

**“THEY *USE* SPACE”:
YOUTH AFFECTED BY ATTENTIONAL AND BEHAVIORAL CHALLENGES
AND SPATIAL BOUNDARIES IN THE CLASSROOM**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the perceivable effects of socially-imposed spatial boundaries on youth affected by attentional and behavioral challenges associated with Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). Using data collected from non-participatory observations in two upper-elementary school classrooms, along with formal interviews with the teachers of these classrooms, I explore the effects of classroom power relations and interrogate the efficacy of recommended educational techniques in order to analyze how these factors impact the ways that students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges experience and interpret space.

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Chapter 1: Literature Review

Introduction

My research engages in an exploration of the effects of socially-imposed spatial boundaries on youth affected by the attentional and behavioral challenges associated with Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). The ADHD experience is highly contested within Western society, as debates surrounding diagnosis and treatment are taken on by professionals and laymen alike. Youth affected by attentional and behavioral challenges experience a range of stigmas, many of which focus on the body and specific mannerisms that diverge from a putative norm. I will avoid adding to such debates, focusing not on whether ADHD is real, or if current treatments are appropriate, but rather centering primarily on an examination of the effects of socially-imposed boundaries and practices on the individual.

The organization of space can have a variety of consequences, both intentional and unintentional; space can be utilized in order to convey certain messages to youth, specifically related to how their actions and participation within the group are perceived and interpreted. Segregation (directly and indirectly) of ADHD youth from 'normal' peers could indicate their behavior is perceived as abnormal and inappropriate, and reveal a regulatory gaze directed at their alleged transgressions. The spaces in which the youth operate become disciplined, instituting a specific mode of power focused on surveillance (Foucault, 1977). It is critical to address how such modes of power operate and affect ADHD youth, particularly during a period where an increasing number of individuals are being identified as exhibiting characteristics of the disorder. As such, my research will

contribute to discourse related to ADHD youth, and the sociological understanding of space.

Defining Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder

The American Psychiatric Association's (APA) (2012) Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders 5 defines Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder as "consist[ing] of a pattern of behavior that is present in multiple settings where it gives rise to social, educational or work performance difficulties" (para. 1). Symptoms are classified according to two main categories, Inattention and Hyperactivity and Impulsivity, with individual diagnoses being specified according to four diagnostic types; Combined Presentation (both Inattention and Hyperactivity-Impulsivity present for past 6 months), Predominately Inattentive Presentation (Inattention, but full Hyperactivity-Impulsivity criterion is not met, though at least three symptoms are present for the past 6 months), Inattentive Presentation (Restrictive) (Inattention, but no more than two criterion of Hyperactivity-Impulsivity have been present for the past 6 months), and Predominantly Hyperactive/Impulsive Presentation (Hyperactivity-Impulsivity criterion met, but no criterion of Inattention met in the past 6 months) (APA, 2012, para.5).

Individuals affected by ADHD are often diagnosed in early childhood, as symptoms emerge slightly prior to and as individuals enter formal school settings (APA, 2012). Behaviors associated with ADHD are to be present and observable in both school and home settings (APA, 2012). While often associated primarily with children and symptoms related to childhood, ADHD is considered to be a chronic disorder, affecting a significant number of individuals through adolescence and into adulthood (APA, 2012).

Politics of Space, Power, and Bodily Movement

Space can be utilized to convey messages of function, regulation, and influence of power. Further, certain behaviors deemed deviant are often associated with specific individuals or groups, resulting not only in the marking of those people as different or marginal, but also producing a framework of expected spatial usage for these persons. This regulatory aspect of spatial usage will form the theoretical framing for my observations of the classroom practices relating to children affected by attentional and behavioral challenges.

Michel Foucault (1980) argues “power must be analysed as something that circulates...employed and exercised through a net-like organisation”, implying implicit and explicit regulation occurring at multiple intersections (pg. 98). Further, specific techniques of power, namely disciplinary power, “trains...[and] ‘makes’ individuals” by actively highlighting proper and improper behaviors through calculated surveillance (Foucault, 1977, pg. 170). As an enactment of power according to Foucault (1977), discipline is understood as not strictly focusing on penalty; in order to contribute to the production of docile bodies, disciplinary power normalizes judgement processes by creating a hierarchy of ‘good’ and ‘bad’. In this system individuals’ behaviors can be compared against one another, and punished or rewarded accordingly (Foucault, 1977). Essentially, disciplinary power functions to encapsulate the individual in a continuous state of potential punishment, which is accepted despite seemingly repressive qualities because of its pervasive nature. Foucault (1977) states,

The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it *normalizes* (pg. 183).

Rather than the individual *act* being classified as deviant, the individual *identity* becomes deviant, and capable of being penalized (Foucault, 1977).

In his text *Discipline & Punish*, Foucault (1977) presents an analysis of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, an architecturally ideal institution model "induc[ing]...a state of consciousness and permanent visibility that ensures automatic functioning of power" (pg. 201). The Panopticon utilizes a centrally positioned tower to produce the effect of permanent surveillance on the individuals positioned in cells surrounding it; at any given time the authority figure/guard in the centre tower may see the individuals/prisoners in their cells, but when the guard is viewing or from where is unknown to the prisoner (Foucault, 1977). Thus, the behavior of the individuals in their cells is perpetually influenced by the possibility of being under surveillance, and the potential of being penalized for misbehaviour (Foucault, 1977). Foucault (1977) suggests the disciplinary power exuded by the model of the Panopticon exceeds the physical boundaries it sets in place; indefinite surveillance, whether actual or perceived, compels self-regulation and ultimately induces improved behavior.

Foucault (1977) further suggests the panoptic model to have potential benefit in a school setting. How better to normalize disciplinary power than to enact perceivably endless surveillance on schoolchildren, reinforcing a network of power that is not employed from a singular central authority but permeated throughout all social relations (Foucault, 1977). While not an exact replica of the circular prison as described by Bentham, a traditional classroom setting with the teacher facing students in single-file rows can be analyzed through the lens of Panopticism. In this classroom model the teacher has a clear view of all students, while students see the teacher and the back of the

individuals in front of them. Widespread common experience tells us that in this model, students apt to misbehave are located at the front of the classroom, closest to the teacher. Correspondingly, students requiring less direct attention are more likely to be located near the rear of the room. Thus, this classroom produces surveillance not only from the perspective of the teacher towards the whole of the class, but from the perspective of the model students who have the potential misbehavers in their field of vision. As Foucault (1977) highlights, in a panoptic model the head authority figure does not have to be the singular entity threatening disciplinary action, as individuals at all levels not only regulate each other but self-regulate in order to maintain a composed environment.

In order to adequately reflect upon the effects of surveillance on students, it is necessary to look beyond the work of Foucault and consider the limits of Panopticism as applied to classroom spaces. Michael Gallagher (2010) notes the “oppressive influence” of the panoptic schema, suggesting it may be over-employed in discussions of classroom spaces and subsequently monopolizes reflections on classroom management due, at least in part, to the recognition and influence of Foucault’s disciplinary theories (pg. 263). Gallagher (2010) argues the actual operation of surveillance in a classroom diverges significantly from an ideal panoptic model. Through observational research in an elementary school classroom, Gallagher (2010) found surveillance to be “discontinuous rather than total” (pg.262); there were considerable periods of time during which the teacher did not maintain direct surveillance over the activities and behaviors of the students, resulting in substantial deviations from normative classroom behavior. In addition, Gallagher (2010) contends classroom surveillance is executed as much through auditory as through visual processes, contrary to the panoptic model; teachers spend a

notable amount of time listening to classroom activities, students are required to respond to various auditory cues, and the classroom noise level is continually monitored and disciplined. However, Gallagher fails to adequately attend to Foucault's recognition of the Panopticon as an *ideal* model of discipline, not an actual execution, and does not sufficiently develop an argument as to why the model should not be utilized in discussions of classroom surveillance. Nonetheless, Gallagher's contentions are useful starting points to inform my considerations of the benefits and limits of considering Panopticism as a parallel of classroom management.

Umberto Eco (1999) posits the interpretation of spatial function as a specific mode of communication, dependent upon culturally defined codes. Codes influence how a space is read with a given cultural or social context, detailing to the user of a space a set of expectations for interpretation in both implicit and explicit ways. Eco (1999) stresses a difference between spatial codes and spatial functions, noting a further separation between denoted primary functions and connoted secondary functions. Eco (1999) suggests the architect, or primary creator of a space, is bound within a defined language of functionality, invariably impacted by pre-established codes for acceptable spatial use. Further, it can be assumed that the reading of a space by the architect may vary considerably from the reading of a space by those who experience it firsthand. Thus, it is important to understand that the interpretation of spatial elements is ultimately dependent upon more than initial indications of function that have been influenced by pre-defined codes, instead relying significantly upon communicative factors existing beyond the physical form as created by the architect, in order to reflect upon patterns of spatial use.

The difference between intention and readership concerning space can be understood in the context of a classroom by considering the purpose of students' desks as interpreted by teachers and students. Fundamentally, the desks function as a practical location for students to place and complete assignments, and are arranged primarily by teachers in order to facilitate communication during the delivery of educational material. The space of the desk denotes an area for focused learning, but the associated connotations may differ from teachers to students. As students are required to remain at their desks, connotations of regulation and power are relayed on behalf of the teacher, the architect of the classroom space. Similarly, the teacher may organize the desks (and their occupants) in a manner that implies certain students require differing arrangements in order to adequately function in the classroom, signifying a hierarchical environment based on student ability or behavior. As emphasized in Eco's (1999) work, the teacher may not necessarily intend to impart such connotations, as they are constrained by specified codes of functionality that direct the spatial organization of the classroom based upon a predefined designation of appropriate use.

Though important to recognize their underlying impact in spatial organization, it is equally significant to acknowledge that the architect does not play an ultimately dominant role in determining the function and interpretation of a space. Foucault (1999) argues interactions are primarily defined by individuals, all of whom hold power to shift many elements within a given space. As such, a space is not defined solely by how it has been designed by the single individual responsible for defining a setting's spatial elements; instead, how a space is utilized plays a significant role in ultimate function. Individuals hold the ability to exercise resistance to the denoted and connoted functions of

a space, subsequently influencing how the space is experienced by others (Foucault, 1999). In the context of a classroom this suggests the students, as individuals capable of exercising personal agency, can produce as significant an effect on the space of the classroom as the teacher responsible for exercising spatial organization and management. Similarly, Ernst Bloch (1999) suggests that space is reflective of those who use it, and that social norms essentially define the relationships possible with and within a given space. According to Bloch (1999), function can overtake form, diminishing the role of design elements within a space. Should a particular area of the classroom be deemed undesirable (perhaps stigmatized by perceived possibilities of use, regardless of actual intention), the social reaction to that area has the power to overrule the defined function.

The impact of individuals on a space as suggested by Foucault and Bloch is perhaps best considered anecdotally by reflecting upon the difference in casual spatial usage between young children and adults. Consider an average dining room, outfitted with a standard sized table covered in a long tablecloth, chairs evenly spaced around the table. Left unsupervised in this space, a group of adults would likely utilize the chairs as to their normative function, seating themselves around the table, legs tucked under the tablecloth. Perhaps, as time passed, the adults may shift in their chairs, leaning according to comfort, or moving closer to certain acquaintances. Ultimately, the chairs would likely remain normatively utilized as chairs, and the table normatively utilized as a table. Now consider a group of young children in this same space, similarly unsupervised. This group may remain seated for a period of time, but it is likely that before long the table, chairs, and tablecloth would be utilized far beyond their normative capacities. Perhaps transforming into a stage, perhaps becoming a fort complete with tablecloth walls and

movable chair gates, perhaps converting into an imaginary landscape of mountains and valleys, the differing social expectations existing for children as compared to adults suggests the table, chairs, and tablecloth would not remain a table, chairs, and tablecloth for long. Thus, the individual usage of the space transforms the elements of design that designate it as a dining room, and its function shifts and is reflective of the interpretations of its inhabitants.

The effort to regulate spatial usage on behalf of authority figures is undoubtedly linked to the expression of power. As previously discussed, connotations of regulation and power are relayed on behalf of the teacher, the architect of the classroom space, through spatial organization that expresses the manner in which students are expected to engage the classroom space. Jane Brown (2007), drawing upon elements of Foucault's models of disciplinary function, technologies of observation, and discussions of surveillance and power, addresses the expression of 'problem behavior' in young children through the analysis of an observational study in a preschool setting. Brown (2007) discusses the space of the nursery as being divided, conceptualizing this as a method of portraying specific power relations to the children. By assigning certain activities to particular spatial regions, the children's behavior is regulated and, as intimated by Brown (2007), more easily managed by the teachers.

Brown (2007) discusses "unowned spaces", referring to "corridors, stairways ... [and] other transitional spaces" where children were more likely to exhibit behaviors deemed problematic in the schema of normative school behaviors (pg. 102). Such behavior was particularly notable during times of transition, where power shifted from parents and guardians to teachers, or vice versa (Brown, 2007). Brown (2007) suggests

this is related to spatial awareness, and desire on behalf of children to display power over their daily schedules and routines. By ‘acting out’ in spaces not definitively regulated, the children in Brown’s study exhibited their understanding of spatial surveillance, organization, and management, acutely drawing attention to their recognition of the role of adults in regulating spatial usage. Though their age prevented them from ultimately having a significant impact on the overall regulation of their spatial usage, expressions of disdain were communicated through misbehaviour and this consequently complicated movement through transitional spaces by both children and adults, suggesting a degree of power on behalf of the children.

Brown (2007) also draws attention to the association of deviant behavior with certain groups, with problem behavior being more prevalent in boys, particularly in regards to vocalization, dominance of space, and masculinized forms of play. Girls involved in the study are described by parents and teachers as being manipulative when the topic of problem behavior arises, intimating the belief that they hold a higher level of spatial awareness than their male counterparts and a likelihood to behave in a more ‘adult’ manner (Brown, 2007). Girls are interpreted as being able to better understand the dynamics of space, as compared to boys who reportedly displayed aggressive behavior and a lack of understanding of the appropriate use of space (Brown, 2007). To the parents and teachers in Brown’s (2007) study, girls are capable of a higher degree of controlled play, while boys are believed to be predisposed to rambunctious behavior. The gendering (and gender policing, with boys’ energetic play less likely to be explicitly managed) of physical expressions of spatial awareness in Brown’s (2007) study highlights a further regulation of space, marking expected usage as a framework for accepted behavior. Such

gendered expectations have the potential to be exponentially problematic when considered alongside the spatial usage of children with ADHD, who may require additional accommodation in classroom spaces; overtly physical expressions on behalf of boys have the chance of being overlooked as simply a gender appropriate characteristic, while the belief that girls have an innate understanding of the acceptable use of space may deter appropriate actions towards inappropriate behaviors. Further, both boys and girls may be exposed to exceptionally rigid policing of activity deemed gender-inappropriate, complicating their developing understandings of physical movement.

Similarly, Adam Rafalovich's (2004) reflections on ADHD and gender suggests boys are socialized to "externalize their emotions", while girls are expected to "manifest the disorder in an introverted fashion" (pg. 126). The differing expectations for outward expression of ADHD result in conflicting acceptance of 'gender specific' spatial behaviors. "Boys are socialized to avoid internal adjustments to difficulties with the world and are taught that the source of relief lies within making external changes" (Rafalovich, 2004, pg. 126). Rafalovich (2004) further establishes the prevalence of these beliefs by reflecting on a common educator belief that the "institution of education...remains intolerant of behaviors that we commonly associate with boyhood" (pg. 126). The argument here suggests that overtly physical behaviors that attempt to establish spatial domination are indicative of normal male adolescence and should not be associated with symptoms of ADHD.

Marcel Mauss (2006) posits bodily movements, what he terms "techniques of the body", as being formulated through a biopsychosocial model. In as much as individuals are biologically and psychologically driven to movement (and arguably also influenced

by physiological capability), the social element of imitation is needed in order for individuals to learn successful techniques that are appropriate in a given society (Mauss, 2006). Societally distinct techniques help to characterise an individual as belonging to a given group, marking an instructive process of simulation. Mauss (2006) classifies this simulation of movement as “prestigious imitation”, stating that in the process of learning acceptable techniques, “the child, the adult, imitates actions which have succeeded and which he has seen successfully performed by people in whom he has confidence and who have authority over him” (pg. 81). The influence of the educational process is paramount, as “even if it is an exclusively biological action...the individual borrows the series of movements which constitute it from the action executed in front of him” (Mauss, 2006, pg. 81). Regardless of the degree to which an individual possesses an innate instinct to imitate, the socially regulated process of educating an individual as to acceptable movement is essential to the perpetuation of shared techniques (Mauss, 2006). Mauss (2006) places particular emphasis on the role of tradition in educating individuals on the techniques of the body, stating “[t]here is no technique and no transmission in the absence of tradition” (pg. 82).

It is important to note that within the process of education lies both implicit and explicit regulation; Mauss (2006) states, “...one of the reasons why these [techniques] may more easily be assembled in the individual is precisely because they are assembled by and for social authority” (pg. 92). The permeation of societal traditions in the form of techniques of the body inculcates individuals to respond to the dominant social authority (Mauss, 2006). As Mauss (2006) highlights, certain techniques may be illogical or contradictory to an individual’s biological impulse, but the effect of educating socially

acceptable techniques overrides impulsivity and replaces undesirable movements with predetermined exchanges; “[i]t is thanks to society that there is the certainty of pre-prepared movements, domination of the conscious over emotion and unconsciousness” (pg. 93).

Considering the process of educating young children as to acceptable movements in and around schools elucidates the applicability of Mauss’ techniques of the body. The initial years of a child’s educational career are filled with countless opportunities for “prestigious imitation” (Mauss, 2006). Students are educated as to the proper uses of their bodies within school spaces by teachers and peers alike; in addition to being instructed directly by teachers, younger children are encouraged to observe older students’ movements and imitate appropriate behaviors. In this respect, the social authority operating within school spaces takes the shape of a hierarchical system of regulation managed incrementally by individuals with increasing levels of training as to the socially acceptable techniques of the body. Sitting quietly at one’s desk, moving slowly and with directive throughout the classroom, silently lining single file to exit a room, and breaking decorum only in pre-approved playground spaces are all series of behaviors facilitated by learned techniques of the body. Attention to the biopsychosocial model that Mauss (2006) promotes explicates the process of educating children as to proper techniques of the body in the aforementioned situations; while it may be ‘instinctual’ by school age to seat oneself at a chair or to follow peers in and out of different spaces, the exercise of such movements by children varies distinctly from adults, demonstrating the influence of the educational process on refining such techniques. Learning to imitate proper movements that illustrate individual maturity is a fully social process.

ADHD and Medicalization

Medicalization discourse plays an important role in the sociological understanding of ADHD. Medicalization is the process by which social behaviors and conditions come to be analyzed and defined in terms of medical conditions. Because ADHD is a medically recognized disorder, discourse related to (potential) biological causes is highly prevalent, particularly in discussions of the root causes of associated behaviors. Medicalization discourse, because of its strong link to discourses of public health, is closely related to educational discourse; the physical and mental health of children in schools is an important aspect of the overall functioning of educational facilities. As such, it is critical to address medicalization in terms of my research project, as my participants have been undoubtedly influenced by the process.

Working to establish a ‘conceptual history’ of child diagnostics, Rafalovich (2001) traces early medical discourse related to ADHD through an examination of medical literature from the late 1800s to mid-1900s. Earlier associated diagnoses included idiocy and imbecility, defined respectively as “mental deficiency or extreme stupidity, depending upon malnutrition or disease of the nervous centres, occurring before birth or before the evolution of the mental faculties in childhood”, and “a less decided degree of mental incapacity [compared to idiocy]” (Rafalovich, 2001, pg. 99). Further descriptions of the ‘child deviant’ addressed an “inability to demonstrate moral behavior”, highlighting early perceptions of impulsive actions (Rafalovich, 2001, pg. 102). Most definitive was the diagnosis of encephalitis lethargica, which Rafalovich (2001) describes as “the root of a litany of childhood behavioral problems including many of those associated with ADHD today: an inability to function in school, hyperactivity,

impulsivity, and so forth” (pg. 99). Rafalovich (2001) argues the diagnosis of encephalitis in children during this period, combined with a focus on morality and the development of institutional frameworks, conceptualized the early medicalization of deviant behavior in children and established the need for scientific (specifically neurological) study into such behaviors (pg. 106).

Deborah Lupton (1997) identifies the process of medicalization as having an increasingly regulating role in society. Echoing Foucault’s conception of the inscribed body, wherein specific power relations are understood to constitute the body itself, Lupton (1997) “argue[s] that the discourses and practices around the promotion of health have been central to constituting the contemporary human body” (pg. 6). Further building upon Foucault’s concept of biopower, Lupton (1997) contends discourses of public health and the corresponding medicalization of behaviors and conditions have become the central institution regulating individuals’ bodies. Contributing to the power exerted by the institutions of public health and health promotion is the capacity for these topics to be integrated throughout varying frameworks of everyday life. A discourse of risk is also incorporated into considerations of public health, as individuals are encouraged to acknowledge and comply with medicalized recommendations aimed at compensating for certain conditions in order to alleviate potential deficits or ‘dangerous’ behaviors (Lupton, 1997).

Alongside this focus on public health, emphasis is placed upon the idea of knowledge as empowerment; individuals are encouraged to undertake an active participating role in the betterment of their own bodies, as well as permeate ideas of health and regulation to individuals around them (Lupton, 1997). In the context of

ADHD, the patterns of regulation and medicalization Lupton describes are evident in the numerous self-help style texts written for parents and guardians of children affected by the disorder; promoting control over the unknown, an implicit notion of risk is entwined amongst guides proclaiming to reveal the precise causes of the complex disorder (Rafalovich, 2001b).

Peter Conrad's (2006) seminal text, *Identifying Hyperactive Children* explores the expanding medicalization process beginning in North America during the mid-1970s, which re-categorized children's perceived deviant behaviors as a valid medical disorder. Conrad (2006) argues the conceptualization of deviance as a medical problem allows for an increased level of social control; the treatment of individual bodies, including medication and other psychological interventions, would not be possible without intensified attention to how individuals' behavior affects the population. Conrad (2006) further suggests this medicalization is part of a "larger process [of]...the individualization of social problems" (pg. 73). Here, behaviors (and misbehaviors) are considered solely in terms of the individual, rather than considering the larger, complex social processes that influence how an individual operates within society (Conrad, 2006). The result is a "depoliticization of deviant behavior" that removes any consideration of what it means in a broader social context, and "render[s] the deviant behavior...meaningless" (Conrad, 2006, pg. 75). According to Conrad (2006), this system ultimately prevents a proper analysis of the social problems influencing behaviors associated with ADHD, leaving affected individuals at a distinct disadvantage as it ignores potential faults in the systems they are failing to normatively perform within.

Rafalovich (2005) discusses current medicalizing conversations as being regulated by “experts” and “nonexperts”, emphasizing the hybridization of schools as they shift to function in both a clinical and pedagogical nature (pg. 27, pg. 42). With teachers regularly witnessing the majority of a child’s active daily routine, it is increasingly common that educators are referred to as the first step in the diagnostic process in literature related to early intervention. Rafalovich (2005) argues that schools play a “semiofficial role in the medicalization process” as they lack the official capacity to diagnose ADHD, but nonetheless provide much of the motivation towards diagnosis (pg. 25). Correspondingly, Malacrida (2004) points to the existence of “gaps in the medicalization process at both the conceptual level and the institutional level” (pg. 62). In Canada, Malacrida (2004) suggests, the role of educators in the medicalization process may be associated with the structure of available assessment services; “[m]others’ stories indicate that, although Canadian educators may not have been directly involved in the assessment of children, they often applied pressure to obtain an outside assessment in both indirect and direct ways” (pg. 68). Drawing attention to a disconcerting aspect of this precarious diagnostic environment, Rafalovich (2004) reflects on his own interviews with teachers;

All but eight of the teachers I spoke with had no familiarity with DSM IV. The fact that so many of the teachers who so often suspect ADHD have no familiarity with DSM IV raises the question of what informs their diagnostic role in the classroom. The vast majority of respondents had no familiarity with the APA’s official categorization for ADHD and yet were still integral agents in the process of suspecting and diagnosing the disorder. If the process of ADHD suspicion is alive and well within the classroom, yet is not informed by the nomenclature that had given ADHD its name, from where do these suspicions arise? (pg. 101)

As they are expected to understand diagnostic criteria, teachers find themselves participating in the medicalization process, whether willingly or not.

On the opposite end of the spectrum, Rafalovich (2005) questions whether an influx of medical knowledge available to the layperson influences social practices related to diagnosis and treatment of children with ADHD. Rafalovich (2004) states, “testimony from teachers who understand and/or use DSM IV ADHD criteria reflect the influence psychiatric nomenclature has in defining childhood behavior in the classroom” (pg. 101). Here, the issue shifts towards an imbalanced, and possibly incorrect, focus on medicalization; Rafalovich (2004) suggests an overreliance on medical classifications may result in teachers minimizing their own role in relation to the ADHD student. Rather than a balanced approach managing classroom relations in correspondence to diagnostic criteria, a reliance on medical knowledge may result in teachers focusing solely on medicalized interventions. Further, this frame of medicalized discourse may be bolstered by perceptions of ADHD constructed in everyday communication (Danforth, 2001). In a study on the effects of everyday language use by laypersons on perceptions of ADHD, Scot Danforth (2001) found ADHD to be socially constructed through a specific appropriation and interpretation of medical and other professional discourses. Therefore, teachers arguably do not need to engage in an explicit iteration of medicalized texts in order to perpetuate the themes arising in such discourse, as it is embedded in many of the common socially produced perceptions of the disorder that are regularly communicated (Danforth, 2001).

Educational Practice

According to Alberta Education’s (2006) teacher guide to educating ADHD students, between 30 and 50 percent of students diagnosed with ADHD are also affected by another learning disability. The guide further states, “[e]ven those without learning

disabilities frequently experience difficulties in reading, writing and mathematics because of difficulties related to attention and short-term memory” (Alberta Education, 2006, pg. 2). Because symptoms associated with ADHD impede successful learning behaviors, attention to the classroom experience of students suspected of being affected by the disorder is crucial.

Inclusive education involves incorporating all students, regardless of disability status, into the classroom environment. Rather than separating students with special needs from their non-disabled counterparts, all students spend the majority of the day in the same educational setting. Students requiring extra attention or assistance are (ideally) provided an aide for support throughout the day, and only removed from the classroom for individualized therapies that are more effectively administered in a one on one or small group setting. The inclusive education model differs significantly from models that segregate according to disability status, focusing on minimizing or eliminating discrimination associated with markedly separating special needs students from their peers.

While commended for socially benefiting special needs students and promoting an educational environment of tolerance and equality, the inclusive education model is also criticized for potential impracticality. Roger Slee (1994) underlines the notion of inclusion being referred to as the ultimate ‘good’, but highlights the need for a more democratic version of inclusion that takes into consideration elements of importance as identified by the student. Similarly, Linda Graham (2008) states, “[t]hrough a discursive sleight of hand, inclusive education ‘fails to move beyond technical adjustments to the form of schooling’ and thus, fails to achieve equity and justice for kids in schools” (pg.

18). Graham (2008) encourages further research into the realm of inclusive education, identifying schools as a site of likely influence in the construction of behavior ‘disorder’. The main issue raised here is that the inclusive education model does not adequately function in a manner conducive to the requirements of all students, prioritizing integration over individualized needs. As a result, students who may benefit from increased time out of the regular classroom are required to remain with their peers, regardless of whether they are working at the same educational level.

Rafalovich (2004) distinguishes the separation between educators adopting a ‘disability’ or “ADHD as a ‘Non-Human Agent’” standpoint, and educators assuming a developmental stance on the disorder (pg. 99). For educators deriving their classroom management practices from a disability standpoint, ADHD itself is the root of misbehaviour, not the child. Thus, traditional classroom management strategies are often viewed as ineffective for the ADHD student, because they are not neurologically structured to respond in a way that neuro-typical students, the normative measure for disciplinary strategies, do. Rafalovich (2004) states;

From a neurological perspective, we see consistent allusion to physical disabilities. Teachers appear firmly engrossed in the idea that ADHD students have a brain that processes information poorly. Hence, their learning and behavioral difficulties do not stem from family problems, struggles with particular students, or inept teaching, but are from a somatic source (pg. 99).

From this perspective it is appropriate to respond to ADHD students only with the recognition that they are not in complete control of their actions, and note that applicable interventions are required in order for the individual to be cognisant of inappropriate behavior (Rafalovich, 2004). Further, for educators adopting the disability standpoint,

there is typically recognition and support for the use of medication as an intervention strategy.

For educators approaching ADHD from a developmental standpoint, the focus is on perceived ‘maturity’ (Rafalovich, 2004). Here, Rafalovich (2004) notes, educators argue that “some kids just outgrow it” (pg. 100). From this approach, medical intervention is considered inappropriate, as children have not had the opportunity to mature and develop an awareness of appropriate behavior. Developmental proponents “[imply] that the wrong type of intervention on behalf of intolerant and/or impatient adults may effectively cheat a child out of the possibility of attaining social and emotional maturity” (Rafalovich, 2004, pg. 100-101). However, Rafalovich (2004) is clear to distinguish that this approach is taken by a minority of teachers, who typically favor approaching ADHD as a non-human agent.

Regardless of actual distribution, the existence of differing standpoints on behalf of educators highlights the general lack of consensus on the management of ADHD in the classroom. While numerous texts originating from sociological, psychological, and pedagogical perspectives recommend a variety of techniques for working with ADHD students, specific protocols are infrequent. As Rafalovich (2004) proclaims,

The fact that there are few ADHD teaching protocols speaks again to the perceptions of what constitutes ADHD and whether or not ADHD is a valid diagnostic category. Unlike learning impediments, such as dyslexia, dysgraphia, or other problems in which there are specific teaching protocols, ADHD, according to teachers, remains largely unrecognized (pg. 116).

This lack of intervention and cohesive strategy complicates pedagogical practice, entrapping educators amongst a variety of recommended yet not proven techniques. The result is an extreme variance in methods for teaching ADHD students deriving from an

amalgamation of approaches aimed at a multitude of learning disabilities, with most intervention protocols unfortunately glossing over or omitting the benefits of a collaborative approach (involving teachers, parents, and school psychologists) to addressing students' needs (DuPaul, Weyandt, and Janusis, 2011).

It is further relevant to consider the effect of teaching experience upon teachers' considerations of ADHD students. Anderson, Watt, Noble, and Shanley (2012) found an increased level of teaching experience corresponded with more favorable behaviors towards students with ADHD, but also with less favorable emotions and attitudes. While increased interaction with students affected by ADHD and related learning disabilities may encourage improved pedagogical practice, it may also adversely impact teachers' personal feelings towards participating in a classroom occupied by an affected student (Anderson et al., 2012).

In 2010, The Centre for ADHD Awareness, Canada (CADDAC), a non-profit national advocacy association, compiled information on the identification and management of ADHD by each Canadian provincial Ministry of Education. With the exception of the Yukon territory, whose Ministry representative failed to respond to requests for a meeting with CADDAC, and the Nunavut territory, which was not mentioned in the study, all provinces and territories were assigned a grade corresponding to the accommodations their Ministries outlined for students affected by ADHD. "The main goal of this exercise was to ascertain whether or not students with ADHD have equitable access to educational accommodations, across all of Canada, as do other students with impairments such as learning disabilities" (CADDAC, 2010, pg. 3). No provinces passed inspection with a grade of 'Excellent', which would have indicated no

concerns with the treatment of ADHD students. Three provinces (Alberta, Newfoundland & Labrador, and Saskatchewan) received a ‘Good’ grade, meaning there were minimal concerns with the methods their Ministry of Educations have set in place for ADHD students (CADDAC, 2010). Five provinces (Manitoba, New Brunswick, Northwest Territories, Nova Scotia, and PEI) received a ‘Satisfactory’ grade, indicating at least one, if not more, concerns with the Ministries’ accommodations (CADDAC, 2010). Three provinces (British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec) received a grade of ‘Unsatisfactory/Fail’, signifying an extreme lack, if not an outright absence, of accommodations for ADHD students (CADDAC, 2010).

The most significant concerns raised by the CADDAC (2010) study are that of ADHD being addressed as a ‘behavioral’ issue by Education Ministries, and a lack of recognition of ADHD without an additional learning disability being present. Additionally, CADDAC (2010) states that it is “very apparent that there is little consistency or equity on how students with ADHD are recognized and receive services across the country” (pg. 2). Whether operating under an Identification System, where students suspected of requiring additional services are reviewed by a set committee and formally identified as an “exceptional student”, or an Inclusion System (not to be confused with the inclusive education model discussed earlier) where students are provided with access to accommodations and resources regardless of their status as a learner, significant gaps in the administration of successful learning adapted to the needs of ADHD learners exists in all provinces (CADDAC, 2010). That only three provinces, Alberta, British Columbia, and Quebec, have educator handbooks solely dedicated to the

direction of teaching ADHD students indicates a serious lack of recognition of the importance of addressing the educational needs of such students.

Classroom Management and Suggested Teaching Strategies

Understanding the recommended processes of classroom management and teaching strategies is critical to framing an encompassing analysis of how ADHD students experience classroom spaces. Here, formal definitions of ADHD, common interpretations of proper bodily movements, permeations of medicalization and inculcations of appropriate educational practices combine to produce actual, measurable techniques enacted by teachers, classroom assistants, and students. An analysis of recommended techniques, combined with an analysis of techniques I observed being employed, will frame my reflections on ADHD student's spatial experiences. Though by no means total, the following discussion of classroom management styles and suggested teaching strategies is representative of the ways in which social understandings of normative behavior influences how students are addressed in educational spaces.

“The key to a supportive classroom environment is a teacher who is willing to establish a caring relationship with each student, learn about a student's individual needs and strengths, and provide the support and encouragement each student needs to be a successful learner” (Alberta Education, 2006, pg. 44). Educational practices and techniques that teachers are encouraged to adopt for the benefit of ADHD students (and others affected by learning disabilities causing attentional and behavioral challenges) include methods such as modifying classroom environments, implementing behavioral management programs, and restructuring learning plans.

Sandra Rief's (2005) *How to Reach and Teach Children with ADD/ADHD: Practical Techniques, Strategies, and Interventions (Second Edition)* is a lauded classroom management and intervention procedural guide recommended to teachers by numerous Canadian and American school boards, representative of the types of modifications highlighted for classroom use. According to Rief (2005), classroom modifications should focus mainly on organization; clear and consistent identification methods are promoted as a strategy for maintaining a clean and orderly classroom. Rief (2005) states, "[s]tudents with ADHD need a desk or table with as much tabletop space as possible, with tools and structuring to limit clutter" (pg. 209). Scheduling time for "sorting and dumping (recycling) unnecessary papers" is recommended, accommodated by a teacher or "peer buddy" (Rief, 2005, pg. 209). Visual cues, such as color-coding books according to subject and providing pictorial representations of daily classroom routines are proposed as a method for emphasizing the preferred schedule (Rief, 2005). Further, educators are encouraged to "[t]each [their] expectations for materials that students should have with them in class at all times" by "provid[ing] less desirable materials as substitutes" to students who forget or misplace their own supplies (Rief, 2005, pg. 211).

"The best classroom management strategy is teacher proximity – moving among the students, monitoring, cueing, and giving feedback" (Rief, 2005, pg. 187). By arranging desks and assigning student seating according to potential disruption, teachers can limit distractions for ADHD students. Rief (2005) recommends assigning ADHD students to a seat where frequent eye contact with the teacher is possible, taking care to position students with similar distractibility issues apart from each other. Individual desks

are identified as preferable to group tables for ADHD students, who may disrupt or be distracted by other students (Rief, 2005). Positioning desks in pod formations (with students facing each other) is not recommended; instead, teachers are encouraged to structure desks so that students are facing a central space generally occupied by the teacher, with ample room between desks for teacher movement accommodating one on one interaction (Rief, 2005). Maintaining traditional row seating is also suggested, in order to reduce distraction amongst students who are able to see each other in alternate arrangements.

To reduce anxiety associated with being required to stay seated in one spot and accommodate the urge for physical movement, teachers are encouraged to provide ADHD students with alternative seating options, such as cushions, bean bag chairs, or large therapeutic balls (Rief, 2005). By allowing students to remain in motion, but still in their designated desk area, it is more likely that they will remain on task and less likely that they will feel confined and uncomfortable. “Study corrals” or “privacy boards” are suggested for students who have extreme difficulty staying on task and in their assigned seat; the purpose of such areas is to eliminate visual distraction, minimize auditory disruptions, and prevent disturbances between students (Rief, 2005, pg. 187-188). It is critical, however, that these areas be made available to all students, not only those affected by ADHD, in order to avoid potential stigma and the impression of punishment (Rief, 2005). Structuring transition times, such as those between subjects or differentiated activities, is recommended in order to offset the impulse control difficulties ADHD students may experience during periods of change (Alberta Education, 2006). Developing a steady routine, reviewing expectations during special events, and providing a specific

focus to students during times of movement may help eliminate distraction and maintain order (Alberta Education, 2006).

Behavioral management techniques include procedures such as increasing time awareness, encouraging students to engage in self-monitoring and evaluation, establishing a reward system for positive behavior and corresponding consequences for negative behavior, and instituting methods for students to discreetly communicate discomfort in the classroom to their teachers (Rief, 2005). Developing time awareness involves “estimating, planning ahead, prioritizing, breaking things down into steps, problem solving, [and] staying focused on a future goal” (Rief, 2005, pg. 212). Difficulty perceiving and subsequently misjudging the time needed to complete a task is common amongst individuals affected by ADHD, thus developing an awareness of time can help to ensure students remain on task and focused for an appropriate interval (Rief, 2005). Rief (2005) suggests teaching students to estimate the amount of time needed to complete a task, then monitoring the actual time that was required as a method for instilling a sense of time. Developing time awareness can also involve engagement in self-monitoring and evaluation, as students learn to judge how successfully they completed a task during a pre-allotted time period (Rief, 2005). Further techniques for engaging in self-monitoring and evaluation include methods such as creating assignment calendars, agendas, and homework logs for students (Rief, 2005). Teachers and parents can assist in filling out such tracking systems, and then encourage students to monitor their own progress through the completion of the assignment (Rief, 2005). These systems can also assist in developing time awareness, as students learn that a ‘due date’ is the time an assignment is due, not the time to do an assignment (Rief, 2005).

Reward systems for positive behavior may include tangible incentives such as stickers and small toys, however social rewards are more so recommended as a method for motivating and instilling a successful classroom attitude (Rief, 2005). Just as “the teacher look” is a well-known method for stifling inappropriate behavior, verbally commending students for staying on task and acting in a classroom appropriate manner can be an effective strategy for motivating ADHD students (Rief, 2005, pg. 104). For some students a classroom related reward, such as being allowed to use special equipment or access a certain area not normally used during regular classroom activities, can be a successful motivation to stay on task (Rief, 2005). Behavioral charts may be appropriate for certain students who need assistance self-monitoring behavior throughout the day; a chart organized by time and filled in according to the student’s behavior may help to reinforce classroom appropriate actions by reminding students when they successfully achieved desired behaviors. However, it is important for teachers to approach all behavioral monitoring systems in a way that does not single out individual students; continual rewards or consequences for only certain students in the classroom may result in a socially isolating situation for the ADHD student (Rief, 2005).

Balancing appropriate consequences and establishing a system of response for negative behavior is equally as important as reinforcing positive actions. Such consequences and systems are not necessarily punishments, but are rather methods for communicating certain behaviors are improper and unacceptable in a classroom setting. Rief (2005) recommends “quiet time and space” for an ADHD student that may be suffering from “sensory overload” (pg. 70). A designated area of the classroom away from the group may facilitate this. Rief (2005) further suggests “concrete visual

structuring...[such as] colored masking or duct tape on the floor or table, a carpet square, or other means” to assist children in understanding the boundaries of their personal space; as individuals affected by ADHD have difficulty processing physical boundaries, additional attention to helping them understand appropriate spatial usage may prevent infringements on the personal space of fellow classmates (pg. 71). For instances of strongly disruptive behavior, a brief period away from group activity may be helpful to restore behavioral balance. The student does not necessarily have to be removed from the classroom, as emphasizing a separation from inclusion may be enough to communicate the inappropriate nature of the behavior being reprimanded (Rief, 2005).

The restructuring of learning plans may include techniques that also work with the environmental challenges of the classroom environment. For example, Rief (2005) suggests supplying students with or allowing them to bring from home earphones or headphones to muffle or eliminate distracting classroom noise. Such an accommodation may be structured in to a regular lesson, giving students ‘quiet time’ following instruction to complete tasks individually. Further, allowing students more time to complete assignments may be the most successful of learning plan accommodations. The fundamental attention difficulties associated with ADHD may impede students’ ability to complete classroom assignments in the typically allotted time. Adapting to allow for learning differences eliminates unnecessary stressors associate with a rigid classroom schedule. Rief (2005) also suggests acclimating classroom and lesson plans to accommodate for physiological factors affecting ADHD students. Stimulant medications used in the treatment of ADHD may alter appetite; students may not feel hungry early in the morning after the initial dose of their medication, but by mid to late morning need

food in order to maintain focus (Rief, 2005). Rief (2005) recommends keeping a nutritious snack on hand for all students that can be eaten while continuing to work in addition to ensuring students have easy access to water. By ensuring the physical needs of students are met, there is a greater likelihood that they will be able to maintain focus and awareness of learning plans.

Conclusion

Social issues related to ADHD have been taken up by a remarkably vast range of scholars. Similarly, sociological reflections on spatial usage and the effects of power and disciplinary measures on individuals' bodies are significant. However, and I would argue somewhat ironically, the topics fail to intersect to any substantial degree. As such, my research offers what I consider to be a critical narrative on socially-imposed spatial boundaries as experienced by a notable portion of the population.

My analysis has the potential to be constructed from a multitude of widely differing perspectives. Ultimately my intention to present a body of research that bypassed the polemic debates of diagnostic validity strongly influenced the preceding literature review. The framework I have constructed represents, to the best of my knowledge, the most relevant literature related to the perspective that I consider to be simultaneously objective and encompassing in direct relation to how youth affected by attentional and behavioral challenges associated with ADHD experience space. The following chapters will utilize the theoretical foundations of this literature review to unpack the implications of power dynamics on the stigmatized population of ADHD youth.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Choosing an Ethnographic Approach

I chose to employ ethnographic research methods to undertake my study of socially-imposed spatial boundaries on youth affected by attentional and behavioral challenges associated with ADHD. This decision was rooted in my desire to represent as effectively as possible the many factors contributing to the ways that spatial organization, management, and manipulation are experienced by ADHD youth. I chose to conduct my non-participatory observations in school classrooms as this is not only the space where children spend the majority of their time, but also because this is the space that is most likely to be managed by others. While my role as a non-participant was significantly influenced by institutionally regulated ethical considerations, it also allowed me to observe natural classroom interactions that may not have unfolded had I been an active participant. Thus this methodological aspect of my research, while not entirely under my direction, was beneficial to my project as a whole.

Integrating Interviews

My research also included an interview component, focusing on the teachers in the classroom spaces I observed. The interview component was included so as to balance the potential limitations of considering only non-participatory observation data. Denzin and Lincoln (1999), building upon Levi-Strauss' concept of bricolage, identify multi-method qualitative approaches as challenging traditional notions of research by recognizing the complexities of meaning-making. Interviews further allowed me to discuss specific and minute details of the classrooms I observed, clarifying what certain behaviors meant for the classroom space in particular, from the perspective of the individuals controlling the

space. I feel it was important to gather these particular data via interviews, as they allowed me to clarify my research focus with the teachers I observed; while I could have employed a detailed survey to compile additional information on the classroom spaces, I may have potentially missed critical information as I was not participating enough in the classroom space to be able to discern all implications and connotations of student behaviors, or be able to signal to the teachers that further reflection on a given interaction would be useful. As the process of uncovering meanings is a decisively iterative process, conducting interviews allowed me to explore and re-examine arising themes, engaging in the contextual perspectives of my participants (Denzin and Lincoln, 1999).

The decision to pursue interviews solely with teachers was influenced by two main factors; first, these individuals employ the most control over spatial interactions within classrooms, and second, by avoiding verbal contact with students, I feel I was most able to mitigate potential discomfort caused by my research on the most vulnerable group I came into contact with: students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges. By both observing regular classroom interactions and also interviewing teachers, those closest to the everyday spatial interactions, I was able to carefully construct a dynamic consideration of what it means to experience space as an ADHD youth.

Paradigmatic Concerns

Reflecting upon the development of my research, I empathize with the contention in paradigmatic legitimacy that Ellis (2009) reflects upon, and that is discussed by Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2011) in terms of the difficulties of producing research that is innovative in approach whilst responding to and maintaining the traditions of academic research. Though the value in expanding the boundaries of legitimate inquiry is

recognized, so too is the emphasis upon maintaining a degree of readable validity so as to appease the widest breadth of readers, and maintain relevance in the appropriate fields (Lincoln et al., 2011). For me, this translates to the compliance with institutional guidelines as to what constitutes acceptable research, and how this research can be undertaken. Consequently, my research does not fall succinctly into one paradigm of qualitative research. Still, though my research takes on an amalgamation of paradigms, I feel certain confining limits as to my own expression of paradigmatic exploration. A perplexing space is created, where in order to be relevant and break into current discussions of social research traditional paradigms must be challenged, yet in order to be accepted as expressing valid and legitimate data the overarching ‘rules’ must be obeyed. Nevertheless, such confines create a productive space of tension from which I am compelled to explore different facets of my research, potentially benefiting from the very factors posing opposition.

Lincoln et al. (2011) suggest the merger of differing paradigmatic approaches is becoming more common in qualitative research, producing an “intellectual, theoretical, and practical space for dialogue, consensus, and confluence to occur” (pg. 100). I hold an appreciation for this space of convergence, as I believe my research benefits from the enrichment of multiple perspectives. Though contentions did arise, particularly as I explored aspects of educational theory and practice from a sociological perspective and considered the positivist discourse that dominates scientifically-based studies of ADHD, I also believe such divergences generated a productive dialogue. In order to produce a text that is coherent and relevant across disciplines, as I hope my research will prove to be, conflicts must be recognized and incorporated into the work; as Lincoln et al. (2011)

contend, "...to argue that it is paradigms that are in contention is probably less useful than to probe where and how paradigms exhibit confluence and where and how they exhibit differences, controversies, and contradictions" (pg. 97). Further, such paradigmatic fluidity arguably encourages research that has an ability to more broadly impact social policy (ibid.). However, it is critical to note that Lincoln et al. (2011) argue that imagining complete commensurability of paradigms may be overly optimistic, as a critical divide between positivist and certain non-positivist paradigms exists. Here, the discussion of specific methodology arises; while it is acceptable, if not favorable, to employ a methodology utilizing quantitative and qualitative approaches, if such a design represents an appreciable effort to merge complementary views, attempting to employ contradictory positions is not a favorable technique (ibid.). As such, while my considerations and analysis of the topic will attend to the contributions of quantitative research on understandings of ADHD, my methodological approach will be distinctly qualitative.

Ontological and Epistemological Considerations

From my own ontological and epistemological position, which most closely aligns with what Lincoln et al. (2011) define as constructivist, I respect the value in positivist research on ADHD, though I believe this approach over-simplifies a complex matter that requires deeper reflection. While positivist research has created the quantitative, generalizable understandings of what diagnostically comprises ADHD, which may be an invaluable component of identifying and assisting youth affected by the disorder, the position that there is a "single truth that can be measured and studied" does little to address the multitude of factors that influence how an individual copes with the condition in everyday life (ibid., pg. 102). Thus, the constructivist recognition of multiple realities

is necessary to balance my research (ibid). Further, employing an amalgamating paradigmatic approach responds to the contentions of educational theorists such as Giroux (1981) that the positivist approach in pedagogical studies "...sets aside questions about moral purposes" and "tacitly supports deeply conservative views about human nature, society, knowledge, and social action" (pg. 51). By converging paradigmatic positions I have been able to consider the collective truths of an ADHD diagnosis whilst maintaining the respect for personal realities, an element I believe to be critical in the ethical representation of my participants' experiences (Lincoln et al., 2011).

Reflecting Upon Ethicality

While I have composed a research protocol that has been deemed to adequately respond to the policies and guidelines established by the University of Lethbridge Human Subject Research Committee, I remain acutely aware of the impact the ethical review process has had on my project as a whole. The University of Lethbridge's (2012) *Application for Ethical Review of Human Subject Research* is designed "to ensure that ethical principles and standards respecting the personal welfare and rights of subjects have been recognized and accommodated" (pg. 1). I perceive the tone of this document as suggesting that all proposed research can be framed according to a series of formal inquiries; Blee and Currier (2011) echo this sentiment in their declaration that it is common for Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) to "assume the full scope of a research study and contacts with people can be anticipated in advance" (pg. 402). In constructing my research protocol, I felt obliged to foresee any and all potential outcomes to my proposed observation sessions with students and interview sessions with teachers and classroom assistants. Ironically, my proposed observational subjects, youth affected by

attentional and behavioral challenges, are notoriously unpredictable. While this was addressed in my research protocol (in particular highlighting the unlikelihood of younger students entirely ignoring my presence in their classroom, and the high probability I would be approached), I question whether the suggested guidelines actually promote a constructive consideration of potential ethical quandaries, or simply shift and restructure potential issues that may arise in the field. By renegotiating obstacles into quantifiable concerns that can be directly addressed in a language favorable by the review board, the validity of issues arising from explicitly qualitative approaches is effectively diminished, leaving little room for exploration and contemplation on behalf of the researcher.

Speaking to the impact of IRBs on qualitative social research, Librett and Perrone (2010) state, “[t]he contemporary process of ethical approval for ethnographers has shaped both the design of research as well as the direction it takes” (pg. 731). Because my research effectively involves two separate classifications of vulnerable groups (children and individuals affected by a medically recognized behavioral disorder), I faced additional challenges in obtaining ethical approval (Blee and Currier, 2011). This resulted in abandoning my initial desire to speak directly to students, interviewing them in regards to their understandings of how spatial issues affect their daily classroom lives, in favor of solely observing students, and instead pursuing interviews with only accredited adult teachers and classroom assistants as to their understandings of how students experience the classroom space. Further, the upper age-limit of students to be observed was capped at 12 (grade 6 to 7) in order to bypass the Committee’s guideline that children aged 13 and older receive a descriptive assent form; such a form would have disclosed my objective to observe students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges, potentially isolating

and distressing individual students aware of their ADHD diagnosis and creating undesirable segregations amongst classmates. By observing only children aged 12 and under, I was not required by the Human Subject Research Committee to explicitly disclose to students anything beyond my desire to observe spatial interactions in the classroom and therefore could, I feel, protect the privacy of students already potentially affected by negative stigmas. Nonetheless, this (seemingly) arbitrary age-limit reflects a broader assumption on behalf of IRBs that potential risks in qualitative research are not only assessable, but calculable, quantifying and simplifying an arguably complex matter (Librett and Perrone, 2010).

To appease the concerns of the Human Subject Research Committee, my protocol declared that I would only verbally communicate with students if they approached me first, and would not engage them in conversation; statements that may be pertinent to my research would be recorded, but I would disengage contact as soon as possible. Though I understand the sentiment behind these recommendations and entered the field with the intention to adhere, I also carried a weight of questions as to how my actions would be read by students. Would they think I was bored with their conversation and was attempting to avoid them? Would they be insulted that I did not respond to inquiries and pose further questions, as young students are taught is the proper approach to conversational exchange? In particular, would students directly affected by attentional and behavioral challenges perceive my unwillingness to engage as result of their demeanor? It was not my intention to cause any degree of discomfort to my research subjects; though my presence would be explained to students in age-appropriate language,

would my disengaged behavior be considered awkward and insensitive to young students?

Ultimately I found, and continue to find, it more productive to consider my completed ethical review as representing only a stagnant glimpse of a project that is actually a dynamic body of research. As Librett and Perrone (2010) so aptly state, “[e]thnographers are hardly psychic” (pg. 734). Though I was responsible for preparing myself, particularly from the perspective of those guidelines identified by the institute I research under, I cannot begin to anticipate every possible ethical quandary. This being said, ethical considerations do not begin and end with an application, as a multitude of factors exist beyond what can be expressed by a set of standard questions. Ellis (2009), reflecting upon her own work and offering recommendations for how others can ethically structure their own research, promotes a fluid consideration of ethics that exists in a constant state of evolution. For Ellis (2009), ethical responsibilities extend beyond fieldwork, beyond the act of writing, and beyond publication; she asks, “[w]hat do we owe those we study?”, and further contemplates whether there are “ways to write about people that honor and empower them” (pg. 78). Though the concept of ‘truth’ is itself dubious and convoluted, the process of communicating the various truths of those we study is critical to rightfully empowering their stories (Peers, 2012).

To satisfy such expressions of truth, Ellis (2009) promotes the use of relational ethics, “recogniz[ing] and valu[ing] mutual respect, dignity, and connectedness between the researcher and the researched” (pg. 308). Relational ethics does not presuppose an answer according to a broad definition of what ‘ethics’ is; rather, it recognizes that it is the role of the researcher to identify and respond to ethical quandaries and responsibilities

in a manner that is appropriate for all parties in that particular situation, *in that particular moment* (Ellis, 2009). This approach lessens my anxieties of ethical dilemmas left unanswered by the procedural ethics review, as it is here that I can truly consider and reflect upon my research as a dynamic, multi-dimensional body of work. Unexpected situations will always arise, but my devotion to adhering to an ethical practice that protects, values, and secures the rights of my participants helps to ensure the successful translation of their experiences in my research.

Politics and Ethically Guided Research

As it is my desire to avoid participating in the convoluted discussion of whether ADHD is ‘real’ through the construction of my thesis, and because of an existing, politically charged discourse on the topic, I am aware of the importance in attending to the fact that many narratives exist about the individuals I researched. My own reflections on the disorder are positioned from the perspective of examining ADHD from a biopsychosocial framework, acknowledging the validity of associated behaviors as a medically recognized disorder while maintaining the importance of social influences. While I acknowledge this itself counters certain sociological considerations of the disorder, I also feel my consideration of ADHD from a multimodal perspective limits the potential of any aspect of my research falling too significantly into contentious territory. Peers (2012) discusses the importance of recognizing the emergence of stories from differing positions, as “stories inspire the creation of entire industries for normalising and treating abnormalities” (pg. 176). Peers (2012) further calls to attention the ‘games of truth’ Foucault identifies as being a set of “complex historical processes and socially constructed rules through which certain ideas come to be understood as true” (pg. 177).

Employing a similar approach to my own interpretation of Foucauldian theory, Peers' (2012) elucidation of Foucault's expression of power relations effectively underlines the impact of objectifying processes on groups deviating from the norm; the permeating influence of stories created through expressions of power can redefine what is understood to be the 'truth' of a group. Thus, it has been critical for my approach to appreciate the variance in reflections on ADHD, while maintaining objectivity, in order to establish the experiences of my participants as the most important expression of knowledge on actual spatial interpretations in my work.

It is my hope that by thoroughly demonstrating my commitment to articulating the truths of my participants I have been able to circumvent potential issues arising from the divergences between my methodological approach and those of the quantitative studies that dominate much of the dialogue on ADHD youth in educational theory. The perception that a qualitative approach is somehow less valuable than a quantitative one is melded into many discussions of social research. Reflecting upon the validity of qualitative research from a positivist position, Denzin, Lincoln, and Giardina (2006) state, "[e]vidence from quantitative research is prioritized while qualitative inquiry is marginalized, because there are no well-defined variables or causal models" (pg. 772). However, as Ellis (2009) underlines, fundamentally differing perspectives have the ability to produce constructive dialogue on the effectiveness of a research project; ultimately, a reciprocal dialogue may improve the work rather than impede it. So long as I continually remain cognisant of the contentions between qualitative and quantitative approaches to the study of ADHD and reflect upon value of amalgamating approaches, I believe a productive body of research will result.

Reflexivity

Fundamentally, the process of reflexivity affects all facets of my research. My paradigmatic position has been developed through careful considerations of how I believe I can best situate a body of work that demonstrates issues critical to ADHD youth, and it is a decidedly ongoing process. The resulting space of paradigmatic tension I previously mentioned is in part created by the reflexive process; to create a rounded, effective approach I consistently engage in considerations of who and what influences my paradigmatic position, and how this correspondingly affects my work. When I state that my paradigmatic position most closely aligns with what Lincoln et al. (2011) define as constructivist, I do so with a particular emphasis on *most closely*, as I am aware that I will continually engage in a reflection upon how I can best use differing approaches to formulate my research, even beyond final articulations of my written thesis.

For Guillemin and Gillam (2004), reflexivity represents an opportunity to actively consider methodology and ethical decisions throughout a research project. “Ethically important moments” can and will arise at the most unexpected times, making it important to move beyond considering ethics as simply attached to the formal process of institutional ethical approval (ibid.). A reflexive approach encourages researchers to think about potential issues before they arise, resulting in a more introspective approach to research (ibid.). Similarly, just as Ellis (2009) promotes a fluid and embedded consideration of ethics, so too does she consider the reflexive process as an ongoing interaction with a body of research; though the answers to some questions are not easily discernible from all points during the research project, an ongoing reflexive exploration of approaches can help to alleviate concerns.

Why This Research?

For me, a critical aspect of reflexively conducting research is to recognize that I am far from neutral in regards to my subject matter. In order to produce a productive body of research I must identify factors that may influence how I approach methodological, ethical, and political quandaries. As such, I find it useful to reflect upon how I came to study ADHD youth. I did not always intend to pursue a degree in sociology at the graduate level. I had planned to become a teacher, combining a sociology degree with a specialty in social studies and early childhood education. I have always enjoyed being around children, and for years imagined my ideal career as being within the education system. For insignificant reasons I was slightly further along in my undergraduate degree than most other students when I took an introductory education course, a class designed to introduce prospective teachers to classroom life by combining lectures with a practicum requirement, and I associate this with my first leanings towards further pursuing sociology. I had a substantial number of sociology classes behind me, and much more to draw upon critically as I entered an elementary school environment. During this education course I was assigned to a grade one classroom, and spent half a school day, four days a week, for two months surrounded by eager and excited 6 and 7 year olds. I can honestly say that I loved it. Though I came to find out that my role in the classroom was not quite typical for a practicum student at my level, I enjoyed engaging with the students, particularly a small group identified as needing an increased level of attention and assistance. I spent the majority of my time with these students, and attribute what I learned from them as one of the most significant factors in my decision to defer pursuing a degree in education and instead focus on sociological studies.

Each of the students I worked with had unique circumstances contributing to their need for increased attention in the classroom, but they shared a common trait; they had great difficulty focusing on the task in front of them. Ranging from shy and quiet to boisterous and outgoing, they required attention tailored to their individual personalities. Moving a chair to another side of the table worked for one, but devastated another. The suggestion to stand up and ‘shake it out’ helped to refocus two more extroverted students, but elicited eye rolling from their introverted classmate. Though each student had their own personal desk in the main area of the classroom, we more often worked as a small group in an alcove of the room designated for one on one activity. Sitting on a tiny chair next to these children I wondered how they felt being markedly separated from their classmates and delegated to a table most of the other students clearly avoided walking past. While they never expressed feeling, or even noticing, a difference between their space in the classroom as compared to their classmates, it was on my mind. Surely, I thought, it must occur to other adults that this ‘special’ table (and other stigmatizing spatial elements of the classroom too numerous to mention) had an effect on the young students, but it was regarded as a normal part of the classroom. Just the way things are.

But for a sociologist, things are never ‘just the way they are’. There are reasons, factors and explanations, to the dynamics of every social situation. I had trouble ignoring elements of the classroom that seemed normative to teachers and assistants but troubling in my mind, and the standard “You’ll understand when you become a teacher” response did nothing for me. I was drawing parallels between what I was witnessing in this elementary school classroom and what I was learning in my sociological studies. Things became complicated. I did not immediately decide to shelve my desire to obtain an

education degree, but the semesters following my classroom experiences affirmed my need to pursue an answer to the many questions I had been left with, or at the very least to venture towards gaining the knowledge of how to create an explanation. The encouragement of my sociology professors helped to establish that a graduate level education would allow me to do this. I chose to examine the effects of spatial organization and management on the bodies of youth affected by attentional and behavioral challenges in part because of the experiences I had with the small group of grade one students, and in part because of the impact this disorder has had on my own life. I have not been diagnosed as having ADHD, but many people around me have. Some of these people I know quite well, and have spoken with at length as to how the disorder affects their lives, others I am less familiar with on a personal level and know better as classmates, teachers, and colleagues. Little information exists directly speaking to the effects of space on individuals with ADHD, which is ironic considering the number of individuals affected by the disorder. It is my hope that the research I present will initiate a dialogue on the subject.

Balancing a Reflexive Approach

In certain ways, I felt that I could anticipate specific behaviors that are associated with attentional and behavioral challenges because of my background; however, as I have previously discussed in terms of ethical considerations, an inability to predict the exact circumstances of fieldwork definitively remains. My intimate connection with the research created a (somewhat complicated) drive to eliminate obstacles. Encouragingly, Blackman's (2007) description of various ethnographic studies highlights the usefulness of reflexivity as a tool to assist researchers in negotiating fieldwork. While Blackman

(2007) draws attention to the dangers in over-thinking interactions with participants, he also underlines the importance of considering what the researcher imparts on participants and the analysis of research data. Similarly, Ellis (2009) demonstrates that while reflexivity can impart certain complications on a body of work, reflecting critically upon the choices made throughout a research project is essential to ensuring the ethical treatment of research participants. For Ellis, just as one cannot be too cognisant of ethical quandaries, one cannot be too reflexive. A qualitative researcher must remain aware that their influence on research participants, and the body of research as a whole, is ongoing. Thus, I feel emboldened to remain reflexive throughout the research process as a way of organizing and managing my approach, while remaining aware of the potential obstacles that may halt my momentum as a result of focusing too much attention on factors beyond my control. Though I do not feel I can necessarily be *too* reflexive, I am cognisant of the fact that I could fall into an endless cycle of debate as to whether I am taking an appropriate approach. I have therefore made an effort to reflexively consider the ways I embody my work whilst critically constructing a methodology that balances and conveys as truthfully as possible the experiences of my participants (Newman, 2010).

Participant Recruitment

Following ethical approval from the University of Lethbridge Human Subject Research Committee, I contacted the superintendent of Lethbridge Public School District 51, explaining my research and requesting permission to research within the District's elementary and middle schools. I successfully gained permission, and from this point began contacting principals, assistant principals, and administration staff to request permission to undertake non-participatory observations in their school, and potentially

conduct interviews with their staff. This proved to be the most significant hurdle to my research. While the office of the superintendent graciously and enthusiastically sanctioned my research (even stating that they were positive I would have no difficulty obtaining permission from individual schools), the same sentiment was not expressed by the vast majority of principals and administrative staff in District 51.

My first attempt at participant recruitment involved four schools; two elementary (Grades 1 to 5) and two middle schools (Grades 6 to 8, though I indicated my intent to research solely in Grade 6 classrooms because of the age restrictions imposed by my university's ethical protocols). I chose to approach these schools based upon their location and size; the population of each of these schools was average for that of the district as well as ethnically and economically diverse, hopefully limiting the effects of socio-economic factors upon the experiences of ADHD youth. I delivered paper letters to each of these schools, addressed to the principal, which briefly explained my research and requested their participation. After three weeks without response, I followed up to these letters with an email to each school. One elementary school responded via email and declined to participate, stating only that they had several new and student teachers in the school. The other elementary school did not respond to the call to participate in my research, though they sent a 'read receipt' indicating that the email was received. Neither middle school responded to my call in any form. Over the next month and a half, I sent three rounds of email calls for participation to the remaining middle school and ten elementary schools in the district. Two of the elementary schools responded, declining, as well as the remaining middle school. Ten schools did not respond in any manner. While it is difficult to postulate the exact reason for lack of response, I believe it reasonable to

assume that, at least in part, discomfort with and suspicions of the research topic can be associated with avoidance of my study (a line of reasoning that was supported by subsequent interactions with potential participants).

I received only one response indicating interest in involvement from an average sized elementary school. After a disappointing lack of response from the 14 other schools I approached for participation, I am beyond grateful for the response and hospitality shown to me by this school, as without them I would not have the body of research I do today. I met with the principal and assistant principal, who arranged for me to observe 3 classrooms over the course of 4 weeks, 2 full school days per week, for a total of approximately 50 hours during March 2013. These classrooms were chosen by the assistant principal according to my request for classrooms that were occupied by at least one student with attentional and behavioral challenges associated with ADHD. To protect the privacy of the student(s), I was not told who was affected by such challenges prior to entering the classrooms. After my first observation session, I mentioned the possibility of conducting an interview with each of the teachers at a later date, to which they agreed; following my last observation sessions, participation was confirmed and arrangements made to conduct the interviews.

Research Site

The elementary school I conducted fieldwork at was located on the south side of Lethbridge, Alberta. The school serves slightly over 500 students, an average size for the city's public school district. I entered with the permission and intent of observing three classrooms; a Grade 4 classroom with 26 total students and a male teacher, a Grade 5 classroom with 29 total students and a female teacher, and a Grade 4/5 split classroom

with 19 students and a female teacher. The Grade 4/5 split was occupied by 9 Grade 4 students and 10 Grade 5 students who spent the morning in this classroom and the afternoons in the regular Grade 4 and Grade 5 classrooms (meaning that in the mornings, the Grade 4 classroom was occupied by 17 students and the Grade 5 classroom by 19 students). Prior to my entering the school, the teachers whose classrooms I was to observe in were given a brief explanation of my research by the vice principal, who had received my full research protocol as approved by the Human Subject Research Committee, and with whom I did the majority of organization for my fieldwork schedule.

I did not, however, observe these three classrooms for the entire length of time in the field. On the first day of my observation sessions, after observing the first half of the morning in the Grade 4/5 classroom, and one period in the Grade 5 room, I moved to the Grade 4 classroom. The students were being supervised by a student teacher, awaiting the regular classroom teacher, Mr. Thorn (all names are pseudonyms), to return. After approximately 20 minutes, Mr. Thorn returned briefly, said he would be right back, and left for another 10 minutes. Upon his return, he told the students they could get their lunch early and he put on a movie for them. From my seat in the back corner of the room I approached Mr. Thorn and introduced myself. He seemed surprised at my presence in the room, and after providing an explanatory script (which I provided to all teachers explaining, in language appropriate to the level of their students so it could be shared to the entire class, my role as a Master's student observing spatial interactions in the classroom) and a consent form (see Appendix A) to him, he responded that he was not told I would be observing any longer than an hour or two in total. Mr. Thorn went on to state that there were already a lot of adults in the classroom, he was not fond of being

watched, and since there was not really room for me to conduct observations my (pre-approved) time in his class would not work. He returned the explanatory script and consent form to me. Thus, my observation sessions took place solely in Mrs. Armor's Grade 5 and Ms. Hunt's Grade 4/5 classrooms.

Participant Profiles

Ms. Hunt, a Grade 4/5 teacher in her early 30s, was in her 4th year of teaching, this being her first year in a single classroom assignment. The other 3 years of her experience were substituting positions at various schools. Mrs. Armor, a Grade 5 teacher in her early 40s, was in her 13th year of teaching, with 6 months of substituting experience. Her single classroom assignments were in 4 separate classrooms, including her current position. Both teachers were Caucasian. Ms. Hunt had worked within this elementary school over a period of 4 years, including her time as a substitute. Mrs. Armor had worked within the school for a period of 5 years, including her time as a substitute.

I observed a total of 38 students (not including my short time in Mr. Thorn's classroom, where I briefly observed an additional 15 students). In Mrs. Armor's classroom, I also observed and had contact with Mrs. Grind, an educational assistant in her early 50s who primarily worked with one student, though she had contact with the entire class and would at times work with a variety of students needing additional help. In Ms. Hunt's classroom, I was also in contact with an educational assistant intern in her early 20s, Ms. White, and a social work intern in her mid-20s, Ms. Brown, both of whom directed their attention upon students with school-identified challenges, but had contact with the entire class.

Though I entered each classroom without knowledge of the identity of the students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges, within the first week of observations these students were both formally and informally identified by teachers, classroom support staff, and students through direct statements to me (teachers and classroom support staff) and general comments to the entire classroom (teachers, classroom support staff, and students). Officially, 3 students in Mrs. Armor's Grade 5 room were identified as being affected by attentional and behavioral challenges, one of whom was formally diagnosed with ADHD. This student was also a member of Ms. Hunt's Grade 4/5 classroom, where 2 students were formally identified as being affected by attentional and behavioral challenges (see Appendix E).

Unofficially, the number of students I observed exhibiting significant trends of behaviors associated with attentional and behavioral challenges, and who were treated by the teachers and classroom assistants as such, was higher. In Ms. Hunt's classroom there were an additional 3 girls (2 in Grade 4, 1 in Grade 5), and 3 boys (1 in Grade 4, 2 in Grade 5). This brought the total number of students addressed by teachers and classroom support staff as exhibiting attentional and behavioral challenges to 8 students in Ms. Hunt's classroom, and 6 students in Mrs. Armor's classroom. Additionally, it is worthwhile to note that both Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor's classrooms had students affected by separate challenges influencing both their learning experiences and the classroom environment; both classrooms had at least one student who was an English as a Second Language student, at least one student affected by physical challenges, and multiple students affected by various social and emotionally based challenges. Further, five students in Ms. Hunt's and two students in Mrs. Armor's classroom were visible

minorities. Two students in Ms. Hunt's classroom, including Charlie, a student formally identified as being affected by attentional and behavioral challenges, had First Nations, Metis, and Inuit (FMNI) status. Though I will not explicitly attend to these differences in my analysis, largely due to my intent to focus specifically on factors pertaining to attentional and behavioral challenges, it is worthwhile mentioning that intersections of race, ethnicity, (dis)ability, social class, sexual orientation, gender, and gender identity may influence the ways that space is constructed and experienced.

Data Collection: Observations

An explanatory script (see Appendix B) was provided to each of the teachers whose classrooms I observed in describing my role as a Master's student observing spatial interactions in the classroom. The script did not mention my focus on students with attentional and behavioral challenges associated with ADHD, and was written so it could be shared with the students should the teacher decide to do so; this minimal level of deception was approved by the Human Subject Research Committee, and was employed so as to avoid drawing additional attention to students who may have already felt differentiated in the classroom space. Neither Ms. Hunt nor Mrs. Armor chose to read the script to the students. In Ms. Hunt's room I was introduced as Ms. Semach from the University of Lethbridge; the students were told I would be watching the class, with no specific reason provided, and they should remember to ask Ms. Hunt or another adult in the room for help, not me. Mrs. Armor chose not to directly introduce me to her students, and only to answer questions about my presence in the rooms should students directly ask; I witnessed 3 separate students approach Mrs. Armor with questions about who I was in the first week of my observations, and she responded to them by saying I was a 'fly on

the wall' and they shouldn't worry about me. When pressed, she would only elaborate that I was from the University, and that they were just to ignore me.

I made every effort to make my presence in the classrooms as minimally noticeable as possible to both students and teachers. I sat at a small table at the back of each classroom (I was fortunate that both rooms had such a space I could claim), and I entered the rooms either before students arrived, or along with them as they switched classes. I took effort in constructing an outward appearance that would separate me from the teachers, but would communicate to the students that I was not a parent volunteering in the class. Pascoe (2007) highlights the importance of maintaining a physical appearance that facilitates a seamless blend with the field one is working in by drawing attention to or minimizing certain identifiers common to that space or relevant to the topic of research. For me, this translated to choosing a style of dress that was markedly less formal than that of the teachers, yet more formal than parents who were occasionally in the classrooms; thus, khaki colored jeans and a solid colored sweater became my typical uniform. There was, however, one aspect of my physical appearance that I worried would draw extra attention to my presence in the room; an air-cast that came up to my knee, the result of a broken foot. Fortunately, a quick clarification of what the thing on my leg actually was (it really does look like a space-boot) repeated several times, to several separate groups, satisfied the students' questions. The curious stares stopped within the first week, and I learned to sit with my leg stretched under the table and out of direct sight.

I carried a small notebook with me to record observations throughout the day. Prior to entering the field I debated whether this would hinder my aim at blending into

classroom, wondering specifically whether continually writing notes would cause discomfort for students and teachers, or draw an increased level of attention to my non-participatory presence. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) highlight the potential fallbacks of openly recording field notes, stating that “open jottings...may strain relations with those who notice writing”, and noting that “people may develop definite expectations about what events and topics should be recorded” (pg. 23). Luckily, my participants largely became accustomed to my open and continual jotting of field notes. I was not asked by teachers or classroom support staff what I was specifically recording at any time; inquiries as to whether I was gathering enough data were made several times throughout the course of my observations, but in a general manner. Students did not explicitly ask about my note taking either, though there were a few students in Ms. Hunt’s class that would make an effort to catch a glimpse of the pages. I realized this quite quickly, and adapted by closing my notebook any time a student moved near me without drawing attention to the fact that I noticed them in my vicinity. I do not believe this to be correlated to curiosity as to what I was writing in specific, but more associated to the fact that I was an adult in the room and therefore from the student’s perspective might be writing something interesting; these students would regularly lean over Ms. Hunt’s shoulder when she was seated to read her papers as well. Thus, I believe my observations were of fairly natural interactions unhampered by my presence as an observer.

Although I did not have as significant a level of engagement as many ethnographers who actively participate in the field during research typically do, I am cognisant of the fact that my presence in the classrooms nonetheless had an impact on my participants. However, I do not feel that my impact on the students, or the teachers for

that matter, was in any way negative; Emerson et al. (1995) state, “relationships between the field researcher and the people in the setting do not so much disrupt or alter ongoing patterns of social interaction as reveal the terms and bases on which people form social ties in the first place” (pg. 3). The University of Lethbridge and Lethbridge School District 51 have an ongoing relationship wherein students from the Faculty of Education complete their practicum requirements throughout all schools in the district. Therefore, the students I observed were well accustomed to a university-aged individual coming into their classroom (this was part of the reason I took effort in separating myself from the teachers); what the majority of them were not accustomed to was someone entering the classroom but not participating. This in itself revealed important patterns, as students responded to my presence in differing manners. Teachers and classroom support staff also responded to me in unique ways, largely according to their level of experience in the classroom. I am therefore comfortable acknowledging the disruption my presence caused as a beneficial variable, revealing patterns of classroom interactions that may not have been possible to observe had the students and teachers been entirely unfamiliar with the general observation process.

Data Collection: Interviews

I conducted interviews with Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor in April 2013, following the completion of my observation sessions. The interviews lasted approximately 60 minutes, and were conducted in the teacher’s respective classrooms. Conducting the interviews in this setting was favorable, as it was a comfortable setting for the participants and allowed for discussion and elaboration of specific aspects of the room. This also allowed me to ask specific questions tailored to the spatial organization of the specific

classrooms, focusing on minute details that the participants may have had difficulty expanding on had they not been able to visualize what I was referring to.

My interview guide (see Appendix D) included questions about the teacher's professional experience, their knowledge of ADHD students, their understanding of spatial interactions and organization including their involvement in such interactions, and their perceptions of how students negotiate formal and informal school spaces. The interview questions were designed to gather both broad and specific details pertaining to how the teachers interpret the impact of space and spatial interactions on all individuals in a classroom, as well as how they negotiate accommodations for students with attentional and behavioral challenges.

The participants were fully informed and required to sign a letter of consent detailing issues of confidentiality and their right to withdraw without consequence from the study before the interview began (see Appendix C). The letter also included a list of local support services should the study have raised any sensitive issues the participants felt the need to further discuss. The interviews were audio-recorded, with the permission of both participants, and I took brief notes throughout. Following the interview, I made notes on the demeanor of my participants and overall tone of the interview with the intent of preserving additional information that may have been pertinent during data analysis. I generally followed the interview guide approved by the Human Subject Research Committee, though I expanded, probed, and tailored specific questions to each of the teachers according to their classroom, individual students, and routines I had noticed during my observation sessions. A copy of the interview guide was provided to each of the participants so they could read the questions as we spoke, if they chose.

Data Analysis

During the first week of my observations, I began preliminary coding for general concepts (open coding) with my field notes. This included topics such as general classroom organization methods and timetables, the employment of learning strategies and spatial manipulation strategies by teachers, and movements of students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges. My handwritten field notes were typed, and I undertook a basic analysis of the data for emerging trends. While early in the process, this helped me to formulate my approach for undertaking continued observations; Seidel (1998) stresses that qualitative data analysis is an iterative, progressive, recursive and holographic (or cyclical, in that each step reflects back and contains the entire process in itself) practice, and thinking about the data during the process of collecting facilitates a far more reflective and substantial engagement with the research. This initial coding helped me to identify classroom routines, and to most productively utilize my observation time. My process for data collection and analysis was what O'Reilly (2012) identifies as an "iterative-inductive approach" as there were not concrete, separate phases of collection and analysis, but rather intricately linked periods of engagement with the data (pg. 180). When my observations were complete, I utilized the software *Atlas-ti* to formally code the data. I again employed open coding to discern broad themes and trends in the data (which early on included distinctive spatial usage by students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges; issues of power relations between students, students/teachers, and teachers/classroom assistants; and specific strategy employment by and for attentional and behaviorally challenged students), and then employed axial coding, wherein specific concepts and sub-categories of themes were established.

Atlas-ti and methods of open and axial coding were also used to analyze the interview transcripts, which I personally completed. Bird (2005) describes transcription as an essential component of qualitative analysis. As such, I took effort to produce detailed transcripts that preserved as accurate of a representation of my participant's voices as possible. Unfortunately, all transcripts are ultimately interpretations, as the translation of oral language into written is undeniably impacted by "the social, cultural, and linguistic location of an individual transcriber" (Bird, 2005, pg. 229). This was taken into account during my evaluations and contemplations of the data, and was factored into the final analysis.

Effect of the Research on the Researcher

As previously addressed, this is not a neutral area of research for me. I therefore began fieldwork with the recognition that I would likely encounter emotionally charged situations, and would have to quickly discern a productive way of processing and debriefing in order to successfully conduct my research. As discussed by Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, and Liamputtong (2007), it is critical for the researcher "to be able to make an assessment of the impact of the research on both the participants *and* themselves"; guilt, discomfort, and exhaustion are only a few of the many potential emotions experienced by qualitative researchers conducting fieldwork (pg. 328). I experienced all of these emotions, and many more.

As previously mentioned, a critical aspect of my data analysis involved coding students and their behavior according to a set of descriptors that allowed me to interpret trends of spatial interactions. Because of the existing tensions surrounding the application of labels to an individual and their behaviors, this process left me on decidedly uneven

ground; in order to participate in the constructive analysis of how students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges experience space, I ironically also participated in contentious practices that construct students' subjectivities in particular ways. I am cognisant of the fact that my labelling of students as 'affected' by attentional and behavioral challenges is itself problematic; my knowledge of the students' individual histories was limited or non-existent. However, in order to engage in a productive analysis of spatial interactions, I required a method of identifying patterns of behaviors and interactions that allowed me to clearly convey my classroom observations. I consider my analysis similar to the process teachers undertake in their own observation and analysis of their students; too often teachers are introduced to students with little knowledge of their history, and in order to begin attending to their individual needs must apply broad, pre-defined codes and descriptions of behaviors. Therefore, although uncomfortable and problematic at multiple intersections, the process of coding students was necessary.

A significant portion of my ethical protocol was focused around the assurance that I would not engage in contact with students, to the best of my abilities. In actuality, I was more of a participating non-participant in the classroom. I was ignored during the majority of my observation sessions, but at times was called upon and drawn into the interactions of the classroom. Some of these interactions were more explicit and fleeting than others, as students would ask for the definition or spelling of a word, show me their work, or simply wave hello as they came inside from the playground. Other times, I was drawn into the classroom through a look from the teacher eliciting my response to

something a student said or did. I did my best to respond with a smile or small shrug, whatever seemed appropriate to the situation, while remaining nonverbal.

Though there were benefits to being the quiet eyes in the back of the room, I do feel that there could have also been benefits to actively engaging with the classroom. Had my role been more participatory, I feel as though much of the discomfort I experienced associated with the fieldwork process would have been alleviated. I have a lingering, nagging feeling that I have somehow failed the students I observed; as I obtained data, satisfying the needs of my research, I did not directly offer anything in return (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007). Because I was only observing, I did not step into disputes between students, despite knowing I could resolve their issue quickly. I said nothing when I witnessed a student be blamed for causing a disruption during silent reading time, though I knew him to be innocent. I think of the dejected look on his face as he glanced around the room for someone to stand up for him and I feel sick to my stomach. Even though I later brought up this incident with one of the teachers I observed, and was assured that she would follow up on how this student was being addressed by other teachers and classroom support staff, I still wish I could have, or would have, said something in the moment.

Approaching my research according to Ellis' (2009) recommendation of relational ethics helped in the process of reflecting upon my fieldwork. I focused on the idea of the right response for that particular moment, and allowed myself to shift and develop my planned reactions (Ellis, 2009). In addition to writing extensive notes during my sessions, I ended each day by journaling when I returned home. Some of these reflections were

added to my field notes, while others simply allowed me to work through the complicated process of conducting fieldwork.

Conclusion

Overall, I ventured to engage in a reflexive, iterative-inductive process of qualitative research, producing as accurate as possible a representation of how socially-imposed spatial boundaries are experienced by youth affected by attentional and behavioral challenges associated with ADHD. My decision to combine non-participatory observations with interviews allowed for a thorough reflection upon what spatial interactions can and do mean in a classroom space, and a continual engagement with the data produced complex deliberations of the arising themes. In the following chapters, I discuss the themes that emerged during my research, and reflect upon the understanding of spatial use as a tangible factor impacting the lives of youth with attentional and behavioral challenges.

Chapter 3: Power Relations and Spatial Use

In this chapter I explore the ways in which spatial usage by the youth with attentional and behavioral challenges was affected by and in turn affected power and power relations in the classrooms I observed. I discuss expressions of power and effects of power relations between teachers, teachers and assistants, teachers and students, assistants and students, and students themselves in order to reflect upon the influence and impact this had on how space was engaged. To structure this analysis I consider the following questions: How are classroom spaces organized? In what ways is spatial use monitored and/or regulated? How is power enacted in classroom spaces? What techniques of power are employed, and by whom? Are the operating modes of power implicit or explicit in execution? How do individuals respond to power relations in terms of spatial use? To frame my analysis I discuss instances and enactments of power relations in the classrooms I observed, and describe how this impacted the perceivable ways that students utilized and interacted with the space.

Classroom Organization

Both spaces I observed engaged in an identifiable organizational style typical of elementary school classrooms. Despite unique manipulations of the physical components, such as desks and tables, in each room, both Ms. Hunt (Grade 4/5) and Mrs. Armor (Grade 5) employed methods of organization and spatial management that communicated clear engagement with a prescribed formula for elementary school spaces. Students primarily sat in attached-seat desks oriented towards a main whiteboard/Smartboard wall, from whence both teachers would write lesson instructions and address the whole of the class. In both rooms there was a small hexagon shaped table near the rear of the room

used for small group instruction and activities amongst the students. A larger desk, designated as the teacher's, was also in the rear of each room, opposite the hexagon table. As I noted over the course of my fieldwork, this basic organizational style, with specific areas for student's desks, small group activities, and the teacher's desk, was typical of classrooms in this school (and I would venture to say, most elementary schools).

Employment of this organizational method by Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor (and other teachers in the school) suggests an innate recognition of pre-established codes for acceptable elementary classroom spatial use. Eco (1999) posits the primary creators of a space, here Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor, are bound by specific codes of functionality that influence how they 'build' a given space. These codes exist beyond the physical components of the classroom, and rely on communicative factors that express broader patterns of acceptable spatial use, influencing the ways that students engage with the space. As Eco (1999) emphasizes, connotations of 'acceptable' spatial use may not necessarily have been intended to be imparted on behalf of the teachers, but the expression of specific codes of functionality fundamentally direct spatial organization and influence use, evidenced here by the emergence of clear patterns of spatial use by students.

During the period of my observations, Ms. Hunt's room remained organized in the same configuration (See Appendix F). Grades 4 and 5 were split to opposite sides of the room, with a sizeable walkway approximately 4 to 5 feet wide between the banks of desks. The desks were organized in horizontal rows of two or three, with enough room between the rows for the students to move in and out of their seats. The space between each row was not large enough for an adult to move in; when addressing individual

students Ms. Hunt and the classroom assistants would move to either side of the bank of desks and stand directly next to the student, or lean over one side if the student was in the middle of the row. This organizational method reflected recommended educational techniques of traditional row style classrooms for use with students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges, with slight modification responding to the split grade level in this specific class (Rief, 2005).

The two students formally identified as being affected by attentional and behavioral challenges associated with ADHD, Charlie in Grade 4 and Christopher in Grade 5, sat in the front row on their respective sides of the classroom. Charlie's desk was closest to 'living room' area of Ms. Hunt's classroom; this space had a small area rug, a sofa large enough for two to three people, and a coffee table. Charlie's desk further allowed him a view out of one of the narrow windows next to the bulletin boards that flanked the whiteboards/Smartboard. Also in Charlie's row were two girls, one of whom, Emma, exhibited significant attentional and behavioral challenges despite lacking formal school codification. Christopher's desk was closest to the centre aisle on the Grade 5 side. Also in his row was Daniel, who like Emma was not formally coded by the school but displayed significant attentional and behavioral challenges. The positioning of these students near the front of the classroom correlates with Rief's (2005) recommendation of minimizing potential distractions for students with attentional and behavioral challenges. Further, it allowed frequent visual contact with Ms. Hunt during group discussions and lesson delivery, another method of spatial organization aimed at minimizing distractions (Rief, 2005).

Ms. Hunt described her classroom organization as being a collective decision arrived upon through regular reflection and discussions between her and the students. She noted:

The kids are very, well, my group, are very in tune with that and very involved with our desk arrangements and floor plans. Just before Easter they were, “Ms. Hunt can we change?” you know, whatever, so we did, and I just gave a piece of paper; “do you want to sit by yourself, do you want to sit in pairs, do you want to sit with three”, and just let them pretty much go to town on it. So that seems to help them. They’re I think a pretty good guide and can gauge their own “who I should sit with” and “where I would benefit” and things like that. This group, they don’t like a lot of change, so it has to be kind of a group vote and decision and everyone’s comfortable with it. I do have some individual students that haven’t moved all year, like they let everybody move around them, but they’re not moving, period, end of story. And I allow that, I don’t see it as being a battle that I need to take on, they know what they like.

In this sense, Ms. Hunt and the students shared power over at least some aspects of the configuration of the classroom space, highlighting the role of the individual user in spatial interactions (Foucault, 1999). Though the physical components of the room were described by Ms. Hunt as being a combination of school-assigned (the desks, tables, and shelving units) and her own (the couch, rug, and coffee table), she indicated the voice of students as being critical in deciding the layout of the room. Further, Ms. Hunt was in the process of acquiring alternative seating for the students that would allow them even more flexibility in their spatial use. Towards the end of my observational period three child sized yoga balls arrived, and the students were allowed to sit on these around the coffee table, hexagon table, or next to their own desks. Ms. Hunt had also ordered three bean bag chairs that had yet to arrive, but were intended for similar use. Such accommodation for physical movement and alternative use of classroom spaces indicates recognition on Ms. Hunt’s behalf of the implications of hyperactivity on spatial use (Rief, 2005).

Although there were some freedoms and choices in structuring the classroom space, there were also limits. For example, Ms. Hunt expressed a dislike for the conventional attached-seat desks that the school provided, saying “They’re too confining for my students. Just how I know they are, and I would prefer not to have desks at all.” If provided with a significant enough budget, Ms. Hunt stated that she would prefer to outfit her classroom with standing tables and more beanbag chairs and yoga balls to allow the students more comfortable and less formal areas to complete their work. If space and budget were to allow, Ms. Hunt also expressed interest in ideally acquiring another couch, as she perceived this area in her classroom as being beneficial particularly to the students with attentional and behavioral challenges, who she viewed as needing an increased amount of time away from the confines of their desks.

Regarding her own personal perception of classroom organization, Ms. Hunt explained that some of her presumptions about what would function in a classroom were in fact erroneous, which she learned upon being introduced to her students and recognizing their individual needs. She stated:

I definitely had to do some personal and professional growth too, given this classroom. And I adore them, but you know, I’ve learnt a lot too right, like I’ve changed my kind of philosophy or my approach as well. So whereas before it would have been you sit here, and desks are going to look like this, and I’m going to put this table here cause it looks pretty, it’s really been dumbed down to just practicality and functionality, and it’s not whether or not that couch pillows looks good on that couch anymore, or if the classroom looks off-balanced. If that’s where they need to be in the space then you’re there.

This description of her personal approach to classroom organization was evident during my observations, particularly in terms of the physical components of the room. Ms. Hunt’s classroom was definitely student-focused; even her own larger, adult-sized desk was used primarily for storing supplies that the students had open access to. The room

was clearly organized with a focus on functionality for Grade 4 and 5 students; no part of the room was designated ‘adult-only’, and each separate area was arranged so as to be accessible by more than one individual at all times.

The second site I observed, Mrs. Armor’s classroom, took on three distinct configurations during the course of my observations (see Appendixes G, H, and I). In these changes, the students’ desks were the only physical components moved; a small circular table in the front corner of the room, a small hexagon shaped table in the rear corner of the room, and a larger, adult-sized desk opposite to the hexagon table remained in the same positions. During the time these configurations were set, there were also small amendments made in the form of individual students’ desks being moved, primarily as a result of student behavior. In the first configuration (see Appendix G), the desks were arranged in horizontal rows. The space between the rows was just large enough for a student to fit in, but not large enough for an adult. There was a walkway large enough for two people to pass each other next to the windows. The second configuration (see Appendix H) had the desks arranged in six pods of four and one row of five. The single row was perpendicular to the whiteboard/Smartboard wall and faced with window. In the pods, two students sat side by side opposite another pair of students. In this configuration there was walking space wide enough for both students and adults to move through in all areas. The third configuration (see Appendix I) split the students’ desks into rows on opposite sides of the room, with a 4 to 5 foot wide walkway down the centre.

In all three configurations, the students notably affected by attentional and behavioral challenges were at the most extreme ends of the room. Christopher and Daniel, members of Ms. Hunt’s room that moved to Mrs. Armor’s class in the afternoon, sat

mainly at the far back of the room. Daniel's desk was always closest to Mrs. Armor's desk. During the second configuration Christopher sat at the front of the room, closest to the door. Rachel, described by Mrs. Armor as "severely coded" and exhibiting extreme attentional and behavioral challenges, was always positioned closest to the whiteboard/Smartboard wall, in the centre of the room, close to the space from which Mrs. Armor spent a significant amount of time delivering lessons. Micah, also described by Mrs. Armor as "severely coded" and the only student I observed to be accompanied by an aide throughout the day, primarily sat next to the hexagon table at the rear of the room. During the second configuration Micah's desk was briefly in the front corner of the room, but was quickly shifted back to the rear as Mrs. Armor described his interactions with his aide to be distracting to the rest of the class when taking place where everyone could see.

Despite three major changes occurring over the four weeks I conducted observations, Mrs. Armor described her classroom configuration as changing a maximum of once a month, primarily due to her own dislike of the time and effort involved in such a move. She described her reasoning as follows:

They [the students] ask me religiously to change the desks and it takes me about an hour to change them because I of course have to make sure certain people aren't sitting together, so I said to them I won't change them more than once a month. At the beginning of the month I will make an effort to change the desks, but I won't do it more than that.

An exception to this thinking occurred when there were conflicts between the students that posed a clear disruption to their learning. In such a situation, Mrs. Armor said she would consider how the students felt about their place in the classroom, and potentially move them if she felt it was warranted, saying:

I said to the kids you can always come and ask me, my answer might be no [laughs], but if you're having a problem with somebody you're sitting next to we'll

talk about it and we'll deal with it. So you know you kind of have to balance what's good for the kid and what is the child asking you, and what does the child need, because if they had their way they'd be sitting next to their best buddy the whole time, right. "I can't sit next to so and so I have to sit next to-", no it doesn't work that way. So they play a bit of a role in it. They play maybe a silent role more often than a verbal role, you know. I know that these two kids don't get along so they need to be as far away from each other, they can't be even in the same line of sight from each other, and that sort of thing.

Regarding how the desks would be positioned, Mrs. Armor was significantly less open to student collaboration than Ms. Hunt, describing the student role as a 'consideration', but ultimately identifying her own perception of the best configuration as what would be established. She stated:

I did ask them what kind of configuration they like and I have moved my desks you know, according to how they wanted. They wanted this U shape, so I do take it in consideration. And I said to them, I opened the door, I said I'm open to suggestions of how they want their desks. And I'll take that, and I do find it hard to figure out ways of putting their desks that are unique and novel for them so I'm always open to ideas, and I do say I'm the teacher I always have the right to say no [laughs].

In this classroom, students held far less power in regards to spatial arrangement, in that their opinions were only taken as a 'consideration' in their teacher's decision.

Not only were students' opinions as to where their desks should be only a 'consideration', but Mrs. Armor frequently invoked the threat of moving a student's desk if they were to misbehave. During my observations this threat was actualized three times, two of the times as a response to incidents with Daniel, who was not formally coded but displayed significant attentional and behavioral challenges. Arguably, Mrs. Armor's focus on producing "unique and novel" classroom configurations may have contributed to her frequent need to address student's desk positions. Rief (2005) argues frequent classroom layout changes may overstimulate students with attentional and behavioral challenges, resulting in increased incidents of distraction. While Mrs. Armor's positioning of affected

students at the edges of the classroom displays slight recognition of the benefits of minimizing distractions for students facing attentional challenges, it ignores the recommendation of utilizing traditional rows and orienting students towards the front of the classroom in order to focus their attention (Rief, 2005).

Like Ms. Hunt, Mrs. Armor expressed a clear dislike for the attached-seat desks provided by the school, saying “they’re big and they’re cumbersome and they don’t fit the kids properly”. If given the choice, Mrs. Armor described her desire to drastically change the classroom to produce what she believes would be a far more productive learning environment.

I do want to differentiate my class a little bit more. I have ordered a couple of beanbag chairs, so I’m hoping those arrive soon. I got those because I like the idea of kids being able to move around and sit where they need to sit and get comfortable where they need to work, yet I can take a beanbag chair and sort of stack them up and make them more compact because we’re so crowded in here. In my ideal world I would not actually have desks, I would have tables and chairs and I would have couches and I would have coffee tables and beanbag chairs and it’s sort of “get comfortable and go to work” as opposed to “you have to sit in this desk”.

Cost and availability were identified by both Mrs. Armor and Ms. Hunt as being the primary barrier preventing them from modifying their classroom. Though both described basic tables and chairs as being relatively easy to obtain through the district at no cost to them, specialized or custom furniture took a significant amount of their budget to acquire.

Starkly different from Ms. Hunt’s room, there were definite spaces in Mrs. Armor’s class that the students were either not permitted to access or did not use. This included Mrs. Armor’s desk, as well as the space immediately surrounding her desk that housed several filing cabinets and storage shelves. As Mrs. Armor describes:

I’ve got my space over here and the kids are not allowed generally to go in my space, so I kind of keep you know, I keep my own personal stuff, and it’s not even

just personal stuff it's the confidential stuff, you know my papers, my marking, my notebooks, things like that right that the kids don't need to see.

Here, the student's opportunity for spatial use was significantly impacted by their teacher's chosen method of organization and classroom administration. The resulting classroom spatial use was indicative of Bloch's (1999) suggestion that spaces are reflective of the social norms operating within them that define possible relationships and spatial engagements. In addition to the rear corner of the room where her desk was positioned, Mrs. Armor also had a small table at the front of the classroom where assignments and various projects such as science experiments were kept. The students were told not to touch the objects on this table and therefore they avoided working near it, even during times that they were allowed to work outside of their desks. Though quite clearly organized in terms of maximizing spatial use (i.e. all shelving units were filled with the maximum amount of things that could neatly be arranged upon them), there was a significant amount of space in Mrs. Armor's classroom that the students, because of such an organizational method, did not use. Here, potential functionality of the space was overruled by the threat of disciplinary action should the students move beyond their approved areas (Foucault, 1977). Mrs. Armor effectively designated a space as off-limits despite reasoning that her organizational methods maximized available classroom space for students to use by redefining normative spatial use in her classroom, shifting the students' understandings of function and form (Bloch, 1999). As suggested by Brown (2007), this may have been a method for controlling student's behavior; by dividing the classroom into areas with varying permissibility, specific power relations were communicated to the students, namely disciplinary surveillance that both implicitly and explicitly affirmed Mrs. Armor's authoritative position.

Despite notably different approaches in organizational methods, both classrooms I observed fundamentally structured the opinion of the teacher as key in determining how the space was arranged. While Ms. Hunt actively offered significantly more voice and choice to her students than did Mrs. Armor, the students were still primarily engaging in the space according to her perception of what was most functional; the students were not involved in discussions of obtaining classroom furniture, nor were they permitted to engage in significantly alternative uses what was available. Desks were used individually, large furniture such as tables remained where the teacher had positioned them, and movement in and about the classroom space was subject to permission of the teacher. Further, though both teachers were seeking alternative furniture to create what they felt would be a more relaxed environment for their students, these alternatives remained only occasional options to the student's standard desks; neither space would have a class set of bean bag chairs, yoga balls, or lap desks, but rather just enough for a fraction of the students to use at any given time, due to the cost of acquiring a full class set. This complicates both Foucault (1999) and Bloch's (1999) contentions that the individual user (here, the student) retains power in defining the potential functions of a space; both theorists argue that agency and existing social norms can work in the favor of the individual by allowing them to overrule pre-defined function. However, this also highlights the permeating effect of authority and disciplinary power elsewhere proposed by Foucault (1977). The ability of both teachers to shift classroom functionality and student spatial use in their favor demonstrates the "net-like organisation" of power that Foucault (1980) argues operates at multiple intersections to effectively normalize surveillance and disciplinary power.

While it must be recognized that budgetary constraints place extreme limits on what any teacher can obtain, it is also worthwhile to mention that both Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor, in line with what was normative for their colleagues, obtained the majority of their classroom furniture from a school-sanctioned supply company. Though this approach may streamline supply ordering for the whole of the school, it arguably limits what teachers can consider as alternative classroom components to the allocated traditional desks and tables. Rather than truly considering optional spatial organization methods, the teachers instead subscribed to normative trends in classroom organization as presented to them in a catalogue of grossly overpriced child-sized furniture.

Though the teachers may have been limited by certain expectations of ‘appropriate’ classroom furniture, their focus on specific functions of classroom space arguably restricted use by students. As Eco (1999) emphasizes, the authority responsible with organizing a space is bound by specific codes of functionality, placing expectations for spatial interpretation and use. Although Eco (1999) further suggests the users of a given space can influence its use through their specific interpretations of function, the specific power relations operating in the classroom space limited the students’ ability to create new definitions of functionality. Routine enactments of power that disciplined alternative uses of space by the students (albeit unequally for certain students, as will be discussed further on) ultimately prevented new spatial functions from being created. Therefore in the classrooms I observed, rather than the teachers producing a classroom space that was free to be interpreted by students in varying ways, connotations of functionality imparted through specific organizational methods reproduced codes of

normative classroom space and limited alternative uses that varied by any significant degree from the original model of intended use established by the teachers.

Monitoring and Regulation of Spatial Use

When asked if there is a notable difference as to how students with attentional and behavioral challenges utilize space, both teachers responded yes; Ms. Hunt replied “just in that they *use* space”, referencing a level of engagement not displayed by other students. Both teachers identified having specific strategies for responding to the spatial use of their students with attentional and behavioral challenges. Speaking to Christopher’s needs, Ms. Hunt described how his discomfort in the space became evident in certain situations in the following terms:

There are times where he needs to be in a completely other space, and what I mean by that is I can kind of gauge and tell, and I say to him “do you need to go for another treasure hunt?”, a walk right? And I’ll give him like, it’ll be a 2 minute thing sometimes right, but it’s just so that he can kind of almost reset. So I’ll be like, oh I don’t know, I really need to know how many water fountains are in the school so can you go check for me and report back? And so he’ll go check and do that. Or I need you to go get 5 teacher’s autographs on this piece of paper and come back. He needs to be completely out of a space sometimes and put in a different one, and he can kind of zero out and then come back in and focus.

Christopher took one of these ‘treasure hunts’ during one of my observation sessions. Prior to Ms. Hunt asking if he needed to leave the room, Christopher had become increasingly agitated waiting in line for his work to be looked over. Whereas Christopher typically remained near his desk and was generally a quiet student, his frustration with things not moving at his desired speed became clear in this situation; he stomped loudly around the room, making large gestures with his arms, pacing back and forth. His typically small and careful movements became grand and exaggerated. Ms. Hunt quickly observed his strikingly different behavior and called him over to ask if he needed to take a

walk. When he returned, Christopher's demeanour had shifted back to normal. Here, Christopher's obvious shift in spatial use indicated the need for intervention by his teacher. Providing an opportunity to move in an open space, away from other individuals, proved adequate for calming Christopher's mood, and an activity separate from his assignment distracted his frustrations. Although Ms. Hunt arguably regulated Christopher's spatial use, curbing his emphatic movements in the classroom space, she was also perceptive to the fact that this type of movement was irregular for this student. Therefore, this form of regulation in some ways equalized power between teacher and student, offering both the opportunity to maintain balance in the situation.

However, this regulation of spatial use on behalf of Ms. Hunt is also characteristic of disciplinary power as according to Foucault (1977). According to Foucault (1977), disciplinary power "actively highlight[s] proper and improper behaviors through calculated surveillance (pg. 170). A key aspect of disciplinary power, and critical to its use in this instance, is the subtle methods in which it can be enacted (Foucault, 1977). As disciplinary power is not solely focused on penalizing an individual's behaviors, seemingly innocuous actions can become enactments of surveillance aimed at regulating specific behaviors. Subtle methods of suggested behavior modifications can arguably be enactments of disciplinary power; here, Ms. Hunt implicitly regulated Christopher's movements in a way that simultaneously produced docility and affirmed her authority (Foucault, 1977). Arguably, Christopher's behavior could have been addressed from within the classroom, perhaps by specifically addressing his frustrations and discussing what he felt he needed in that given situation. However, Ms. Hunt was likely aware (whether consciously or subconsciously) of the possible risks of an explicit management

of Christopher's behavior within the classroom, specifically a potential outburst that may have caused further disruption or threatened her authority. By presenting a behavioral modification to Christopher that made it appear as though he retained a significant amount of power in the situation, Ms. Hunt engaged in a disciplinary action that quite effectively produced a docile body (Foucault, 1977).

Additional methods of spatial regulation were utilized by Ms. Hunt for other students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges, primarily in an effort to refocus energy and diffuse tension, including slightly moving the student's desk away from others, or suggesting the student obtain a fidget object to allow them to move their body but remain in their personal desk area. In these instances of spatial regulation, Ms. Hunt's monitoring and interventions were primarily aimed at maintaining an even, low energy level in the classroom. While a certain level of movement was consistently permitted (i.e. students were not immediately reprimanded for leaving their desks, and did not have to ask for permission to move about the room to sharpen pencils, get a book or Kleenex, etc.), if a student's movements in classroom space crossed paths with another student, they were generally given a gentle reminder to stay on task. If their movement in the space was particularly high energy, for example moving from one side of the room to the other with no direct reason to be, students were told to return to their desks.

Use of the couch area was regulated more than other areas designated for group activity, such as the hexagon table. At the couch, students who were off task were quickly told to continue working or return to their desks. Although the connotations of this space suggested a more relaxed area, this space was more strictly regulated than any other area of the classroom; I believe this to be another example of disciplinary power in Ms. Hunt's

classroom. By simultaneously highlighting reward (permission to utilize the couch area) and punishment (withdrawing permission to utilize the couch area) in an area that the students coveted, Ms. Hunt was able to produce a hierarchy of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ behavior (Foucault, 1977). Behave and you may sit at the couch, misbehave and you must immediately leave. Because the students coveted a position on the couch, they were typically on task and behaved in this area. Thus, the overtly strict surveillance of the couch was successful in producing docility in a way that was unachievable in other areas of the classroom (Foucault, 1977).

Mrs. Armor’s regulation of spatial use was far more apparent than Ms. Hunt’s, though entirely unpredictable. While she expressed her attempt to “give the kids an opportunity to move as much as they can”, only certain students regularly moved about the classroom, and there seemed to be little pattern as to when movements would be permitted or reprimanded. Many students remained primarily in their desks, a behavior I would venture to link to a general confusion as to what approved use of the classroom space was. Additionally, when Mrs. Armor promoted movement amongst the students, a distinct level of chaos ensued that would generally be followed by a remark that the students were behaving immaturely. In one such instance Mrs. Armor directed the students, in groups of four, to retrieve their binders from a shelf in far back corner of the room. She told the students that they had “5 seconds to get their binder and get back to their desk!” giving them seemingly little choice but to rush around the desks and to the shelf. Disorder arose as she quickly directed groups of students to retrieve their binders before the previous group had returned to their desk. Within seconds, the entire class was out of their desk, rushing to move through the crowd and gather their belongings.

Unsurprisingly, this did not end well. The students were told that they were moving too quickly and too roughly in the classroom, and as a result they needed to stay quietly in their desks until the lunch bell. This encouragement of grand spatial use so quickly followed by criticism was confusing to me as an observer, and was clearly confusing to the students as well, who protested the punishment of remaining still in their desks.

When discussing spatial use by students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges associated with ADHD, Mrs. Armor focused her reflections on two students, Micah and Rachel, who she described as “severely coded”. Although they were by no means the only students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges in her classroom (ironically she had nothing to say of another student formally diagnosed with ADHD; even after direct questioning about Christopher’s spatial use she turned the discussion back to Micah and Rachel), they were seemingly the primary need for her regulation of classroom space. She described these students in the following terms:

Micah can get very aggressive, and he gets more aggressive in the afternoon. If he needs to go sharpen his pencil and there’s nobody in his way he just walks and goes, but if he has to go sharpen his pencil and there’s a lot of people in his way he bowls through them. So he gets his posture up ready to go and he goes ’cause he knows he’s got obstacles in his way right, so I see much more aggression from that child. When it’s recess time he’s got his direct path to the door and he goes, and if you’re standing in his way he’s pushing you out of the way. So that’s one of the strategies we’re trying to work with him, is how to move through the hallways appropriately.

Micah’s “aggressive” spatial use was a cause for concern that was also routinely raised by his aide, Mrs. Grind. Micah was consistently reminded to move slowly throughout the classroom and remain in or near his desk by both Mrs. Grind and Mrs. Armor, even when he was behaving appropriately. This overt regulation took a preventative tone; it was clear

that both women believed that if they continually reminded Micah of the rules of how he was supposed to use the classroom space, he would be more likely to respond.

In addition to her concerns about Micah, Mrs. Armor described Rachel as a student whose behavior required special monitoring, noting that:

[Rachel] is another, bit more opposite, she's much more meek and so when there's not, when she's not intimidated by a large group of kids she is more confident, but as soon as it's over, it becomes loud and overwhelming you can see her sort of sinking in.

During my observation sessions, Rachel was often difficult to spot in the group of 29 students. Physically smaller than the rest of her peers, Rachel behaved as Mrs. Armor described; meek, timid, and avoiding of the crowd. Mrs. Armor clearly monitored Rachel's movement throughout the classroom (as previously mentioned, her desk was always front and centre), though like her regulation of the other students' behaviors, this too was inconsistent. Rachel was permitted to leave her desk to obtain pieces of gum throughout the day without permission, a strategy implemented to ease her tendency to chew her fingers and pencils. Usually, Rachel moved unaddressed by Mrs. Armor to the back closet to retrieve her gum. This was not a particularly quiet task, as it usually took her several minutes of digging through the closet to find what she was after. Although this was disruptive to other students, Mrs. Armor did not address the noise. However, somewhat ironically, Rachel's tendency to rock in her chair was routinely mentioned by Mrs. Armor. Rachel, as did several other students, sat on a small foam disc that was slightly inflated with air, designed to provide stimulation to students who have difficulty remaining seated. The discs make no noise when students sit on them. Despite this, Mrs. Armor typically mentioned Rachel's slight rocking at least once every day I observed in the classroom.

Because Rachel's possession of the foam disc indicated an awareness of her difficulty remaining seated still, it is only reasonable to posit that this regulation of her movement in her seat was aimed at minimizing her movement throughout the classroom as a whole; when Rachel was addressed in any way, she typically shied away from drawing attention to herself for a noticeable period of time after. This may have also been a method of problematizing Rachel's behaviors in order to signify her difference from other students and produce more desirable behaviors. Though not overtly disruptive, Rachel's rocking was distinctly different from her classmates' movements while seated in their desks. Mauss (2006) suggests implicit and explicit regulation of behaviors deemed socially undesirable can instill 'proper' bodily movements on an individual. Mrs. Armor's explicit regulation of a behavior that was not particularly disruptive in any way simultaneously signified her authority over student's behaviors, communicating her ability to regulate in any way she deemed fit regardless of actual effect on the classroom, and outlined the potential effects of ignoring social norms (Foucault, 1977; Mauss, 2006).

Mrs. Armor's explicit descriptions of Micah as "aggressive" and Rachel as "meek" further suggests underlying gendered stereotypes of attentional and behavioral challenges and proper classroom behavior. From my observations, neither of these students' behaviors could be exclusively described by the labels that Mrs. Armor expressed as "opposite"; although Micah tended to be more extroverted and Rachel more introverted, their attentional and behavioral challenges varied situationally. Brown (2007) suggests gendered policing of students' spatial use regulates and defines accepted behavior; by primarily associating Micah's behavior with aggression and Rachel's behavior with apprehension, Mrs. Armor arguably produced a framework of how these

students would be addressed in the classroom. As Rafalovich (2004) suggests, boys are socialized to “externalize their emotions”, while girls are expected to “manifest the disorder in an introverted fashion” (pg. 126). This resulted in Micah being continually reminded to stay calm, even if he was showing no signs of aggression, and Rachel being overtly monitored for extroverted behaviors that potentially signalled movement towards stereotypical ‘masculine’ behaviors that would have further problematized her classroom role.

As part of her declared aim of making her classroom a relaxed and comfortable space, Mrs. Armor allowed the students to work in areas of the room that would not necessarily be considered active or useable teaching spaces. For example, students were free to sit or lay along the windowsill with their work. Students mainly moved to this area during times when they had assignments to complete, though some would use this space to lay and stretch out while Mrs. Armor read aloud to the group or delivered lessons. Generally, students in this area were not actively brought into group discussions; by using this space students seemed to indicate to Mrs. Armor that they were not interested or comfortable in participating at that given time. Allowing the students a subtle, non-verbal method of communicating that they needed a brief reprieve from activity granted the students agency in their classroom participatory role.

However, although all students had equal access to the windowsill area only a select few regularly utilized it, and these students were generally less likely to be reprimanded for their behavior throughout the whole of the classroom. Given this observation, I posit the reason some students refrained from utilizing the windowsill space was linked to confusion over what was considered appropriate by Mrs. Armor for this space. For

example, Harrison, a student who routinely exhibited attentional challenges but was not formally coded, regularly climbed up and along the windowsill. He would lie across, staring out the windows as Mrs. Armor delivered lessons, sometimes even hanging his head upside down over the edge to watch the classroom activities. There were only two times that Mrs. Armor addressed Harrison while he was in this space; once during a particularly acrobatic routine she asked him a question pertaining to what she was lecturing on, presumably to assure that he was paying attention, and when he responded correctly she continued to ignore his movements up, down and around the windowsill. The other address came when Harrison began playing with the cord to the blinds, playfully wrapping it around his neck. Mrs. Armor abruptly stopped her lesson and told Harrison that was a very dangerous thing to do, telling the rest of the class that none of them were allowed to play with the cords at any time. Harrison let go of the cord, but remained seated on the windowsill. Harrison displayed a similar acrobatic use of his desk area, which I did not observe being mentioned in any way by Mrs. Armor or Mrs. Grind.

Generally, Harrison's attentional challenges were not addressed by Mrs. Armor; while I observed Ms. Hunt occasionally acknowledging his difficulty staying on task and offering support and strategies to compensate, Mrs. Armor largely ignored such behaviors. Because she responded to other student's attentional challenges, her lack of response to Harrison's behavior was perhaps correlated to the fact that he did not display aggressive behavioral challenges, a characteristic commonly associated with boys affected by ADHD (Brown, 2007). Further, in contrast to Micah and Daniel, who carried themselves in a characteristically masculine manner, Harrison displayed significantly less masculine tendencies. Physically smaller than his male classmates (in fact, than most

classmates; only Rachel was smaller than Harrison), he was markedly separated and excluded from the playful rough-housing I observed amongst many of the other boys. As such, Harrison's actions may have gone unrecognized (or ignored) by Mrs. Armor because they did not correlate with typically gendered categorizations of attentional and behavioral challenges (Brown, 2007). This recognition of gendered interpretations of ADHD behaviors may also explain why other students such as Daniel and Micah, who displayed 'aggressive' behaviors and uses of space, were more actively reprimanded; their behaviors fit a categorization of ADHD associated symptoms that the teachers and classroom support were familiar with and more comfortable responding to because of a perceived understanding of the meaning behind them (Brown, 2007).

Contrasting Harrison's free and active use of the space, Daniel rarely sat upon the windowsill. When he did, his feet remained hanging over the edge and he sat towards the rear of the room. I observed Daniel moving to the windowsill four times throughout my observation sessions, mainly during free reading periods, and each time he was told to return to his desk by either Mrs. Armor or Mrs. Grind. Similarly, Daniel was routinely told to keep his feet on the ground when seated at his desk, or told to return to his desk if he was walking around the classroom. Daniel's presentation of attentional and behavioral challenges was markedly visible as compared to the other affected students in Mrs. Armor's classroom, a trait that was clearly discernible to the students as well. When Daniel was reprimanded for his behavior, it was clear that the other students were making note of the criticisms. As such, I believe a significant factor of individuals avoiding non-normative spatial use can be attributed to the recognition of regulations and sanctions being more likely for students who were regularly addressed in terms of their classroom

behavior. In essence, Daniel's reprimands clarified a regulation of spatial use that granted power of monitoring to his teacher and classroom assistant, and power of spatial manipulation to students who drew less attention to themselves than he did. Like Mrs. Armor's criticism of Rachel's movement in her seat, such overt regulation of Daniel's physical behaviors suggests an underlying aim to reproduce proper and desirable movements that more closely fit the defined social norm (Mauss, 2006).

Students' responses to power relations in terms of spatial use

In most instances, enactments of power on behalf of the teachers or classroom support staff had an obvious effect on students' spatial use. Because such power relations typically involved some form of regulation, students' responses generally involved a significant decline in spatial use; apart from relatively isolated instances of defiance that involved the students increasing the behavior they were being reprimanded for, if a teacher or classroom aide addressed a student's spatial use with a negative tone the student typically stopped or noticeably lessened their actions. Such a response correlates with Foucault's (1977) analysis of disciplinary power; active surveillance moderates an individual's behavior, as they are perpetually in a state of potential punishment. The students were generally as quick to respond to a gentle reminder to return to their desk as they were to a sharp demand, suggesting a desire to avoid potential discipline. Furthermore, students were nearly as likely to enforce their classmate's behavior as were teachers and support staff, highlighting the normalizing effect of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977).

The students I observed that were affected by attentional and behavioral challenges were generally more obviously affected by enactments of power related to

spatial use than their peers. These students responded in more physically noticeable ways than other students and were also more likely to verbally react, both directly to the individual addressing their behavior and in the form of random comments or sighs without any intended audience. These students were also more likely to ignore initial reprimands of inappropriate spatial use, perhaps correlated to symptoms of inattention (APA, 2012). This increased reactivity may also be correlated to the students' broader experiences of being one of the 'different' students in previous classrooms, making them more likely to have been subjected to increased levels of surveillance and the regulatory gaze (Foucault, 1977). Conrad (2006) further suggests increased levels of medicalization has allowed for increased levels of social control, effectively normalizing individualized interventions and ignoring broader social processes that may influence behaviors and interactions. It is likely that these students, in their experience of being coded by the school, had experienced such interventions and were more sensitive and reactive because of the increased attention they knew such interventions (and corresponding power relations) brought.

One incident in Mrs. Armor's classroom involving Daniel clearly displayed the full range of responses to enactments of power I observed as strongly associated with students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges. This event unfolded during silent reading period; Daniel, whose desk at this time had been moved away from all others and was currently next to Mrs. Armor's, was given permission by Mrs. Armor to sit in Micah's (who was absent) desk while the students read. At this time, the classroom was arranged in pods, and Micah's desk was the fifth desk attached to the side of a pod of four, near the hexagon table in the back of the room. There was a quiet buzz throughout

the classroom as the majority of students whispered to their neighbours; this low noise level during a designated quiet time was typical of Mrs. Armor's classroom, and something she did not address unless the noise level dramatically rose. The students in the pod of desks where Daniel was sitting were whispering amongst themselves, generally ignoring their books. One of the students did not have a book at all, and was chatting with her neighbour. Daniel was not participating in the conversations, and was reading his book. He had had a noticeably focused morning in Ms. Hunt's room, completing his math assignment before many of his classmates and generally staying on task. Mrs. Grind was seated at the hexagon table with a stack of paperwork. She was within earshot of the pod of desks Daniel sat in, and continually looked up from her work to monitor the group's behavior.

As the talking and giggling coming from the group became slightly louder, Mrs. Grind loudly told Daniel to return to his own desk on the other side of the room. Daniel ignored her and continued to read his book. She waited for a few moments before repeating herself, this time louder, and declared that Daniel was distracting his classmates. I was seated next to Mrs. Grind, with a clear view of the students, and had observed a silent Daniel avoiding any contact with the students seated around him. As Daniel continued to ignore her and focus on his book, Mrs. Grind walked over to Mrs. Armor's desk (only a few feet away, well within earshot of the group), and loudly pronounced that Daniel was disrupting the entire class and being very rude by ignoring her instruction that he return to his own desk. Mrs. Armor called Daniel over, who immediately put his book down and obeyed. She repeated Mrs. Grind's accusations of his disruptions, and scolded Daniel for ignoring the instruction to return to his desk. Daniel

protested, saying he had not spoken a word and was only reading his book. Mrs. Armor repeated that Daniel was to return to his own desk, and turned her attention back to her computer screen. Daniel, appearing visibly stunned and confused, looked around the room, seemingly waiting for someone to come to his aid. He stood silently for a moment, and when no one appeared to come forward he stomped to the desk he had been sitting in, gathered his book, and stomped back to his regular assigned desk. He slammed his book on his desktop, loud enough that several students turned to look towards him, and laid his head down on his desk. For the remaining 10 minutes of silent reading period he did not move. The students that he had previously been seated with continued to talk and laugh, entirely ignored by Mrs. Grind and Mrs. Armor.

This instance was demonstrative of the permeating effects that enactments of power can have on a student. In stark contrast to his focused and on task behavior in the morning, following his interactions with Mrs. Grind and Mrs. Armor Daniel was distracted and insolent. As Mrs. Armor delivered a science lesson, Daniel, whose desk was temporarily moved back into a pod to create an even-numbered group for the experiments that were part of the lesson, repeatedly kicked the desk of his podmate to the point that it moved several inches across the floor. All three of the students in his pod began to protest his behavior. Despite his classmates telling him to “Please be quiet” and pay attention to the lesson, Daniel continued to kick, began taking apart his pens, and moved water bottles and books off the desks of individuals around him. His actions continued for nearly 5 minutes before Mrs. Armor walked to the back of the room and addressed the group. She told the students to ignore Daniel because his desk would be moved back beside her desk after recess. She did not address Daniel. As soon as she

returned to the front of the room, Daniel began disturbing his podmates again. It was another 5 minutes before Mrs. Armor returned to the rear of the classroom. This time she addressed Daniel sharply, telling him:

It is your decision if you want to stay in Grade 5 forever, but you are *not* allowed to wreck other people's time here. If you don't want to pay attention that's your own problem, not mine and not theirs. You sit and be quiet if you are not going to pay attention. *Enough.*

As Mrs. Armor returned to the front of the classroom and continued her lesson, Daniel opened his books and stood them upright on his desk, creating a small wall for him to lay his head behind. He stopped kicking his podmates' desks, but clearly did not follow the lesson. When the students left for recess his desk was returned to its previous spot beside Mrs. Armor's desk. When Daniel returned from recess, his behavior had once again shifted. He assisted the classmates he had been antagonizing as the students set up their laptops, and remained quietly seated and on task for the remainder of the afternoon.

In this situation, a network of disciplinary power enforced specific spatial usage by Daniel, and his attempts to rebel only magnified the surveillance and authority in play (Foucault, 1977). His strongly evident response to the blatant manipulation of power enacted against him by Mrs. Grind speaks to the difference in perception of social situations on behalf of individuals with attentional and behavioral challenges (APA, 2012). While other students may have quickly deferred to Mrs. Grind's authority as an adult in the classroom, Daniel ignored her misuse of power, seemingly attempting to minimize the situation by quietly continuing his silent reading. When the situation escalated, Daniel attempted to rebel by causing a disruption amongst his peers, rather than directly confronting the main authority figures. Again, Daniel found himself stifled by disciplinary power enacted by the students, who collaborated in policing Daniel's activity

and attempted to maintain stability by banding together to reprimand Daniel's actions, and the disruption his actions were causing to Mrs. Armor's lesson (Foucault, 1977). Ultimately, Daniel re-entered the classroom a docile body, abandoning his protests in favor of avoiding further punishment, re-establishing order in the classroom (Foucault, 1977).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the ways that enactments of power affected spatial use by students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges associated with ADHD. I addressed how specific methods of classroom organization impacted the ways that students utilized classroom space, discussed varying methods of spatial regulation and monitoring on behalf of the two teachers I observed, and explored students' responses to power enactments in terms of their engagement with the classroom space.

Fundamentally, while both engaging in enactments of disciplinary power to produce an air of docility throughout their classrooms, Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor employed differing methods of social control in attempt to achieve the behaviors they desired from their students. Ms. Hunt, though engaging in a significant amount of surveillance, primarily focused on implicit forms of regulation and discipline to produce a uniform level of authoritative power throughout her classroom. This resulted in relatively responsive and even behaviors from her students, who generally cooperated and submitted to her authority. Contrastingly, Mrs. Armor engaged in inconsistent enactments of surveillance and response, producing an ironically ineffective spectacle of punishment that translated into uneven behaviors from her students, who generally ignored her

authority or responded with confusion to her unpredictable and heavy-handed executions of power (Foucault, 1977).

The varying degrees of success in classroom regulation experienced by Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor can further be considered in terms of Mauss' (2006) theory of prestigious imitation. Mauss (2006) states, "the child...imitates actions which have succeeded and which he has seen successfully performed by people in whom he has confidence and who have authority over him" (pg. 81); in their enactments of 'proper' classroom spatial use, Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor conveyed techniques to the students that instilled their expected classroom behavior. Ms. Hunt, in her controlled, authoritative spatial use, conveyed methods of spatial engagement that encouraged disciplined movements. Mrs. Armor, in her erratic, unstable spatial usage, conveyed contradictory regulation that resulted in students mimicking similar imbalanced and unpredictable spatial uses. Arguably, though each teacher engaged in specific methods of disciplinary and regulatory power enactments, their own behaviors significantly influenced how students interpreted and used the classroom space.

In the following chapter, I will continue my analysis of power relations in regards to spatial use, exploring how specific educational techniques impacted engagements with classroom space by the students I observed.

Chapter 4: Educational Techniques, Power, and Spatial Use

As discussed in Chapter 3, enactments of power in the classrooms I observed had varying degrees of impact on students' uses of classroom space. Overall, the students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges associated with ADHD were more likely to respond and react to power relations than were other students. As a result, their spatial use noticeably differed from other students, as aptly stated by Ms. Hunt, who noted the difference as "just in that they *use* space". As both teachers enacted disciplinary power techniques in an attempt to produce docility in the classroom space, reactions to power relations on behalf of ADHD students were common; whether responding positively or negatively, their movements could generally be described as reactive and sensitive to authority figures. In this chapter, I will examine specific educational techniques employed by teachers and classroom assistants with the aim of alleviating the difficulties students with attentional and behavioral challenges have with conventional classroom structures. I will also analyze how these techniques were used in terms of the implicit or explicit power relations attached, and discuss the resulting effect this had on students' spatial use. Although by no means encompassing of the full range of techniques that teachers and classroom assistants can and do employ, the educational techniques I address in this chapter were routinely utilized in the classrooms I observed and were therefore most relevant in my examination of spatial use.

Sensory engagement and sensory reduction methods

In both classrooms I observed, tactile sensory engagement methods were employed in an attempt to refocus students' energy and keep them on task. An increasingly popular method for maintaining students' attention, one method of tactile

sensory engagement involves the use of small toys, also called fidgets, for the students to keep in their hands for the purpose of reminding them that they are to be seated and focused on their work (Rief, 2005). In Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor's classrooms, two types of fidgets were common; one was a loop of wavy, hard beads that the students would twirl between their fingers or coil into a small bundle, and the other was a small, rubber balloon animal with tendrils that the students would shake and squeeze. In Ms. Hunt's room all fidgets were kept in a bucket on the shelves at the side of the room; obtaining a fidget was on a first come first served basis for all students regardless of coding or needs, though Ms. Hunt generally made sure that Charlie in grade 4 and Christopher in grade 5, her two formally coded students, had the fidget of their choice for the duration of their time in her class. If they chose, students could also bring their own fidget from home, though it had to be a similar object to those available in the classroom. At any given time there were generally only enough fidgets for half of the class. In Mrs. Armor's room Micah and Rachel were the only two students who regularly had a fidget (and Christopher, if he remembered to bring one from Ms. Hunt's room when he moved to Mrs. Armor's in the afternoon) until the last week of my observation sessions. During the last week I was in the classrooms, a new 'sensory tool kit' was delivered on behalf of the school administration to each teacher in the school; this kit contained extra loops of beads and rubber balloon animals, in addition to stress balls of various sizes, play-dough, and earmuffs. With the new items in these boxes, both Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor's classrooms had enough fidgets that approximately three quarters of the students could have one at the same time.

There were no observable stigmas associated with the fidgets. Regarding sensory tool use in her classroom, Mrs. Armor stated:

As far as the fidget toys, my kids, all of them fight over those fidget toys. *Everybody* wants a fidget toy so it's a novelty, it's not a 'you're bad, you're smart' or 'you're dumb' or whatever, it's just something novel to have, right? So nobody's seeing that as being anything different. And again we talked about that quite a bit at the beginning of the year. I need glasses, I need help seeing, right, it's something I need. So and so needs to have gum because that helps her needs, it's no different than me needing glasses. And that's usually one that kids can relate to. I have a poster up there that, I can't remember exactly what it says, but 'fair isn't everybody getting the same, fair is getting what you need to succeed'.

Ms. Hunt expressed a similar sentiment to Mrs. Armor's when asked about sensory tool use in her classroom. In response to a question asking if there was a stigma associated with using a fidget, she stated "Oh no, no, not at all", further elaborating by saying:

Nope. Because they know too, like if they start coming to me like 'can I have the ball, can I sit on-' I'm like no, I'm not dealing with it. You guys are old enough to figure it out, you know? And so I think, or I've *seen* for sure that they have some kind of language of their own, and understanding, and they've figured it out themselves. And I think it is on more of an understanding basis for them too of who benefits from it more.

My observations of students corresponded with the attitudes towards fidgets both teachers described. Students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges were significantly more likely to utilize sensory tools, but were not singled out by other students for doing so. Small disputes pertaining to the fidgets occurred occasionally, but this was generally because a student was in possession of another student's 'favorite' fidget. The rubber balloon animals were by far most popular amongst all students, and were quickly sought first thing each morning. As previously mentioned, Ms. Hunt would ensure that Charlie or Christopher had their favorite fidget, a rubber balloon animal for both boys, if they were seeking it, but left other students to resolve their own negotiations unless tensions rose to a level that was disruptive.

Both teachers had specific rules that the students had to obey if they were to utilize a fidget. Because my observation sessions began well into the school year, I did not witness initial discussions of fidget use. However, when the sensory tool kit was delivered to each of the classrooms, the teachers gave a quick reminder to all students that they had to “Follow the rules [they] talked about” if they were using the fidgets, as well as an overview of how each of the objects in the toolkit could be helpful to the students. Because students in both classrooms used the sensory tools similarly, I assume discussions of intended and proper use were relatively common throughout the school year. Several times during my observation sessions I heard both teachers remind the students that the fidgets were for “One hand only” and had to be used gently. If the students were being rough with the fidget, for example violently shaking the rubber balloon animals or quickly spinning the wavy beads, they lost permission to use the object and had to return it to the bin at the side of the room. Mrs. Armor was very specific in telling the students that the fidgets were not to leave their hands; tossing or throwing the fidget meant immediate loss, and the student would lose the right to have one for the rest of the day, if not longer.

Further, fidgets had to remain in the classroom; students could not take the fidgets to music class, gym, or assemblies, as the teachers rationalized that they might distract other students. This could be broadly interpreted as a response to budgetary constraints, particularly the concern that students may lose the fidgets outside of their homeroom and diminish the available supply. However, both Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor specifically discussed this issue in terms of the potential for other students being distracted by fidget use, as it was not a technique utilized to the same degree in every classroom in the school.

This regulation seemed particularly counterintuitive, as both teachers mentioned in my interview with them that the students with attentional and behavioral challenges had noticeable, and often more severe, difficulties maintaining focus in assemblies or during classes outside of their regular homeroom. Further, such limitations on tactile sensory engagement tool use seemed to place a distinct stigma on the objects; whether purposefully or not, by regulating the spaces that the students could utilize the objects in the teachers arguably communicated that the students' use of the fidgets could be considered 'odd' by other students in the school, regardless of the acceptance level in their own classroom.

Students who held a fidget were more closely monitored and disciplined than other students. There are three possible reasons for this pattern; first, students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges were far more likely to utilize fidgets than other students, and these students were typically more closely monitored in general because of the underlying potential for their behaviors to disrupt the class routine. Second, the fidget itself posed a potential safety threat to the classroom; though small, the fidgets could cause damage or injury if thrown around the space. Finally, misuse of the fidget could potentially be distracting to other students who did not use them, ultimately resulting in a counterproductive outcome if not monitored.

Beyond teachers and classroom assistants monitoring fidget use, students were encouraged to self-regulate and monitor their classmates. Ms. Hunt frequently told the students to "Make good choices" after reprimanding them for shaking the fidget too violently, and reminded students that they could be bothering their neighbour by moving the fidget too much. This regulation could be considered a method of preventative

discipline; as suggested by Foucault (1977), instilling regulation by suggesting the potential for punishment is a more effective way of enacting power than simply punishing misbehaviour. Further, this is an example of normalized judgement through an exercise of constant surveillance and regulation of non-normative behavior throughout the classroom (Foucault, 1977). This preventative discipline proved effective; for example, even if multiple students were misusing the fidgets, only one student was verbally addressed and warned of their behavior. This warning, however, would inevitably result in all students modifying their fidget use, even if only momentarily. Additionally, if a fidget was dropped on the floor, accidentally or not, this would result in more careful use by all students for several minutes after, even if the drop was not addressed by a teacher or classroom assistant. In this way, classroom discipline came to be a matter of self-regulation as much as teacher enforcement.

In addition to the fidgets, and as mentioned in Chapter 3, certain students with attentional and behavioral challenges sat on small foam discs. Like the fidgets, these discs provided sensory stimulation to students with the aim of encouraging them to stay seated in their desks. The yoga balls (and eventually, bean bag chairs) were intended to produce the same effect; as educational expert Rief (2005) addresses, the anxiety arising from remaining stationary in a non-stimulating desk chair can cause difficulties for students with attentional challenges. By allowing students to remain in motion, however small those motions may be, Rief (2005) suggests they are more engaged and comfortable in the classroom and therefore more engaged with their work. This is why Mrs. Armor's reaction to Rachel's slight rocking movements on her foam disc was so troublesome; not only was this response imbalanced in terms of Rachel's behavior, it was irrationally

disciplinary when considering the recommended educational technique for responding to students with attentional challenges manifesting in hyperactive forms.

The final sensory technique employed in the classrooms I observed was not intended to stimulate the students and capture their attention, but rather to reduce potential distractions; these were a set of child-sized earmuffs that blocked the majority of classroom noise from the wearer. When I began my observation sessions there were only two pairs of earmuffs available for rotating use in Ms. Hunt's classroom, though the introduction of the sensory tool kit from administration brought an additional two pairs for both Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor's rooms. Students were also permitted to bring their own earmuffs from home, provided they were similar to the classroom sets. As with the fidgets, the earmuffs were available for use by all students regardless of school codification or diagnosis. However, students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges were more likely to have their request for a pair to use accommodated by the teachers. As the earmuffs were not introduced until the end of my time in Mrs. Armor's room, I did not have extensive observations of her students utilizing them; however, each day that I observed in Ms. Hunt's classroom several students used the earmuffs. Like the fidgets, there were no observable stigmas associated with earmuff use; rather, this tool was relatively popular and sought by a range of students beyond those affected by attentional and behavioral challenges.

The earmuffs were used particularly often by Daniel and Christopher on Ms. Hunt's grade 5 side of the classroom, and Sara and Curtis on the grade 4 side. Much like Daniel, neither Sara or Curtis were formally coded through the school, but displayed significant attentional and behavioral challenges; Sara's difficulties manifested primarily

in terms of attentional challenges, while Curtis displayed both attentional and behavioral challenges, and he was the most noticeably (hyper)active student in both classrooms I observed. Like the fidgets, there were specific rules for use surrounding the earmuffs; students could not wear them when the teacher was speaking, had to remain quiet themselves when they had them on (i.e. no humming to oneself), and could not leave the room with them. The earmuffs seemed to block most, but not all of the sound for the wearer; the students would respond to someone standing right next to them, but did not appear disturbed by conversations and noise happening on the opposite side of the classroom.

Ms. Hunt noticeably monitored use of the earmuffs, and when a student affected by attentional and behavioral challenges was displaying behaviors indicating stress or frustration she would offer them a pair of earmuffs or negotiate a trade for a fidget if another student was already using them. In several instances, Ms. Hunt also suggested a student use a pair of earmuffs if they were being particularly disruptive; this was suggested twice for Daniel on days where he continued to wander about the room after repeated requests to return to his seat and remain on task, and multiple times for Curtis following a range behaviors including wandering about the classroom, disrupting the students around him by talking during work time, climbing on and around his desk, and speaking out of turn. On multiple occasions Ms. Hunt jokingly suggested that Curtis wear a pair of earmuffs all day, so that the classroom would be quieter and he might complete more work; these comments were largely ignored by Curtis, who appeared very much to inhabit the stereotypical 'class clown' role, brushing off criticism of his behavior in favor of jovially maintaining character and performance.

For Christopher and Sara, the earmuffs appeared to alleviate attentional challenges aggravated by the state of the classroom space. Both these students would appear noticeably uncomfortable or distracted when the noise level in the class rose, or when multiple students were out of their desks and moving about the room. Soon after they acquired a pair of earmuffs, their physical demeanor would relax and they would return to work. Both Sara and Christopher also often held a fidget, and the combination of these two sensory engagement/reduction methods seemed to balance their behavior in the classroom, resulting in noticeably less frustrated and stressful physical movement about the space when the energy level in the room was high. This response to sensory tool use was also evident in other students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges. Students' movement in the classroom space, both in and out of their desk, was less aggressive if they were using a fidget or set of earmuffs. Neither Ms. Hunt nor Mrs. Armor made this direct connection between sensory tool use and comfortable, composed spatial use during our interviews, but both associated fidget and earmuff use with improved focus and productivity, suggesting their support of student sensory tool use may have fundamentally been associated with a desire to maintain constant, productive student engagement in their classrooms.

The clear, consistent monitoring and regulation of sensory tool use in both classrooms further illustrates an underlying focus on producing proper bodily movements. Although both teachers referred to the sensory tools as highly useful or positive for students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges, the frequent disciplinary measures enacted in response to sensory tool use suggests they may also have played a more negative role in instilling normative behaviors in the students. Mauss (2006)

contends proper bodily movements are instilled through interactions with social authorities highlighting appropriate behaviors. Mauss (2006) further suggests this process is enacted through a biopsychosocial model; individuals are biologically and psychologically driven to engage in certain spatial uses, but also socially influenced as to how such movements unfold. In terms of the sensory tools, the students were introduced to these tools to alleviate biological and psychological responses to the stresses of ‘proper’ behavior in a structured classroom space. The students were made aware of their physical movements through discussions of the fidgets and earmuffs as being tools to help them stay in their seats, and internalized implicit indications that use of the sensory tools was abnormal through exposure to teachers (and arguably, students themselves) monitoring regulation of their employment. They further processed explicit directions of where, when, why, and how they could use the tools. Through these processes, a clear separation was developed between students who needed the sensory tools and students who did not, implicitly producing hierarchies of difference and markings of stigmatization in their deployment. Further, the students who utilized the sensory tools on a regular basis were exposed to the notion that their experience, interpretation, and use of the classroom space was incorrect or altogether inappropriate, and ultimately in need of modification in order to correspond with ‘appropriate’ behaviors and spatial use, thus reinforcing a demarcation between ‘proper’ and ‘improper’ spatial use, and by extension, between ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’ children.

One-on-one attention

Micah was the only student I observed to have his own designated classroom aide, Mrs. Grind, who stayed with him throughout the day. Though Mrs. Grind routinely

interacted with other students in Mrs. Armor's classroom, she was specifically there to attend to Micah's needs, which were described by Mrs. Armor as "numerous" because of his status as "severely coded". Micah was assisted with most assignments, and his behavior in the classroom was repeatedly brought to attention and reviewed by Mrs. Grind throughout the day. To monitor Micah's activity and communicate his success in 'proper' behavior, Mrs. Grind carried an iPad with a checklist of appropriate behaviors and classroom uses; at least once an hour throughout the day, Mrs. Grind would approach Micah and have him press a box on the checklist that corresponded to his perception of his behavior. If Micah misbehaved (i.e. spoke out of turn, acted aggressively towards another student, refused to remain in his desk, or behaved in any other similarly deviant manner) Mrs. Grind would immediately bring up the checklist and remind Micah that his behavior was not acceptable. This interaction between Micah and Mrs. Grind was always in front of another student, as Mrs. Grind would only approach Micah with the checklist when he was seated at his regular desk.

Micah's response to Mrs. Grind's repeated management of his behavior in the classroom was varied. At times he rebelled, increasing whatever behavior she was highlighting as improper in a manner that seemed to me to be an overly dramatic version of his typical self. Other times Micah responded to Mrs. Grind quickly and quietly, immediately modifying his behavior. Having observed Micah's behavior with Mrs. Grind both in and out of the classroom, and witnessing the rapid shift in his behavior and spatial use multiple times, I suggest his actions were, at least in part, a calculated response to the stigmatization he suffered as a "severely coded" student, enacted to shift a degree of power in his favor in terms of his classroom role. Though Mrs. Armor claimed no stigma

to exist within her classroom, even stating “For a while it was ‘oh he’s a bit different’, but now Micah is Micah”, there was an obvious distinction in the classroom of Micah’s needs and behaviors versus those of the rest of the students.

Micah seemed quite aware of this separation from his peers, and I suggest this awareness to have granted him a degree of power in his role in the classroom. While I recognize that this analysis may suggest that I am interpreting Micah’s attentional and behavioral challenges as an act, I in no way intend it to be read as such; rather, I suggest that Micah’s experience as a stigmatized student, arising from others’ responses to his attentional and behavioral challenges, influenced his interaction with the classroom space, and as a result he required methods of presenting himself that would balance other’s interpretation of his behaviors and grant him power and control in the situation (Goffman, 1959). For example, Micah exhibited obvious difficulties and discomfort with other individuals in his immediate physical space. By ‘misbehaving’ and utilizing the classroom space in ‘improper’ ways, Micah could predict that Mrs. Grind would intervene, likely punishing his behavior by having him move from his regular desk and to the hexagon desk at the rear of the room, where he would be the only student. Micah “convey[ed] an impression to others which it [was] in his interests to convey” (Goffman, 1959, pg. 4). Goffman (1959) suggests an individual’s behavior is a careful balance of control, a manipulation of power aimed at maintaining symmetry between the self and others so as to allow the individual to perform a projection of self that imitates what is expected of them. Goffman (1959) states “when an individual appears before others he will have many motives for trying to control the impression they receive of the situation”; for Micah, performing specific behaviors that reified his behaviorally challenged status in

the classroom offered him an opportunity to control how he would be treated in the room, and where he would be allowed to sit and work more comfortably (pg. 13). Somewhat ironically, providing Micah with a constant aide did seemingly little as far as assisting him in regular classroom activities, and even less in assuring that his behavior was appropriate and did not disturb the class. Rather, providing Micah with an aide who constantly monitored his behavior provided him an opportunity to communicate his discomfort quickly and efficiently (though ironically through a miscommunication of what his behavior meant on behalf of his aide), granting him movement in the classroom space that he may not have been offered if he had to rely solely on Mrs. Armor recognizing his behavior and discomfort amongst 28 other students.

Teacher movement to retain attention

Both Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor varied their use of the classroom space during lesson delivery. When asked to describe their personal spatial use, both women described themselves as broadly utilizing the classroom space by “roaming” or “flutter[ing]” about in order to continually engage with students and produce a dynamic learning space. Although the main whiteboard/Smartboard area in both classrooms was at the front of the room, which relatively confined written lesson delivery to this area, each teacher made a noticeable effort to vary their spatial use and focus their attention and lesson delivery towards different students at different times. Both teachers regularly utilized the aisles between desks, not only for monitoring the students but also while they delivered lessons.

Mrs. Armor discussed her broad spatial use as a method for “training” the students’ attention, stating:

I tend to roam a little bit up and down my catwalk here, I call it sometimes, [laughs] so that when I’m teaching I don’t always want to teach way up at the front. I

sometimes like to move around and teach from the middle or teach from the back and that sort of thing. So I try and do that as much as I can, and I think that's good for the kids too. It's teaching them, training them that they need to pay attention all the time, not just when I'm sitting up at the front. And it's good to keep, I've got certain kids that I need to keep near me, but in some ways I need 29 kids near me [laughs] and I can't have 29 kids at my feet. So if I'm having them like this [specific desk configuration] I can move around and get to kids more often.

Mrs. Armor's description of personal spatial use differed considerably from Ms. Hunt's account of her own movement about the classroom. Answering the same question, Ms. Hunt responded that her movement was more tailored towards being available according to the students' needs. She stated:

Sometimes I'll just have the [grade] 5s, and they'll just sit on this side, or sometimes I'll just have the [grade] 4s and they'll sit on that side, and that'll kind of you know, bring me from one focus of the classroom to another with how I stand. I'm kind of a flutter all over the place kind of person. I do use this table a lot [taps on hexagon table], mainly for the kids that come to me, or I'm marking or going through their journals or something. Not the [teacher's] desk. I don't like sitting behind the desk. Not a desk sitter. So I'm more out here, I think more part of the group.

These respective personal reflections on spatial use support my previous analysis of Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor's differing methods of employing disciplinary power in order to produce docility in their classrooms. As I first proposed in Chapter 3, Ms. Hunt engaged in a significant amount of surveillance, but primarily focused on implicit forms of regulation and discipline to produce a uniform level of authoritative power throughout her classroom. Here, by ensuring that she was "part of the group" in her movement about the classroom, Ms. Hunt extended her control over the students to produce what Foucault (1980) would perhaps consider a fully "net-like organization" of power operating at multiple intersections (pg. 98). This ensured her students would generally respond in her favor; Ms. Hunt successfully instilled submission to authority in her students by normalizing continual surveillance through her ubiquitous presence in the classroom

space. As Foucault (1977) presents, the continuous state of potential reaction operating from within disciplinary power, however oppressive because of its pervasiveness, succeeds *because* of its ability to normalize judgement by way of consistent surveillance.

What arguably allowed Ms. Hunt to produce a successful continuous level of surveillance was her focus on maintaining a quiet authoritative presence amongst the students at all times without drawing significant attention to her physical location in the classroom; as argued by Foucault (1977), indefinite surveillance, whether actual or perceived, compels self-regulation and, ultimately, improved behavior. The students were accustomed to Ms. Hunt utilizing the entire classroom space throughout lesson deliveries and during quiet work time, and were therefore cognisant of the possibility that they were being monitored from various points of the room. This state of surveillance produced by Ms. Hunt is arguably representative of Foucault's (1977) theory of the panoptic model. Though also corresponding to Gallagher's (2010) contention that classroom surveillance is as much enacted through auditory as it is visual processes, and proving instances of discontinuous surveillance to occur with relative frequency, Ms. Hunt's classroom modelled the effect of permeating surveillance and disciplinary power as described by Foucault (1977). As to certain characteristics of the panoptic model diverging from Ms. Hunt's classroom, I argue these differences can be considered part of the potential differences Foucault (1977) would attend to in his recognition of Panopticism as an *ideal* but not necessarily *actual* model of discipline. Exact correspondence to the ideal Panopticon is not necessary for the disciplinary power Foucault (1977) argues it produces to be present. Ultimately, I would argue Ms. Hunt produced a more effective network of surveillance through her quiet regulation of the classroom space, as strict, overt

monitoring and explicit disciplinary measures were not required for the students to respond to her authority. Though the students certainly tested their boundaries in regards to behavior and spatial use, there were no significant acts of defiance that I would recognize to be indicative of a lack of recognition to the underlying surveillance. Rather, I argue that these acts are only representative of the students' age, and their negotiation of learning the proper processes of classroom spatial use.

Ms. Hunt's presence in the classroom space and the resulting behavior of the students can also be considered in terms of Foucault's concept of technologies of the self. Technologies of the self are the mechanisms, or behaviors, individuals employ as a response to the networks of power they are engaged with in order to project the most ideal perception of themselves (Foucault, 1988). Because Ms. Hunt was less of a strict disciplinary figurehead and more so an omnipresent participant, students were ultimately more likely to engage in behaviors according to her presence, seeking methods of carrying themselves in the classroom space that she would approve of. As a result of the effective network of power Ms. Hunt produced, the students were in constant engagement with technologies of the self that would allow them to be seen, by Ms. Hunt, their classmates, and themselves, as 'proper' students capable of appropriate classroom behavior. In this sense, Ms. Hunt's presence arguably takes what Foucault (2003) would consider a biopolitical shift, moving beyond purely disciplinary mechanisms focused on the individual students and towards regulatory mechanisms focused on the population of the classroom as a whole. I consider this to be a significant aspect of why Ms. Hunt's spatial use was relatively successful in instilling desired behaviors in students; normative behavior was established through the intersection of disciplinary and regulatory

techniques, strengthening Ms. Hunt's network of power in the classroom (Foucault, 2003).

Contrastingly, Mrs. Armor's focus on "roaming" the room and attempt at keeping all students near her produced ironically inconsistent levels of surveillance, thus concomitantly producing spaces for resistance. Whereas Ms. Hunt continually and quietly moved around her classroom, Mrs. Armor's spatial use was a more pronounced performance and, as a result, it seemed less focused on efficacy. Her movements were grand, purposeful, and abrupt, communicating authority over the space. When Mrs. Armor was focusing her attention on a specific student or group of students, her physical movements conveyed dominance; if the loud clack of her high-heeled shoes did not alert the students to her presence, her towering figure leaning over certainly did. Occasionally, Mrs. Armor would seat herself in an empty desk while speaking to the students, though typically only after asserting herself in the situation by standing for several minutes and literally speaking down to the seated students. This focus on dominance in the space, whether purposeful on her behalf or not, is what produced such inconsistent levels of surveillance in Mrs. Armor's classroom. As it was blatantly clear where and on whom her focus was aimed, it was also clear who was not in Mrs. Armor's immediate field of attention. Mrs. Armor's exercise of power was more so what Foucault (2003) would consider comparative to sovereign power, a precursor to disciplinary power; imbalanced, focused on the spectacle of punishment and authority, and ultimately far less effective than Ms. Hunt's exercise of disciplinary power. As such, though students were reactive to Mrs. Armor's strong enactments of disciplinary power, they were far more likely to act out and test boundaries of acceptable behavior because of this lack of consistency.

Movement as a solution for perceived hyperactivity

Not all actions in the classroom were repressive or punitive in terms of behavioral control. Beyond the methods of free classroom movement and encouraged spatial use such as treasure hunts and use of all classroom areas as I discussed in Chapter 3, more overt methods of physical activity were encouraged, in particular by Ms. Hunt, as a response to students' perceived hyperactive behavior. The most explicit technique employed was a session of 'Just Dance', where all students, regardless of their behavior, were required to participate if even one student instigated the use of this method. Just Dance is a videogame where the aim is to mimic choreographed dance routines performed by silhouette figures to popular music songs. YouTube videos of the routines allowed Ms. Hunt to bring the game into classroom; the video would be displayed on the Smartboard at the front of the room, and all students were instructed to get out of their desks and dance along to the routine. I observed four Just Dance sessions during my observations, and despite Ms. Hunt and a small number of students seemingly enjoying this well-intentioned break from lesson time, as I will illustrate this method seemed to be the most inappropriately employed of any methods I observed aimed at supporting students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges.

The reactions of students that unfolded during one Just Dance session in particular demonstrates the potential issues that can arise when attempting to employ a blanket technique for attending to attentional and behavioral challenges in the classroom. While I do believe that Ms. Hunt had the best intentions for utilizing physical activity as a method for responding to perceived hyperactivity in her room, she did not attend to the students' reactions to this over-stimulating spatial use. In this instance, Ms. Hunt decided to employ

Just Dance after a relatively unfocused morning on behalf of the entire class. After multiple ignored reminders for the students to stay on task, Ms. Hunt turned off the classroom lights and loudly declared “Alright. Everybody up, everybody out of your desks. It’s time to dance”. This routine was familiar to the students, some of whom immediately stood up and waited for the dance routine to appear on the Smartboard. Others were far less enthusiastic, notably several of the students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges.

The two formally identified students had the most extreme reactions. Charlie, whose challenges also included a near total lack of speech, covered his ears and began yelling “No no no no no!” (this was also the first utterance of any noise from Charlie that I witnessed, contributing to the discomfort I felt to his response) as he climbed out of his desk and took refuge on the couch. Christopher made a quick dash for the rear of the room and climbed underneath Ms. Hunt’s desk, drawing his knees to his chest and covering his ears. The reactions from other affected students, though not as profound, showed a similar discomfort with the event. Daniel covered his ears as the music began, then turned his back to the group and pulled a book from his desk to read. Harrison pulled his hood up and laid his head face-down on his desk.

Initially, Ms. Hunt joined the participating students in the dance, moving about the room as she followed the routine. As she noticed Charlie, Christopher, Daniel, and Harrison’s avoidance, she moved to each of them, prodding them to join in. Charlie and Daniel ignored Ms. Hunt entirely, avoiding eye contact. She asked each boy several times if they would like to dance, moving on after it was clear that they were avoiding her. When she approached Harrison, he dramatically flopped out of his desk, lying on the

floor for a moment before standing up and walking around the room, hood still up and hands in his pockets, continuing to refuse to dance. It took a moment for Ms. Hunt to find Christopher huddled under her desk, though once she did she coaxed him out, pulling him up by the arms, happily encouraging him to dance. Christopher appeared entirely unimpressed, and refused to move. Ms. Hunt continued to dance in front of him, trying to illicit a response. Christopher did not move, and as the song neared its end Ms. Hunt moved away and danced amongst the rest of the students.

As previously stated, I believe this method of physical activity as a response to perceived hyperactivity was enacted with the best of intentions. However, the painfully clear discomfort with this method on behalf of several affected students highlights the unfortunate result of misconceptions surrounding the implications of ADHD symptoms. As addressed by Rafalovich (2005) and Malacrida (2004), educators play a significant role in the ADHD assessment process, but actual familiarity with the effects of attentional and behavioral challenges are varying. Further, Conrad (2006) argues the medicalization of perceived deviant behavior allows for increased levels of social control, isolating and intensifying the ‘treatment’ of individuals whose behavior falls outside of the norm.

In her enactments of the Just Dance method, Ms. Hunt was attempting to respond to what she perceived to be hyperactive behaviors impeding a successful learning environment. Unfortunately, Ms. Hunt’s focus on employing blanket strategies for all students in the classroom produced ill-effects. As Slee (1994) and Graham (2008) argue, inclusive education techniques that focus on integrating students regardless of disability status do not adequately respond to individualized needs; though Ms. Hunt may have intended to include all students in Just Dance to avoid singling out the students she

perceived to be exhibiting detrimental hyperactive behaviors, this technique ignored the variance in how students with attentional and behavioral challenges respond to stimulation and spatial manipulation. As Graham (2008) highlights, overreliance on integration based on a desire to achieve equity for students can ironically produce increased separation because individualized needs are ignored. However, this further underscores the current pervasiveness of the inclusive educational model and gap in implementing successful protocols for ADHD students; as teachers are largely unaware or lacking proper education as to the effects of attentional and behavioral challenges, it is of little surprise that they, even if they intend to, are unable to enact a cohesive approach that attends to the needs of students affected by ADHD.

Conclusion

Both teachers I observed employed a range of educational techniques aimed at alleviating symptoms of attentional and behavioral challenges. Apart from a single student who was granted a personal classroom aide, techniques were generally employed throughout the classroom in a clear attempt to reduce potential stigmas associated with individual students needing modification to the learning environment because of attentional and behavioral challenges. As highlighted in my previous analysis of power relations and further supported by my discussion of the educational strategies they employed, Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor engaged in similar uses of techniques, but employed these techniques in fundamentally differing ways. These differences further contributed to the variance in discipline and regulation of classroom space.

It is important to note that beyond the practical implications of recommendations from educational experts such as Rief, the theoretical significance of these concepts must

also be considered from a sociological perspective. Rief's recommendations fundamentally represent a truth claim of what can be expected in the classroom when specific accommodations are implemented. In this analysis I have presented Rief's strategies according to the significance this work has on classroom management techniques; I argue that Rief's work, like that of other educational experts, holds immeasurable significance to teachers for the practical significance it offers. As previously mentioned, Rief's text is on Alberta Education's recommended reading list for teachers. Therefore, the techniques I have discussed in terms of Rief's recommendations represent a claim of truth empowered by those responsible for the underlying structure of the classrooms I observed. As a result, these techniques are far from neutral in terms of the power they represent; embedded in these truth claims are arguably themes of discipline and surveillance, as I have uncovered in my analysis of the employment of these techniques. However, it is unlikely that the average elementary school teacher would consider a critical analysis of the types of truth claims that Rief and other educational experts' work represents; these strategies are suggested as a means of alleviating obstacles in establishing a productive classroom environment, and are not meant to cause the further implementation of efficacy analysis that would only further complicate a teacher's responsibilities. This is again an unfortunate consequence of an overreliance on strategies of inclusion that fail to attend to the individualized needs of students, ultimately highlighting a lack of resources available to teachers for attending to students with attentional and behavioral challenges (Slee, 1994; Graham, 2008).

Although the educational techniques aimed at alleviating the difficulties experienced by students affected by ADHD were well-intentioned, ultimately the

enactments of these techniques were inconsistent and ineffective. The use of sensory engagement and sensory reduction methods was perhaps the most successful educational technique I observed, though students were not permitted to utilize these tools to the fullest potential. Students were limited in where they were allowed to use the tools, and subject to specific rules for appropriate use that arguably affected overall efficacy of the technique. Further, the inconsistent recognition and regulation of these tools by Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor produced contradictory connotations of what their use meant for students, who were further subject to significant surveillance when in possession of a fidget or set of earmuffs.

One-on-one attention for a “severely coded” student seemed ineffective as far as its intended purpose of regulating his perceived misbehaviors, though it arguably did offer the student a method of manipulating his spatial use to his advantage, providing him increased movement in the classroom space and lowering instances of stress and aggression. Similarly, movement throughout the classroom by the teachers aimed at engaging students with attentional challenges proved to be an extension of disciplinary power, granting the teachers further opportunities for surveillance and largely failing to adequately attend to students’ needs.

Finally, methods involving movement as a response to perceived hyperactivity were inconsistent and poorly executed as to the individualized needs of the students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges. Though a well-intentioned strategy, misconceptions of ADHD symptoms on behalf of teachers and classroom aids resulted in significant (and obvious) discomfort on behalf of affected students, perhaps counteracting any potential benefit the strategy may have had.

Ultimately, the failure of the educational techniques I observed enacted to adequately respond to the needs of students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges highlights the disconnect between proposed educational protocols and teachers' understandings of how ADHD students experience classroom spaces. An overreliance on strategies that infer their implementation will quickly and effectively alleviate students' symptoms of attentional and behavioral challenges ignores the broad range of implications these symptoms produce, ironically homogenizing a widely individualized disorder. As a result, additional problematic situations arise, complicating classroom spaces in new ways.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

In the previous chapters, I explored the ways that power relations and educational techniques created spatial boundaries that affected the perceivable ways that students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges associated with ADHD utilized space. I addressed methods of classroom organization, spatial regulation and monitoring on behalf of the teachers I observed, examined educational techniques aimed at students with attentional and behavioral challenges as well as the effects of these techniques, and analyzed how power relations in the classrooms I observed affected students' engagement with the classroom space. In this chapter, I revisit these findings and my analysis, summarizing the effects of socially-imposed spatial boundaries on youth affected by attentional and behavioral challenges associated with ADHD. Finally, I conclude by discussing the potential limitations and implications of this study, and offer suggestions for further research.

Understanding the Effects of Power Relations on Spatial Use

As discussed in Chapter 3, the two teachers I observed, Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor, organized their classroom furniture and components in different configurations, granted students differing degrees of participation in decisions related to organization, and took different approaches to orienting spaces for successful student use. Ms. Hunt's classroom was strongly student-focused, with no distinctly 'adult' areas in the room; the space was organized so as to facilitate individual or group work wherever possible. Even the designated teacher's desk, a larger wooden desk at the back of the room standard to all classrooms in the school, was not utilized by Ms. Hunt as a workspace; rather, the drawers of the desk were filled with supplies for the students, and the top of the desk

served as a drop off point for assignments and various other papers. At her own cost, Ms. Hunt outfitted the classroom with a small area rug, coffee table, and a sofa with several throw pillows. This area was often occupied by Charlie, a Grade 4 student formally identified as being affected by attentional and behavioral challenges. Further, Ms. Hunt recognized this space as beneficial to other students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges. Students were regularly brought into discussions pertaining to the configuration of the classroom, and change was brought to a group vote. Students who preferred their desk to stay in the same area of the classroom were accommodated regardless of other changes; these were often students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges, which was recognized by Ms. Hunt.

Mrs. Armor's classroom was clearly divided into permissible and restricted spaces for students. The back corner of the room, where Mrs. Armor's desk and storage was located, was an 'adult-only' area; students were only allowed in this area if given permission, as Mrs. Armor identified the need for her own personal space in the classroom to keep private and confidential material. A significant portion of the rest of the classroom was unused by students because of the organizational methods employed by Mrs. Armor. Desk configurations were changed often, despite Mrs. Armor claiming a once monthly limit because of the time and effort on her behalf needed to shift students seating arrangements. She expressed a desire to produce "unique and novel" configurations, but described students' desires as only a "consideration" in her plans. I observed three distinct configurations, two of which significantly limited the available walking space between desks and around the classroom as a whole. Mrs. Armor utilized the threat of moving a students' desk as a response to perceived misbehaviour, which I

observed as being primarily enacted for students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges.

Despite significantly different approaches to spatial organization, both classrooms fundamentally were structured so that teacher opinion was dominant in decision making. Both teachers guided students or made decisions according to their perceptions of what was most functional in the space, regardless of the voice they permitted to students. Classroom furniture was utilized in standard ways, and I observed no appreciably alternative methods of use for any component of either room. Both teachers clearly subscribed to normative trends of elementary classroom spatial organization, as evidenced by the similarities between not only these two classrooms but all other classrooms in the school. Even in seeking alternative seating and accommodations for their students, both Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor sought materials from a school-sanctioned supply company, with little imaginative interpretation of what 'alternative' could potentially mean for their classrooms and students, and with no movement outside of institutionally proscribed 'options'. This suggests both teachers were bound by pre-defined codes of functionality, ultimately limiting the expression of alternative spatial use by students (Eco, 1999).

Both teachers engaged in significant observable regulation of the classroom space, though to different degrees and utilizing different methods. Ms. Hunt engaged in primarily implicit forms of regulation, instilling consistent, continuous surveillance as a method of producing docility and affirming her authority. Strictly regulating the 'living room' area of the classroom highlighted the potential for reward (being allowed to sit on the couch) and punishment (having to leave the couch and return to a desk), producing a hierarchy of 'good' and 'bad' behavior that further normalized surveillance in the

classroom (Foucault, 1977). Contrastingly, Mrs. Armor's regulation of classroom space was largely unpredictable and inconsistent. Students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges were more strictly regulated than other students in the classroom, despite Mrs. Armor's proposals that all students could use the space freely and actively. Many of Mrs. Armor's disciplinary enactments seemed to be focused on instilling proper bodily movements in the students. However, these enactments were met with little success, as students often seemed confused as to what proper movement in the classroom was because of opposing messages expressed by their teacher. The varying success of Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor's actions can be considered in terms of Mauss' (2006) theory of prestigious imitation; the students' behaviors were reflective of their teachers', ultimately highlighting the efficacy of Ms. Hunt's consistent, continuous surveillance, and the inefficiency of Mrs. Armor's erratic and inconsistent regulation.

Enactments of power by teachers or classroom support staff had obvious effects on students' spatial use, particularly students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges, who seemed perceivably more sensitive and reactive than other students perhaps due in part to previous experiences as a 'coded' student that left them significantly more likely than other students to be subjected to various forms of discipline and the regulatory gaze (Foucault, 1977). Affected students responded in more physically perceivable ways, and were more likely to verbally react, whether directly to an individual or just to themselves, than other students. The power relations in the classrooms I observed typically involved some sort of regulation of the students' behaviors. As such, their reactions generally involved a significant decline in spatial use, apart from relatively isolated instances of defiance that I speculate to be related more to

their age and general negotiation of learning proper bodily movements than to a specific desire to rebel. Students were typically quick to react to power relations; this response correlates with Foucault's (1977) analysis of disciplinary power that suggests an individual exposed to active surveillance is subjected to a continuous state of potential vigilance and self-policing, and is therefore likely to be more reactive to negative attention in order to avoid potential discipline.

Despite both teachers expressing that many of the methods of spatial organization in their classroom were strategies for attending to the needs of students with attentional and behavioral challenges, neither teacher seemed explicitly aware of faults in these methods, or their personal tendency to over-regulate the space in an overtly preventative tone. In our interviews, both teachers expressed recognizing that affected students used the classroom space in different ways, but ironically neither demonstrated recognition of these students' sensitivity to overt power enactments in their daily classroom routines. This is particularly unfortunate, as I suspect many of the intended methods of spatial organization did not meet the teachers' expectations, and could have been more successful had the tone of the classroom space been shifted to respond to students' responses more actively.

Reflecting on the Efficacy of ADHD-Focused Educational Techniques

In Chapter 4, I analyzed specific educational techniques aimed at alleviating the difficulties students with attentional and behavioral challenges experience with conventional classroom structures. As I previously stated, these methods are in no way representative of the full range of educational techniques available for teachers to employ,

but were the methods I observed to be routinely utilized and therefore relevant in my examination of spatial use.

Sensory engagement methods involved the use of small toys, also called fidgets, for the students to keep in their hands while seated at their desks with the purpose of reminding them that they were to remain on task. The fidgets were intended to allow the students movement (i.e. shaking the fidget, turning it in their hands) without physically leaving their designated desk area. Sensory reduction methods were employed by supplying the students with child-sized earmuffs to wear during individual work time that blocked the majority of sound, again reminding the students to remain focused and on task in their desk. The sensory tools were available for use by all students regardless of their diagnosis or school codification, however students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges utilized the tools more often than other students. There were no observable stigmas associated with sensory tool use among the students, though ironically both Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor regulated tool use in a manner that implied students who utilized the fidgets or earmuffs needed additional surveillance and regulation in the classroom. The constant regulation of sensory tool use through specific guidelines for ‘appropriate’ use and regular reminders to “Make good choices” and use the tools properly arguably normalized judgement of non-normative behavior, further instilling ubiquitous surveillance in the classroom (Foucault, 1977).

Although the sensory tools seemed to significantly alleviate the perceivable stress experienced by students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges associated with the environment and energy level of the classroom space, students were not able to utilize the tools to their fullest potential because of the limitations set in place by their teachers.

Both teachers expressed recognition of the usefulness of the sensory tools for students affected by ADHD; however Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor disciplined tool use in a manner that suggested the sensory tools provided a method for instilling proper bodily movements in the students. As Mauss (2006) contends, proper bodily movements are instilled through interactions with social authorities highlighting appropriate behaviors; by regulating sensory tool use through specific guidelines of ‘appropriate’ use, and taking away the tool if students did not utilize it accordingly, the teachers exposed students who utilized the tools to notion that their movement in the classroom was improper and in need of modification.

I observed a single student, described as “severely coded” because of his extensive attentional and behavioral challenges, who had his own designated classroom aide that stayed with him the entire day. The aide, Mrs. Grind, was intended to assist Micah with in assignments and help him remember ‘proper’ classroom behavior by continually monitoring his activity. Mrs. Grind used a behavior checklist on an iPad to have Micah regularly interpret whether his behavior was appropriate; at least once an hour she would approach Micah with the iPad and have him press a box that corresponded with his perception of his behavior. If he misbehaved, Micah was immediately presented with the iPad to remind him that his behavior was unacceptable. Mrs. Grind’s active monitoring did seemingly little to help Micah’s behavior, and was even less effective in helping him complete assignments (ironically, Micah worked faster on his own, when Mrs. Grind was otherwise occupied). Rather, Mrs. Grind’s continual surveillance and regulation of Micah’s behavior allowed him to communicate his discomfort, granting him movement in the classroom. Micah experienced obvious difficulties with others in his immediate

physical space, and would become perceivably stressed and upset when the classroom energy level was particularly high. By ‘misbehaving’, Micah could ensure that his behavior would be quickly addressed by Mrs. Grind, and he would be allowed to move to an individual table at the rear of the room away from other students. As Goffman (1959) suggests, an individual’s behavior is a balance and manipulation of control and power, aimed at maintaining symmetry between the self and others so as to perform a specific projection of self. Micah “convey[ed] an impression to others which it [was] in his interests to convey”, granting him spatial movement he would not have been provided with had he not had an individual aide continually monitoring and interpreting his behavior (Goffman, 1959, pg. 4).

Both teachers varied their personal spatial use in the classroom with the intention of producing a dynamic learning environment that would engage students with attentional challenges. Ms. Hunt described her classroom movement as a method for attending to individual student needs and being “part of the group”, while Mrs. Armor described her movement as “training” the students’ attention. Ms. Hunt’s movement produced a uniform level of authoritative presence, instilling regulatory surveillance as normative in her classroom. As a result, students continually engaged technologies of the self, behaviors that individuals employ as a response to the networks of power they are engaged with in order to project the most ideal perception of themselves, to allow themselves to be seen as ‘proper’ students (Foucault, 1988). Contrastingly, Mrs. Armor’s movement was a spectacle of punishment and authority, resulting in inconsistent responses from her students, who were overly reactive to her strict disciplinary enactments.

Movement as a solution for perceived hyperactivity was a well-intentioned but inappropriately employed technique utilized by Ms. Hunt. Though encouraging freedom of spatial use, students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges had strong reactions to this over-stimulating technique. This technique saw Just Dance, a video game where individuals mimic choreographed dance routines to popular music songs, displayed on the Smartboard at the front of the room, and all students instructed to get out of their desks and dance along. The two students formally identified as being affected by attentional and behavioral challenges, Charlie in Grade 4 and Christopher in Grade 5, had the most severe reactions, respectively shouting “No no no no no!” and hiding under a desk. The reactions of other affected students, though not as profound, demonstrated a similar discomfort with this technique. The affected students did not participate, despite encouragement from Ms. Hunt. Although this method was intended to allow students a break from work and a time to expend energy around the classroom, it proved over-stimulating for affected students. The failure of this technique highlights the unfortunate result of misconceptions surrounding the implications of ADHD symptoms. Familiarity with the effects of symptoms associated with attentional and behavioral challenges are not necessarily well known by educators, an unfortunate and ironic circumstance considering their role in the assessment of ADHD (Rafalovich, 2005; Malacrida, 2004). Further, as Slee (1994) and Graham (2004) argue, focus and overreliance on methods of inclusion ignores students’ individualized needs. Although Ms. Hunt intended to employ the Just Dance technique amongst all students to avoid singling out the select few she observed behaving in what she perceived to be detrimentally hyperactive ways, she unfortunately

failed to attend to the variance in how students with attentional and behavioral challenges respond to stimulation and spatial manipulation.

The differences in how Ms. Hunt and Mrs. Armor employed educational techniques aimed at students with attentional and behavioral challenges highlights the underlying disconnect between recommended techniques and cohesive, standardized protocols for attending to students' needs. Further highlighted is how misconceptions of ADHD symptoms can lead to improperly employed techniques. Each of the educational techniques I observed was fundamentally aimed at regulating students' spatial use; sensory tools were aimed at keeping students seated in their desks, one-on-one attention monitored and regulated a student's behavior, teacher movement instilled surveillance and communicated students' need to submit to authority, and movement as a response to hyperactivity attempted to produce predictable, controlled spatial engagement by students. Further, an overreliance on inclusive education techniques that involved broadly employing all techniques for all students ignored students' individualized needs, which varied broadly because of the diverse implications of experiencing attentional and behavioral challenges. Rather than alleviating the challenges of ADHD, the educational techniques I observed employed created new obstacles for students, who were ironically limited in the decisions they could make about their spatial use. While all of the techniques I observed have the definite potential to be beneficial for students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges, significantly more attention must be paid to how ADHD symptoms can alter the way an individual experiences space. As such, it is clear that educators require further training as to the implications of symptoms associated with attentional and behavioral challenges.

Potential Limitations and Implications

Although I have made every attempt to representatively convey both the literature reviewed as well as the data gathered, this study was arguably limited by certain factors. Monetary and time constraints limited my call for participants to Lethbridge, Alberta; further time constraints were experienced when, after receiving approval from the office of the Superintendent of Lethbridge School District 51, individual schools did not respond or declined to participate. Further, because of this lack of response from potential participants, I conducted observations and interviews at only one site (albeit in two separate classrooms within the school). It was my hope to have been able to observe at a minimum of two separate schools, so as to more broadly apply my findings. My pool of participants was further minimized by the structure of the classrooms I observed; although I observed two separate teachers in two separate classrooms, I followed ten Grade 5 students as they moved from one room to the next. While this provided invaluable comparative insight, I did not ultimately observe as many students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges as I would have if I had been situated in entirely separate classrooms. Because of these limitations my study could be considered culturally and contextually specific to the region and age group I observed.

While I recognize the merit of considering these limitations, I also argue the applicability of my study on a broader level. As Rafalovich (2004) highlights, and as supported by my observations, there are few, if any, specific and standardized protocols for attending to ADHD students. Rather, educators employ recommended but not necessarily proven techniques. As my observations have further shown, because of a lack of cohesive instruction as to how to apply such techniques, teachers' individual

approaches to techniques can vary significantly, as can the effectiveness of those approaches. Because the majority of techniques I observed employed were highlighted in the texts of educational experts supported by educational boards across Canada, I can confidently propose these techniques to be indicative of the standard approach to attending to students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges. I further suggest this to be representative of the North American approach to ADHD in general, as much of the discourse surrounding the topic emanates similarly from Canada and the United States. As such, my research indicates the need for significant further investigation into the efficacy of current educational techniques and the effects of power relations in the classroom, as this has a significant impact on the way that affected students experience classroom spaces and, arguably, a measurable impact on not only their educational success but their broader desire to engage in classroom spaces.

Future Research

My research offers insight into an often overlooked aspect of the experiences of youth with attentional and behavioral challenges. However, it only scratches the surface of the convoluted implications of an ADHD diagnosis. As I have shown, the youth affected by ADHD and related challenges in this study experienced socially-imposed spatial boundaries in a distinctly reactive and sensitive way; therefore, further research into the effects of spatial organization in other social spaces, as well as private spaces, would be invaluable as a method of further understanding the ADHD experience as a whole.

Future research might also take on alternative classroom structures. For example, Montessori-style classrooms are increasing in popularity across North America. The

Montessori approach differs significantly from standard public school classrooms in that it is primarily student-led and focused on freedom of movement in the classroom, therefore creating entirely separate and unique instances of socially-imposed spatial boundaries. Extending research into older age groups of middle and high school may also prove valuable; as an increasing number of individuals are experiencing ADHD symptoms into adulthood, further exploring trends of spatial understanding could help elucidate the differences in how individuals affected by attentional and behavioral challenges experience and interpret space.

As previously mentioned, I strongly advocate for further research into the efficacy of educational techniques employed with the intent of alleviating challenges associated ADHD. The lack of a cohesive approach to employing such techniques creates fragmentation where there need not be; standardized protocols focused on incorporating student voice and experience into how techniques are employed could greatly improve how students engage with classroom spaces. Existing educational techniques have great potential for creating dynamic classroom spaces, but further research into how these techniques can be successfully employed is needed. Rather than remain solely focused on regulation of spatial use, further attention to employing techniques that encourages safe, productive spatial engagement is essential.

While I have briefly addressed the impact of gendered stereotypes related to attentional and behavioral challenges on spatial use, more intensive research into the role of gender in how students experience space would be highly productive. Further, extending research into the specific experiences of First Nations, Metis, and Inuit (FMNI) and other visible minority students affected by attentional and behavioral challenges

would significantly contribute to understandings of how these students experience space, and allow for the exploration of how (or if) minority status influences how spatial interactions are constructed and understood. I envision research into both these areas as significantly expanding on the approach I undertook for my own research project in order to adequately attend to the intricacies of these experiences. Increasing the number of participants by way of observing more classrooms and interviewing more teachers would allow for a broader analysis of patterns directly related to gender-specific and minority experiences that the scope of this project did not allow for.

In building this research project, my intent has always been to produce a body of work that will extend beyond the field of sociology. It is my hope that the analysis presented in this thesis can, and will, be considered for its value from an educational standpoint. In gathering, reviewing, critiquing, and presenting this data, I am cognisant of the fact that many of the narratives I present are ethically and politically charged. Further, the epistemological and paradigmatic position I have conducted this research from generates certain conflicts with the field I examined. It is my hope, however, that these conflicts have produced a productive tension from where my work can be considered not for the faults it draws attention to, but for the space of learning and growth it encourages.

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Appendix A

Examining the effect of socially-imposed spatial boundaries on youth affected by attentional and behavioral challenges

Observation Consent Form

Dear Teachers and Classroom Support Staff,

My name is Tiffani Semach and I am a Master of Arts candidate majoring in Sociology at the University of Lethbridge. My thesis research is focused on space and spatial interactions as experienced by youth affected by attentional and behavioral challenges. Your classroom was identified by the school principal as meeting the requirements for my research, which has been approved by both the Human Subject Research Committee at the University of Lethbridge as well as the Superintendent of Lethbridge School District 51, and is supervised by Dr. Claudia Malacrida of the Sociology Department at the University of Lethbridge.

The purpose of this research project is to explore the effect of socially-imposed spatial boundaries on the bodies of youth affected by attentional and behavioral challenges. The information gathered through this research project will be used to complete the thesis requirement of my Master of Arts degree. As discussed with and approved by your principal, and with your consent, I will be observing your classroom 5 to 10 full school days, depending on your classroom schedule, over the course of the next several months. I will be observing general interactions in the classroom related to space, specifically how you and your students interact with and within the space of your classroom. I will also be providing the parents and/or guardians of your students with a letter of consent to approve my observation sessions, should your principal and administration prefer.

In addition to observations, I will also be conducting interviews at a separate time with teachers and classroom support staff, if possible. I will provide an additional letter of consent with further information should you be willing to participate in this aspect of my research.

I would like to ask your permission for general information that may pertain to your classroom and classroom interactions to be included in my research. Information included will pertain to how individuals interact with classroom and playground space. No identifying information will be included (such as specific details describing your classroom, personal appearance, or the personal appearance of your students), and all names will be changed to protect privacy and maintain anonymity. My observations will be written; no audio or video recording will take place. The notes I take will be transferred into digital files, and the papers will be shredded. Data will be stored in a locked office at the University of Lethbridge, or in a password-protected file on my private laptop. The retention period for collected information is indefinite; data may be used, anonymity protected, in future research completed by myself. This research will

contribute to the study and understanding of how space is experienced by youth with attentional and behavioral challenges, and I appreciate your assistance.

You are free to withdraw from this research, which does not offer any direct benefits or compensation to you. Should you change your mind regarding consent and would like to withdraw, please contact me prior to date so that alternate arrangements may be made for observation sessions. If you have any questions about this research, please do not hesitate to contact me via phone (403-892-9227) or email (tiffani.semach@uleth.ca). Questions regarding your rights as a participant in this research may also be addressed to the Office of Research Services, University of Lethbridge (Phone: 403-329-2747 or Email: research.services@uleth.ca).

Following the completion of my program, a copy of my written thesis will be available in the University of Lethbridge library. If you wish to be contacted directly regarding the findings of this research, please provide an email address at the bottom of the consent form, and I will provide you with a summary.

Sincerely,

Tiffani Semach
Master of Arts Candidate, University of Lethbridge



I have read the above consent form and had it explained to me, and I agree to participate.

Name (please print)

Signature

Date

Witness



I would like to receive a summary of this research (may take up to 18 months after the completion of the observation).

Name

Email Address

Appendix B

Explanatory Script

Hello Teachers, Classroom Support Staff, and Students,

My name is Tiffani Semach and I am a Master of Arts student at the University of Lethbridge. I am majoring in Sociology, and am interested in how space affects people. As part of my degree, I am required to write a thesis (a type of long report) on a topic that I study for two years. My thesis will be examining how school spaces affect the ways that students and teachers learn and interact with each other.

Part of how I will gather information for my thesis will be observing your classroom over the next few months. I will come to your class and take notes about the things I see. I will also be observing other classrooms, some that may be in your school and others in different schools.

When I am in your classroom I will be sitting quietly off to the side. I will have papers and notebooks with me, and you will see me watching and writing notes about the things happening in the classroom. I might even be drawing pictures to remind myself of how your classroom is set up. Sometimes I might be outside on the playground at recess as well with my notebooks, writing about how students use playground spaces. The type of things I will be watching for and observing are how school spaces are set up, how students and teachers move around school spaces, how school spaces impact lessons and how students hear and see lessons, and how students and teachers move and act in different spaces. I will be as quiet as I can be so that I do not disturb your class. You can pretend I am not even there!

I am excited to be a (quiet) part of your classroom over the coming weeks, and want to thank you for helping me to complete my observations in your school.

Sincerely,

Tiffani Semach
Master of Arts Candidate University of Lethbridge

Appendix C

Examining the effect of socially-imposed spatial boundaries on youth affected by attentional and behavioral challenges

Interview Consent Form

Dear Participant,

I invite you to take part in an interview for my master's thesis research project exploring spatial interactions as experienced by youth affected by attentional and behavior challenges.

This consent form, a copy of which you will keep, should inform you of what this research project is about. If you have any questions about the research, please ask me to explain.

The purpose of this research project is to explore the effect of socially-imposed spatial boundaries on the bodies of youth affected by attentional and behavioral challenges. The information gathered through this research project will be used to complete the thesis requirement of my Master of Arts degree. In addition to interviews, I will also be observing daily interactions in several different classrooms.

If you agree to participate, I will interview you and audio-record the interview. This will likely take between 30 minutes and 90 minutes, in one sitting. You are not required to answer any questions you feel uncomfortable with, and may end the interview at any time. You are free to change your mind about participation at any time, and if you do I will destroy any notes, transcripts, and recordings related to your interview and the data will not be included in the research. Should you wish to review the transcripts of your interview, you may contact me to do so and are free to request any information be removed.

Your name will not be used in the written aspect of this research project, and I will make every attempt to alter specific identifying details about the classroom you work in. Thus, there are no specific risks associated to your participation in this research project. You will not benefit directly from participation in this research. Should you feel uncomfortable about any aspect of this project and need to speak with someone about your feelings, there is a list of local agencies that can assist with support attached to this form.

All material related to your interview will be kept in my locked office at the University of Lethbridge, or in a password protected file on my personal laptop. Interview recordings and transcripts will be accessible to only me and my supervisor, Dr. Claudia Malacrida. I will remove identifying information before Dr. Malacrida has any interaction with the data. The retention period for collected information is indefinite; data may be used, anonymity protected, in future research completed by myself.

If you have any questions about this research you may contact me, Tiffani Semach, at any time via email (tiffani.semach@uleth.ca) or phone (403-892-9227). Questions regarding your rights as a participant in this research may also be addressed to the Office of Research Services, University of Lethbridge (Phone: 403-329-2747 or Email: research.services@uleth.ca).

Following the completion of my program, a copy of my written thesis will be available in the University of Lethbridge library. If you wish to be contacted directly regarding the findings of this research, please provide an email address that I can send a summary of findings to (this may take an additional 18 months from the time of your interview).

Name: _____ Email: _____



I have read the above consent form and had it explained to me, and I agree to participate.

Name (please print)

Signature

Date

Witness

LOCAL SUPPORT SERVICES

Lethbridge Family Services
1107-2A Avenue North
Lethbridge, AB
Telephone: (403) 327-5724

Chinook Health Region
www.chr.ab.ca/
Suite 300-515 7 Street South
Lethbridge, AB
Telephone: (403) 317-7758

Native Counselling Services of Alberta
www.ncsa.ca/
208-324 7 Street South
Lethbridge, AB
Telephone: (403) 329-6140

CrossRoads Counselling
www.crossroadscounselling.com
801 1 Avenue South
Lethbridge, AB
Telephone: (403) 317-1463

Deep Waters Counselling Services
305-220 4 Street South
Lethbridge, AB
Telephone: (403) 327-9200

Key Connections Consulting Inc.
www.keyconnectionsconsulting.ca
102-515 7 Street South
Lethbridge, AB
Telephone: (403) 327-0972

Appendix D

Interview Guide

General Questions

1. How long have you been teacher/educational assistant?
2. What grade levels have you worked with?
3. Which grade levels do you like best? Why?
4. How did you learn about students affected by learning disabilities, such as Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder?
 - a. Would you like more training about teaching these children?
 - b. In which areas?
5. Did you play a role in the organization of this classroom space?
 - a. How?
 - b. What are some of the reasons behind your suggestions/recommendations?
 - c. If you did not play a role in the organization, what is the reason behind this?
6. How does the topic of space and spatial organization arise within your school? (i.e. at staff meetings, during casual conversation with staff, during casual conversation with parents, during interaction with students, etc.)
 - a. Where do you go for advice/suggestions about classroom and space usage?

Formal Spaces

7. How do you occupy and use the space of your classroom?
 - a. Do you interact more with children in certain spaces? How? Why?
 - b. How do you try to set the tone for classroom space utilization? Are there quiet spaces? 'Free spaces', disciplinary spaces, for example?
 - c. Why do you organize these spaces in the way you do?
 - d. What works with those arrangements?
 - e. What is a challenge in using space in your current classroom?
 - f. What do you think is the optimal size of a classroom and why?
 - g. What do you think is the optimal population of a classroom and why?
8. Do you see a difference as to how individual students interact with the space of the classroom and playground?
 - a. How do students affected by learning disabilities, such as ADHD, interact with the space of the classroom (for example, do they move around more, prefer certain spaces, ask to leave more)?
 - b. How, if at all, does this differ from other children's interactions?
 - c. In what ways are you able to accommodate such differences?
 - d. What, if any, suggestions for improvement could you make over these current arrangements?
9. Are there any specific uses of space and behaviors within classroom and playground spaces that you identify as being attributed to learning disabilities such as ADHD?
 - a. Please describe who determines that space use? (do children self-select, are these spaces that you have arranged)

10. Are aspects of your classroom space organized to accommodate certain learning needs? If so, can you please explain their purpose?
 - a. How do you negotiate the use of these spaces with your students?
 - b. How do these accommodations work for the general classroom?
 - c. How does managing these arrangements work for you? In terms of workload? In terms of classroom climate?
 - d. How do these accommodations work in terms of stigma, do you think?
 - e. Conversely, how do these accommodations help or hinder inclusion for children who are different?
11. How do you decide how to organize and utilize your classroom space?
 - a. Are there strategies for accommodating learning differences that you would like to employ in your classroom, but cannot? If so, can you please explain?
 - b. What kinds of barriers do you encounter in managing space in your classroom?
 - c. What kinds of resources do you encounter in managing space in your classroom?
 - d. What kinds of barriers do you encounter in managing time in your classroom?
 - e. What kinds of resources do you encounter in managing time in your classroom?
12. How do parents influence classroom spaces?
 - a. What kind of barriers does this create, if any?
 - b. Are there benefits to parental influence in the classroom? How?

Informal/Transitional Spaces

13. How do spaces such as hallways, boot rooms, washrooms, etc. differ from classroom spaces?
 - a. Do students behave differently in these spaces?
 - b. Do staff behave differently in these spaces?
 - c. In what ways do these spaces continue to conform to 'classroom rules'?
 - d. Are differences explained to students? How?
14. Are certain informal spaces tied into classroom spaces? How?
 - a. When do these shifts occur?
15. How do you interact with students on the playground and in other informal school spaces (i.e. hallways, boot rooms, etc.)?
 - a. In what ways does this differ from interactions in classroom spaces?
16. How do students interact with each other on the playground and in other informal school spaces (i.e. hallways, boot rooms, etc.)?
 - a. In what ways does this differ from interactions in classroom spaces?
17. Is there a marked difference in student behavior in formal spaces (classrooms) versus informal spaces (playgrounds, etc.)? How?
 - a. Where and when do you notice behavior begin to change?
 - b. Do all students exhibit behavioral changes?
 - c. Are students affected by learning disabilities more or less likely to exhibit behavioral changes?

18. Are playground spaces organized in any way? How?
 - a. Is this organization formalized by administration (i.e. access to certain areas determined by age)?
 - b. Do students enforce any types of organization amongst themselves (i.e. by age, by social groupings)?
19. Are there spaces that are both formal and informal in terms of behavioral expectations?
 - a. What are they?

Personal Experiences

20. Are there any specific personal experiences with spatial organization that stand out in your mind? Could you please explain?
 - a. What about this time makes it important?
21. Has there ever been a time when you have noticed a marked change in students' understandings of and interactions with space?
 - a. Could you please explain?
 - b. What was different about this time?
22. What do you like/enjoy most about your classroom?
 - a. What do you think your students like/enjoy most?
23. Do you have any questions for me?

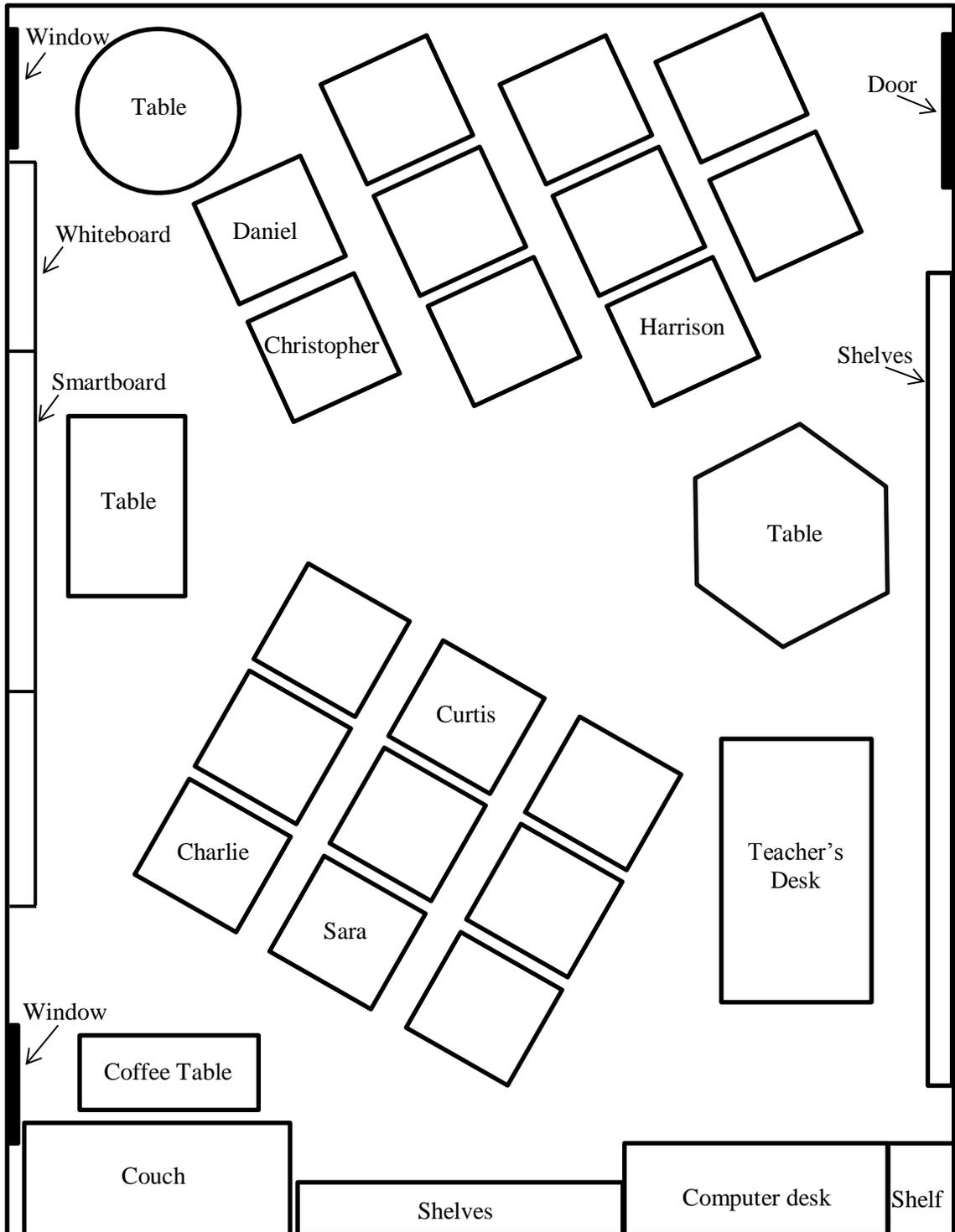
Appendix E

Participant Profiles: Students Included in Analysis

Name	Gender	Grade	School Status	Perceivable Challenges	Special Notes
Charlie	Male	4	Formally Coded, ADHD	Attentional, Behavioral	Mainly non-verbal
Sara	Female	4	Not Coded	Attentional	
Curtis	Male	4	Not Coded	Attentional, Behavioral	Most observably hyperactive student
Harrison	Male	5	Not Coded	Attentional	
Christopher	Male	5	Formally Coded, ADHD	Attentional, Behavioral	
Daniel	Male	5	Not Coded	Attentional, Behavioral	
Micah	Male	5	Formally Coded	Attentional, Behavioral	Only student with personal aide, Mrs. Armor deemed “severely coded”
Rachel	Female	5	Formally Coded	Attentional, Behavioral	Mrs. Armor deemed “severely coded”

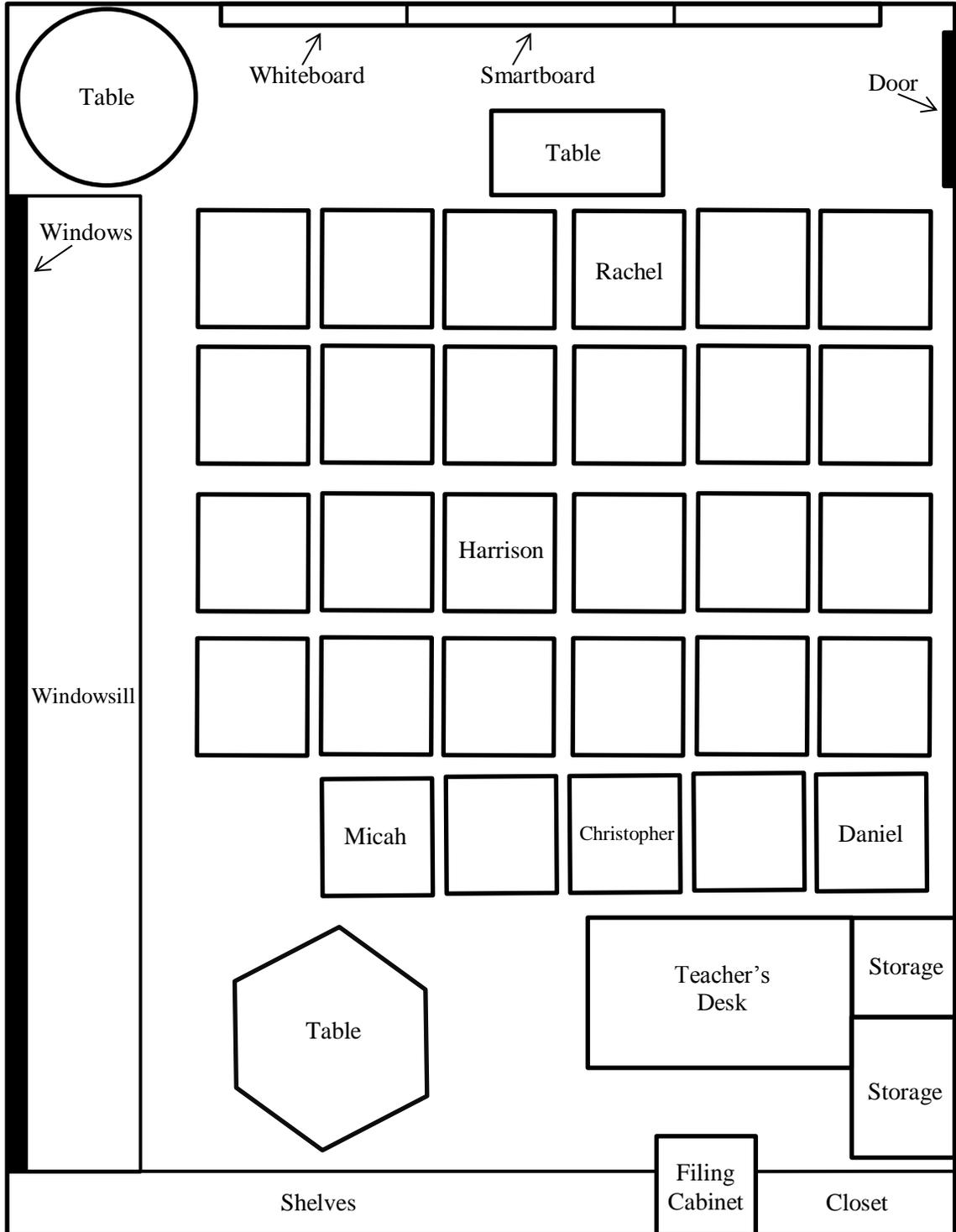
Appendix F

Ms. Hunt's Classroom Configuration
(not to scale)



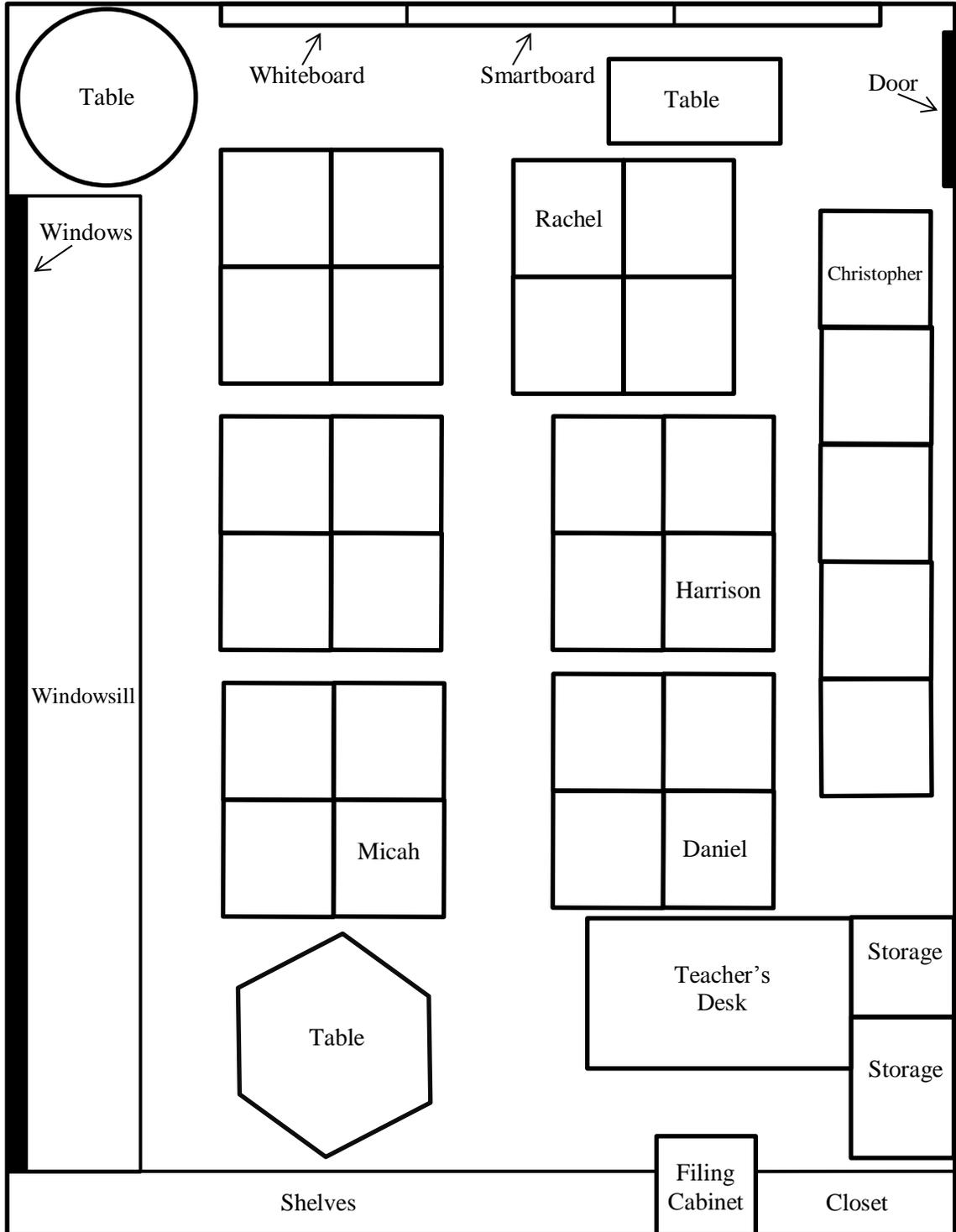
Appendix G

Mrs. Armor's Classroom Configuration - 1
(not to scale)



Appendix H

Mrs. Armor's Classroom Configuration - 2
(not to scale)



Appendix I

Mrs. Armor's Classroom Configuration - 3
(not to scale)

