. 4). Individuals are not simply ordered but perpetually divided, creating the “dividuals” strung across databases, sample groupings, and market places: “The disciplinary man was a discontinuous producer of energy, but the man of control is undulatory, in orbit, in a continuous network” (Deleuze, 1992, p. 6). It is seen in how prisons increasingly control inmates electronically outside of the prison and how hospitals substitute individuals for numerical codes (i.e. algorithms) with doctorless and patientless monitoring. What Deleuze finds in the control society is the collapse of disciplinary institutions with their standardized body and the emergence of disciplinary networks built around the thrusting of all bodies into a state of pure competition.

It is also seen in the ways that schools have become training centers for corporate work workplaces (Malewski, 2010). But the control society and the influence of the corporate sphere is also evident in shifting pedagogical practices, notably as it pertains to classroom management. Increasingly, teachers use computer-based behavior management applications that reward students with points for good behavior (i.e. Class Dojo). Often the entire class is visible on a page that is projected on the wall of a classroom. The children see not only the good behavior points attached to their name but also the behavior points attached to their peers. With less enclosure specific to that of the school, the students’ data are equally accessible to other teachers, administrators, and parents. What becomes known is not so much the child but the code, the number of points and often the percentile. It is the beginnings of a merit-based system that pits even the youngest children in perpetual competition. Standards and behavioral norms remain, but competition is marshalled in new ways to control the excesses of schooling.



This is what Deleuze in the early 90s suggests as a new and emergent regime, just beginning to make itself visible, foregrounding tactics of emulation and competition. As it is, Deleuze (1992) suggests, “there is no need to fear or hope, but only to look for new weapons,” and later in the essay that “it may be that older methods, borrowed from the former societies of sovereignty, will return to the fore, but with the necessary modifications” (p. 6). Of course, in the history of American schooling, emulation does in fact have a precedence. It was a prominent pedagogical strategy in the early 19th century that fell from favor to a newer and “modernized” pedagogy based on affection and self-discipline. It seems to be the case that older methods have in fact returned to the fore, which is why it might be all the more important to learn from the participatory uncommonness of historical misbehaviors.

The response to the misbehaviors outlined in the manuals was that of moralization. To be stubbornly entangled meant infringing upon the rights of others to be affectively disinterested. To be idly playing meant a neglecting of the responsibility that one had to others. The habits of the misbehaving student became thought of as bad habits, wicked habits (e.g., Ngai, 2005). The affective disjunction the stubborn student would be thought of as a negative affect (e.g., Sedgwick & Frank, 1995). The temporal disjunction of the idle student would be thought of as disorder (without the medical connotation). But, with the turn of the 20th century, the disorderly and the negative would be less moralized than symptomized. The negativity and disorder of misbehaving students would increasingly be a sign of a bodily condition, something that would require reform, intervention, and medication (Harwood, 2006; Laws & Davies, 2000). Much of the relational and affective dimensions of the misbehaving students would be cut out of view.

The manner of misbehavior became unimportant. But I think there is something productive to consider about the manners of misbehavior present in the archive. The distinct refusal and uncommon participation of the misbehavior might be something worth reclaiming.

Consider how some in contemporary cultural studies and queer and affect theory have similarly sought to reclaim uncommon participation through negativity. Attempts to reclaim negativity go in a number of directions, but Lauren Berlant and Lee Edelman (2013) provide general insight into the importance of such movements. For them, negativity signifies “a resistance to or undoing” of framework that have served to stabilize social relations and, as such, it becomes a necessary source of political struggle: “Negativity ... is inseparable from the struggles of subordinated persons to resist the social conditions of their devaluation” (p. xii). Attempts to reclaim the negative are attempts to make visible the politics of social conditions that have receded from view. Others have referred to this as the antisocial (Caserio et al., 2006) and from a different angle hypersocial (Freeman, 2019). Something of this sort is present in the ways that students misbehaved in the manuals. The misbehavior returns the authoritative positioning of the teacher who demands positive affection. This was the design of the affectionate approach. It was to deploy positivity to cloak the negativity of subordination.

From a similar line of thought, Sara Ahmed (2010) calls for a reclaiming what might be thought of as negativity in her notion of the feminist killjoy. The feminist killjoy is one who refuses to feign happiness in the context of a misogynistic and patriarchal society. To explain, Ahmed provides the scenario of a sexist joke being told at a dinner party. The person who refuses to feign non-offense and makes her affective displeasure

known becomes a killjoy. In doing so, she does not simply refuse joy in the event of misogyny but also refuses the affective orientation of the collective group. But what is most interesting about Ahmed's notion for this dissertation is how the killjoy exposes sympathetic demands of society. The joy of the collective is contingent upon reciprocated feelings. It is contingent upon the negation of negativity. Ahmed refers to this as "fellow feeling," and it functions to sustain social conditions of the privileged and dominate classes. In the archival teacher manuals this is sympathy. It is the harmonizing of feeling needed for learning to occur. But in demanding sympathy, fellow feeling, the joy of the group and functioning of the classroom depends upon the negation of affective displeasure from the denigrated, marginalized and subordinated, not the other way around, enacting the asymmetry of sentimental sympathy (Schuller, 2018). So, while the manuals called on teachers to sympathize with their students, the students carried the ultimate sympathetic burden.

From another angle, scholars working in the fields of cultural studies and affect theory have sought to reclaim the use value of in something resembling uselessness. In her book, *How to do Nothing*, Jenny Odell (2019) outlines how doing nothing for the sake of doing nothing can serve to not only resist the pervasive drive towards capitalist productivity but experience the world in a more ecologically attuned and relationally affective manner. Something similar can be seen in attempts to reclaim slowness, not simply slowing down but also sensing and intuiting differently (e.g., Pink, 2015; Vannini, 2014). Others have directly returned to uselessness as a way to return to "situated affectivity" so as to register the potential "more-than-human materialities" (Kwek, 2018). Part of what the idle student contests is the pervasive drive towards productivity and use

value. It suggests an exteriority to the product/utility framing of schooling. In doing so it also engages in the world differently. It takes to notions like creativity and play but without particular ends. As was the case in the archives, idleness exists somewhere in between doing nothing and doing something. It is useless but not without potential. And potential more than anything comes from reclaiming notions like negativity and uselessness. The outcome could never be guaranteed of course. And, the negative and the useless cannot be ends in themselves. But they do offer potential.

Perhaps this is what uncommon participation looks like in the classroom. Not only holding space for a wider range of affective expression, but also holding space for the seemingly negative and non-productive, aspects which might be referred to as the antisocial, the killjoy, and the useless. These modes of uncommon participation point to a break in the drive towards pervasive linearity and developmentalism of schooling and curriculum. Embracing something like the stubborn and the idle would be a move away from behavioral objectives and normative standards that dictate so much of contemporary schooling. It might be a more radical way of thinking about difference and diversity could incorporate consideration of modes of access and inclusivity, something that might be more receptive to notions of neurodiversity. But this rethinking begins with making space for refusal, not with the blanket presumption that what occur within the classroom has to fit all manners of students.

### **Closing thoughts: Archives and Affects**

With this research, I ventured into what I think of as the awkwardness of affect theory and historical archive research. In doing so, I encountered numerous predicaments, none more than what seemed to be the incompatibility of affect and the archive. When

affect is understood as pre-personal intensity, as it often is (e.g. Gregg & Seigworth, 2010), it seems to have little to do with the study of archival data. This is because archives tend toward positioning and location rather than movement and feeling. In fact, almost by definition, the archive serves to extract the affective lived experience of a world. It is a record, a remembrance, and a representation. Even when historians approach the archive as a mediating text, it serves to represent ideals, practices and values once present in a different moment in time. As such, the archive effectively removes any opportunity to consider the liveliness of affect. These are two seemingly incompatible forces—affection and archives—and it is what I came to think of as the awkwardness affect theory and archival study. But, perhaps, the archive might function differently? Might the archive function beyond representation? Or in a manner other than mediation?

I want to suggest that the archives equally function through immediation. It is this concept of immediation that might address the predicaments of affect and the archive. Immediation is a concept more familiar to those working within affect theory. It shifts the focus of the archive from a representation of the past to the immediacy in the present. For Massumi (2015), immediation is about the event: “the idea is that whatever is real makes itself felt in some way, and whatever makes itself felt has done so as part of an event” (p. 147). In thinking about archives as immediating, the concern is not what is represented but what is made felt, the event of the present. The shift is one from text to texture. The study of archival texture is a study of how the archive makes itself felt in the present. Yet feeling cuts in a number of directions. Material can be felt, but so too can an idea and a practice. Perhaps this is another way of thinking about Foucault’s (1972, 1995) “history of the present” and “conditions of existence,” the history and conditions of making felt

presences and existences. In approaching the archives as immediating texture the concern would be “presentification,” not representation. It is what others (SenseLab, n.d.) have referred to as the anarchive, and it might provide an opportunity around the predicaments of affect theory and archival research. Although the research would certainly take a different direction, likely unknown in advance of the research.

When I started this dissertation, I began with two concepts: student misbehavior and affect. I wanted to think about the affective dimension of misbehavior at a moment in the past that seemed distant from the present (at least to me). But I quickly found myself stuck within the “texts” of each archive that I had gathered. Everything from sensations, emotions, and feeling seemed to revert back to a text, to language, without ensuring affect. Ironically, I felt that the concept of misbehavior, what I had also thought of as “acting out,” left me stuck “within” the text. It seemed to instantiate a historical student and the archives as a text. I worked around this by thinking about misbehavior as an event, as the intersection behavior, pedagogy, and discipline. This is part of what helped me land on the early part of the nineteenth century, a key period in the modernization of teacher pedagogy and disciplinary practices. I also found ways of thinking about the text of emotion and the sensation of affect with greater fluidity. But even with these shifts, I found myself stuck to mediating texts. It seemed that holding to this concept of student misbehavior shut down much of the possibility for the consideration of affect. I say this not to suggest that the archives lacked affect but that my concept of student misbehavior precluded much of the affective potential of the archives. In writing this dissertation, I felt like there were things I could not address, things that seemed to be outside the parameters and timescales of this research, but still worth noting as directions for future

research. Each of these emerged from the archives, and to different degrees provide space to consider the immediating effects of archival research.

The first direction has to do with reexamining the objects of the object teaching. Material objects served a central role in the object teaching approach. Lessons would be organized around a single object. Students would be called to touch, feel and sense these objects. Most of the objects used in the nineteenth century classroom were familiar, i.e. leather, wax, coal, etc., though rarely present (let alone centered) in contemporary schools. In shifting from thinking about mediating texts to immediating textures, the study of the objects of the object teaching manuals would not necessarily return to or speculate upon the meanings they might have had, though this would be interesting, but rather reengage the felt experience that accompanies and extends from those objects. It would aim not to return to the experience of the past but more modestly to engage the affective dimensions of schooling differently, to activate feelings and sensations alongside material objects that seem quite distant in contemporary schooling.

The second direction concerns the specific genre of the manuals, but also the disciplinary practices. Broadly this can be thought of as sentimentalism. The manuals did not simply call for practices of sympathy, friendship and love of students, they also wrote with emotion and feeling. They consisted of less observations and factual descriptions of events than of stories that evoked sensation, i.e. compassion, injustice, resentment. In this way, the texts of the manuals had texture. They functioned beyond that of representation and even prescription. They held immediating effects. What I think would be worth studying is how this genre of teacher manuals themselves misbehave. How they act outside of the historical narratives and scripts of the past. This would preserve the

concept of misbehavior and the transgressive potential that I think it holds while not getting stuck within the texts of the manuals. And in thinking about the production of educational texts, the turn towards the genre of the manual might suggest something about the genre of our own teaching, in the present. It might provide the occasion to think and feel teaching differently in schools.

The third direction involves departing from the manuals altogether to examine practices for managing youth behavior outside and at the periphery of nineteenth century schooling. With this I am thinking of two subdirections, that of the ungraded schools and that of indigenous and Black schooling. I came across ungraded schools in histories of education, often mentioned in footnotes. These were the schools that housed the students deemed unfit for the common school (e.g. Osgood, 2002). Likely these schools served students with disabilities and those who would not meet the demands of the common school. Certainly, these were students that misbehaved, that “acted out,” but no manuals that I found were written for such schools. Any structure or system of the school would be interesting to read for affect. Yet more in line with this notion of immediation would be an accounting of the management youth in non-white practices of education. I specifically encountered reference to indigenous rituals and Black spiritual practices for intervening upon troublesome students (e.g. Cremin, 1980) Such practices and rituals operate with altogether different metaphysical assumptions. It is in this shift beyond epistemologies to include non-Western ontologies and cosmologies that this sort of research would engage immediation, making space for different modes of feeling and existing in schools, those which have been relegated to the outsides of formal schooling, and history.



It is with these prospective directions forward that I conclude this dissertation. In studying affect, student misbehavior and teacher pedagogy in 19th century schooling raised as many questions as answers. The entanglement of student misbehavior and teacher pedagogy, of freedom and force, remains as true today as it was two hundred years ago. What is different are the practical and discursive modes within which students act and teachers manage. These were modes that were saturated with affect, but equally eluding capture. Perhaps this is the limitations of the archive and the lesson of misbehavior—It is everywhere, but always eluding capture.

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