Establishing a Moral Climate through Modes of Communication: An Experienced Teacher in a New School Setting

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> What makes teaching a moral endeavor is that it is, quite centrally, human action undertaken in regard to other human beings. Thus, matters of what is fair, right, just, and virtuous are always present. …The teacher's conduct, at all times and in all ways, is a moral matter (Fenstermacher, 1990, p. 133).

> Teaching as an activity can be described as moral because, in very general terms, it presupposes notions of better and worse, of good and bad. As typically understood, teaching reflects the intentional effort to influence another human being for the good rather than for the bad (Hansen, in press, p. 6).

That teaching has moral implications may seem self-evident, yet there is nevertheless a great need for

research in the area of teachers' beliefs and practices with regard to the moral dimensions of teaching, and the ways

in which the cultivation of moral and intellectual virtues are intertwined in teaching practices. David Hansen states in

a chapter called "Teaching as a Moral Activity" for the new Handbook of Research on Teaching:

> Perhaps there has never been a greater need for research that seeks to spotlight enduring aspects of educational work, those which constitute the very reasons for performing such work in the first place. As we have seen, the idea of teaching as a moral activity captures many of these aspects. Keeping the idea in view in a sharp and lucid manner remains an important task of both research and practice (Hansen, in press, p. 99).

Like Hansen (1998), I too believe that "the moral meaning of teaching can be derived from the basic terms of the work

itself….Teaching means attending to students, listening to them, speaking with them in intellectually serious ways,

identifying their strengths and weaknesses with an eye on supporting the former and overcoming the latter, and

more" (p.652-3). Furthermore, I believe a careful and close analysis of classroom life, with a particular focus on

seeking a better understanding of pedagogical beliefs and practices that are influential in the moral and intellectual

development of students, can lead to improving the ways in which we engage teachers and students in thinking

about these moral dimensions of teaching and learning. The discourse, beliefs, and behaviors of students should

also be carefully examined if the influences of the teacher are to be fully explored.

The questions for this study are:

- How does an elementary teacher together with her students construct what counts as morally acceptable behavior through verbal, non-verbal, and written communication in order to establish the climate of the classroom?

- In particular, how does the teacher take advantage of the interactional moment and use it as a teaching and learning "opportunity," and what is the evidence for student "take up" of the intended lessons?

- Does the teacher perceive certain student characteristics that differ across two school contexts, and what noticeable effect do such differences have on the ways in which the teacher perceives the co-construction of the classroom climate?

The final question emerged when Darlene, the teacher who is the focus of this study, moved to another school after

the second year of the study. This change provided a unique opportunity to begin to explore how differences in

schools may have an effect on moral dimensions of teaching.

The second question relates to a study from the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (Tuyay, Jennings, &

Dixon, 1995) that showed how opportunities for learning become visible through discourse interactions. They define

an opportunity to learn as "one that offers the student a chance to interact with information and to make sense of it" (p. 76). "Take up" is illustrated through sociolinguistic analysis by examining "how, through talk, members negotiated and constructed situated definitions" (p. 92). My goal in this study has been to gain a holistic view of the classroom community, and to co-construct with the teacher an interpretation of the emic meanings that the students and their teacher reveal in everyday actions and discourse. I have sought to understand the "customary actions, beliefs, knowledge, and attitudes of a social group as reflected in the ways of engaging in everyday life" (Zaharlick & Green, 1991, p. 207).

One of the ways in which Darlene takes advantage of an interactional moment during instruction to construct understandings of morally acceptable behavior with her students can be seen in the following vignette adapted from a videotape of a lesson (Jordan Elementary, second year of study, 10/22/98). Darlene is in the middle of a brainstorming session with the whole class of third and fourth graders when she notices that Justin has gotten up out of his seat and walked to the back of the room, out of the camera's range. However, there is a clear view of Stephanie, who follows the exchange with great interest:

line #	TEACHER'S TALK	GESTURES
006 007 008	Now I'm a little confused Justin what's happening here?	Darlene turns off overhead, caps pen, watches Justin, then frowns
009		Stephanie follows Justin's path with her eyes
010 011 012 013 014 015	wuh wait wait wait right there wait stop stop can you answer me please? What's happening?	 Darlene puts her hand out nods her head Darlene looks straight at Justin
016		Stephanie looks at Darlene
017	Are you learning right now?	
018		Stephanie shakes her head
019	Am I teaching right now?	Darlene points at herself
020		Stephanie nods her head
021	So what's your responsibility?	
022		Stephanie looks back at Justin
023 024	Yes will you go back to your position please your learning position Quickly!	Darlene remains in the same position, watching Justin
025		Justin goes back to his seat, then away again off camera

026	You stopped our teaching time	
027	Thank you	
028	Don't do that anymore okay	
029		Stephanie shakes her head
030	'cause it stops my teaching and makes me angry	
031	Right?	
032		Stephanie nods her head
033	Okay	Darlene turns from Justin

What is morally significant about this episode? Darlene interrupts the lesson to ask Justin about his behavior (lines 8-21), and to help him remind himself of his responsibility as a student in her classroom. She then provides him with a clear rationale as to why she is telling him he shouldn't get up out of his seat (26, 30). Furthermore, in this example we have evidence that another student in the class is taking up her lesson on morally acceptable behavior because Stephanie shakes and nods her head in response to Darlene's questions and statements. The purpose of this paper is to explore more thoroughly and systematically what Darlene is attempting to teach and what her students are taking up by looking at a few segments of everyday classroom life in each school setting in order to understand <u>how</u> Darlene takes advantage of the interactional moment. This analysis will be complemented by students' and teacher interview excerpts and by a comparison of student remarks during a community circle classroom meeting that was structured in similar ways in both schools at about the same time of year.

CONCEPTUALLY FRAMING THE STUDY

Looking at the classroom as a culture is essential to this inquiry into moral dimensions of teaching. Peacock's (1988) working definition of culture is a succinct and appropriate one:

> The taken-for-granted but powerfully influential understandings and codes that are learned and shared by members of a group. (quoted in Egan-Robertson & Willett, 1998, p. 8)

In all classrooms, words spoken and patterns of action converge in ways that help the members of that classroom understand what is morally acceptable and what is not. Robert Boostrom has said of rules, "They are structures of meaning we use to make sense of the world around us" (1991, p. 194). In the classroom I have chosen to study what counts as morally acceptable behavior is taught very purposefully, with a specific vocabulary and using consciously chosen strategies.

Three conceptual lenses that are used for this study are: the concept of manner in teaching, which helps clarify why teaching is an inherently moral activity; an ethnographic approach; and a discourse microanalysis of interactions. Each of these enables a particular view into the moral dimensions of teaching of concern in this study,

and when they converge it is hoped some new light will be shed on the dynamics of establishing the moral climate of the classroom. Each will be presented in the following sections, followed by a brief discussion of a related study.

The Concept of Manner

I am currently a member of the Manner in Teaching Project at the University of Michigan that is a three-year study funded by the Spencer Foundation. Manner in this context is defined as human conduct that expresses virtue and is consistent with a relatively stable disposition or character trait (Fenstermacher, 1992). In the words of the Manner Project proposal:

> The purposes of this study are to further develop the concept of manner in teaching, and to address the question of whether and with what means teachers can undertake the reflective study of their own manner, attending to it in ways that permit its thoughtful connection to instructional method and to their intended results for student learning (p.5).

This study is somewhat unique in that it combines a philosophical inquiry and analysis, led by co-principal investigator Gary Fenstermacher, and a qualitative empirical study, led by co-principal investigator Virginia Richardson. In collaboration with the eleven teachers in two schools involved in the project, we are attempting to better understand the nature of manner in teaching and the ways in which its members strive to construct a virtuous classroom community.   The initial findings of the researchers involved in the Manner Project were presented in a symposium at the 1999 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association in Montreal, Canada. Fenstermacher's paper seeks to examine the ways in which moral and intellectual theories bear upon elucidating the concept of manner, particularly how these theories impact making manner visible in the classroom. Six methods are identified as ways that teachers seek to convey virtues, enhance moral relationships, and develop intellectual dispositions in their classrooms: constructing classroom community, didactic instruction, designing and executing academic task structures, calling out for a particular conduct, and showcasing specific students (Fenstermacher, 1999). Call-outs are especially relevant to this study, as we see multiple examples of this approach in the segments of videotape analyzed. As Fenstermacher explains:

"At least in the case of the teachers participating in our study, the call-outs were, in the main, far from simple demands for compliance or order, but the expression of a very genuine interest in helping the student to become a good person" (Fenstermacher, 1999, p. 9).

Discourse Analysis and Adopting an Ethnographic Approach

Ethnographers set out to describe and compare the cultures of the people they study by observing closely the activities, discourse, and patterns of everyday life. Erickson said: "Interpretive, participant observational

fieldwork research, in addition to a central concern with mind and with subjective meaning, is concerned with the relations between meaning-perspectives of actors and the ecological circumstances of action in which they find themselves" (1986, p.127). Elsewhere, Erickson has used the analogy of ethnography in educational research as useful for revealing what is inside the "black boxes" of daily life in classrooms by documenting processes that "consist of the routine actions and sensemaking of participants in educational settings, which, because they are habitual and local, may go unnoticed by practitioners and researchers alike" (1992, p. 202). Gee and Green (1998) explain what is meant by an ethnographic perspective that guides the analysis of discourse by citing the definition by Spindler and Spindler (1987) which states that a "culturally constructed dialogue" expressed in action, words, and symbols is constructed by social actors in a social scene and setting. Discourse, then, is language as social action and behavior. The following quote provides a succinct summary of how the microanalysis of discourse interactions, including talk and gestures, coupled with an ethnographic approach is useful for this study:

> Discourse analysis, then, when guided by an ethnographic perspective, forms a basis for identifying what members of a social group (e.g. a classroom or other educational setting) need to know, produce, predict, interpret, and evaluate in a given setting or social group to participate appropriately (Heath, 1982) and, through that participation, learn (i.e. acquire and construct the cultural knowledge of the group). Thus, an ethnographic perspective provides a conceptual approach for analyzing discourse data (oral or written) from an emic (insider's) perspective and for examining how discourse shapes both what is available to be learned and what is, in fact, learned (Gee and Green, 1998, p. 126).

A Related Study

Richardson and Fallona (1999) look at how classroom management brings together experienced teachers' manner and method, by comparing two teachers involved in the Manner Project, one of whom is Darlene, the teacher who is a co-researcher in this study. "We are looking at classroom management, manner, beliefs about classroom life and moral and intellectual goals for students, and classroom behavior that directly informs students of expectations for virtuous conduct" (p. 3). Their findings suggest that "the degree of authenticity-coherence-in which she [the teacher] expresses her beliefs, goals, manner and methods" can help enhance our understanding of effective classroom management and teacher expertise. There are also significant implications for teacher education. Pre-service teachers "must be asked to reflect upon their beliefs about teaching and the attributes of their style that may be indicative of their manner" (p.29) as this has everything to do with how they will interact with their students and establish the classroom environment.

CONTEXTUALIZING THE STUDY

Profile of Darlene

Darlene is a white female in her late forties who has been teaching elementary school students for 15 years. She has also worked for several years as a staff developer for an early reading program. During the years of the study's data collection, she has been teaching a multiage class of third and fourth graders, and she was team-teaching with two other teachers who also teach in third and fourth grade multiage classrooms at her previous school. One of the team teachers has also been involved in the Manner Project, and she and Darlene had adjacent rooms so students could move easily from one to the other when necessary. Darlene has a ready smile, and greets her students each day at the door with a hug, handshake, or a high-five. A peaceful calm characterizes the atmosphere in her classroom. Things run very smoothly, and students move purposefully around the room when appropriate during activities and during transitions. Darlene is a very self-reflective teacher who expresses keen interest in research and in furthering her understanding of manner and the issues we are exploring together in the Manner Project. She is very purposeful in selecting strategies for eliciting morally virtuous conduct from her students, and she is adept at analyzing her own communication in the classroom. She has been willing to devote extra time to analysis of videotapes, and she developed her own system of coding certain teacher moves in selected portions of her videotapes. Furthermore, four of her students who were interviewed in early February of 1999 were able to articulate some of Darlene's strategies and their purposes in surprising and revealing ways.

Darlene's students describe her as nice, funny, caring, loving, and likeable. She is "strict when she needs to be" and has a good sense of humor. "She always makes these little mistakes that we laugh about it with her," explains Darcy. She's a good teacher, they say, because "she like learns like how one kids learns…she adapts to their learning" and because "she gives you time to think." Lisa said she was a good teacher "because I have a kind of problem reading and she helps me read and I'm getting better at it." Darlene's team teacher, Margaret, wrote about her in a journal entry from late October of 1998:

> Darlene and I have a similar work ethic and value system but we approach issues quite differently. Darlene and I have made a nice marriage in our teaching. We have begun to think each other's thoughts. …Darlene is one of the best teachers I have ever seen! She is so good at getting children to work to their potential…she is a pro. Darlene is so good at breaking the very complex down so that it becomes digestive for students. They will easily learn the concept. She is so good at putting it all back together so that students see the real life issues. She hardly ever raises her voice or snaps at a child. I am simply amazed how she can stay so calm in a crisis. I really respect her patience.

When asked to describe herself, Darlene said, "I think I'm loving…inclusive. I see myself as relating to kids in a caring way…personable. …I have high expectations and yet there's a leniency about getting them there at their own time within certain parameters" (4/27/98).

The Schools

The school site where Darlene was previously teaching is Jordan Elementary in the Riverton School District (pseudonyms are being used to protect the participants' privacy). It is a relatively small neighborhood K-5 school with approximately 280 students and 13 certified classroom teachers. Slightly more than half of the student population is Caucasian, about a third is African American, and nearly 40% of the students receive free or reduced lunch. The school's vision is driven by the T.E.A.M. concept of Together Everyone Achieves More and a warm, inviting atmosphere is felt throughout the school.

Darlene's current school, Woodcreek Elementary, is on the opposite side of town, but is part of the same district. Woodcreek is larger than Jordan with an enrollment of about 350 students, 84% of whom are Caucasian. There are 15 certified classroom teachers. In comparison to Jordan, only about 12 % of Woodcreek's students receive free or reduced lunch. The school's mission is to "nurture within each student the joy of lifelong learning through academic preparation, building positive self-esteem, and developing social responsibility."

Many schools in the Riverton School District have adopted the language of the "lifeskills" (Kovalik, 1994) which seeks to teach the importance of integrity, patience, effort, cooperation, responsibility, and so forth, and these are prominently used at both Jordan and Woodcreek and in Darlene's classroom. Behavior guides known as Lifelong Guidelines are also posted throughout the two schools:

- TRUSTWORTHINESS
- TRUTHFULNESS
- ACTIVE LISTENING
- NO PUT-DOWNS
- PERSONAL BEST

At Woodcreek, where the lifeskills have been used for a longer time and by more teachers than at Jordan, the parents and students sign an agreement "to work together to model the Lifelong Guidelines and lifeskills every day." Treating people with respect and dignity, as well as making others feel they belong and are cared for and are important to the community are all messages that the schools work hard to convey to students, parents, and teachers.

METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

Primary data for this study was taken from two videotapes of classroom lessons, one in each school, as well as two videotapes of a community circle class meeting in each school with a similar purpose and at the same time of year. In addition, four of the students from Jordan Elementary were interviewed. The teacher herself interviewed three students from Woodcreek Elementary. The teacher was interviewed six times, and three of the teacher interviews

were structured around viewing videotapes of classroom lessons. In addition, various artifacts such as the teacher's

reflections and journal entries were collected and analyzed (see Appendix A for a data collection map).

Data analyzed for this study includes:

- Classroom videotapes from 2/4/98, 10/22/98, and 2/15/99 (Jordan Elementary) and 1/28/00 and 2/16/00 (Woodcreek Elementary)
- Teacher interviews from 10/20/97, 4/27/98, 2/18/99, 11/29/99, 12/2/99, 3/3/00
- Teacher's analysis of video segments
- Four Jordan Elementary student interviews from 2/1/99 and 2/12/99 (for interview schedule, see Appendix B)
- Three Woodcreek Elementary student interviews by the teacher from 3/17/00 and 3/23/00
- Field notes from years 2 and 3 of the study, and context notes for videotapes and interviews
- Various text artifacts from the classroom, from journal entries, and email communications

The videotaped data chosen for analysis is meant to be a representative slice of life in the classroom.

However, rather than argue for typicality, the intent is to see each episode as a telling case (Mitchell, 1984) "in which

the particular circumstances surrounding a case serve to make previously obscure theoretical relationships suddenly

apparent" (p. 239).

The method of constant comparison for generating theoretical ideas as set forth by Glaser and Strauss

(1963) is also applicable to my study. "The generation of theory requires that the analyst take apart the story within

his data" (p.108). The purpose of meticulously going through the process of coding data (field notes, interviews,

videotapes, etc.) is "to establish an evidentiary warrant for the assertions one wishes to make. This is done by

reviewing the data corpus repeatedly to test the validity of the assertions that were generated, seeking disconfirming

evidence as well as confirming evidence" (Erickson, 1986, p.146).

Working closely with Darlene on the analysis of the data was essential, and enhances the validity of the

findings. Nevertheless, it is important to note that these interpretations are evolving and we are continuing to push

for deeper understandings. Like Kyratzis and Green, I view "the research narrative as a theoretical exposition of how

narrative can be understood as a joint construction and as 'a' not 'the' representation of the ways in which members

of a group inscribe a social world, identity, knowledge, and practice" (1997, p. 17).

The transcripts of the videotaped classroom lessons are also jointly constructed representations. As

Carolyn Baker said:

> Transcription (the process) is a method of inquiry, involving analysis from the beginning. The transcript (the product) reflects that inquiry. As a number of researchers have observed, transcription is more than a merely technical matter; the transcription process and its outcomes are by no means neutral (1997, p. 110).

I have chosen to use "message units" of talk (Green et al., 1988) in the transcription from videotape so as to place

nonverbal and other contextual data in the precise moments in which they occurred. This was necessary to reveal

indications of student take up (Tuyay et al. 1995; Putney et al. 1999), as in the episode from the introduction with Justin and Stephanie. In the longer transcripts, interpretative commentary was added to assist the reader in understanding the related meaning of both talk and gestures constructed in the interactions.

DATA ANALYSIS: Jordan Elementary

The first data chosen for analysis from Jordan Elementary represents a slice of classroom life, as taken from a videotape of a whole class lesson on February 4, 1998, in the first year of the study. It is a six minute excerpt in which Darlene is giving instructions for writing math story problems with a partner. I have excerpted five episodes that help to illustrate how morally acceptable behavior is constructed in this classroom by the teacher and the students. Supplemental data from interviews and from a community circle class meeting will be analyzed as well in order to demonstrate further student take up of these ideas.

Larry and Max

The first episode involves two boys, Larry and Max, who are sitting adjacent to each other in a trio of individual desks. When Larry claims that Max pushed his desk, Darlene chooses a stance with Max that avoids accusing him and gives him the responsibility for fixing the situation. (In the transcript, emphasis in indicated by bold type.)

Line	Speaker	Talk	Gestures	Commentary
001 002 003 004 005	Darlene	you're going to be **really excited** to be able to do these difficult problems I was **so** impressed with the ones you wrote last week I thought you were ready for this challenge Now what I **hope** to do	Darlene stands in front of cluster of three desks; Larry adjusts his desk that appears to have been shifted by Max's legs, then moves his chair	
006	Larry	Quit it!	Pushes his desk forward again, Darlene notices	
007	Darlene	is to **have** you	Darlene looks down at Larry and Max	Darlene's proximity allows her to see what is happen-ing, even though Max's legs are hidden under the desk.
008	Larry	He pushed my desk into me!	Larry looks at Max	
009 010	Darlene	Max do you need to pull back?	Turns to look at Max directly, makes eye contact	Darlene acknowledges Larry's claim that Max has caused a problem, but puts the responsibility for remedying the situation in Max's hands with her question to him.
011	Max	Huh?	Max has his hands on his head, is leaning back slightly, his legs	She waits a moment before repeating the question, giving Max another chance to respond

Line	Speaker	Talk	Gestures	Commentary
			are still extended under desks	even though he shows little or no reaction.
012	Darlene	Do you need to move back?	Still looking at Max	
013		Well **do** so if it's going to irritate others		Now she gives directions but also a rationale. She checks with Max to make sure he understands and accepts her thinking. Max nods and moments later moves his desk away from Larry's desk, and adjusts his chair.
014		Okay?		
015		Okay?	Max nods slightly Darlene looks out at class	
016		Okay. Good.		
017		Um I **hope** at the end of this lesson that you will be able to trade **your** story problems with somebody from another pride		
018		to **challenge** them		

When Larry explains why he pushed his desk forward and said, "Quit it!" to Max, Darlene accepts his explanation that Max had violated his right to his personal space. Rather than reprimanding Max, or just telling him what to do, she asks him if he needs to pull back, giving him the responsibility for righting a wrong. When she finally does tell him to adjust his desk, requesting a particular conduct, she gives him a rationale for her directions. He responds to her request by nodding and then moving his desk and chair back away from Larry. Darlene explained in an interview about this episode that "he [Max] can be very oppositional and to avoid the immediate defensiveness that he would have had, even though he was the instigator, I phrase it in the way in which I do to kind of encourage him to decide to take responsibility." This implies that Darlene has learned to use this approach with Max from past experiences, when perhaps other approaches made him defensive and oppositional. Max's acknowledgement is important to Darlene, and she goes on to say, "I have to get something, so I get a nod and I accept that, and then if I leave him alone he generally will do it because he decided to do it and that makes it okay." So Darlene is very intentional about enhancing moral relationships by empowering Max to take responsibility, because she has learned from experience that when he feels in charge of his decisions, "he can still learn. Otherwise, he's oppositional and he's ticked to the hilt and he will not learn" (12/2/99).

<u>Justin</u>

Immediately following this episode, Darlene notices that Justin is having problems focusing on her. She has noted that he needs frequent behavioral redirection. As Darlene describes Justin, "if he ever has the chance to wander, that's what he does" (4/27/98). In fact, as we saw in the episode from the introduction, Justin sometimes has trouble staying in his seat when he is supposed to be listening and learning, an intellectual disposition that Darlene values. Body language and eye contact are important signals that students are engaged, and Darlene is explicit about what "active listening" looks like.

Line	Speaker	Talk	Gestures	Commentary

021	Darlene	**You** need to be the **expert** on your story problem Justin So if	Darlene notices that Justin is turned away from her; when he hears his name he turns his head to her then back away again. Justin continues to face away from Darlene.	Darlene says Justin's name and Justin doesn't stay focused on her. Then she showcases him and makes him the focus of her explanation, with Travis as an example of his potential partner for the activity.
022		for instance		
023		Travis can't figure out your story		
024		problem		
		you have to be able to		
025		**Justin**		
026		I'm talking to you sweetheart	He turns around to look at Darlene, they make and sustain eye contact.	
027		If Travis can't figure out your story problem		
028		**you** have to be the **expert** that teaches him **how**	Darlene points at Justin	
029		So you can't just write a ridiculous one that nobody can		
030		figure **out**	Darlene points for emphasis.	
		You want it to be **challenging** but you want to know **how** to		
031		teach it in case they can't do it		
		Got it?		
032			Darlene is still pointing right at Justin	
033				
034			Justin turns around away from Darlene and mouths "got it" to girl to his left while nodding his head up and down and smiling at Laura, sitting diagonally across from him. Then he turns back to look at Darlene.	Justin acknowledges Darlene's question by repeating it as a statement, signaling his understanding of what she expected of him.

In this episode, Darlene is emphasizing the importance of listening to directions, and implies to Justin that sustained eye contact will show her that he is listening. As with Max, she awaits acknowledgement that Justin "got it" before she continues with her explanations. She explained her approach as "with Justin you have to say it sternly or it doesn't, it's like it doesn't get past this first barrier, the one that is this inattention thing" (12/2/99). Justin shows that he is taking up her lesson when he turns to a peer and says "got it." Furthermore, Justin talked several times in an interview about the importance of paying attention to the teacher. When asked how he shows the teacher that he likes to learn he replied, "Pay attention when she's teaching," and when asked more generally what someone should do in that classroom to be a good student he said, "When it's teaching time you don't sharpen your pencil and you don't get up from your seat unless it's an emergency." He also elaborated that following directions, keeping your hands to yourself, and not tipping back in your chair were important aspects of being a good student. Justin is also

aware of the role that Darlene plays in his learning these lessons. When asked, "What is your teacher doing to help you be a better student?" he answered, "To stay on task." When probed as to how she did that, he said she only gives him one reminder (2/12/99). In Justin's comments we can see that Darlene's strategies of calling out for a particular conduct in order to develop certain behaviors and dispositions toward learning, and showcasing Justin by incorporating him into her example, are not only explicit but effective.

Travis

    In the next episode, we see a similar example of calling for appropriate behavior when a student doesn't hide his displeasure regarding the partner he will have to work with. Darlene has just explained that the students will be working in pairs for this assignment with the person sitting across from them. One student, Travis, who is sitting opposite a girl off camera, reacts by turning away from her and shielding his face from her with his left hand. He then turns back around and talks to someone straight ahead of him, but still out of the camera's range. Moments later he shakes his head and lowers it down to the desk. Then a student asks a question that is unintelligible.

Line	Speaker	Talk	Gestures	Commentary
069	Student	[…]		
070 071 072 073 074	Darlene	Alright I'm sorry There are two questions here that you might have Travis? Are you ready for this lesson?	Darlene puts her hand on the shoulder of the student in front of her as she looks over at Travis, who looks back at her when she says his name. He barely nods when she asks if he is ready for this lesson.	Darlene can't focus on the student's question because she is distracted by noise and she also notices Travis's behavior. She responds to it by asking him a question.
075			Adam raises his hand	Adam keeps his hand up for several minutes, patiently following the classroom norms for participation.
076 077	Darlene	Are you **worried** about this lesson or are you just being silly?		Now she offers him two alternative explanations for his behavior
078	Travis	What?		
079	Darlene	Are you **worried** about this lesson or are you just being silly?		
080	Student off camera	I'm worried		Darlene seems to either register this or maybe Travis makes an expression that leads her to believe he will choose the first option
081	Darlene	You're worried?		
082	Travis	No	Travis shakes his head	Travis is emphatic.
083			Adam's hand is now folded over his head	

			as he looks at Travis, who sits diagonally across from him	
084 085 086 087	Darlene	Okay Then stop silliness please this is learning time thank you	Darlene nods her head for emphasis	Again Darlene provides a rationale for her directions to stop being silly.

Travis then decides the best way to handle his discomfort about his partner is to look up instead of across his desk to avoid further silliness. Once again in this episode we see that Darlene provides a rationale when she calls out for certain behaviors (lines 85 and 86). Darlene describes Travis as someone who "spends a lot of time pointing fingers at everybody else and cannot admit fault." She does find that in talking with him he has begun to change his behavior of putting others down. "Every time we talk, he can admit it, but we've got to go through this little game of, 'How are you going to grow if you don't be honest. You can't make the change. And everybody else here is able to say, this is what I did wrong…now we need to hear it from you. What did Travis do wrong?' And he could always do it, but you have to go through the game. Now, he's just beginning to change that" (4/27/98). Darlene has developed an interactional style that is beginning to be successful with Travis and is helping him to change his behavior of blaming others and not admitting when he has been wrong. As with the other examples, Darlene is conscious of teaching her students to be responsible for their behavior and their learning, and she is keenly aware of the progress they are making in that regard. Learning over time from trial and error which approaches work with each individual student, Darlene is able to promote understandings of morally acceptable social behavior in her classroom. Justin, Max, and Travis show in their response to Darlene's requests that they are taking up her attempts to teach them in each of these interactional moments.

Laura

Although the previous episodes involved boys, Darlene calls out for certain behaviors with the girls as well. Her approach with each student is slightly different depending on the interactional style that she has found to be most effective in each case. In the next episode, Laura, who is sitting diagonally across from Justin, has been turning around in her seat to look at the camera, which is close by. Justin is not in the camera's range.

Line	Speaker	Talk	Gestures	Commentary
105 106 107	Darlene	you **do** have to make sure that **every member** of your story writing team is working on the story though and understands it	Darlene notices Laura turning to face the camera again. Darlene looks down, then up at Laura	
108	Laura		Laura turns to the	

			camera.	
109			The camera pans to the right as Justin is also looking at the camera, and he flashes a toothy grin.	Laura and Justin are engaging in what Darlene describes as "parallel play."
110 111 112 113 114 115 116	Darlene	Laura? Move back away from your pride please you've lost your privilege You **need** to be where you can listen Thank you Joe, something else?	Laura turns back around to face Darlene and slumps down, then gets up and is smiling as she moves to a place off camera. Justin looks at Laura and then back at Darlene.	Darlene doesn't give Laura a choice, but she does give her a rationale for her decision, which Laura readily accepts.

Darlene provided an explanation for her direct approach with Laura. "There was a new little friendship developing there, it was the thing between Laura and Justin that kept going on." She described it as a kind of "parallel play" and added that "some people would think they were both off task but if you really know the kids you know they're doing it for each other…It was a constant daily problem all day, and you work with them and work with them…We ultimately had to separate them, they couldn't work in the pride [table group] together because she just became a whole different person in his presence, which was not helpful to her." Unlike her approach with Max and Travis, Darlene doesn't ask Laura a question about her behavior. As she explains her reasoning, "You can't ask her questions because she doesn't integrate and process the language well enough to make the connection with what's going on. You just have to tell her. And she's just so kind hearted and wonderful and just tickled pink to have your attention whether it's positive or negative, and [she's] very compliant and she'll be fine, so see, it's really okay with her" (12/2/99). Darlene is intentionally teaching Laura about acceptable behavior in a slightly different way based on her assessment of Laura's learning style and needs.

Adam

In the last episode, Adam, who has had his hand raised since the Travis episode, demonstrates that he has taken up Darlene's lessons about appropriate norms for participation. But there is something more sophisticated at work in this episode than in the previous ones. Here we can glimpse a moment that helps shed light on how Darlene enhances a moral relationship with a student through discourse. It is also significant because Darlene is learning from the student, and she explicitly acknowledges it and thanks him for it.

Line	Speaker	Talk	Gestures	Commentary
132	Darlene	Any other questions about your assignment?	Darlene points toward Adam, who still has	

		Is that a question?	his hand on his head	
133			Adam nods	
134	Darlene	Adam? No?		
135			Adam shakes his head	Adam has a comment, not a question, but he doesn't say that to Darlene yet
136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144	Darlene	Well put your **hand** down I'll think you have a question! Okay. Alright would you please begin with the person **across** from you **or** in the case of uh Tim and Joe beside you or in the case of **three** people okay you may begin	Darlene motions down with her hand and her tone is playful.	
145			Adam shoots his hand up in the air	Adam changes his mind.
146	Darlene	Don't do that unless you have a question	Darlene shakes her head and moves toward Adam	
147	Adam	[…]	Adam puts his hand down	Adam obeys the teacher's direction, and puts his hand down because what he wants to say is not in the form of a question.
148	Darlene	Then don't **do** that	Darlene starts to turn away from Adam	Darlene means he shouldn't raise his hand if he doesn't have a question.
149	Adam	[…]		Adam explains something to Darlene.
150	Darlene	Oh, well why didn't you **say** that?	Darlene moves back toward Adam	
151	Girl	[…]	Stops Darlene to ask her a question	
152 153	Darlene	Absolu oh you gotta go next door?		
154			The girl shakes her head no and points	
155			Adam taps on Darlene's arm to get her attention back	
156 157	Darlene	Out there? Yes	Darlene asks the girl. Darlene turns to face Adam	
158	Adam	Why do we gotta do this **for** you?	Adam looks up at Darlene, who is bending down so they are face to face	Adam frames his comment as a question.
159	Darlene	That's a question		Darlene doesn't answer his question; she makes a comment.
160	Adam	So		He quickly reframes his question

				as a comment, because he doesn't want to know the answer to his question, he wants to make his clever comment.
161	Darlene	that's not a **comment**		
162 163	Adam	**this** we gotta do this **for** you because **you** don't want to do it	Adam points his pencil for emphasis	Adam's tone is playful.
164 165 166 167 168	Darlene	'cause I don't want to do it? Ah ha ha ha that's good **thinking** I hadn't **thought** about it but I'll have to use that now that you gave me the idea Thanks	Darlene is looking right at Adam as she asks him the question. Then, she stands back up and throws her head back, laughing. She taps his shoulder. Then she points at Adam and is smiling at him. As she walks away she is still chuckling, and Adam turns to smile at his neighbor.	Darlene contemplates his statement for a moment. Then she shows she understands, and shows Adam she finds his comment funny, but she also praises him for being clever. Adam shows he is pleased.

Darlene described Adam as a "high level thinker" even though when he initially came to Jordan Elementary as a third grader, he "couldn't read anything, couldn't spell anything, couldn't put letters on the line." It pleased her greatly that he had the confidence to share his "joking little comment with the teacher in front of the class" as demonstrated by the length of time that his hand was raised, and his patience in waiting to be called on. "He was being literal," Darlene explained, "it's not a question it's a comment and then he asked it as a question and I thought, well, he does have some language learning problems so I'll just take this little second to train him that it is a question, so you could have asked it, and you didn't know the difference between a question and comment so that this doesn't have to happen again. Or else you need to be able to say, no, it's not a question, but I have a comment." Adam's thinking, she added, was "that's the rule, you don't ask that, you don't make a comment now she said is it a question, so I'll just hold it, but I don't want to lose it so I'll get my hand up there keeping my brain holding on to that." Darlene said this is a typical comment for Adam, that he has a great sense of humor and "can catch double meanings when you say something and laugh because you mean for it to be funny." Adam likes to reciprocate with his own wit, Darlene said, although usually it happens privately. "He'll often come up after and say, well, Mrs. Danielson, you know, and he'll do this little thing like he did, like take this to another level" (12/2/99). Darlene's own sense of humor is evident in her response to his comment, and she not only laughs out loud, she praises him for his "good thinking" and lets him know that his idea is worth putting into practice.

Each of these episodes gives some insight into how Darlene and these students are building understandings about what is acceptable and what is not in the classroom. Clearly, Darlene has developed relationships with each of these students that enable her to handle the disruptions in the ways that she does. Each relationship is unique and entails in-depth knowledge of the student and the interactional style or stance that is most effective with that student in different classroom scenarios, both public and private. This is developed over time from multiple close observations of students, and from trial and error in using different styles in order to test hypotheses about which ones are most effective. To better understand exactly what Darlene has accomplished in terms of developing her students' understanding of morally acceptable behavior, it is worth looking at other evidence that students understand what Darlene is attempting to teach them in a different classroom context. This will also help to show how resilient this learning is and how students are able to apply the concepts in a more abstract example.

Community Circle

Further evidence that students are taking up Darlene's lessons about responsibility and what good student behavior entails can be found in a classroom meeting (known as "community circle") which was videotaped on February 15, 1999 in the second year of the study (an event map for this can be found in Appendix C). Community circle meetings occurred frequently, sometimes several times a week, and served different purposes. Darlene describes why she planned this particular activity:

> We had dealt with a concern about the "crabbiness" of the computer teacher and decided that, if we changed our action during class, she would change hers. We created a graph on which a student would write the name of another student who helped them remember our commitment to good behavior. We sent a letter to the computer teacher telling her we were committed to improving our behavior and asking for her help in using the chart. It worked! Our behavior improved and she is nicer to us. So I thought we were ready to take this a step further. On the whole, cruelty was on the rise. Students' ability to see another point of view during conflict management was hampered by apparent lack of understanding and care regarding the full impact of their actions. Comments like "I was only kidding" and "It's not that big a deal" helped to prove my concern. Somehow I had to make the point that everything we do or don't do affects everyone whose lives we touch. I would set up a chain storytelling experience in which the children had a right to pass. We would reflect on the experience with every child contributing thoughts and feelings. I would make the reason for the activity clear: everything you do or say affects every member of this community. I would make the connections between this activity, the computer lab experience, and our lives in and out of the classroom.

After an introduction in which Darlene explained the purpose of the community circle meeting that day to the students, they created the chain story, and then were asked to reflect on a list of questions written up on the board. These were:

1. Why is creating a story fun?
2. How is it different if one person creates the whole story?
3. How can we improve the way we work together?

4. How does your part of the story affect everyone else?
5. How does it affect us when one person doesn't listen?
6. How does it affect us when one person doesn't participate?

After students had a chance to reflect, they went around the circle and those that wanted to share their reflections with the group did so. Three girls who picked question number five said the following:

> Okay um, mine is number five, how does it affect us when a person doesn't listen? It affects us because if a person doesn't listen we have to wait and wait and wait and so, and then when the person doesn't **listen**, um, we have to wait and wait and wait and wait and wait and then we get really **mad** if a person doesn't listen. And then they'll be going huh? uh? What did you say? Huh? Huh? And then they'll be like **puzzled** why they why, why they weren't, **what** they were supposed to be doing. So it really affects us because when a person doesn't listen and we have to say it all over again. (Sarah)

> I picked number five um, how does it affect us when one person doesn't listen to us. Um, if the teacher is teaching it takes up the teacher's teaching time and it takes our learning time. It takes up our learning time. (Jenny)

> I picked five, how does it affect us when one person doesn't listen. I think, I think the teachers get really mad because then they have to say what they just said again and we have to wait and start over again. (Katie)

Sarah and Katie have picked up on Darlene's rationale from the episode with Justin in the introduction: "don't do that anymore 'cause it stops my teaching and makes me angry." They also express that consequences of not listening are both for the individual, who won't know what he or she is supposed to be doing, and for the group, which has to wait while directions are given again. Jenny's language echoes Darlene's "you stopped our teaching time" from the same episode with Justin, and "this is learning time" from the episode with Travis. Lisa, in an interview (2/1/99), said of Darlene, "just sometimes when people start talking a lot, she kind of gets angry." She explained that a good student "is somebody who follows directions…and who doesn't talk **that** much. I mean, you can talk, but doesn't do like too much talking." Dan, like Justin, echoed this in his interview (2/1/99) when asked what it takes to be successful in Mrs. Danielson's classroom. "Don't play around while she's teaching, don't interrupt while she's talking, um, do your work and don't talk to neighbors. And follow instructions, if she's giving them out for something." Some students have taken up Darlene's rationale for why paying attention is important, for example in Darcy's interview (2/1/99) she states:

> Well, Mrs. Danielson is like…she like says, "Who is responsible for your learning?" And like we, if we say her, she knows that we weren't like, we're not really knowing everything about what they need to know…and then we always say like, "We are!"…so really we're responsible to learn and we could be like drifting off in space and stuff and pretending to listen, but really we're in control of learning. We just got to like listen.

Another comment demonstrates that the message Darlene is trying to convey about the importance of community, that "everything you do or say affects every member of this community" has been taken up by Melissa, who says:

> I picked number six, how does it affect us when one person doesn't participate. Well, I wonder like Mrs. Danielson said, um, what they have to say, but it also feels to me like a piece of our community is missing. Like we're a pie and somebody ate half of it.

Now we will turn to Darlene's current school setting for some other examples of significant interactional moments. While there are many similarities, there are also some differences that Darlene has become aware of, and that she articulated in interviews. These will help to see to some extent both change and continuity in Darlene's teaching of morally acceptable social behavior in two different school contexts.

DATA ANALYSIS: Woodcreek Elementary

The February 16, 2000 lesson analyzed in the next section was a whole class reading comprehension exercise that entailed coding an expository text about zebras (see Appendix D) with categories such as "What does it look like?" and "How does it behave?" The teacher sat at the overhead projector during most of the lesson, and students were seated in four long rows of desks. Initially, students read through the text to identify places where the word zebra or an equivalent word such as "it" appeared in the text. They were instructed to circle with their finger, not their pencil, and to say "beep" each time such a word was encountered. There was also a discussion about the title and its relationship to the subject of the text. After the first ten minutes of the lesson, coding of the text was completed one sentence at a time as students volunteered to read aloud and to offer a code. In the following episodes, it is possible to identify ways in which Darlene makes use of these interactional moments with students to develop understandings of morally acceptable behavior.

Mark

In this episode we see Darlene calling for students to show readiness for learning in their body language. But there is also an interesting moment with a student who isn't following Darlene's directions. Mark is sitting at the end of the first row, just to Darlene's left. They are about to begin coding the text when Darlene notices that Mark has been circling words with his pencil.

Line	Speaker	Talk	Gestures	Commentary
001 002	Darlene	Is it coming back now? Let's see if we can get Alex and Courtney and uh Mark	Darlene looks at the students as she says	

003 004 005 006 007 008 009		to cooperate here. Head up please we're learning thank you. Ready Mark? You probably didn't hear me say we're not going to circle with our pencil so you can stop now. You're ready?	their name. Alex raises his head. Darlene waves her hand.	Alex raises his head. Darlene is assuming and stating a reason for Mark's failure to follow her directions.

Darlene gets the attention of students by mentioning specific names, as she did in the Justin episode at Jordan, and by inviting their cooperation and participation. When she requests that Alex raise his head from being slumped on his desk, she provides the rationale, "we're learning." Especially noteworthy is the way in which she lets Mark know he doesn't need to be circling words with his pencil. She doesn't repeat the earlier rationale for these instructions, but assumes that Mark didn't hear them. In an interview, Darlene elaborated on her decision to phrase it in this way:

> When he was circling with the pencil and we had made an elaborate thing about we don't need to do that anymore and if you really absolutely have to, then use your pencil eraser so it doesn't […], because you've got too much to look at there. And so he goes through the whole lesson doing that and of course I didn't catch him and I didn't stop him (and/or I don't remember which it was) but when I did catch him to just say "you didn't hear me" not that you're a bad child or you're doing it anyway or you're being obstinate or anything like that, "you didn't hear me," so now you know you don't need to do that anymore.

She goes on to explain why this sort of approach is needed more often than it was at Jordan:

> Those kinds of things are really essential with this population, where with the past population it was nice, it kept them from feeling it was a put down, and therefore they could continue to learn. With this population it's essential. They will, they recognize put downs where they aren't even there. Sometimes they're just so alert and aware, the antennae of watching for anybody who might challenge them because they're so secure in their own thinking and they think that, (well, there must be an insecurity or they wouldn't be doing that, but, just by virtue of their age), but they are so secure in understanding that they are important in this universe, that they don't allow that. So they go down deeper and they stay down and they're angry at you because you did it. So it's really important with this population to make sure that those are in place, those ways of accepting the responsibility myself, "Oh, I didn't make it clear" not "If you had paid attention!" which is what you want to say, you know? (3/3/00)

The "security in their own thinking" that Darlene refers to is evident in a second episode involving Mark that followed a discussion of the distinction between the code for "Where does it live?" and "Where is it found?" Here the academic task structure is such that students negotiate, through discussion, the code for each sentence. Darlene is developing an intellectual disposition toward reading comprehension that makes explicit what one thinks as one reads. In this episode, Darlene showcases Mark's thinking as important not only for his classmates, but for teachers as well.

Line	Speaker	Talk	Gestures	Commentary
049	Darlene	Mark	Points at Mark. His hand has been raised for several minutes	

050 051	Mark	Most animals are not **found** where they **live**. Like hyenas are found in plains but they live in **burrows**		Mark is offering a new distinction on found vs. live.
052	Darlene	Okay okay	She turns to look at him and nods.	
053 054	Mark	Like lions are found in grassy **areas** but they don't live in, they live in **plains**		Mark offers a new example.
055 056 057 058 059	Darlene	Oh **Mark** now say that again 'cause I'll bet Kay's going to be thinking yeah yeah, say that again this is a good explanation You got this Trevor? Listen to Mark	Darlene extends her hand out to Mark. She turns to Trevor.	Darlene acknowledges Mark's good contribution and makes sure others have heard and are learning from him
060 061 062 063	Mark	Most animals are **not** found where they live because hyenas are found in **plains** but they live in **burrows** and lions are found in grassy **areas** but they live in **plains**. The only reason lions are found in grassy areas is because of they are predators and they have to hunt	Darlene turns back to Mark, then out to class as she is nodding. Darlene turns to Mark again.	Mark repeats his examples, and adds additional information about lions.
064 065 066	Darlene	That is so cool, I'm going to have you write that down. Have you done your thinking log entry today? Would you write that in your thinking log please for me because=	Mark shakes his head no. Darlene nods her head.	Darlene wants Mark to record his thoughts so she will remember it too.
067 068	Mark	=I've got, I've got fifty **major** things to write down		Mark cuts Darlene off
069 070 071 072	Darlene	Well write that statement down because **that** I am going to photocopy that and take that to teacher training because teachers have the same problem you're having trying to figure out what's the difference. That was an **excellent** explanation so now=	Darlene points at Mark for emphasis. She gestures with a pointing finger out at the class and then turns back to the overhead.	Darlene shows Mark his ideas are important to teachers as well as students. Darlene is signaling to Mark that she is ready to move on.
073	Mark	All I did was watch the Discovery Channel!		Mark cuts Darlene off again.
074 075	Darlene	Okay well I'll give them that suggestion too. So then could we agree by that definition that this is where they live?	Darlene turns back to him again.	She offers him the chance to provide closure to their exchange.
076	Mark	Yeah, that's pretty much where they live	Mark nods.	
077	Darlene	They don't get to burrow		Darlene is offEveg a non-example.
078 079	Mark	They're like the one **third** of the animal population that **lives** where it's found. Because zebras are not going to be seen walking around going "Hey lions,	Mark gestures with his hand, looking at Darlene. He uses both hands on "hey lions!"	Mark wants to continue to hold the floor and provides additional information about zebras

080		come and attack me!" because lions are much faster than zebras. So they're gonna be=		and lions.
081	Darlene	=and they don't get to burrow and they don't get to nest so they just sort of wander	Darlene is still looking at Mark.	Darlene offers another non-example.
082 083 084	Mark	Yeah because zebras don't live in grassy **areas**. They **eat** there but they don't **live** there. So if they don't **live** there lions are going to have a hard time attacking them because the lions can't **hide** anywhere	Darlene turns back to the overhead.	Now Darlene is signaling again that she is ready to move on.
085	Darlene	Okay	Darlene looks out at the class.	
086	Mark	Unless they live right next to the **tree**		Mark has to finish his last thought.
087 088 089 090	Darlene	Alright I think we got that cleared up and you can probably speed through some of the rest of this? Yes? We're ready to go? Do you have another comment? Okay.	Darlene looks at Alex.	Darlene provides the closure while honoring Mark's contribution to clarifying the live vs. found distinction and then asks if they can move on. She waits when she sees Alex's hand up.

Mark has the confidence to share his examples of the distinction between *found* and *live* as well as his additional knowledge of zebras and lions with the class. So great is his enthusiasm that he is unwilling to give up the floor when Darlene attempts to signal through body and verbal language that it is time to move on. Darlene noted in an interview that this was a difference she had begun to notice between the different school populations:

> I mean they [Jordan students] would feel secure to share that information, and the Discovery Channel was one of the things that a few kids in particular really enjoyed and they would share information like that, but once it was done, or their teacher indicated it was done, it was done. Yeah. That's that, I call it a security, it's a, there's a self-esteem thing. Kids, parents have done a wonderful job in this community [Woodcreek] of making kids feel that they are very important. Their point of view is important and they should speak up and share it. It's a different population.

Darlene contributes to Mark's confidence in his ideas not only by allowing him to share all that he has to say, but also by publicly commenting that his insights will help teachers as well as students. She shows she respects Mark's contributions, and by having him record them in his thinking log, provides an opportunity for him to take responsibility for remembering them. In fact, Mark says he has "fifty major things to write down" in his thinking log, signaling that he is aware of other important thoughts that are worth recording and preserving. Mark was also able to articulate how important this recognition and respect is to him in his interview with Darlene. "You're pretty much

always demonstrating respect for students," he told her, "including me. It's like one of your special abilities" (3/24/00). Showcasing students publicly is one way that Darlene builds mutual respect in her classroom community, at the same time developing an intellectual disposition toward sharing knowledge for the betterment of others' learning.

Alex

In the following two episodes, we see how differences of opinion are negotiated through discussion as Darlene works to clarify both her thinking and that of her students. They have just finished establishing that the text is about zebras, and are discussing the title, "A Horse in Striped Pajamas."

Line	Speaker	Talk	Gestures	Commentary
010	Darlene	It says **zebras** or all about zebras	Darlene is at the overhead screen	
011	Alex	it's a **twist**		
012 013 014 015	Darlene	or something about zebras **Oh** you think it's a direct statement with a **twist?** What makes you=	Darlene pantomimes twisting a key with her hand	Darlene realizes Alex has a point to share that's different from where she was going
016	Alex	='cause you **think** there'd be a zebra under the [...]		
017	Mark	How would you know it's in the horse family?		Mark calls out, but doesn't interrupt Alex
018 019 020 021	Darlene	Ah, it's assuming that we **know** that Yeah I can see what you're thinking if if your audience=	Darlene nods She leans in	
022	Mark	=if it's a twist I would think it's a **double** twist	Mark looks at Darlene	Mark cuts Darlene off.
023	Darlene	I'm sorry let me finish hearing this	Puts her hand out to Mark but looks at Alex. Mark turns to look at Alex.	Darlene lets Mark know that Alex still has the floor. Mark shows he understands by turning to Alex.
024 025 026	Alex	If you were like shining a light on them, like a zebra and a horse and you look at their shadow you'd think they were the **same**	Alex points with his hand to indicate the zebra and horse	
027	Darlene	So you're assuming that your readers all know that the zebra is in the same family as the horse	Darlene points to the text on the screen.	Darlene is trying to clarify Alex's underlying assumption.
028	Alex	No I didn't mean **all** of [...]		
029 030 031	Darlene	**Ah**, so then it probably wouldn't **be** a twist a direct statement with a twist Yeah, so for some people it would be for others it would be a **special feature**	Darlene uses the twisting key gesture again. Alex shrugs then looks at Darlene. She uses her fingers in	Alex seems unwilling to give up on his idea that

032		So we're probably safe to say special feature for **everyone**	quotes for "special feature."	it's a twist, so Darlene tries to find a way to compromise between his opinion and hers.
033		And that **some** readers		
		who **know** the family		
034		would be able to recognize it as a twist Okay?	Alex looks at his paper.	
035		Good.		
036				
037				

Darlene said in an interview that this sort of negotiation occurs a lot at Woodcreek. Ultimately what matters to her is that students come to understand the point of view that differs from their own, and she sees herself as negotiating for clarity, not necessarily for conversion to another's point of view. "I really do believe that as long as they understand, I don't really care which one they take." At Jordan, she said these type of exchanges were different. "I'd say this is what I'm taking and this is why I'm taking it. But I want you to feel powerful enough to say that this is what I'm taking and this is why I'm taking it. As long as you can tell me that and it's not a wrong answer, then I can accept multiple right answers. I had to teach them how to do that. These kids [Woodcreek] come with that. That power, it's my way, and this is why…Everybody's got a comment about everything. Like Alex and his twist" (3/3/00). Alex and Darlene negotiate another difference of opinion about the coding categories shortly after the previous exchange.

Line	Speaker	Talk	Gestures	Commentary
038	Darlene	Alex?	Alex raises his hand	
039	Alex	I think like when they say **stripes** it could also be the **special** category because most animals don't **have** that	Alex points to the text for emphasis.	Darlene had established it was the "looks like" category.
040	Darlene	Hmm **most** don't	Darlene gestures with her hands for emphasis.	Darlene is reminding him of her previous rationale for using the special category only when no other category fits.
041		But if we can **fit** it in another category that **other** category		
042				
043	Alex	[...] also	He points again	Most of Alex's comment is incomprehensible
044	Darlene	Good.		Darlene continues her explanation and asks if Alex understands the point she is making.
045		I just want to make sure you understand that we **won't** pick the special category if it could **possibly** fit somewhere else.		
046		Is that really clear?		
047	Alex	Yeah	He nods.	
048	Darlene	Okay, good, we were saying the same thing I think I just wanted to **clarify**.	Moves closer to Alex and moves her hand back and forth.	

Darlene provides Alex with a rationale for their exchange about the use of the special category by saying she wanted to "clarify." Once again she is modeling how discussion helps everyone to see different points of view as well as learn the academic content. Her design and execution of this particular academic task structure enabled her to weave moral and intellectual instruction together. These interactions show that she values students' contributions and respects their points of view, and that she expects other students to value them as well.

Eve

 Such negotiations of meaning occur in similar ways with girls. In the next episode, Eve, like Alex, wants to use the special category to code a sentence that relates to what the zebra looks like. When Darlene realizes that Eve is not convinced after her initial attempt at negotiation, she tries additional examples and strategies. Here we see Darlene's trial and error process in action.

Line	Speaker	Talk	Gestures	Commentary
103 104 105	Darlene	Look like LL Do you agree with that Devin? That's kind of a cool look I think too isn't it=		
106	Eve	=I don't really agree with that.		Eve cuts Darlene off.
107 108	Darlene	You don't. What are you thinking?		
109	Eve	It's just saying something on **how** it looks it's not saying **what** it looks like.		Eve is attempting to argue for a distinction between how and what.
110 111 112	Darlene	Close enough. We'll call that the same category. Do you see a category that fits it **better**?	Darlene nods her head as she looks at Eve.	Darlene starts to close the exchange with her statement, but then poses a question to Eve.
113	Eve	What's **special** about it		
114	Darlene	Hmm		
115		[several kids talk at once]		Eve's comment sets off many reactions.
116	Jeff	If you put it in but it doesn't make too much sense but you can still fit it in		
117 118	Darlene	**Good** I like that thinking. What Cameron?		
119	Cameron	If it could be LL it **should** be		
120	Darlene	If it **could** be LL it **should** be LL.		Darlene repeats his statement for emphasis, since he is using the argument she used in her earlier explanations.
121 122	Alex	But what if it could be, let's say L? Or B?		Alex's question is meant to clarify the use of multiple categories.
123	Darlene	What do you think?	Darlene looks at Alex.	
124	Alex	What about when we should use special if it doesn't fit anywhere else?		Now he is trying to clarify the use of the special category.

125	Darlene	Then we'll duke it out when that happens, okay?	Darlene nods at Alex. He tilts his head, then shakes it no.	
126		Duke it out, you know what that means?	Alex looks down.	
127		We'll have a controversy and we'll make a decision.	Darlene turns back to Eve.	
128		But that's not happening here. One of		
129		the things you have to be **real** careful about, Eve, and I'm glad you brought this up, because this is **typical**, for some thinkers,	Darlene nods. She points her finger to her palm.	Darlene is going to try a different approach to help Eve see why the special category shouldn't be used in this case.
130		some people are **so** good at being		
131		**specific** that they make the whole process difficult for themselves. If you are that kind of thinker, you have to let **go** a little bit. Think of these	Eve nods.	Eve is acknowledging to Darlene that she is that
132		categories as having no lines on the boxes, just kind of like dotted lines,	Darlene opens her arms, then holds up the paper	kind of thinker.
133		so some of the ideas can **overflow** into other categories.	to point.	
134		That might help you a little bit. The		
135		**whole reason** for collecting them in a certain category is to help you see		Darlene continues with her explanation and
136		which facts should belong in this	Darlene opens her	reminds students of the
137		paragraph and which **facts should** belong in this paragraph, so that you're not putting lots of **different** kinds of things all in one paragraph. Does that make some sense? When we get to the writing stage I **think** it will	hands, then punches her fist in her palm on "facts" She shapes her hands in a ball to represent the paragraphs.	rationale for coding the sentences in the first place, which is to help them with comprehension and with their own writing of animal reports. Eve
138		make more sense, hopefully. It always has in the past if that gives you any comfort, okay?	Eve makes a so-so gesture with her hand out.	doesn't seem entirely convinced.
139			Darlene looks at the	Darlene is sharing her
140			overhead.	knowledge from previous teaching experiences to persuade Eve that the
141				process of coding will help with writing later on.

Darlene is attempting to develop flexibility as an intellectual disposition in this episode by explaining to Eve that inflexible thinkers make this kind of process more difficult for themselves. Darlene's explanation of dotted rather than solid lines is quite sophisticated, and Eve shows she recognizes herself as the kind of thinker that has to see things as black or white by nodding her head. Although she shows she is not entirely convinced in this episode, in a later one from the same lesson she and Darlene come to a mutual understanding that ends in a shared smile.

<u>Cameron</u>

Darlene negotiates the use of the proper codes in the following episode as well, but this time with another male student, Cameron, who she says "cannot understand flexibility. He cannot understand gray. It's black or it's

white and it does not fit if it doesn't fit into a black or a white category" (3/3/00). In this example, students had been

discussing using two codes for one sentence.

Line	Speaker	Talk	Gestures	Commentary
142 143	Darlene	Does that fit under **what** they eat or **how** they behave? That's the dilemma.		Darlene is trying to clarify the debate over whether the sentences should be coded for both behavior and what it eats.
144	Cameron	It's how they eat.		
145 146 147 148	Darlene	You think that's **how** they eat. But this category says **what** does it eat. **That's** the dilemma we're having. You see what we're saying?	Darlene nods, then points to the paper. She nods.	Darlene is trying to clarify the issue.
149	Cameron	It eats **grass**.		Cameron is trying to clarify the issue of what it eats.
150 151	Darlene	Yes it does, and this says its lips **snatch** the grass while the strong teeth bite it off and we're thinking=		Darlene refers back to the text to further illustrate her point that it also refers to the zebra's behavior.
152	Cameron	=it eats [...]		
153 154 155 156	Darlene	although it's **about** their eating it doesn't tell us **what** they eat, it's tells us **how** it eats. That's why we're having to put the **behavior** thing in **with** the eating thing. Does that make sense?	Darlene points to the paper. She moves her hand to show they go together.	Darlene is trying to clarify the use of two codes.
157	Cameron	Yeah.	Cameron shrugs.	His body language suggests he is not convinced.
158 159 160 161 162	Darlene	Just because they were **so** specific about this. They didn't say **eating**, then we could just put E couldn't we, but they said what does it eat so that's the only reason we're putting in both categories. Does that make sense?	Darlene points to the paper again. She gestures with both hands together.	Darlene provides additional reasons for using both codes in her effort to persuade him of her reasons for using both codes.
163	Cameron	Well	Cameron shrugs.	He still seems unconvinced.
164 165	Darlene	You don't have to **agree** just as long as you understand, okay?	Cameron looks down, then up again.	Darlene's goal is clarification and understanding.
166	Cameron	Alright		

When Darlene senses from Cameron's comments and gestures that he is not convinced that the codes for what it eats and for behavior should be used together for one sentence, she tries giving multiple examples to clarify for Cameron the collective thinking of the class. Her closing comment (line 164) states explicitly what was implied in previous negotiations, that what matters is clarification of ideas and points of view, not agreement on a single right answer. In an interview with Cameron, Darlene asked him about the role of explanations in these kinds of negotiations.

> Darlene: Do you think that children want to know why?
> Cameron: Yeah, because if they don't really know why then later on, they might get like,
>   if they have fractions then they'll get stuck on it. (3/17/00)

Before turning to the community circle meeting at Woodcreek that was very similar to the one at Jordan, it is useful to hear in Darlene's own words what she is attempting to get across to her students in the types of interactions that we have examined at Woodcreek. "One thing I want for children," she said in a recent email (4/5/00), "is that they assert that authority while, at the same time, remaining open to opportunities to learn and grow and try on new things."

Community Circle

Because of some problems with her class at Woodcreek similar to those that had been going on at Jordan around the same time of year, Darlene decided to try the same activity (1/28/00) she had done the year before. They would create a chain story in community circle and Darlene would ask children to reflect on some questions that were meant to help them make a connection between the storytelling experience and the way their actions in the classroom affect everyone else in the classroom. Unlike the meeting at Jordan, Darlene didn't explain the purpose of the activity ahead of time, that "everything you say or do affects every member of this community," but Evan predicted the purpose. "I think this is about, is like the questions about like how one thing um affects other things? Like if one person starts this story it affects um the way the, if someone, the next person has to uh, has to like make the story connecting? So then if what one person says affects what another person is going to say." Darlene praised him for this prediction before beginning the story. When students went around the circle, many chose to pass instead of participate, making the story shorter. Some noted in their reflections that less participation made it less fun. Some explained why creating a story together was more fun than doing it alone:

> When more than one person creates the story it's funner because not only do you get to participate, but when at the end, when you're listening to it you get everyone's mind in it and when you do it by yourself you only get one imagination (Carrie).

> I thought that when one person does the whole story sometimes it can be hard for that person, so sometimes it takes more than one mind to make a story but sometimes it's harder to do that 'cause people don't participate on the story, and they get lost in jokes and things when they're really supposed to be

doing the story. But when you use more than one person another person doesn't feel left out and it sort of makes it more fun of a story (Mindy).

If one person is thinking of an idea for a story and they can't think of another? If you have another person in it that's two minds combined. So that means that there's more ideas that could come out of your brain and stuff? And it's kind of like, uh, if you're writing a story by yourself, and you're stuck on one thing and you ask your friend for help and they give you a little idea, it's a good thing (Eve).

A few students chose to answer the question, "How does it affect us when one person doesn't listen?" They were candid about how this can generate bad feelings:

It affects the rest of the class when a person doesn't listen. The class would feel bad and that person will not know what to do and it would take a really long time for him to think about it (Andrew).

If one person doesn't listen and then the person talking feels bad they weren't listened to, then they feel upset and are thinking about how they feel and forget to listen, and then you have two people not listening and it could keep going (Evan).

Darlene noted the references to bad feelings when she compared the tapes of the two community circle meetings. "They were saying this is a good place to let you all know how I feel when you don't pay attention to me, because it didn't happen here [in this community circle] so they're harking back to something else" (3/3/00). Although the student comments at Woodcreek were not as explicitly related to the language Darlene uses about why it is important to listen and participate in the classroom community, it is clear that they understand the positive and negative consequences of listening and participating versus not doing so. This understanding is sometimes fragile, and Darlene elaborated in an interview why community circle plays an important role in helping students with morally acceptable social behavior:

I know when I haven't touched it recently because things start to fall apart. Kids start to act differently around kids. We get more call outs. We get more negative comments. We get more kids coming in from recess and saying, "He did this, she did that." And I just have to back off, put everything academic on the shelf, get up here in community circle and we have to go back. Not just deal with the issues, but go back to community development (11/29/99).

Darlene used the storytelling experience as a metaphor for other kinds of classroom interactions, but what is especially significant about her pedagogical choices in this example is her recognition of the need to set aside time for discussing with students the process of improving the classroom climate so that it is inclusive, fun, and enhances positive relationships.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This analysis has shown that Darlene is consciously and purposefully working with her students to construct together understandings about what it means to be a good student and to behave in morally acceptable ways in their classroom community. The microanalysis of classroom interactions has shown how Darlene and her

students accomplish this co-constructed understanding. Moreover, students' actions and discourse indicate that her students are taking up and internalizing these lessons. In their study of classroom management, Richardson and Fallona (1999) found that one aspect of effective classroom managers "derives from the seamlessness among beliefs, manner and method" (p. 21). Another aspect of effectiveness that is shown in this study is the degree to which students are taking up what it is the teacher is seeking to impart to them. As Boostrom said, "When we think about a successful classroom, we imagine that the students' inclinations and the teacher's plan are so united that the statement of classroom rules seems superfluous" (1991, p. 203). He later goes on to add:

> The way we think about rules is very important. It is not just a philosophical point, but a practical one, because when teachers forget the significance of their own rules, a chasm begins to open between what they are doing and why they are doing it. The results can be both a mechanical classroom and an uncertain teacher. …Avoiding the mechanical in the classroom is not a matter of letting up on rules but of seeing them for what they are – a moral ordering of the world for which the teacher is accountable just as the students are to be obedient" (Boostrom, 1991, pp. 212-213).

Therefore classroom management should be reconsidered as not just a mechanical series of strategies for running a smooth and orderly classroom, but also as a significant aspect of developing morally acceptable social behavior in students that will construct a positive classroom climate.

This analysis has also shown that the ways in which Darlene is helping her students to have common understandings of what it means to be a good student in her classroom is a construction of language. She uses even the smallest of classroom disruptions as learning opportunities for understanding morally acceptable behavior. Through careful choice of words and by using the appropriate interactional style, Darlene is able to make students feel and want to be responsible for their learning. The implications of this are reflected in the following quote from Douglas Barnes regarding the influence of Mikhail Bakhtin's (1986) concepts of dialogue:

> Bakhtin's line of thought carries with it two important corollaries for education. First, talk is not just an individual creation, but arises from previous participation in many dialogues. Second, much of our most important learning depends upon building networks of connections with other "voices" that have made up our lives. If this is how the culture is maintained and how we become participants in it, then every member of society, including school students, is inevitably involved in the maintenance and recreation of the complex patterns of meaning, intentions, and action that make up our lives. One implication of this is that students should be given as much responsibility as they can bear for the management of their learning. (1995, p. 6).

Darlene articulated her feelings about this in a recent interview:

> The immediate reaction from me generally is how can I get them to take care of this thing and still learn. But the higher good is exactly what we said. Ultimately you want them to feel responsible and want to be responsible and want to be compliant in order to help everybody learn that. And you're not going to get there in one day. …You just have to make sure that you get to the place where they give you permission to have authority over them, and that comes only when they respect you and they know you respect them (12/2/99).

We have seen how concepts such as mutual respect and personal responsibility are not just empty words in Darlene's classroom. Fenstermacher's ways in which manner is made visible (1999) are plainly evident in Darlene's teaching. Through her calling out for particular conduct, while at the same time providing students with a rationale for her requests, Darlene is able to develop certain behaviors and dispositions toward learning that are both explicit and effective. We have also seen how showcasing students and publicly thanking them for contributing to the learning of others is an important aspect of developing a classroom climate of mutual respect. She also uses didactic instruction with specific language from the lifeskills to teach students. She designs academic task structures so as to facilitate discussion and debate, negotiating differences of opinion and clarifying students' confusion, so that they learn from each other as well as from her. She uses other classroom participation structures such as community circle to develop common understandings of what a healthy classroom community should look like and sound like.

Finally, two other claims that can be made about Darlene echo findings from Richardson and Fallona's (1999) study. Using Fallona's (1998) interpretation of Aristotelian moral virtues, they described those that were most strongly expressed by Darlene in her teaching. These included "friendliness – showing care and respect for children" and "justice – fairness in the application of both rules and norms to individual children" (pp. 10-11). This analysis has shown as well that Darlene is a caring teacher. In Darcy's interview she was asked, "What is it that she [Darlene] does to let you know that she cares?" and the student's reply was, "She like… sometimes when she, like, we help and stuff or do something while she's gone, she says like, 'Oh, I love you guys!' and she's always like really nice to us." The interviewer went on to ask, "So you can tell she cares from that?" and Darcy added, "And she always like…at the end of the day she usually makes us give a, one of the three H's – a high five, a handshake, or a hug. And then she got this sign that says, Free hugs! One size fits all!" (2/1/99). Darlene described herself as "relating to kids in a caring way. I have the time for you, but if I don't I'll say, 'I really want to hear this. Can I check it out at recess? Can I ask you after spelling?' That kind of thing…If they're talking to me and I'm talking to somebody else, I put a hand on theirs and just keep my attention here so that they know. And if they keep, 'Mrs. Danielson, Mrs. Danielson' then I'll say, 'In a moment please, I'm talking,' and I make it real clear that that was inappropriate without stopping too long to do that. So what is that? I think that still shows caring" (4/27/98).

Furthermore, Darlene is clear about her differential treatment of individual students based on their personality, learning style, and needs. She takes her responsibility to understand these aspects of each student very seriously, and works hard at developing relationships with all students that are based on mutual respect and understanding. This entails an in-depth knowledge of each student that is developed over time from close

observation, and from reflection on success and failure as hypotheses about students are tested and tried out. Darlene is conscious of using this knowledge of each student during in-the-moment decisions about which interactional stance to take or what choice of words to use when promoting morally acceptable social behavior.

This study has important implications for teacher education. If teachers are made aware of their beliefs about teaching and their personal style as aspects of their manner, they can become more conscious of the ways in which they are helping to establish a classroom environment that values morally acceptable social behavior. One way in which they can begin a process of reflection is to carefully analyze their discourse and their interactional style with individual students. An important part of this kind of learning is experimenting through trial and error and experiencing success and failure over time. But a significant outcome of such experimentation is a much more in-depth knowledge of each student. Darlene described how her involvement with this research has had an effect on her:

> You made me really look at what I do and how I do it. Not as if you wanted me to change it, but as if you wanted me to understand it. And um, therefore, I do understand it more. I look at why I do what I do. And I've made some changes…so now I look more at, look at the children, at their upbringing, and what do they need…So I kind of fine tune, change, alter things um, from the way I did because of this experience of having to look at it, but also I now look more carefully at how it's affecting the children, and who it's affecting, and in what way, and who's coming along easily and who isn't coming along easily, and why, and then I have to change it again to meet that child's needs, and I know that it isn't the same for every child…It's got to be kind of a spiral approach to moral development…You have to continue to teach it. (11/29/99)

Such awareness does bring change and growth for the teacher, and consequently, for her students as well. There are also implications for classroom management, which continues to be a puzzle for many beginning teachers. Helping them understand the importance of examining their own beliefs and actions with regard to the moral dimensions of teaching should be a prominent feature of their professional development.

This study raises several questions for future research. What, for example, are the influences of constructing the classroom climate at the school level? So far we have only explored some initial impressions of Darlene's experiences in two schools. What are some factors that are influential beyond those directly related to classroom interactions? Do the characteristics of the parent community have an influence, and to what degree? Is there evidence of student take up outside of the classroom, for example in the lunchroom, playground, and at home? Are there gender and racial differences in how students take up these understandings? These questions merit further study if this kind of research is going to help teachers understand how classroom climate is constructed both in momentary occurrences and in sustained ways over time through language. What is at stake is nothing less than the welfare of the young people who are striving to become contributing citizens in a pluralistic and democratic society.

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Appendix A: DATA COLLECTION MAP

JORDAN YEAR 1	VIDEOTAPING	Teacher Interviews	Student Interviews
|			
|		10/20/97	
|			
|			
|			
|	2/4/98		
|			
|		4/27/98	
|			
V			
JORDAN YEAR 2			
|			
|	10/22/98		
|			
|			
|			
|	2/15/99 – C.C.	2/18/99	2/1 & 2/12/99
|			
|			
|			
V			
WOODCREEK			
|			
|			
|		11/29/99	
|		12/2/99	
|	1/28/00 – C.C.		
|	2/16/00		
|		3/3/00	3/17 & 3/23/00
V			

Appendix B: Interview Schedule for Student Interviews

Student Interview Questions (K-3)

General questions that help to focus the attention of the interview on the teacher and the student's perception of teaching:
1. What is a teacher? What does a teacher do?
2. Do you live at home with your mother or grandmother? How is a teacher different from your mother? Or your grandmother?
3. How do you know your teacher cares about you?
4. How would you describe your teacher?

Communication about teaching – student perceptions of what happens in the classroom:
5. Pretend that I am a new student. What kind of things would you tell me to help me do well in your class? Are there rules I should know about? How are you supposed to behave or "be good" in your classroom?
6. What makes your teacher happy or proud of you?

Student feelings about learning – shift focus from teaching to student learning:
7. Do you like to learn different things in school? What kinds of things are you being asked to learn?
8. Tell me something interesting or cool that you have learned about in school. Did you talk to people at home about it?
9. Would you say that you really like to learn? How do you show this? Does your teacher like to learn? How does your teacher show this?

Achievement – Student assessed teacher perceptions of student learning:
10. How are you doing in school?
11. What is your teacher doing to help you become a better student?
12. If your teacher were making an example of someone who was a good student, what kinds of things would she say about him or her?

Differences and perceptions – student feelings of individual treatment by teachers:
13. Does your teacher treat different kids differently? Explain.
14. How well does you teacher know you?

School level questions – broader student/school relationship:
15. What is it like being a student at this school?
16. How would you describe your school?

Appendix C: EVENT MAP OF COMMUNITY CIRCLE – FEB. 15, 1999 2:45pm

25

30
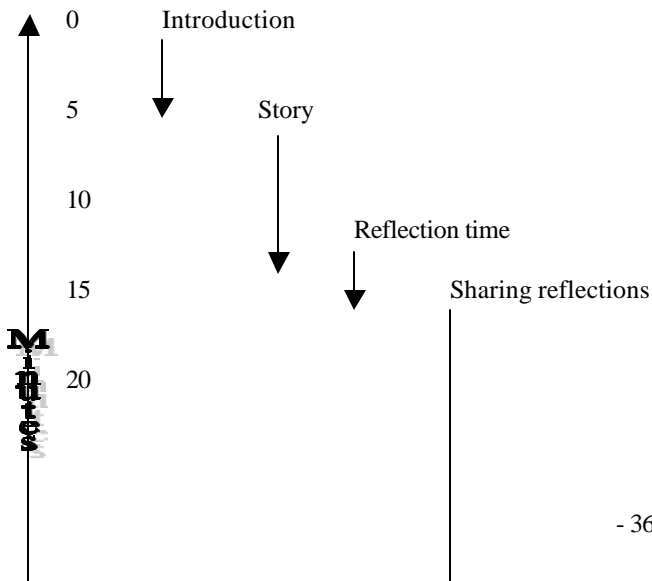
Stretch break

35   Summary:

                            Acts of kindness chain – discussion and questions

40

45

Name: _____

A HORSE IN STRIPED PAJAMAS

Subject _____

What animal has stripes on its tail, stripes on its legs, and stripes on its back and sides? If you said a zebra, you are correct.

A zebra is a member of the horse family. It is a horse that lives in Africa. A zebra has black or dark brown stripes. The stripes go from the rump to the tummy and from the back of the head to the neck. The stripes from each side curve by its eyes and meet at its nose. The stripes help hide the zebra from its enemies. You could say a zebra is a horse in striped pajamas!

Zebras live on grassy plains of Africa. A zebra spends much of its time eating grass. Its lips snatch the grass while the strong teeth bite it off.

Zebras are never far from a spot to get a drink, but they must be careful when they drink. Enemies often wait in shady bushes along the river bank.

A zebra can be made tame, but it must be trained when it is tiny. Instead of riding a bucking bronco, you could ride a bucking zebra!

From the <u>Bonnie Kline Stories</u> Level 2 with the permission of the author, Bonnie Kline.

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