

The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

College of Education

**TEACHERS, DISCIPLINE, AND THE CORPORAL PUNISHMENT
BAN IN DELHI, INDIA**

A Dissertation in

Educational Leadership & Comparative and International Education

By

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

August 2014

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ABSTRACT

Corporal punishment has been a common disciplinary method in Indian schools. In recent years, however, this practice has become controversial. In 2000, the Supreme Court of India said that corporal punishment should be outlawed from the schools (Bhowmick, 2009). Ten years later, in 2010, the government of India banned the use of corporal punishment in schools through Right to Education Act (RTE). However, even with the judicial and legislative ban, the practice still continues (The National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, 2011). According to a report by Ministry of Women and Child Development (2007), every year more than 225,000 students receive corporal punishment in Delhi. Drawing on interviews with 31 teachers and 6 principals across 7 school districts in Delhi, this preliminary study examines teachers' perceptions of corporal punishment, the extent to which they accept this ban, the effect of the ban on disciplinary practices, and the reasons why corporal punishment still persists.

The findings from the study shed light on the socio-cultural beliefs that support the use of corporal punishment on students. The residual religious beliefs and traditions such as caste system have influenced teachers' use of corporal punishment. Additionally, a lack of resources has also resulted in teachers' continued use of corporal punishment, despite the ban. For example, a significant number of participants mentioned large class sizes as a reason for continued use of corporal punishment. Several participants have indicated their uncertainty with the ban primarily because of the socio-economic reasons and because the law is not clear. Thus it could be concluded that policy makers need to define and clarify the implications of the ban to ensure its effectiveness.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my committee chair Dr. Roger Shouse for his guidance, encouragements, and support. I am thankful to my committee members Dr. Jacqueline Stefkovich, Dr. Davin Carr-Chellman and Dr. Madhu Prakash for their invaluable advise and help. I am also thankful to Dr. Kai Schafft and Dr. Jim Nolan for their feedbacks and comments during proposal stage. Furthermore, I am thankful to the Graduate Writing Center consultants for their help with revising and editing drafts.

The Ph.D. and completing my dissertation has become a reality with a constant support from my family. I am indebted to my parents, brother and sister for believing in me and helping me emotionally to get through my PhD. A special appreciation to my father-in-law, Mr. Vishnu Dutt Sharma, who helped me make connections to teachers and principals in Delhi. His moral support and assistance during my data collection process was truly invaluable. I must also thank teachers and principal who agreed to be a part of this study.

Last but not least my wife Manisha has been pillar of support during my time at Penn State. Her unwavering confidence has kept me going. She has been a supportive partner and colleague. I would like to thank her for providing emotional support, friendship, and care during this journey.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This chapter briefly outlines the research proposal of the project. I begin the chapter with a statement of the problem followed by theoretical framework. Furthermore, this chapter describes the scope of the study, as well as discusses some of the ways in which this study contributes to research about corporal punishment. This chapter concludes with descriptions and definitions of the basic terms used in the study.

Statement of the Problem

Attitudes towards the administration of corporal punishment in Indian schools have changed over the past decade. In 2000, the Supreme Court of India ruled that corporal punishment should be outlawed from schools (Bhowmick, 2009). The judge's decision required that each school district implement guidelines to promote elimination of corporal punishment. Numerous school districts formed task forces to evaluate the practice. However, a few districts issued memoranda to local school systems urging them to refrain from corporal punishment. In the second effort to ban corporal punishment, in 2010, the government of India outlawed corporal punishment in private and public schools through Right to Education Act (RTE). The legislation states that schools should refrain from physical punishment, mental harassments and discrimination against students.

Nevertheless, the judicial and legislative bans did not stop schools from using corporal punishment, nor has it changed parent's perception of discipline (The National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, 2011). Newspapers and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) report cases of corporal punishment on a regular basis. In 2011, The National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) found that 99% of students in 7 states reported that teachers use corporal punishment (Perappadan, 2012). Moreover, the Parent-Teacher Association United Forum (PTAUF) found that nearly all teachers surveyed, in sixty schools in Mumbai, use corporal punishment—such as using a ruler to hit students or throwing chalk piece at students (Times News Network, 2012).

A study done by Ministry of Women and Child Development (2007) found that 69% of the students attending Indian public school face corporal punishment. Delhi has one of the highest prevalence of corporal punishment. According to the survey, more than 225,000 students receive corporal punishment in Delhi every school year. The study confirmed that corporal punishment remains widespread in all types of schools in Delhi (e.g. Public, Private). More than 35% students in government schools, and 31% students in private schools, reported that teachers use corporal punishment.

Despite the recent interest on studying the effect of the corporal punishment ban on teachers in India, there remains very little research on its effects on teaching practices. Specifically, teachers' acceptance and perception of corporal punishment is relatively unknown. Therefore, building on a similar study done by Chiang (2009) in Taiwan, this preliminary study analyzes Delhi teachers' perceptions of corporal punishment, the extent to which they accept this ban, the effect of the ban on disciplinary practices, the reasons why corporal punishment still persists, and the ways in which the corporal punishment

controversy reflects on the social climate of schools.

Theoretical Framework

This study incorporates several theories that are traditionally used to study corporal punishment. Since this study is exploratory in nature therefore, several theoretical perspectives would help create a substantial basis for the analysis. These theoretical perspectives will help clarify some of the critical concepts such as norms and punishment. Furthermore, these theories will provide background knowledge for the research inquiry that I will discuss in chapter 4.

The works of Durkheim (1897) and Foucault (1977) provide some useful explanations that account for continued use of corporal punishment despite than ban because teachers' perception of corporal punishment appears to be influenced by normative practices in India. Additionally, custodial views of pupil control (Hoy, 2001), natural system (Hoy & Miskel, 2005; Chiang, 2009) and, rational system (Hoy & Miskel, 2005; Chiang, 2009) theories offer a glimpse at the nature of the corporal punishment in Indian schools.

Research Questions

This qualitative study focuses on Delhi teachers' ideologies about corporal punishment. It also explores how teachers make meaning about corporal punishment. More specifically this study will help us answer the following research questions:

1. Why do teachers use corporal punishment as a disciplinary method?
2. How do teachers perceive the ban on corporal punishment by the government of India under RTE?

3. What are some of the challenges teachers face in the context of disciplinary methods undergoing change?
4. How does the ban on corporal punishment affects teachers' disciplinary practices?

Significance of the Study

Currently, there is no systematic study seeking to understand how disciplinary practices in Indian schools are affected by the ban. Interviewing teachers to understand their perception of corporal punishment as a disciplinary tool could create a context for the policy makers to develop equitable policies capable of helping teachers effectively deal with students' misbehavior and creating safe learning environments (Wong, 2011). Furthermore, this study may aid researchers engaged in finding alternatives to corporal punishment for effective school discipline.

The study could also help us understand whether continuation of corporal punishment could be attributed to the authoritarian leadership practiced in social institutions (e.g., school, home). Traditionally, Indian schools have functioned on the top-down model that permits teachers to use a variety of methods of discipline on students. This study could, thus, help us understand the critical discourse on impact of top-down hierarchical models on teacher-student relationship.

The complex structure of the Indian school system mirrors the education system of the colonial era—characterized by socio-political transformations—where teachers act as an agent for change with the main responsibility being making students obedient to adults and higher caste (Raj, 2011). This study could help us understand these social structures that have promoted the use of corporal punishment, especially on the students from a lower caste.

Limitation of the Study

One of the main potential weaknesses of the study pertains to internal validity of the design (Creswell, 2013). This study only includes teachers and principals who were willing to talk on school issues including discipline and corporal punishment. The results of the study primarily depended on these participants' responses who may have been biased in their opinions. They might have provided false information to project a good image of their schools given the sensitive nature of the topic—corporal punishment. There were other members of the school community who have an impact on the use of corporal punishment, but their view is not examined in the study. For instance, students and parents were not included in the study, yet they are important stakeholders of the school community.

The study is delimited because of the issues related to generalizability (Creswell, 2013). The participants of the study come from seven school districts located across different geographical regions of Delhi to enhance transferability of the outcomes. However, due to variations in school cultures, demographics, religion and ideology on school discipline, the sample may not be sufficient to capture every type of contextual differences and hence may not be generalizable.

Researcher's Positionality

My dissertation is influenced by my own experiences and background. I attended public and private schools in different Indian cities for my K-12 education. Throughout my schooling, I received corporal punishment on a regular basis. Therefore, I accepted corporal punishment as part of the normative culture. However, in sixth grade, I

experienced a spanking that changed my views on this practice. This particular teacher came to the classroom, and immediately started yelling about how everyone was in trouble. She spanked almost the whole class without giving any of us an explanation. This incident prompted me to question mis/use of power for coercion.

Traditionally, the society empowered teachers to educate children using disciplinary tools with care. However, some teachers have misused this privilege by crossing the thin line between corporal punishment and physical abuse. To minimize the probability of physical abuse of children in schools, I personally believe that all types of corporal punishment (e.g., spanking, canning, paddling) should be banned.

A number of disciplinary methods (e.g., corporal punishment, zero tolerance, and suspension) rely on fear. Teachers who use such methods operate under the assumption that a fearful student might avert from misbehaviors. However, according to Durkheim (1897) the assumption that fear of punishment could lead to aversion is problematic since punishment itself does not teach students about appropriate behaviors. Fear of punishment could enforce avoidance among students, leading them to act to avoid punishment. Therefore, I am in favor of eliminating all types of disciplinary tools based on fear.

During my data collection, I experienced conflicts between my anti-corporal punishment stance and teachers' favorable attitudes towards corporal punishment. However, I was constantly aware that my belief system could influence teachers' responses during the interview process. Such data may have affected the validity of my research. Therefore, I was continuously reminding my self to interview the teachers and administrators with an open mind. Despite these limitations, I believe that my awareness

about this potential bias has helped me conduct this research effectively by focusing on understanding the teachers' views on corporal punishment rather than ways to stop corporal punishment on students.

Descriptions of Terms

A definition of corporal punishment and discipline has been provided to facilitate the understanding of this study. Additionally, explanations are provided for schools types, school governing bodies and educational reforms in Delhi, India to create a context for the study.

Discipline: School discipline implies creating and maintaining safe and orderly learning environments by correcting misbehaviors (Bear, 2010).

Corporal Punishment: Corporal punishment (CP) implies use of physical force by an authority to inflict pain for the purpose of correction or control of behavior (Gershoff, 2002; Strauss, 2010; Save the Children, 2013).

Elementary School: Elementary schools are commonly referred to primary schools" in India. Primary schools include grades: 1st to 6th.

Middle School: Middle schools are referred to "secondary schools," and include grades 6th through 10th.

High School: High schools are referred to "senior secondary schools," and include grades 8th to 12th.

Co-Education School (Co-Ed): Schools that are attended by both boys and girls. Nearly all primary schools are co-education. However, middle and high schools could be all boys', all girls' or Co-Ed.

Private School: Nearly all private schools in the sample have students from kindergarten to 12th grade. Private schools are also called public schools in India.

Directorate of Education (DIE): All middle and high schools in Delhi are governed by Directorate of Education.

Municipal Corporal of Delhi (MCD): Elementary schools in Delhi are governed by MCD.

Right to Education Act (RTE), 2009: A comprehensive education reform act that has made education a fundamental right in India. Corporal punishment is banned in Indian schools under section 17 (1) and 17 (2) of this act.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter discusses some of the literature on corporal punishment to contextualize cultural perspectives on its use. Furthermore, I evaluate the current debate on corporal punishment to understand the context of the ban. It is plausible to suspect that global ideologies on corporal punishment have influenced the ban on corporal punishment in India. Therefore, global scenarios are discussed for deeper understanding of some actors that contribute to the current status of implementation of the corporal punishment ban. Colonial heritage and residual religious beliefs appear to be the main contributing factors validating teachers' use of corporal punishment (Leach, & Sitaram, 2007; MacKenzie et. al., 2012; Owen, 2005; Sherman, 2009; Tiwari & Shouse, 2014;). Therefore, this chapter discusses these two factors in detail. In the last part of this chapter, I discuss theoretical perspectives that could provide some explanations regarding the continued use of corporal punishment.

In contemporary society, children are increasingly seen as an integral part of the society, entitled to the right to receive an education in an environment free from coercion (Durrant & Smith, 2011). One example of this paradigm shift in the conception of childhood is represented by the United Nation's Convention on Child Rights (UNCRC, 1999). 183 countries ratified the convention's resolution prohibiting corporal punishment on children. Among those countries that have signed the convention's resolution, some are working on framing laws, others have laws in place, whereas some countries have not yet taken action to ban corporal punishment. Despite this active discussion, corporal

punishment continues to be widely used on students in many countries such as China, India, Brazil, and South Africa.

According to End Corporal Punishment (2012) corporal punishment has remained a universal phenomenon. Given the discrepancies in the use of corporal punishment, it seems like the biggest influences are colonial heritage and religious-culture history. Nevertheless, the debate about the legitimacy of administering corporal punishment in schools has raised questions regarding the global status of corporal punishment and its cultural implications.

The Debate About Corporal Punishment

Some have argued that corporal punishment may produce some desirable results. Larzelere (1993) argues that corporal punishment has positive impacts on young children but it could affect older students negatively. A study done in 6 countries (China, India, Kenya, Philippines, Italy, and Thailand) shows that more frequent use of corporal punishment is less strongly associated with negative outcomes—in terms of truancy, self esteem, learning problems, aggressive attitudes and self-esteem—for children in countries where corporal punishment is part of normative culture (Lansford et al., 2005).

In his meta-analysis of studies on corporal punishment, Ferguson (2010) concluded that scholarships have exaggerated the harmful outcomes for children. Ferguson (2010) points out flawed analyses of studies that show a small but statistically significant correlation between mild spanking and negative outcomes for children. Furthermore, he states that many of the studies (e.g., American Academy of Pediatrics, 1990; Gershoff, 2000; Straus, 2008) have made confound statements about negative

consequences, but their results could not be generalized due to statistical limitations. He cautioned that care should be taken in differentiating mild corporal punishment/spanking—openhanded swat to buttocks or extremities—and child abuse. He asserts that most of the previous studies have conflated all forms of punitive methods, and therefore, their conclusiveness.

However, other scholars (e.g., Bitensky, 1997; Donnelly & Straus, 2000; Gershoff, 2002,) and child advocacy organizations (e.g., Save the children, American Academy of Pediatrics, UNICEF, Plan International) argue that there is a thin line between corporal punishment and child abuse. Prominent legal scholar Bitensky (1997) states that mild corporal punishment for discipline or guidance, which is not extreme enough to be prosecutable under child law, is sub-abuse. Gershoff (2002) concluded that in the long run, corporal punishment is correlated with: increased child aggression, antisocial behavior, adult aggression, child delinquency; decreased child mental health, and moral internalization (p. 544).

Since 1996, several legal or medical scholars have been conducting empirical studies about corporal punishment as a disciplinary tool. They have been successfully raising awareness about some of the negative impacts of corporal punishment in larger social strata. As a result, the movement to ban corporal punishment has become a social movement, instead of an issue limited to the judicial system. Banning corporal punishment is typically conceived this way because it has been debated in legislative systems across many countries worldwide.

In many countries and states, the debate is shifting from the question of whether corporal punishment should be allowed in schools to the meaning of corporal

punishment. Many schools districts have moved away from paddling to other forms of disciplinary methods that cause physical discomfort, which may include asking students to run, time-outs, and chores such as cleaning school cafeteria and picking trash. In some American states, such as Arizona, a physical education teacher could ask a student to run laps in the gym or playground if a student misbehaves in the class. A physical education teacher might also ask a student to sit in the time out area for the entire class. Other teachers may approach physical education teachers to make their student run laps around the track for misbehaviors. Thus, a student who misbehaves in the first class might receive the consequence in the physical education class. The consequences range from timeouts to picking trash while other students are playing. Currently, scholars are raising the question if running a lap could be corporal punishment.

Another question raised by corporal punishment critics is whether the use of humiliation should be counted as corporal punishment since it affects students emotionally. The use of humiliation (e.g., name calling, making fun in front of peers, telling things about family in classroom) for student misbehaviors is common in many classrooms across the world. In fact, some Newspaper sources report that name-calling is on rise in many school campuses. For example, in April 2014, a Louisiana teacher was suspended for using profanity (Sakoda, *Yahoo News*, 2014, April 10).

Name-calling is used frequently in Indian schools to make students pay attention to teachers' instructions (UNICEF, 2012). This practice occurs alongside other disciplinary forms. Teachers may recruit a student who scores high on tests and ask them to discipline other students. Teachers may also choose to refer to families' private matters in the classroom to embarrass low-performing students. Ministry of Women and Child

Development (2007) conducted a survey in 2007, which found that in some north Indian states teachers spit on students for not complying with their commands. Furthermore, the students were deprived of food and water for their misbehaviors. According to Gartia (2012) these kinds of mistreatment of students continue to occur in Indian school, which harm student emotionally and physically.

Global Scenario on Corporal Punishment

In the past decade, numerous countries have initiated a ban on all kinds of corporal punishment on children. According to a list prepared by End Corporal Punishment (2012) 33 countries have prohibited all kinds of corporal punishment on children. Interestingly, most are non-English speaking European countries that have been successful in maintaining the status of their bans through strict laws and awareness campaigns. One of the key reasons for their success lie in the inclusion of corporal punishment in major legal reform and social policies.

As noted earlier prohibition of school corporal punishment does not have the same effect in all countries. In many western countries, students are increasingly raising their voice against school corporal punishment. Nevertheless, in some Asian and African countries—as a part of normative culture—students expect corporal punishment from adults. For example, a Mongolian survey done by Save the Children (2005) found that 78% students believe that they are responsible for corporal punishment and that adults have rights to administer corporal punishment on children.

Sweden became the first country to defy the appropriateness of corporal punishment on students by ordering a ban in 1979. Sweden offers an interesting case

study for evaluating the effects of colonialism and residual religious factors on use of corporal punishment. Sweden has never been a colony and there are minimal religious cultural impacts on the society. Therefore, the implementation of the ban has been quite successful. Durrant (1999) states that Swedish society has undergone an evolutionary process supported by citizens, where childcare has been kept at the center of national policies for over a century. The ban on corporal punishment, which started in schools, later included home and childcare institutes. Swedish law prohibits assault to any human body, which includes both adults and children. The ban on corporal punishment was intended to minimize the chances of risky disciplinary methods on children, and encourage adults to use supportive interventions for misbehaviors. The Swedish society has a strong social welfare system that has helped with the elimination of corporal punishment from school. Furthermore, the Swedish government's decision to ban corporal punishment of children in all settings (e.g., school, home, childcare) has eliminated the discussion of reasonable corporal punishment for misbehaviors.

Swedish legislation to ban all types of corporal punishment has ended the debate on authorizing personnel to administer corporal punishment. The law clearly states that corporal punishment by both teachers and parents is prosecutable. The Swedish government spent millions of dollars on pamphlets and advertisement to popularize the ban among citizens. For example, in 1980s they put out information on alternatives to corporal punishment to manage children's misbehaviors on milk cartoons. A survey done by Save the Children (2005) shows that less than 10% Swedish parents believe that corporal punishment should be part of the child rearing. Thus, it appears that Swedish society has changed the culture around the tradition of corporal punishment.

In contrast, the United Kingdom banned corporal punishment in 1987, but the belief system regarding such discipline has not changed. A survey done by Times Education Supplement (2011) shows that almost half of British parents favor corporal punishment in schools. The parents feel that strict pupil control strategies could lead to better learning outcomes. The rise in cases of school bullying, truancy and disorderly classrooms in British schools has instigated a dialogue among parents, educators and policy makers for the purpose of making classrooms safe for better learning outcomes. However, many feel that reverting back to the times of corporal punishment might be a solution.

There is a long history of corporal punishment in Britain and its former colonies. Corporal punishment in the Victorian era was encouraged by the state for socio-political oppressions (Raj, 2011). The current status of corporal punishment in many commonwealth countries is reminiscent of its use in colonial times. A number of them have been slow to implement this relatively recent movement of the ban on corporal punishment. For example, corporal punishment is legal in school and home in some parts of Australia. In 2011, proposed legislation to ban corporal punishment in the home was rejected by citizens in the Australian capital region of Canberra (End Corporal punishment, 2012). Although the Australian government has stated that they are committed to promoting safe schools for students, corporal punishment is still favored by the law.

Canadian laws on corporal punishment are similar to Australian laws in that both countries have favored corporal punishment in their judicial system for a long time. However, two major events has made the practice more unfavorable by teachers: the

Canadian government's ratification of UNCRC, followed by the 2004 Supreme Court judgment that corporal punishment might not help students with learning. Since 1960, a number of Canadian educational journals have debated about the use of mild corporal punishment to instill good characters in students. In recent years, though, the focus of debate has shifted from the use of mild corporal punishment to the question of whether corporal punishment should be allowed in school (McGillivray & Milne, 2011, p. 100). Canadian provinces differ in their implementation of a ban on school corporal punishment, primarily because education is considered a state issue.

Corporal Punishment in United States

The United States has not endorsed the UNCRC resolution to ban school corporal punishment. This situation is one of the outcomes of the Supreme Court ruling in the 1977 case *Ingraham v. Wright*, which established that corporal punishment of students is not unlawful in the absence of any explicit policy against its use (World Corporal Punishment Research, 2012). The Court held that the eighth amendment's prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment does not apply to corporal punishment by school authorities (Rossow & Stefkovich, 2014). Furthermore, the Court ruled out modifications to the laws on due process saying that state laws on the due process concerns satisfies the requirements. The Court's judgment generated legislative and administrative activity that resulted in different standards across states and school districts (Bull & McCarthy, 1995). Out of 50 states, 31 have outlawed use of corporal punishment in schools. Furthermore, in last 20 years many school districts across the United States—in absences of any state

ban on corporal punishment — have either eliminated or restricted the practice (End Corporal Punishment, 2012).

The move to eliminate the use of corporal punishment as a disciplinary tool could be attributed to the fact that the United States is a litigious society. In recent years a number of corporal punishment cases (e.g., *Moore v. Willis Independent School District*, 2000; *Shelly Holman v. Department of Human Services, Arkansas*, 2006; *Serafin v. School of Excellence in Education*, 2007) have been presented to Courts ruling that schools should refrain from corporal punishment to the extent possible. Therefore, schools that permit corporal punishment have modified their corporal punishment practices. For example, some have developed procedures for administration of corporal punishment, in which teachers and principals are required to demonstrate that behavioral management strategies were used before they administered corporal punishment. Other schools require teachers to notify parents or seek parental permission for corporal punishment on their children. In many instances, the school principal or assistant principal administer corporal punishment in front of the homeroom teacher and the parent.

In a nationwide survey, the American Academy of Pediatrics found that almost 95% parents approve corporal punishment on children by parents (Donnelly & Straus, 2005). Many of them, however, disapprove corporal punishment by teachers. Parents think that teachers might not be able to administer corporal punishment with love and tenderness, and thus teachers should refrain from its use. Parents refer to distinction between use of corporal punishment as a tool to teach children about consequences of misbehavior and use of corporal punishment as a result of misbehavior (Shmueli, 2010).

However, the parental use of corporal punishment in home settings has implications for its use in schools. Dietz (2000) noted that those parents who use corporal punishment on their children tend to approve corporal punishment by school.

One of the problems with conflicting attitudes regarding corporal punishment in the United States is that it may be disproportionately applied to certain demographics. For instance, African Americans tend to approve of corporal punishment in the home. African Americans prefer living in a close-knit community where they can get support from their extended family members. It is widely seen that black families are more likely to use grandparents, uncles and aunts for child rearing compared to any other race. A grandparent raising a child would more likely to apply their own experiences of raising children. They tend to approve of corporal punishment on their children. That is, perhaps, one of the factors that contributes to a high prevalence of corporal punishment among African American families. Using data from the School Survey on Crime and Safety from USA, Han (2011) found that schools serving more ethnic minority students are likely to use corporal punishment twice even if they have the same disciplinary issues as a school with more Caucasian students. The Office for Civil Rights at the US Department of Education has found that black students are four times more likely to receive punishment for the same misbehaviors compared to their peers (Center for effective discipline, 2005).

Corporal Punishment in Indian Context

Many Indians consider school discipline an essential precondition for learning (Leach, & Sitaram, 2007; Raj, 2011; Vasavi, 2003). According to the Hindu saint *Shankarcharya*, teachers are equated with god and therefore, students should go to the

classrooms and bow down ready to follow their directions. Suffering experienced through the process of becoming educated confirms the Durkheimian perspective that “punishment is a moral process, functioning to preserve the shared values and normative conventions on which social life is based” (Garland, 1991, p.122).

The custodial model of pupil control permits teachers to use punitive methods for misbehaviors (Hoy, 2001). Corporal punishment is one of the common methods of pupil control in Indian schools. Some teachers believe that an immediate consequence maintains an orderly environment, or that the administration of corporal punishment, is an appropriate response to misbehaviors and the most effective strategy of pupil control in overcrowded classrooms. Corporal punishment has long been used as a quick fix method in response to disruptions during lessons (Chiang, 2009). Teachers administer corporal punishment on a student in front of the class to demonstrate consequences of misbehaviors. Watching their peer receive corporal punishment sends a warning message to the students in the classroom and minimizes the probability of misbehaviors.

Attitudes towards the administration of corporal punishment in Indian schools have changed over the last decade (Raj, 2011; Tiwari, 2013; UNICEF, 2012). The first effort to ban corporal punishment occurred in 2000, when the Supreme Court of India, while hearing a case, said that corporal punishment should be outlawed from schools (Bhowmick, 2009). The judge ruled that each state implement guidelines to encourage schools to eliminate the use of corporal punishment. A number of states formed task force to evaluate the practice but only a few states, such as Delhi, issued memoranda to local school systems urging them to refrain from using corporal punishment in the classrooms. The awareness about the potential negative impacts of corporal punishment

reached citizens in many states, as 17 of 28 Indian states started the process to outlaw corporal punishment.

Nevertheless, the Supreme Court ruling has not stopped schools from using corporal punishment, nor has it changed parental perception of discipline (Sinha, 2010). The continuation of corporal punishment could be attributed to the authoritarian leadership practiced in social institutions (e.g., school, home), which emphasize a top-down model (Hoy & Miskel, 2005), and permit adults to use a variety of methods of discipline. Typically, parents discipline children using their own judgment. Therefore, they tend not to approve of state sanctions on discipline. In general, Indian parents believe that education could be earned through hard work under strict discipline. Parents usually work with teachers on issues related to discipline. Students who do not comply with directions are seen as rebellious, or as questioning adults' abilities to teach life skills. Thus, both parents and teachers commonly discipline such students.

Collectivist tendencies exist within social norms structuring child-rearing practices and favor the use of judicious corporal punishment. Indian parents accept corporal punishment as a right afforded to schools to educate their children. Adults have to guide children until they reach adulthood; this has led parents to believe that they are the authority, and thus, it is legitimate for them to use corporal punishment (Shumeli, 2010). Most decision to administer corporal punishment are based on habitual practices of teachers, and the fact that the practice is usually uncontested by others. Some parents perceive that the administration of corporal punishment is indicative of teachers' attentiveness to their children for issues such as unfinished homework.

In rare cases, a school principal might intervene with discipline issues, often times

encouraging teachers to devise their own disciplinary codes instead of formulating school wide code of conduct. Thus, teachers often use their own discretion to administer corporal punishment for students' misbehaviors. Principals do not tend to get involved in classroom discipline issues unless teachers seek out their help. Additionally, Indian public school teachers play several roles in the community. They not only teach classrooms, but also assist local governments with census, elections, polio eradication and midday meal program (Kaur, 2011; Muralidharan, 2006). Consequently, the teachers are seen as mentors capable of teaching student about wrongdoings.

The complex structure of the Indian school system mirrors the education system of the colonial era—characterized by socio-political transformations—where teachers act as an agent for change with the main responsibility of making students obedient to adults and higher caste (Raj, 2011; Ramavath, & Prakash, 2012). For instance, discrimination based on caste system is an unlawful practice. However, teachers from higher castes often discriminate against students from lower castes (Owen, 2011).

Indian teachers have enjoyed the freedom to choose corporal punishment for misconduct and academic performances. However, they are beginning to be affected by the recent shift towards global disdain towards corporal punishment in schools (Smith & Durrant, 2011). Campaigns to enforce United Nation Child Right Convention (UNCRC) by non-profit organizations (NGOs e.g., Plan India, Save the child), and the ongoing educational reforms led the Indian government to declare the ban on corporal punishment in 2010 through RTE. The ban is intended to prevent negative effects on students such as violent and aggressive behaviors, which could teach students that violence could be used

to solve conflicts (Bartholdson, 2001; Brar, 2013, Gershoff, 2002; Lwo, & Yuan, 2010; Robinson, Funk, Beth, & Bush, 2005).

Colonialism and Corporal Punishment

Corporal punishment—in many countries— has roots in colonization and oppression that went on for centuries (Miethe, & Lu, 2005; Pate & Gould, 2012; Raj 2011). For example, schools for the indigenous people in African countries, which were primarily ran by missionaries, had strict guidelines on teaching students normative behaviors. Punishment was commonly used to discipline subordinates (workers, servants, slaves), which also included students. The primary goals of disciplinary practices were to guide students to adapt desirable behaviors and to discourage them from irresponsible behaviors. Even now, schools continue to use corporal punishment to enforce curricula that originated in colonial era (Pate & Gould, 2012). According to Save the Children Africa (2005) corporal punishment is the widespread method of discipline in most of the African countries. It is a common notion that use of corporal punishment is appropriate in educational setting as punishment is intended to make students accountable for their behaviors. Authorities routinely ignore cases of school corporal punishment. In rare cases, teachers and principals who use corporal punishment are brought to the legal system.

However, many African countries have been through significant socio-political changes since the 1950s. A number of countries (e.g., South Africa, Kenya, Ghana, Sudan, Tanzania, Somalia, Morocco, Sudan) have gained independence. The transition from being a colony to independence has created political instability in these countries,

which has, in turn, affected schools (Liang, Flisher & Lombard, 2007; Matoti, 2010).

Restructuring these countries under new rules has been a priority for these governments.

For a long time, education has not been given suitable attention in the national agendas of several countries. The schools running on colonial models of discipline remain powerful influences that shape cultural, legal, and political domains.

One country that exemplifies successful education reform African continent is South Africa. The first democratically held election in South Africa in 1994 led to a new government who promoted new educational policy. They enacted South African School Act (SASA) in 1996. This law contains provisions for decentralized education with emphasis on better school governance and best outcomes for students (Liang, Flisher & Lombard, 2007). New school curriculums with better learning outcomes for students were given priority over school discipline in SASA. Since corporal punishment was already declining with the eradication of apartheid laws therefore the policy focused on building better schools. However, under international pressures and campaigns by non-governmental organizations, in 1996 the government banned corporal punishment in schools.

According to End Corporal Punishment (2012) a survey done by “Statistics South Africa” shows that corporal punishment is in decline. However, in some parts of the country, this disciplinary approach is on rise. A high percentage of corporal punishment cases are reported on primary school students in northern parts. The most common form of corporal punishment is canning and spanking. In 2007, some political leaders tried to pass legislation to ban corporal punishment by parents, but the government did not

approve the bill. Currently, debate about the appropriateness of corporal punishment is going on in South African national/political circles.

Out of 33 countries that have banned all types corporal punishment on children, 4 (Kenya, South Sudan, Tunisia and Republic of Congo) are from African continent. Some of the newly formed governments in African countries, such as South Sudan and Congo, have recognized that eliminating corporal punishment from schools could help eliminate the widespread violence against children (Pate & Gould, 2012). Civil societies and non-governmental organizations (e.g., Save the Children, Plan International) have been instrumental in lobbying for a legal ban on corporal punishment, as they convincingly argue that banning corporal punishment symbolizes the need to end all kinds of violence on children.

Regression in corporal punishment is a result of enforcement of law by judicial systems (Durrant, & Smith, 2011). However, the proponents of corporal punishment have been loosely interpreting the language of the legal system. For example, Argentinean law prohibits the practice in schools, and even states that children's physical integrity should be protected in schools. However, the law does not explicitly define corporal punishment. Due to the lack of a clear legal definition, educators that use spanking and smacking in schools interpret the law as favorable for 'mild' punishment, not harsh ones (Romero, 2002). They view corporal punishment as a tool by which to apply external force for the purposes of modifying behaviors, which is guided by the assumptions that children inherently are not capable of behaving appropriately without said force.

Religious Beliefs and Corporal Punishment

The use of corporal punishment for discipline has been an integral part of child rearing practices. Parents and teachers have used corporal punishment to discipline children for generations. According to Hyman (1999) corporal punishment has roots in traditional belief systems, which accept beating the original sin out of children. In the Bible belt of United States, which includes southern and some midwest states, many believe that suffering could help distract people from wrongdoings (Owen, 2005). Between 2006-07, the highest number of corporal punishment incidents in the U.S. was reported from Texas and Arkansas; Mississippi and Texas accounted for more than 50% of school corporal punishment in United States (American Civil Liberties Union, 2008).

In many South American countries where Catholicism is a way of life, teachers believe in applying external force to the body as a valid form of discipline. This conforms to biblical proverb, “spare the rod spoil the child” (Aguirre & Salvatore, 2001). Corporal punishment is still widely used in countries such as Brazil, Peru, Chile, Colombia and Guatemala (Save the Children, 2005). Although these countries have made major strides in reducing use of corporal punishment on children, questions about the status of school corporal punishment on students is a relatively new phenomenon. Corporal punishment remains a requirement for students’ discipline for many people worldwide.

In countries, such as India, teachers are equated to god who could not harm a disciple (Ramavath & Prakash, 2012). Many parents generally approve administration of corporal punishment by schools. Traditionally, teachers are charged with educating students academically and behaviorally. Teachers use their discretions to administer corporal punishment for misbehaviors. However, students from certain groups are

disproportionately punished compared to their peers. According to a UNICEF report (2007) students from religious minorities and low socio-economic status are more vulnerable to corporal punishment than any other student groups in Indian schools.

Similar to India, it is traditional for teachers to be respected highly from students and families in many East Asian countries (e.g., Taiwan, China, South Korea) . In these countries, the education system emphasizes high-test scores and college entrance exams (Chiang & Shouse, 2011). Therefore, students are punished mostly for academic reasons because teachers use corporal punishment as a pedagogical tool to increase students' performance on the tests. Parents and teachers value students' score so much that they tend to disapprove government sanctions against corporal punishment. For instance, despite a legal ban, corporal punishment still continues in Taiwan (Chiang, 2009; Lwo, & Yuan, 2010). A group of teachers and parents in Taiwan are advocating for use of reasonable corporal punishment.

Corporal punishment is also more widely used among certain religious groups, such as conservative Protestants. According to Ellision & Sherkat (1993) conservative Protestants believe in Biblical literalism, which states that human nature is inherently sinful therefore, needs punishment. The conservative protestant fear libertarian beliefs on childrearing; they fear that government would not support their parenting values. These parents use force to impart religious beliefs and control children, and they tend to approve corporal punishment in their children's schools. The religious doctrines have supported corporal punishment to make children obedient. Consequently, the prevalence of corporal punishment is higher in religious schools worldwide (End corporal punishment, 2012).

In Muslim countries, the belief that punishment helps with self-regulation is central to the rationale for using corporal punishment (Al-Shail, Hassan, Aldowaish, & Kattan, 2012; Pate & Gould, 2012). Punishment is a method of demonstrating societal sentiments on wrongdoing, which includes deviation from prayers. Sharia laws guides all Islamic nations to promote devotion in god. From a very early age children are encouraged to pray. Corporal punishment is used to make students obey the religious doctrine. However, Islam neither supports corporal punishment, nor endorses it. Therefore, the prevalence of corporal punishment varies among Muslim nations. With exception of United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Iran and Oman, corporal punishment is legal in nearly all Islamic countries (End corporal punishment, 2012).

Theoretical Perspectives on Punishment

This study draws on the works of Durkheim (1961) and Foucault (1977) because they have significantly impacted contemporary scholarship about the nature of discipline and its effects on regulating behavior. Furthermore, one of the major reasons there is a conflict between recent Indian educational reform policy and teacher's pedagogy could be attributed to the fact that teachers' interpret the reform as antithetical to meeting their goals for student success. Therefore, custodial views of pupil control, rational system theory and natural system theory are discussed to conceptualize the relationship between institutional organizations, teacher's authority, and their methods of discipline.

Durkheim (1961), states that punishment is a form of regulation administered by authorities to demonstrate the sentiments of the public, and to maintain social orders. Applying Durkheim's theories to teachers' use of corporal punishment raises questions

about the status of the sentiments in the Indian society at large. Children are an integral part of the society who are expected to comply with norms and their actions are judged in terms of what an adult would be thought if exhibited the same action (Corsaro, 2004). Durkheim's perspective on punishment is intriguing because it shifts our attention from the administrative aspect of punishment to social and emotive processes (Cladis, 1999; Garland, 1991).

By using Foucault's (1977) notion of modern society we can begin to see how discipline is used to enforce social normativity. Normalization involves comparing an individual's performance with a set standard and utilizing surveillance for identifying subjects' non-conformity to the codes (Cladis, 1999; Garland, 1991). Through the issue of sanctions or administration of punishment, institutional norms are a strategy to discipline those who do not comply with normative standards. The delinquent class serves as a marker for deviation from the norm so that authorities are able to control and manage anyone who belongs to this class more easily (Cladis, 1999). Within the context of Indian schools, a student consistently scoring low on a test is more likely to be spanked by a teacher than one who score high on a test.

While the work of Durkheim and Foucault provide explanations of the use of punishment, they do not account for the continued use of corporal punishment despite legislative and judicial bans. This study seeks to analyze reasons that have led educators to continue using corporal punishment even with the law in place. Therefore, a theoretical perspective that provides significant explanation of the *phenomenon of interest*—the continued use of corporal punishment despite the ban—is needed.

Custodial views of pupil control offer several ways to better understand why most Indian teachers refuse to abide by the ban. Conceptualizing corporal punishment as a form of discipline offers a significant explanation as to its continued use, despite the ban. Teachers with custodial perspectives view discipline as a precondition for learning (Hoy, 2001). Teachers consider students to be irresponsible individuals who are incapable of differentiating between good and bad, which leads teachers to believe that students should be subjected to punishment (Shumeli, 2001). Such teachers base their evaluation of students' misbehavior on their background and social status, which requires punitive sanctions (Hoy, 2001). For instance, discrimination based on socio-economic status, or the caste system, is an unlawful practice in India but teachers from high socio-economic status and higher castes often discriminate against students from low socio-economic status and lower castes.

Teachers' decision to resist reforms could also be accounted for with rational system theory. Rational system theory provides a compelling explanation for continued use of corporal punishment despite the ban. The rationale systems are based on formal rules and procedures. In the rational system models, the links between directive and outcomes are strong (Hoy & Miskel, 2005). The schools are mapped out based on formal goals and principles. Within the Indian education system, those goals are geared towards high student achievement. Educators use corporal punishment as a tool to motivate students to memorize content and to prepare for exams. They use corporal punishment as means to the end.

Applying rational system views to Indian schools indicate that schools are formal organization, which are geared towards meeting high academic standards (Chiang, 2009).

In such organizations, orders from supervisors are strictly followed to meet organizational goals (e.g., high test scores). The rules and regulations are standardized for organizational effectiveness (Chiang, 2009, Chiang & Shouse, 2011). Schools use strict discipline as a tool to maximize effectiveness of students. Such schools are more likely to ignore sanctions that interfere with their formal goals. Schools that have used corporal punishment as a strategy to motivate students are more likely to ignore the law against the traditional practices, which are believed to meet their organizational goals. Some low cost Indian private schools and cram schools use punishment as a way to increase students' performance on tests. For instance, a student might receive one whack for every point missed on a test.

Unlike rational system perspectives, natural system theory raises questions regarding informal procedures on administration of corporal punishment (See table 1 on page 31). Natural system theory supports the argument that schools are influenced by environment. Therefore, decision-making is usually informal and subjective (Hoy & Miskel, 2005). The schools follow their own norms, sometimes on an ad-hoc basis, to deal with students' misbehaviors. Traditionally, corporal punishment is a tool that Indian teachers use on a case-by-case basis to minimize the occurrence of misbehaviors in order to effectively teach their classes.

Natural system theory posits that schools operate and survive by adapting to the needs of individuals (Hoy & Miskel, 2005; Chiang, 2009; Chiang & Shouse, 2011). Teachers believe that informal norms are critical to the effectiveness of schools. Thus, they use tools that make their job easier. In a number of Indian schools, teachers formulate their disciplinary policies to meet the needs of their classes. As previously

mentioned, students' misbehaviors are handled, as per teachers' discretion. For example, schools do not have school-wide discipline policies and the decision to utilize or reject corporal punishment is left up to the teachers. Since high scores on tests are seen as one of the primary outcomes of schooling, many teachers use corporal punishment to enhance students' academic performance because low academic performance is considered a type of misbehavior. Teachers warn high performing students about physical or emotional consequences for misbehaviors. However, students with low performance are likely to be punished for whatever the teacher defines as misbehaving.

The natural system model of schools facilitates decision-making based on morale for teachers' daily business (Selznick, 1957). The outflow of an action is often spontaneous and fluid. Teachers and school administrators shape the organizational structure by creating informal methods of enforcing norms that are more widely acknowledged and practiced than formal rules and procedures (Selznick, 1957; Miller, Hickson, & Wilson, 2006). For example, a student getting caught cheating on an exam might be warned about consequences without having to go through an investigation or expulsion.

	Rational System	Natural System
Links between directives and outcomes	Strong	Weak
Reliance on formal rules and procedures	Strong	Weak
Supervision	Regular, formal, objective	Sporadic, informal, subjective
Decision making	Formalized: based on goals and principals	Case by case: influenced by environmental needs

Table 1: Rational System and Natural System Views

Chapter 3

Research Design

This chapter describes my research design studying teachers' perception of the corporal punishment ban in Delhi. I begin the chapter with a brief description of the qualitative research methodology. I, then, provide explanations for employing phenomenological approaches using interviews for this study. I discuss sampling strategies to establish a background for the data analysis based on the interviewees' responses to the research questions. The chapter concludes with a discussion of some examples of the data analysis procedures and the presentation of a thematic map to study the findings.

Methodology

This qualitative research employs phenomenological approaches primarily using interviews to investigate the continued use of corporal punishment in Delhi's schools despite the national ban. According to Corbin & Strauss (2007) qualitative approaches allow researchers to investigate the social implications of a little known phenomenon to develop new perspective and further understanding. Thus, through qualitative approaches of data collection I could describe and interpret the phenomenon of interest—the ban is ignored. This exploratory study aims at understanding the use of corporal punishment as a disciplinary method, teachers' perceptions of the corporal punishment ban, the challenges faced by teachers in changing forms of disciplinary methods, the effects of the

ban on disciplinary practices, and the implications of corporal punishment bans for the social climate of schools. Qualitative approaches are appropriate for this study because they will allow me to access the inner experiences of the teachers to determine how social connotations towards discipline develops in the context of Indian schools.

Phenomena of interest

This study is concerned with examining why teachers are using corporal punishment despite the ban. Additionally, this study has implications for understanding the meaning teachers attach to corporal punishment. Teachers' views on corporal punishment involve a number of factors including cultural norms, attitudes towards custodial views of pupil control and organizational structures of schools. The concepts of corporal punishment and custodial views of control are inter-related in that teachers use punishment to maintain the order of the classrooms. Of particular relevance to school context in this study are norms and beliefs towards the use of the corporal punishment.

Method

This qualitative study employs semi-structured face-to-face interviews, and informal observations conducted in Delhi's school during Fall 2013 and Spring 2014. More specifically, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 31 teachers and 6 school administrators across 7 school districts of Delhi to examine their views on corporal punishment. The construction of the interview protocol was based on the research questions guided by the theoretical framework. Furthermore, I refined interview questions under the guidance of my dissertation chair and other knowledgeable faculty members. When administering the protocol, I used probes in conjunction with interview

questions to understand teachers' attitudes, perceptions, and their belief systems about corporal punishment (Chiang & Shouse, 2011). The questionnaire used questions/probes such as, have you experienced changes in disciplinary policies at the school due to the recent ban? Has use of corporal punishment or paddling been an issue? Do parents support corporal punishment? (See Appendix I for the interview protocol).

Although the primary data collection technique was semi-structured interviews, I conducted at least one informal observation at each school site to familiarize myself with the school rituals and culture. More specifically, I observed teacher-student interactions during prayer assemblies, in classrooms, on playgrounds, and during cultural assemblies. Furthermore, I observed teachers during staff meetings, professional development sessions, and parent-teacher meetings to gain a more complete understanding of their occupational context.

Additionally, I gathered information about the corporal punishment ban in India from newspapers, news channels, and web discussions. Indian news sources (e.g., Times of India, The Hindu, BBC, NDTV) report corporal punishments on a regular basis. Some of them have published investigative reports to discuss the implications of the corporal punishment ban. The discussions and comments from such articles helped me capture the sentiments of the Indian public. Furthermore, the opinions expressed in the web discussions helped me improvise my interview questions.

Sampling

A purposeful and convenient sampling strategy was used to select participants (Maxwell, 2013). This strategy was appropriate because the study is exploratory and

descriptive in nature and seeks to collect information for further research rather than to generalize the findings. My primary interest is in teachers' perception of corporal punishment. Therefore, teachers make up the largest portion of my sample. However, I also included a few principals to understand the larger administrative structures and its impact on teachers. I conducted 37 interviews—including 31 teachers and 6 school principals—from 7 school districts of Delhi in public and private schools. The participants for this study came from Northwest, West, Southwest, South, East, New Delhi, and Central school districts (See figure 1 below).

The participants of the study were told that they would be anonymous because, they might have avoided addressing corporal punishment if they feared that the information could be used against them. In order to maximize data accuracy, participants were selected based on their connection with me and, their willingness to discuss corporal punishment (Chiang, 2009).

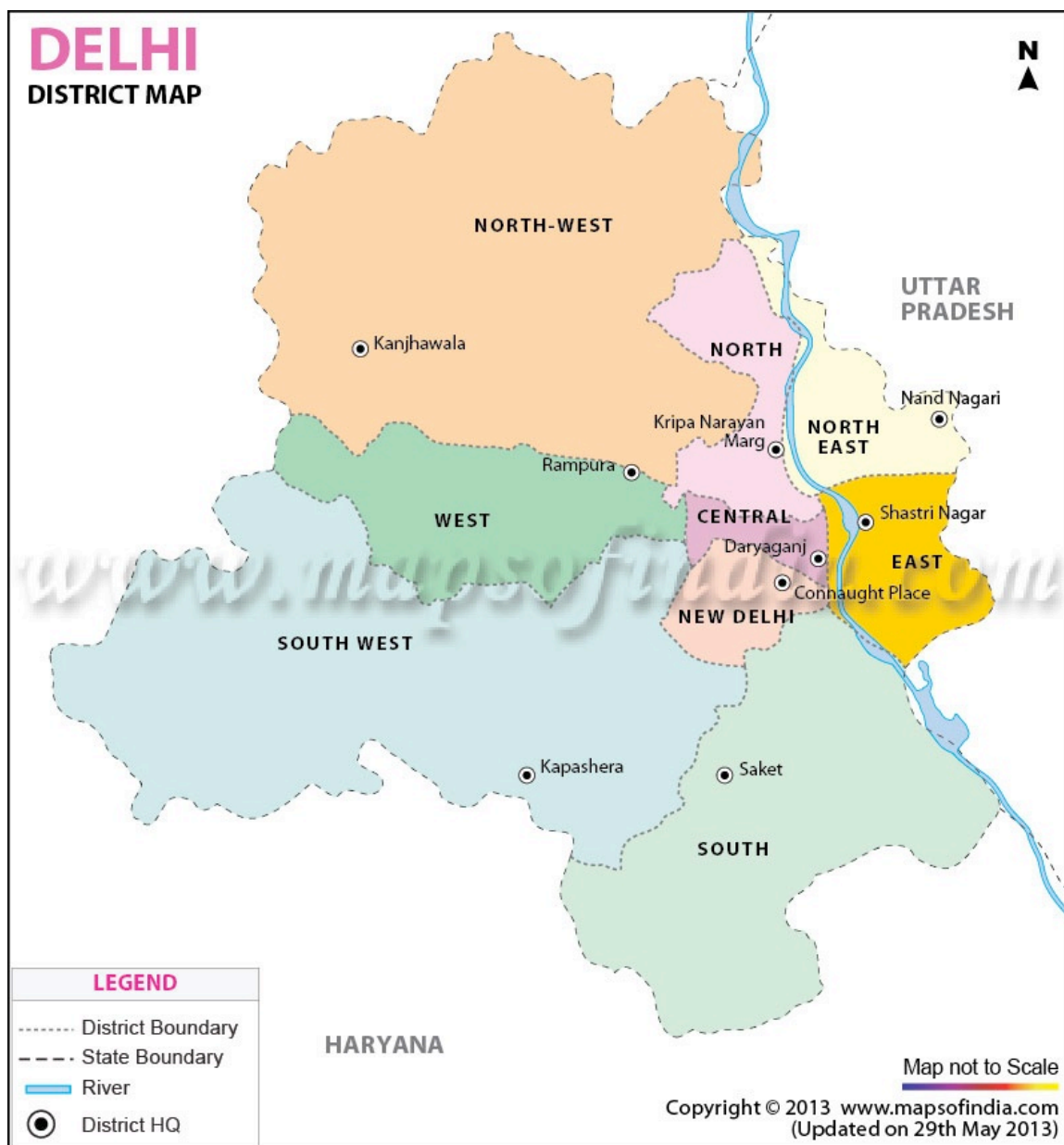


Figure 1: School Districts of Delhi

Analytical Approaches

The interviews were analyzed based on the thematic analysis model proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). I applied this analysis to the interviews to capture important ideas about the data in relation to the research questions. Thematic analysis of the data helped with identifications of emerging patterns and meanings within the data. As Maanen (1979) discussed, the data analysis process aims to uncover and explicate the meanings that people bring to their day-to-day lives. Utilizing thematic analysis enabled me to understand teachers' meaning making and their perception about the corporal punishment ban.

As suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) the analysis followed 6 stages:

- 1.) Familiarizing with the data
- 2.) Generating initial codes
- 3.) Searching for themes
- 4.) Reviewing themes
- 5.) Defining and naming themes, and
- 6.) Producing the report

I familiarized myself with the data, as recommended by Merriam (1998) by reviewing field notes and listening to the audio recording on the daily basis while collecting the data in India. Later, I compiled and organized the data by transcribing portions of the interviews. Furthermore, I organized the field notes by site location and date.

For second stage of the data analysis—generating initial codes—I used QRS

NVivo software. QRS NVivo is flexible qualitative data analysis software, which permits researchers to import various forms of data such as audio recordings, transcripts and field notes to identify inherent codes and themes. I imported all segments of data including transcripts, audio recordings and field notes in NVivo for initial coding.

I ran the word frequency queries to find the most frequently used words in my data. I, then, coded my data based on the frequency of the words found in NVivo in relation to the research questions. The data analysis procedure implied the use of funneling strategy with broad codes in the beginning and more focused codes towards the end (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Since this was one of the preliminary phases of coding, I used smaller and more specific codes. For example, some of my initial codes were “morality,” “obedience,” “motivation,” “decorum,” “responsibility,” “exam,” “religion,” “caste system,” “guru,” “parental permission,” “collectivism,” “humiliation,” “pupil control,” “disrespect,” “fear,” “elder,” and “experiences.” This initial coding scheme helped me look for emerging patterns.

After initial coding, I merged codes based on their similarities. For example, I merged “religion,” “caste system,” “guru,” and “responsibility,” to come up with a code called, “religious beliefs.” Furthermore, the codes were grouped with comparable codes such as “parental permission,” “elders,” and “obedience” was moved with “collectivism.” I did not code the data in linear fashion. Instead, coding was done at every stage of analysis through constant comparisons. While, many codes emerged during the second phase of analysis, some codes were revealed in later phases. For example, “teachers’ motivation” was one code that was coded in the 3rd stage.

Stages 3 and 4 of the analysis were done simultaneously to assemble codes into

possible themes. For example, “caste system,” “morality,” and “obedience” were combined to come up with the theme, “religious beliefs on corporal punishment.” The next step involved going through data excerpts, codes, and themes by putting them side-by-side in a table (See table 2 below). Three columns shown in the table 2 are connected because codes emerged from the interview excerpts and those codes in turns revealed themselves into themes. I went through the data, codes and themes over and over to ensure that they fit well together. Codes and themes were constantly compared with each other to ensure they represented the pertinent information. This phase of analysis involved re-organizing, re-grouping, and combing information to come up with the themes that could answer the research questions.

In stage 5, I reviewed the names of the themes to ensure that themes represented the essence of the data in context of the research questions. For example, the theme “cultural norms on discipline” was further refined as “socio-cultural norms on corporal punishment.” Some themes were re-worded to better align them with the data. Furthermore, themes were merged based on their similarities. For example, “caste system” and “religious beliefs” were refined and merged to develop a broad theme called “cultural norms of corporal punishment.” This stage was concluded by the creation of initial thematic maps (See figure 2 below for an example).

The initial thematic maps were further refined for clarity and understanding. The themes were reworded to reflect the data in meaningful ways. Later, a thematic map to analyze the data of the study was created. Figure 3, below, shows the thematic map to study the findings of this study. As shown in Figure 3, three broad themes were created: “socio-cultural norms contributes to the continued use of corporal punishment,”

“structural barriers challenges effective implementation of the ban on corporal punishment,” and “Threats from media prompts some to follow the law.”

To systematically organize the data, these broad themes were further subdivided into subthemes as needed. The first broad theme “socio-cultural norms contributes to the continued use of corporal punishment” has 3 sub-themes: personal experiences and philosophes, collective traditions related to punishment and religious principles on punishment. The second broad theme, “structural barriers challenges effective implementation of the ban on corporal punishment,” has two sub-themes: 1) educational reforms and schemes and 2) systemic assistance and follow-ups.

Stage 6, the final stage of the analysis, involved producing reports based on the emerging themes in chapter 4 and 5. Chapter 4 features these reports, which focuses on analytic themes. In chapter 5, I discuss the findings, and begin to draw conclusion and implications based on the analysis of the reports from chapter 4.

Interview Excerpts	Codes	Themes
“...I was spanked by my teachers until high school. I came out fine...students should learn to face consequences...”	• Personal experiences • Teaching philosophy • Personal motivation	Personal experiences and philosophies
“...Parents ask me to use corporal punishment...I treat my students as my own children....”	• Parental permission • Societal duties • Duty	Collective traditions on corporal punishment
“Most of my students are from lower caste....they do not have <i>Sanskar</i> ...”	• Caste system • Responsibility • Morality • Obedience	Religious principals on corporal punishment
“I heard that corporal punishment is banned...if our principal does not object then what is the use of government’s ban....”	• Local vs. National • Judicious use • Quick fix tool • Lack of school wide code of conduct	Systemic assistance and follow-ups
“We have to promote students on the basis of attendance. So students do not come to school prepared for the lessons. Now, teachers prepare for the school not students.”	• Evaluation system • Mid day meal • Scholarships	Educational reforms and scheme
“A student showed me an article about a teacher going to jail for caning a student.”	• Role of media • Facebook • Students’ awareness	Media and internet

Table 2: Example of Stage Two, Three and Four of the Data Analysis

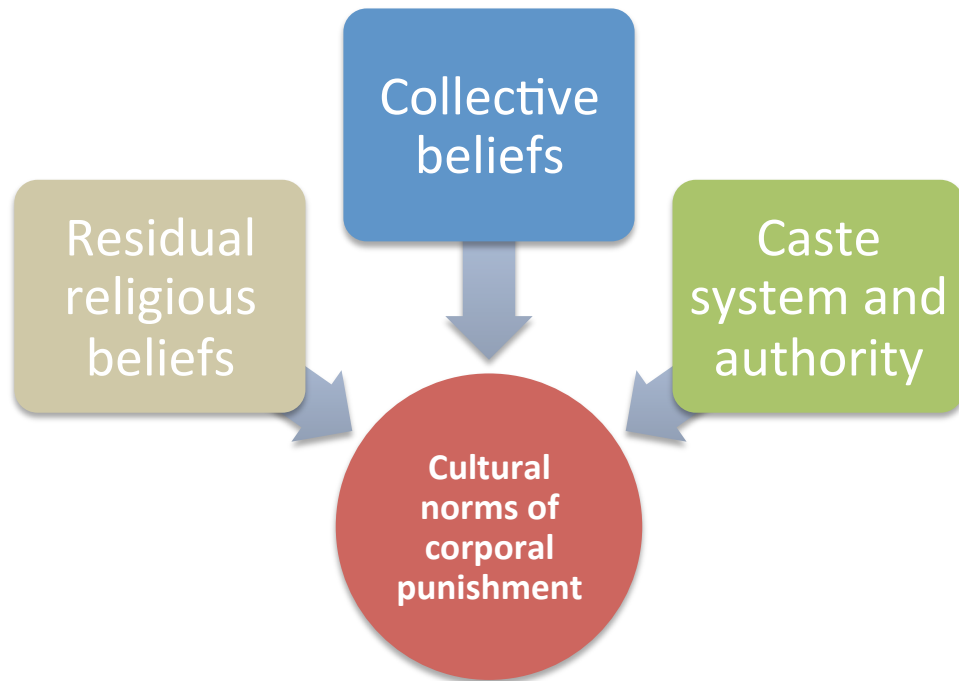


Figure 2: Example of an Initial Thematic Map

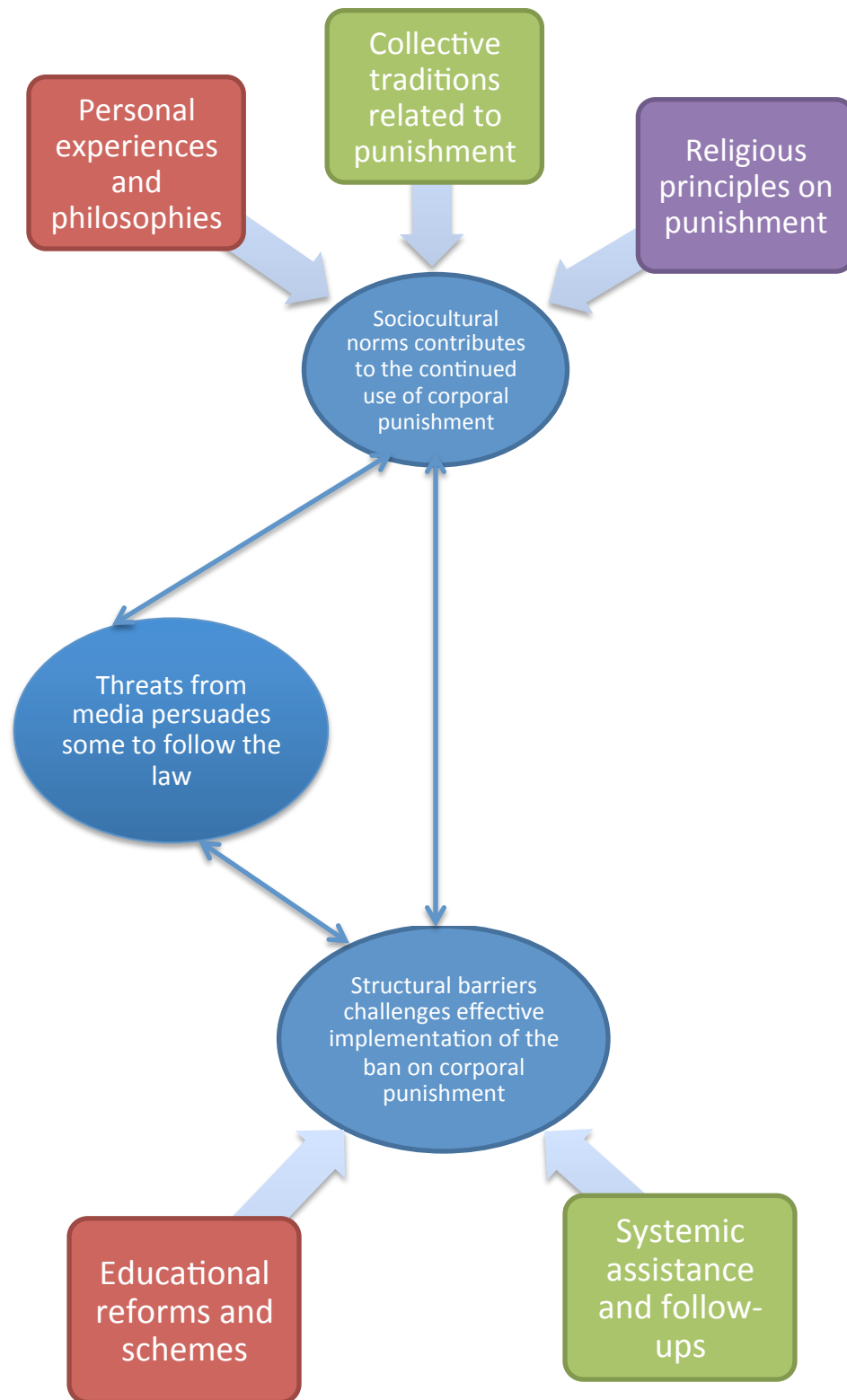


Figure 3: Final Thematic Map to Study the Findings

Chapter 4

Data Analysis and Results

This chapter provides a brief account of educators' background and schools' characteristics as a means of clarifying context, which is followed by emerging themes from the data. Interviewees' background and their previous experiences shape their response (Creswell, 2013; Flick, 2014). Moreover, many of the anecdotes shared by my interviewees are deeply embedded in the context of Delhi's school systems. Therefore, this chapter begins with a brief account of educators' backgrounds and school characteristics, which are followed by an account of emerging themes from my interviews with these participants.

Participants' Background and Schools' Characteristics

As indicated in chapter 3, the data was collected from six private and eleven public schools located across seven school districts of Delhi. Out of 37 participants, 31 were teachers and 6 were principals of private or public schools (See table 3 below). In private schools, students generally start in kindergarten and leave the school upon finishing the 12th grade. In public schools, the students change schools after elementary grades to attend middle school, and they move to high school after middle school. Data for this study was collected from three elementary schools, three middle schools, five high schools and six private schools. In elementary school, teachers are expected to teach all subjects. However, teachers teach a specialized subject area in middle and high schools. The sample includes teachers who teach math, humanities, science, language arts, and business.

The school districts in Delhi tend to vary in resources, class sizes and socio-economic status. The schools, especially private schools, in south Delhi have better infrastructure compared to schools in other areas. Although all schools in the sample had a building, some public schools did not have enough chairs and desks for students. The elementary grade students in such schools were expected to sit on the carpet.

The public schools across all the school districts primarily serve students from slums and poor areas. In recent years, student enrollment and daily attendance in schools in poor areas has been increasing due to the midday meal scheme (Jayaraman & Simroth, 2011). Additionally, students representing low socio-economic status and religious minorities groups (e.g., Muslim, Sikh) receive scholarships, which has prompted parents to send their children to public schools (UNICEF, 2010). Although, student population is growing in Delhi, the school infrastructure has not kept up with this growth, which has resulted in over-crowded classrooms. Thus, parents who can afford private schools avoid sending their children to public schools.

Unlike public schools, private schools have better infrastructure and resources. The student-teacher ratio in private schools is 25:1, on average whereas that ratio could be 55:1 in public school. Some low-cost private schools function as cram schools where students stay until late evening for tutoring. Parents enroll their children in these schools because of the school's reputation, which is sometimes evaluated based on the strict disciplinary climate of the school, as well as science and math scores.

It is a widespread belief that teachers who teach math and science are strict disciplinarians (Cheney, Ruzzi, & Muralidharan, 2005). Their image as strict disciplinarians could be attributed to the fact that science and math streams are

traditionally popular among students in India. Only students with high scores on final exams in secondary grades (e.g., 10th grade) are able to get in the science and math stream in senior secondary grades (e.g., 11-12th grade). Teachers use strict discipline in elementary and middle school so that students will score high enough to pick science and math streams in senior grades. With the help of parents, teachers follow a strict code of conduct for students to prepare for the entrance exams for certain careers such as engineering and medicine.

The schools in the sample were located in urban, suburban, and rural areas. More specifically, 11 out of 17 schools were in urban areas, 4 schools were in suburban areas, and the final 2 were in rural areas. It is important to note that most of the schools in the sample were located in urban areas. In the past couple of decades Delhi has grown to become an urban city. The urban schools primarily serve students from low socio-economic status. On the other hand schools in suburban areas serve mostly students whose families represent a relatively high socio-economic status. Private schools in all the locales almost always serve students from middle or upper class families. Although educators from some of the schools indicated that their schools were located in rural area, the school demographics and the communities around the school appeared to be quite similar to urban areas.

Across all locales and school levels, females were more likely to work in elementary schools. However, the sample includes 18 males and 19 female educators in the age range of twenty-four to sixty five. 6 interviewees were principals and the rest were teachers. Participants in the study had teaching experiences of 4 to 40 years. However,

almost two third of the participants reported that they have taught for at least 15 years.

Some of the participants came back from their retirement to teach.

Participants of this study worked at either all boys', all girls' or co-education schools. Interviews were conducted at 4 boys' and 13 co-educational schools. The teachers at all boys' schools were mostly male. In contrast, the teachers at the co-ed and private schools were male or female. According to some interviewees, more males worked at all boys' schools because of higher rates of misbehaviors.

Level	No. of schools	Subjects Areas	Gender		Age	School type	School location
			M	F			
Elem	3	Principal, All subjects	1	4	24-55	Co-Edu	Urban, Suburban
Middle	3	Principal, Math, Social Science, English	4	3	30-55	Co-Edu, All boys	Urban, Suburban, Rural
High	5	Principal, Math Social Science, Science, English, Business	8	7	30-68	Co-Edu, All boys	Urban, Suburban, Rural
Private	6	Principal All Subjects	5	5	28-60	Co-Edu	Suburban, Rural

Table 3: Participants' and Schools' Characteristics

Emerging Themes from the Interviews

This section presents themes that emerged from the 37 semi-structured interviews with teachers and principals in Delhi. The educators were asked to express their opinions and concerns about the ban on corporal punishment. Furthermore, they were probed to talk about how their teaching has been affected by the ban. After analyzing these educators' responses, three broad overarching themes emerged. The first theme has 3

sub-themes and second theme has 2 sub-themes. The third theme has no sub-theme, as it emerged from the responses of teachers who abide by the ban. In this section, I will explain both the themes and the sub-themes derived from the major themes.

- Theme 1: Sociocultural Norms Contribute to the Continued Use of Corporal Punishment
 - Sub-theme 1: Personal Experience and Philosophies
 - Sub-theme 2: Collective Traditions Related to Punishment
 - Sub-theme 3: Religious Principals on Punishment
- Theme 2: Structural Barriers Challenge Effective Implementation of the Ban on Corporal Punishment
 - Sub-theme 1: Educational Reforms and Schemes
 - Sub-theme 2: Systemic Assistance and Follow ups
- Theme 3: Threats from the Media Persuade Some Educators to Follow the Ban

Theme 1: Socio-cultural Norms Contribute to the Continued Use of Corporal Punishment

Ideas related to this broad theme kept recurring throughout the interview process. The phenomenon of socio-cultural norms revealed itself through indirect comments and perspectives of the educators during the interviews. Many participants brought up issues of culture as a basis for punishment. Normative disciplinary practices permit corporal punishment due to the belief that children are inherently wrong (Shmueli, 2010). In the eyes of teachers, corporal punishment is seen as a tool to rectify children's deviant behaviors and to assimilate them into the society. The inter-generational use of corporal punishment has validated its implementation and effectiveness (Raj, 2011; Sherman,

2009). Educators' beliefs towards corporal punishment are shaped by their own experiences of receiving corporal punishment as students, teaching different types (e.g., urban public schools, all boys') of schools, practicing religious customs, and following collectivist traditions.

Sub-Theme 1: Personal Experiences and Philosophies

Thirty educators in the sample recounted their own experiences of receiving corporal punishment as students. While some participants credited corporal punishment for their decisions to choose teaching profession, some added that their teachers used spanking to teach valuable life lessons. A middle-age high school teacher said:

In my elementary school, I was performing very low in math. That is, until we moved to a different city, and I started my 4th grade in a new school. My elementary teacher was caring, but he was very strict. He spanked me, scolded me, and yelled at me because I was not performing well in math. However, I know that he liked me as a student. He was strict because he cared for me. I have a lot of respect for him for not giving up on me.

It is important to note that many of the participants in this study attended schools between 1970 and 1980 when corporal punishment was pervasive in Indian schools. During this decade, students did not question their teachers' decision to administer corporal punishment. In fact, many participants indicated that they still do not question their teachers' decision to use corporal punishment. One middle-age high school teacher explained, "Back then, use of corporal punishment meant that [sic] student is at fault." A few teachers reported that teachers were doing their duty by administering corporal

punishment. Some stated that they are certain that it was their fault when they received discipline. One of the high school teachers claimed that he never would have learned English if it wasn't for his English teacher in the middle school. He attributed his ability to read and write in English to his teacher as:

In my middle school I did not know the English alphabets. Therefore, my English teacher paid extra attention on me. He tutored me after school for free. He slapped me when he got frustrated. I was able to pass my final English exam because of his strictness and his result-oriented attitudes. I started liking English so much that I went on to become an English teacher.

One of the middle-age elementary teachers stated that her education took place in an "era of punishment." She stated, " Although I received corporal punishment from my teachers, I grew up to become a good daughter and a responsible person." Another experienced middle school teacher said, "I was punished frequently but it did not make me depressed. Look, I am fine."

These teachers' statements explicitly deny that corporal punishment could harm students. More significantly these teachers provided examples from their own lives as evidence to support corporal punishment. A large number of participants believe that mild corporal punishment is appropriate. They perceive mild corporal punishment as a tool to teach students about consequences of misbehaviors. More importantly, they have indicated that corporal punishment is an important teaching tool.

While not all educators in the study explicitly stated that corporal punishment helped them learn the subject, many participants admitted that they studied hard to avoid harsh disciplinary actions by teachers. Some teachers in the private schools indicated that

their primary role is to make students learn subjects, even if it means using corporal punishment make students learn subjects.

According to rational system theory, organizations use tools that could help them reach their primary goals (Scott, 2001). One of the primary goals of private schools in India is to prepare students for entrance exams. As I previously mentioned, teachers have used corporal punishment to prepare for these exams for decades. Teachers, with my probes during interview process, shared their own experiences of receiving corporal punishment to prepare for these tests. A few teachers said that they could not go into certain careers because their teachers were not strict. It appears that they view teachers' use of strict disciplinary tools as a necessary means to score high on entrance exams. To illustrate, one of the young elementary teachers said, "My math teacher was too lenient. Otherwise, I could have scored high in math, and could have gotten a seat in an engineering college."

Many teachers reported that during their school days they viewed corporal punishment as a way of life. Moreover, teachers and parents used corporal punishment without any objection. An experienced middle school teacher said, "I could not report corporal punishment to my parents because my parents perceived corporal punishment by teachers as an indication that I am misbehaving in school or not paying attention to my studies."

Clearly, most participants' past experiences of receiving corporal punishment directly affects their current stance on corporal punishment. An experienced private school teacher said, "I went to a military school where they say that if you are not manhandled then you are not trained. I grew up believing that corporal punishment is

administered for misbehaviors or scoring low on tests.” An experienced elementary school teacher elaborates on the connection between misbehavior and punishment, “In my elementary school I was very naughty. Similarly, many of my students are naughty. They habitually create disorders in schools, therefore, punishment is required.” A private school teacher furthered this idea by saying, “ In my elementary school, I was hard headed. I only listened to those who were strict. I think punishment becomes necessity if students do not listen. ”

Several participants’ justified corporal punishment in their discussion of personal experiences, whereas some indicated that their experiences as teachers have influenced their decisions to use corporal punishment. Nearly one third of the participants spoke about their experiences of working in under-resourced urban schools as a rationale for corporal punishment. A young middle-school teacher discusses her attitudes towards such schools, “Our school is in one of the most impoverished locality of Delhi. These students do everything except study.” Another urban middle school teacher vividly reinforced these ideas in the following statement:

We have gangs on our school campus. They fight with each other. Many of these gang members are drugs addicts and alcoholics. On a regular basis, I catch drunken students on campus. Even police avoid dealing with such students. If we were not strict [then] these students would not let us teach classes. We have to be strict to maintain dignity of other students in [the] classrooms.

Some participants linked the ways in which corporal punishment is administered with effective pupil control. Custodial views of pupil control in India are widely practiced, which leads teachers to believe that tightly controlled classrooms are a pre-

condition for learning. Custodial views of pupil control primarily focuses on maintenance of order in the classrooms (Hoy, 2001). Traditionally, Indian students sit in their desks and teachers stand in front of the classes at the blackboard to deliver the lectures. The students are required to listen and respond to teachers' questions only when asked. Despite the fact that teachers tightly control their classrooms, students have become increasingly informal with their teachers, and classes have become more interactive (Tiwari, 2013). Many teachers in my sample viewed this as a problem. One high school teacher characterizes this shift in student behavior in the following statement:

Students come to me to talk about their families. I do not think students should talk to teachers about their families. Our job is to teach students through the methods that work for them. I do not feel comfortable allowing students to [be]come too close to me. I come to school to teach and perform my professional duties. Students say that I am strict. That is fine with me. I want them to see me as a strict person then [and only then] could [they] learn in my class.

Contrary to the teachers above, some said that those unfriendly attitudes could deter students from maintaining good interpersonal relationships with teachers. An experienced high school teacher said, "I do not think students need to feel scared of teachers. But there has to be a boundary so that students do not start treating teachers as friends." Clearly, teachers do not want to create the impression that students should share anything with teachers. They fear that such an image would create more disruption in the classrooms. Ivan Illich might compare these teachers with "Schindler" who are not friends with students; yet, teachers have a professional relationship and an obligation towards students (Hoinacki, 1988).

A few teachers believe that child-centered pedagogy required by RTE could lead to more disruptions in the classrooms. Child-centered pedagogy entails working closely with students to fulfill their interests and needs. However, many teachers view child-centered pedagogy as a challenge to them. For example, a few teachers reported that they avoid providing child-centered learning environment despite those opportunities.

Growing emphasis on technology integration has changed classroom dynamics across Indian schools. Teachers are expected to work closely with students and they are required to incorporate technology in their instruction and curricula. In some cases, for example, they may be expected to teach technology with computer-based math or reading programs. Therefore, teachers may be required to go through training in order to learn about these computer-based programs. However, some teachers in the sample refuse to use technology in the classrooms. According to a young elementary school teacher, “Students disrupt [those] classes where teachers do not know technology.” Consequently, Some participants’ refusal to learn and adopt new technologies has led them to use harsh, disciplinary strategies to maintain their authority and decorum. Some participants have indicated that they do not believe that technology could help with classroom instructions. One experienced middle school teacher describes this context as:

Technology has resulted in more misconducts than ever. Students leave my classes to go to computer lab saying that they are searching for projects. However in reality, they browse through [the] wrong content[s] on Internet. I do not believe in technology...I do not even bother to check my emails.

A young elementary teacher also discussed the relationship between disciplinary issues and technology as, “At our school, the older teachers do not know how to use

smart board. Thus, they usually have more discipline problems.” The older teachers who have not been using technology such as smart boards in the classrooms perceive technology as a threat to their authority. An experienced high school teacher who has a couple of years left until retirement relayed his experiences as:

Smart board has led to more disruptions and less learning. Yesterday, I was setting up smart board while students were talking out loud that affected the teacher next door. I felt helpless in that situation and had to spank some of my students. I refuse to learn technology. In my opinion it is a distraction from the real learning.

While technology has led some participants to continue using corporal punishment, some indicated that the practice is most effective in co-educational (co-ed) schools. Several experienced teachers described this context. One high school teacher remarked, “Corporal punishment is the most effective tool to humiliate students in front of girls.” A middle school teacher made a similar claim, stating that male students feel embarrassed in front of females. Therefore, teachers intentionally use girls to monitor boys for punishments such as *murga banana* (holding ears with hands passed under the leg). This teacher also noted that girls sometimes slap boys in front of the class. Male students see a slap by a female as an insult and thus they feel embarrassed.

Another high school teacher stated, “[The] culture of all co-education schools differ[s] from all boys’ school in that boys feel embarrassed by corporal punishment in front of girls in co-education schools.” In my sample, all primary schools and the private schools are co-educational, whereas middle and high schools were either all boys’ or co-

educational. I found that in some co-ed schools, boys in upper grades are taunted by statements such as, “Even girls are better than you.”

Although many participants agree that corporal punishment is one the most effective tools to humiliate students, they also use other disciplinary measures to humiliate students. Such methods were referred to by some participants as, “emotional treatments.” The emotional treatments are intended to humiliate students. For example, a young elementary school teacher may ask a student to hold a paper that says, “I am a donkey.” An experienced elementary school teacher utilizes a similar technique as she asks misbehaving students to write statements, such as “I am a fool,” on the black board while she lectures the class. According to this instructor, embarrassment minimizes the chances of misbehaviors in the future. She concluded, however, that corporal punishment is the most effective means of humiliation compared to any other emotional treatments.

On the other hand, an urban co-ed high school social science teacher said, “I ask my students to stand in the class facing the blackboard for entire class period; they feel embarrassed because girls laugh at them. Some of my students say please spank me, but do not humiliate me in front of the class.” One could argue that such acts by teachers may be classified as mental harassment, which is unlawful under RTE. However, teachers do not consider humiliation as violation of the ban.

As I discussed earlier in the chapter, some participants claim to have observed more corporal punishment at the all boys’ schools compared to both the all girls’ or co-ed schools. Teachers generally view the all girls’ or co-ed schools as having relatively less disciplinary problems than all boys’ schools. An experienced female teacher who got

transferred from an all boys' school to a co-education school shared this perspective when she compared her experiences at different types of institutions as:

I have been working at this co-education [al] school for last two years. In my tenure here, I might have used corporal punishment 10-15 times. But at my last job at an all boys' school I used corporal punishment almost every week. I know that there is a ban on such practices. However, boys are rough they need to be dealt with severe punishment to make them listen.

Despite the fact that many teachers expressed strong beliefs in favor of using corporal punishment, others are refraining from violating the ban. As a result, some participants indicated that they are adapting to the ban by implementing new forms of punishment. According to an experienced elementary school teacher, other type of physical punishment is possible. He asserted:

Due to this thoughtless ban by the government I do not put my hand on students. I give them punishments such as make students do sit-ups in the class, put school bag on their head, kneel down, sit on the floor and stand on the desk.

However, many teachers consider non-violent alternatives such as time out ineffective. Two elementary teachers critiqued this method. One experienced female elementary teacher reported that, "After then ban, I use mild spanking occasionally. Most of the time I rely on time-outs. But sometimes, time outs are not effective." Another elementary teacher complained that corporal punishment should remain a disciplinary option up to the teacher's discretion. She states, "I believe that teachers should have liberty to choose from corporal punishment and time-outs." This participant pointed out that all punishment, even time-out, would harm students. She argues, "Even time-outs

hurts, so why not spank a student and then let him or her get back to the work.” One high school teacher also complained that, “They ask us to use alternatives of corporal punishment such as time out. However, alternatives to corporal punishment are corporal punishment. In other words, there is no alternative to corporal punishment.”

Time out, in fact, may refer to students being forced to stand outside the classroom, and sometimes, even in the sun. However, the controversial death of an elementary school student that occurred during a time out in the sun has caused this practice to fall out of favor.¹ Thus, most teachers give in-class timeouts, in which students are asked to leave the activity area. Usually, these students must stay in the back of the classroom for the entire activity. Meanwhile, some teachers argued that time out is not an option in overcrowded classrooms.

Sub Theme 2: Collectivist Traditions Related to Punishment

Corporal punishment has been part of child rearing practices in India for generations (Gartia, 2009; Jambunathan & Counselman, 2001; Raj, 2011; Ramavath, & Prakash, 2012). In many families, especially joint families, children are taught about their appropriate role as a child from a very young age. In such families, the elders get unconditional respect from the young. Some teachers reported that parents come to them with requests to administer corporal punishment on their children. These collectivist tendencies promote corporal punishment under a common belief that children need to be obedient to adults and more importantly to *Gurus*.

¹ A girl named Shanno Khan from an elementary school in Delhi died in 2009 due to her timeout in the sun. Her death generated a public debate whether time out could be classified as corporal punishment.

The idea that adults should receive unconditional respect has deep roots in Indian society (Ramavath, & Prakash, 2012; Raj, 2011). Consequently, parents and educators sometimes work together to discipline children with corporal punishment under their shared belief that if a child misbehave in the schools then they could also misbehave at home. Therefore, they mutually support corporal punishment at school and at home. A private school teacher illustrates this practice as, “I go to one of my students home every evening to provide him math tutoring. I notify his parents if he misbehaves in the school. Sometimes he gets [a] spanking from me and his parents together in his home.” In sum, teachers and parents work together to make students compliant and to persuade them to work hard in schools. When teachers have been part of a family’s history for generations, these relationships are even stronger. In some small communities, for instance, teachers have worked at the same school for several years. One high school teacher discussed his reputation in the local community. He reflects that, “I have taught many of my students’ parents. If I go around the neighborhood then, probably many would recognize me.” He further describes his influence in the following passage:

Some of my students ditch their class to go to a video games parlor in the neighborhood. One day, I decided to go to the video parlor during school hour. I found that [the] parlor is owned by one of my former student[s]. This owner was not aware that students leave their classes to come to his shop. I asked him to strictly prohibit students during school hours. He spanked one of his nephews right in front of me who had lie[d] to him that [the] school is over to come to the video game parlor.

One third of the educators in my sample mentioned that several parents have asked them to use corporal punishment on their children on more than one occasion. A middle school teacher claimed that these requests come from both the student's immediate family and relatives. The belief that teachers are equal to god is still prevalent among Indian parents and students. When parents are unable to manage their children's behavior, they consult teachers. They may request their child's teachers to modify misbehavior through the use of strict punishment.

A few participants reported that some parents give teachers the unconditional right to use corporal punishment on their children. One of a young middle school teacher who works at a rural school describes this phenomenon in the following sentences:

Parents come to grant their permission to use corporal punishment on their children. Father of one of my students even suggested that I tie his son's hands and then cane him. That father is a strict disciplinarian. He even spansks his son in parent-teacher conferences.

A high school teacher who works in a rural setting also confirms that his student's do not object to harsh methods of discipline. According to this participant, "Even if I beat my students [so] hard that [it] requires medical attention, [my] parents will not say anything. In fact, parents have full faith in me that an injury to their children would not lead them to mistrust me."

Some teachers praised parents for their permission to use corporal punishment on their children. A few teachers said that if they had permission to use corporal punishment from every parent, there would be no issue of misconduct at school or home. For example, an experienced private school teacher said that, "A father spanked his son in

front me for going to the play ground during school hour. The father said that I could punish his son if needed. Now, that student does not dare to ditch. I feel comfortable to punish that particular student.”

Another participant praises strict parents and discusses the ways in which it makes disciplinary efforts easier. This elementary school teacher said that, “I am happy that parents of one of my students are strict. They came to me and ask me to beat him if he misbehaves. Although, I do not beat him, I ask him to kneel down and say sorry to others when he misbehaves.” This teacher speculates that kneeling down could be corporal punishment. However, this student’s parents have approved corporal punishment on their child, therefore, he feels comfortable with utilizing any type disciplinary action. Other interview participants made remarks such as, “At least we have assurance from the parents’ side, [that] there will be no action against us.” As the previous interview excerpts show, teachers perceive parental permission as a safety net for using corporal punishment.

On the other hand, some teachers stated that they do not need verbal or written permission from parents to use corporal punishment. A young elementary teacher explains how cultural views support teacher’s decision-making as, “I know that my son gets punished at school. I have never objected his teacher’s use of corporal punishment because he is mischievous. So, I expect that my parents would not object if I punish their mischievous sons or daughters.” Another teacher asserted the same opinion, attributing the right to use corporal punishment to a teacher’s role as equal to a parent as, “We as a parents spank our own children. Since teachers are also parents. Then teachers should also be allowed to punish.” A female middle school teacher mentioned:

I do not see any harm in using a slap or spank if it is done with good intentions.

Ultimately teachers and parents are on same page when it comes to education of children. I have always maintained a stand that, as responsible teachers we have to use corporal punishment on children to educate them about the consequences.

In fact, some teachers from public schools believed that mild corporal punishment could help build a good relationship with students and their families. Given that a number of public schools in urban Delhi are overcrowded with 60-70 students in one classroom, Parents may think that corporal punishment signifies that the teachers are paying attention to their children. A young elementary teacher in west Delhi shared his experience as:

Last month I spanked a student because he could not recite timetable[s]. [The] next day his mother came to the school and thanked me for pushing him hard to learn timetable. Now, she makes sure that he finishes his homework everyday. If I call her, [then] she responds. I am very happy that at least a few of my student's parents value what I do for their children.

A high school teacher who has been recognized by the state for innovate teaching methods elaborates on the ideas expressed by the teacher above as, "Punishment is not a problem as long as teachers share a good relationship with parents." An experienced elementary school teacher argues in favor of local authority over judicial reform by saying "If parents do not have problems with corporal punishment then why would government ban it."

At least one third of the participants justified their refusal to abide by the ban because they claimed that it signified a lack of respect for elders. Some teachers thought

that students would not respect elders if there were no punishment. In these teachers' views insubordination due to disrespect leads to indiscipline. An experienced middle school teacher asserted this concern as, "Now, children do not even listen to their parents, forget about teachers." Probing further revealed that some participants cited this problem as the main reason for students' disrespect for teachers. An experienced high school teacher explains his views regarding what he perceives as the diminishing cultural value of elders as role models as:

When we were children, our grandparents, uncle and aunts lived with us. Living in a joint family with a lot of elders had a lot of benefits. We were taught to be obedient and respectful to our elders. We never deviated from the lesson that elders deserve unconditional respect. However, now families are becoming nuclear. A number of our students come from nuclear families where both parents' work. Children from such families never get a chance to learn to respect elders.

Another teacher at the same high school brought up the 2012 Delhi gang rape² case. This participant argued that, "I am sure the teenage boy who was involved in the rape was not disciplined by adults. He would have never done such [an] act had his teachers and parents been strict." This teacher's opinion is shared among many other teachers voicing their dissatisfaction with the ban. They defend their arguments by saying that the ban has not only created problems for the schools but it has affected the society.

² A girl was raped and fatally beaten by five men including a teen-age boy in a moving bus. Later she died in a hospital that followed by public outrage and wide protests in Delhi and rest of the country.

For example, one middle school teacher said, “Look where our society is going today, there is no punishment even for severe crimes.”

Some teachers felt that a lack of punishment in K-12 education systems would enforce the idea that there will be no punishment when students grow up to become adults. Therefore, they have not given up on corporal punishment. A middle school female teacher said that she worries about the future of her students in a context where punishment is no longer allowed. According to this teacher, “We could spoil [an] entire generation if we do not teach them through corporal punishment.” Another female middle school teacher claimed that:

We as adults have [a] responsibility to prepare students for the future of this country. These students will be [the] pillars of our country. We need to ask ourselves if we want an entire generation to grow up thinking that there are no consequences for our actions. I think many would agree with me that punishment should be part of the schooling.

Some participants stated that students should accustom to corporal punishment from an early age. Participants believed that if students were given a strict message in their formative years, they would not misbehave later in life. In particular, students in elementary grades are more likely to be spanked both at home and at schools (Anderson & Payne, 1994). Therefore, they are more likely to accept corporal punishment compared to students in higher grades. In my sample almost all elementary teachers have indicated that they use corporal punishment because this type of punishment corrects misbehaviors and facilitates higher levels of academic achievement.

Virtually all teachers that were interviewed approved of corporal punishment. In addition to nearly all elementary school teachers, more than 80% of middle and high school teachers have also approved corporal punishment. This situation suggests that teachers probably ignore the ban on corporal punishment across all grade levels. However, many indicated that they expect older students to be more responsible compared to elementary students. Thus, corporal punishment may be used less frequently in higher grades. A private school teacher explained:

Corporal punishment is used on students for things such as misdemeanors. But, we know that smaller kids might misbehave because of their ignorance of the rules. However, we do not accept ignorance from middle/high school students. I think older students misbehave purposefully to create problems or to get attention.

Another teacher accounts for this view by calming that, “Elementary students are given [the] benefit[s] of doubt[s] because we know about their behaviors at home from their parents who are actively involved in schools. However, parents are often absent from their children’s schooling when they enter senior year of high school, so we do not know much about their behaviors at home.”

By contrast, parents are more likely to get involved in school activities in elementary grades (Shelton, Frick, & Wootton, 1996). Participants noted that watching parents deal with their children in elementary grades provides them with some sense of whether their use of corporal punishment would be tolerable. An experienced private school teacher explains this tendency in the following passage:

I could tell by observing parent-child interactions at school whether corporal punishment is used at home. In our school, elementary parents visit school

frequently. Watching parents interact with their children gives us an idea about the best disciplinary tool for a particular student. However, our [sic] higher grades students' parents do not come to school that often. We do not know if these parents use corporal punishment on their children.

Most participants' belief in their authorization to utilize corporal punishment is reinforced by their argument that parents do not support the ban or take it seriously. An elementary school teacher stated, "Sometimes we are strict with students to gain respect from their parents." Parents do not take teachers seriously if they do not use corporal punishment. A high school teacher describes the dynamics of these attitudes as:

I use corporal punishment on one of my students because his parents want their children to go to an engineering college after high school. I respect the sentiments of my parents, as I, myself, want my son to go to an engineering college. They will not be able to score high enough if they take high school casually.

Another female middle school teacher justified her decision to use corporal punishment in her claim as, "Students have become too casual about the school. They know that corporal punishment is outlawed. But I do not want them to develop a casual attitude, so I use corporal punishment." An experienced male high school teacher reinforced this idea by arguing that, "I see boys and girls hugging and kissing each other in hallways. This kind of situation is new at our school. I think lack of punishment could make these things common and [could] ultimately destroy our culture. Therefore, I am in favor of corporal punishment for such acts [by students]."

Some participants ignore the ban because they believe that the Indian government's decision is symbolic, or political posturing. Therefore the ban is not being

taken seriously. An experienced private school male teacher said, “ I have lived in United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia for many years. In those countries there are strict punishments even for small crimes. However, in India law is loose. Therefore, we are not law-abiding citizens. We do not take law seriously. As a result, we have so many discipline problems.” Another teacher said, “ Students are disobeying school policy and teachers are disobeying government’s policy. Both get away with disobeying the rules because it is India.”

Sub Theme 3: Religious Principles on Punishment

Many participants’ responses were influenced by their religious beliefs. More specifically, about one third of participants consistently used the word *Sanskara*. The word *Sanskara* is a Hindi word that denotes a process of transformation of individuals. *Sanskara* involves purification of the soul to eliminate negative intentions of individuals. According to ancient Hindu texts, *Sanskara* is the foundation of Indian culture and social values. *Sanskari* students are those who exhibit behaviors conducive to societal norms and take responsibility for their actions. Traditionally, teachers are assigned with the responsibility to make students *Sanskari*. Teachers’ responses in the study are reminiscent of their traditional duty to make students *Sanskari* as evident by the following narrative of an experienced private school teacher:

My parents and teachers caned me till high school. It helped me with my moral and personal growth. I treat my students as my own children. I love them as my own and I want the best for them in years to come. Therefore, for their future, I

use corporal punishment. I expect them to respect our *Sanskar* that allow elders to punish the young.

In many urban public schools teachers used the word *Sanskar* in reference to a particular student demographic. The urban public schools primarily serve students from low caste and slums. Due to the fact that these student's parents may be employed in occupations such as daily wage positions or temporary jobs, they are not always able to attend parent-teacher conferences. The educators, thus, perceive absence as a sign that schools are solely responsible for making these students *Sanskari*. Therefore, they use corporal punishment as a way to initiate the process of *Sanskar* in these students. One of the experienced male principals in an urban school said:

Our children come from families where they do not have role models. Their parents do not care about education. Use of physical punishment is required to teach them about importance of education. Such education could help them learn *Sanskars*.

Although the caste system is abolished in India, five public school teachers in my sample referred to the caste system in their defense of corporal punishment. These teachers said that people from lower castes are different from upper castes because they lack *Sanskar*. The word *Sanskar* is used as a synonym for the ideal education for lower caste. According to some teachers, *Sanskar* also includes cleanness of the body and the environment and they feel responsible for teaching students about the importance of these values as part of the curricula. Among other things teachers expressed that they are also responsible for teaching students about importance of cleanness and hygiene. One of the experienced high school math teachers shared his experience as:

Many of our students are from lower caste such as *Chamar*. As you know they do not have *Sanskar*. They do not keep clean. They chew tobacco and spit in my classroom. I am tired of teaching them to keep the classroom clean. I tell them that it's their classroom and they should keep it clean. But they do not listen to me. It is because their families do not have *Sanskar*. The entire neighborhood is dirty. They do not care about cleanness. I spank them when I catch them chewing tobacco in my classroom. Punishment is the only way they are going to learn about cleanness.

Some teachers expressed that, culturally, they have been the authorities to guide low caste students from generations. They feel a sense of responsibility to use corporal punishment with low caste students. An experienced middle school teacher who comes from a higher caste—*Brahmin*—claims that such students would not learn about the importance of education if corporal punishment were not used as:

Most of my students are from lower caste. Their parents have never been to school. So they do not ask their kids to work hard in studies. These low caste parents do not know what it means to be educated. So, I feel like I have to push these students hard so that they could do better in school.

Although the caste system is outlawed, discrimination based on caste is still common in Indian schools (Raj, 2009). According to a 2010 report by UNICEF, students from low caste are disproportionately punished in schools. Most of the teachers in public school are from higher castes. However, most of the students in public schools are from lower castes. Some participants in my sample admitted that they could not teach students

from lower castes without corporal punishment. Those teachers who have been in the teaching profession for decades were more likely to indicate that caste is an issue.

In my sample, 14 participants used the word *Sanskar*. Almost half of these participants agreed that punishment could help with *Sanskar*. An experienced private school principal defined *Sanskar* as teaching about the importance of moral and ethical values. She further stated that moral stories and counseling are the best ways to teach about *Sanskar*. However, she cautioned that, “Moral persuasion alone does not work with lower caste and low socio-economic status students. I know that the moral values could be taught through love. However, what if it does not work?” Another female teacher argued that, “[The] real goal of *Sanskar* is self-discipline; punishment could instill self-discipline in students.”

A number of teachers in the sample believe in the need to cultivate self-discipline through fear. Some teachers mentioned that students behave appropriately in front of teachers when they fear punishment; however, students should be able to act appropriately, even if teachers are not present. According to an elementary teacher:

Self-discipline is ideal but it cannot be cultivated without fear. I keep telling my students that disruption is immoral. However, as soon as I turn my back they start disrupting the class, which is an indication that love and moral discourse alone could not help with self-discipline.

Many Indian schools provide moral education classes. During these classes, teachers explain that the goal of education is cultivation of self-discipline. Self-discipline is viewed as way to lead a dignified life. As one experienced co-ed female teacher stated, “Every teacher should engage students in moral conversations to develop self-discipline

in their students. Punishment could only be used as a tool to teach students about self discipline.”

A female teacher at a middle school supported the teacher above by claiming that, “Corporal punishment is used to instill fear so that students come to school to learn and obey.” She argues that, “The ban on corporal punishment has no effects on schools. Teachers are still using corporal punishment because they know that if students are not fearful then teaching would be difficult.” A high school science teacher remarked that, “In my 20 years of career, many students left schools because they could not take corporal punishment³.”

Some teachers showed their frustration with the ban because they believe that lack of moral values among students is a result of the ban on corporal punishment. A young middle school teacher said that his students could never learn about morality because teachers cannot spank students. Another participant said that, “My students learn about morality in physical education classes because our physical education teacher has been designated by our principal to administer corporal punishment.” An elementary teacher also noted that, “Any teacher from the school should be in position to punish students if needed and not just physical education teachers.”

Some participants stated that they want students to fear any teacher administering corporal punishment. However, that does not mean that they would not try other strategies to teach them to be responsible citizens. A high school teacher stated that their

³Data from Directorate of Education, Delhi indicates that dropout has been on decline. However, it is not clear if ban on corporal punishment is one of the reasons for low dropout rate.

school has started special classes on moral education. However, even in those classes teachers have to use corporal punishment to maintain the order. She explains:

Every day we read quotes from famous philosophers in the morning assembly.

Although, [the] student listens to those quotes, they do not seem to be attentive.

Therefore, I have decided that every Wednesday, students will gather in the school hall and we will show educational and inspirational movies. These movies have a message at the end. I expect students to remember the message at the end.

This has proven to be a great strategy to teach students about moral values.

Students are very engaged in movie because it is audio-visual. Last week we showed a story from *Panchtantra* and students loved it. However, even during movies we have to spank a few students to minimize nuisances.

Some participants repeatedly stated that instilling fear is essential for education regardless of class or subject area. More significantly, more than half of the participants indicated that fear is required for an orderly classroom. Three of the participants used a saying from a scared Hindu text *Ramayana*: “*Bhaya bin preet na hoin gossain.*” It means that affection does not develop without fear. Educators’ sense of fear in connection with student-teacher relationships could be seen as a way of thinking that is similar to the English saying that fear leads to love. Fear from teachers, in a way, is akin to fear from god and could lead to love and joy in life.

A middle school teacher commented that, “I feel that there should be a way to instill fear among students for school decorum and physical punishments [just] do that job.” Function of fear to maintain school decorum could be debated. Indian teachers are accustomed of using sticks to maintain order. School decorum for Indian teachers also

means that students view teachers/principal as the authority on school-related issues—not only in the school premises, but also outside the school.

An experienced high school teacher's statements echo this perspective as, "The bottom line is that students need to feel scared of the teachers. It is up to the teachers to pick the strategy that most effectively makes students fearful of teachers. A young teacher in an urban high school with a cane at the time of the interview said, "I use this cane in my hand to warn students; whenever students see me with a cane they get scared." Another teacher said, "I make [an] angry face which is enough to make students scared." A private school teacher also relies on fear tactics as she explained, "I make [an] angry face and that scares students enough to prevent any disruptions. I seldom use corporal punishment." Another teacher extends this idea by claiming that, "I do not think that students like teachers' anger. They might not respect me for getting angry but at least it prevents them from distractions so that I could go on to teach the class."

Students' disrespect was one of the phrases that teachers brought up repeatedly during interviews. According to a middle-age high school teacher, "After the ban, students no longer respect teachers." As this quote implies, respect is perceived as a precondition for learning. In *Guru-Shishya* traditions, teachers receive unconditional respect from students and parents. During ancient times, teachers would only admit those who were willing to surrender themselves in service of teachers. This system continues to be reflected by teachers' views. One of the experienced middle school teachers narrated his experiences being negatively affected by students' disrespect as:

Some students and I take public bus to get to the school every morning. Before the ban, students would get up and offer their seats to me when they see me

standing with passengers. However, after the ban on corporal punishment they have stopped offering me their seats. In the bus, they ignore me by simply turning their head away from me. They pretend that they never see me. However, I know that they do not care to offer their seats anymore.

An elementary teacher advocated for punishment as a response to disrespect. He stated that, “Punishment is good; even in Bible it is said that sparing the rod could spoil the child.” A high school teacher discussed how this idea works in the Indian context. He explains that, “There might be different ways of punishment. However, punishment is used in every religion of India such as Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. In fact, you would find more punishment in religious schools. Thus, our religions require us to punish students.”

A few teachers claimed they consider students’ religious backgrounds while administering corporal punishment. According to some Hindu sects, students are not supposed to be slapped on the face. The face is considered to be sacred part of the body and a slap across checks means crossing the line for discipline. Therefore, teachers primarily strike these students with a cane on the buttocks or back. A private high school teacher confirms this belief. She stated that, “Although I use punishment, I remember not to slap students across the face.” An experienced high school principal elaborates the consequences of failing to keep religious-cultural norms in mind as:

When I was an assistant principal we had a student who used to be tardy everyday. I watched him getting late to the school for a week. I warned him several times about consequences of getting late. However, he would still come to school late. One morning I got angry with him. I slapped him a couple of times in

his face. Next morning a mob led by a local leader came to my school and lodged a complaint with the principal. They did not leave until I said sorry to the student and his parents.

This case shows the conflicts embedded in the complex socio-religious context of discipline. Although, the student's parents indicated that teachers could use corporal punishment on, it is also true that the parents' religious beliefs may sanction its administration.

Theme 2: Structural Barriers Challenge Effective Implementation of the Ban on Corporal Punishment

This theme emerged from direct commentaries of the interviewees. The data from the interviews revealed that there is a lot of uncertainty and resistance to the ban. Prior to RTE, teachers did not need authorization to punish students. In post-RTE, however, they sense that they need authorization to discipline students. However, they did not seem to know whom to approach to get authorization to discipline or punish students. The teachers' state of confusion is evident in this elementary teacher's question, "Do I get permission from parents or the principal to use corporal punishment?"

Traditionally, discipline has been a classroom issue. Teachers might seek permission from higher authorities, such as principals, to make changes in the curriculum, which appears to conform to rational model perspectives of schools as organizations (Chiang, & Shouse, 2011). For discipline issues, however, they have been making decisions on their own which conform to institutional model perspectives (Chiang, 2009). Many teachers reported that their principals have not given them clear

directions on corporal punishment. An experienced high school teacher expresses his confusion in the following passage:

Our director of education has told us in meetings that teachers should make an effort to engage students in the lessons through activities. Additionally, he has said that corporal punishment could be prosecuted under RTE. But our principal has not said anything about the ban.

Sub-Theme 1: Educational Reforms and Schemes

Participants expressed their annoyance with the ongoing education reforms, especially RTE. RTE is a comprehensive educational reform act that has made education a fundamental right. The law states that schools cannot deny educational rights of students. A number of participants expressed their frustration with one part of the law that states that schools cannot expel students. The educators interpret this law as unjust because they argue that it favors students. Before the legislation passed, schools could expel students for academic or behavioral reasons. After RTE, however, teachers or principals could not expel students for any such reasons. In their opinions, it has affected the overall climate of schools. In the following passage, a high school teacher discusses her frustration with the law as:

Sometimes it becomes necessary to expel students. I have tried expelling several students hoping that they would go to some other schools where they are a better fit. However, I have not been successful in expelling even a single student. That is because students and parents go to education officers who in turn call us to cancel the expulsion. These students laugh and pity us. These students become

unmanageable after they come back to school after expulsion. They think that they cannot be expelled from school. Therefore, they misbehave and receive punishment as a result.

Participants showed their apprehension about the ban by saying that students are receiving unfair advantages under RTE. In addition, they fear loss of pupil control. A young high school teacher opined, “We feel powerless after RTE. The rule that we cannot expel students has created so much chaos in schools that we cannot perform our essential duties. Combined this with the ban on corporal punishment and we see that disciplinary climate has deteriorated significantly.” Another experienced middle school teacher explained his understanding of RTE as:

I think the real purpose of RTE is to make education a fundamental right. I agree that education should be a fundamental right. However, I do not agree that punishment should be banned from school. I think RTE is not very clear about the ban on punishment.

There seems to be some confusion among participants as to whether the RTE or the Supreme Court of India banned corporal punishment. Some participants have said that it is not the RTE, but the Supreme Court of India who had given deliberations on banning corporal punishment. Others said that the Supreme Court’s judgments could not apply in every context. An experienced middle school teacher said that, “I do not work in a school where elite send their children. Our parents are fine with corporal punishment. But maybe elites would not be fine with corporal punishment.” Despite the fact that the

Supreme Court's ban was intended for all schools, it appears that teachers do not believe that the judgment does not apply to them.⁴

However, one experienced high school teacher acknowledged that both the Supreme Court and RTE clearly mentions that physical punishment could not be used on students. Nevertheless, he maintains that the ban is bad. He claimed that, "I think this ban is disadvantageous to students because students fail to learn humility and respect. They become rude which affects them negatively." A private school teacher also stated that, "Students do not learn [to] respect because they think that they are free to do what they want to do. They do not hesitate to tell us that physical punishment is not allowed either by saying it outlawed or through their gestures. I think that they cannot become responsible in their lives with such attitudes." Some participants stated that due to the Indian government's unreasonable educational reform policies, students do not prepare well for the future. A middle school teacher explained, "Students know that they will pass the class even if they are failing their classes. So, they do not bother to pay attention to teachers which has affected the overall quality of the schools."

In addition to RTE, many reported that other changes in K-12 education such as continuous and comprehensive pattern of students' evaluation (CCE) have resulted in low quality of education. In the same year as RTE, the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) asked schools to adopt continuous and comprehensive pattern of students' evaluation (CCE). In this new pattern students are evaluated based on scholastic and co-scholastic areas.

⁴ In 2000 the Supreme Court of India ruled that corporal punishment should be banned. However, this ruling was largely ignored. Only few states took actions to ban corporal punishment.

As the name indicates, scholastic areas include assessments in subjects such as math, science and social science. The co-scholastics areas include athletics, debate, music, innovate projects, and arts. Within this policy framework, substantial weight is given to co-scholastic areas. However, educators are concerned that focus on co-scholastic areas will distract students from subject areas. Some complained that the CCE pattern has shifted students' attention from academics to sports, which is not as important as science and math.

The evaluation pattern for scholastic area has also changed; students now take an oral test, in addition to multiple choice and essay tests. Therefore, teachers who are used to giving one final tests at the end of the school year are finding the new evaluation pattern challenging. They argue that the new evaluation system has affected the harmony of their classrooms. Additionally, students have become more talkative, which interferes with lectures. Some expressed that corporal punishment is necessary for controlling such chatty students. An urban schoolteacher said:

Students have become more talkative because of CCE. They think that they can pass their classes without studying solely based on their performances in verbal tests and co-scholastic areas. This is threatening to the quality of education. We need to change students' attitude by applying strict discipline to send a message that scholastic areas are more important.

One of the other issues with CCE is that students could not be retained in their current classes, as long as students are meeting the attendance requirement (Singhal, 2012). Inability to retain students appears to be frustrating to some teachers in the sample. Teachers believe that promotion based on attendance would demotivate students.

According to one middle school teacher, this new policy has affected her students negatively. She explained her stance as:

Now students do not study. They know that they cannot be thrown out of schools or retained in the same class even if they fail their final exam. We have to promote them just on the basis of attendance. Students do not come to school prepared for the lessons. For many students, results do not even matter because they would be promoted regardless of their grades. So corporal punishment is needed more than ever in this changed school climate to sensitize students to learn their subjects.

Traditionally, Indian K-12 education system students have to take a final exam. Students' final exam results determined if they would be promoted to the next grade. The scoring system used to be based on percentage. Students scoring less than forty percent would be held back. However, in the new evaluation system, teachers can not hold back students even if students score less than 40% percent.

Some teachers are worried that evaluation based on students' performance in sports and debate would have dire consequences for the future of Indian higher education. A high school teacher said, "Students pay more attention to sports compared to their subjects because they can afford to do so in the new evaluation system. However, this country would not be able to produce engineers and scientists if this generation would give undue importance to sports compared to academics."

An experienced female middle school teacher quoted an old saying: "*Padoge, likhoge banoge nawab, khelo ge kudo ge banoge kharab.*" Its English equivalent would be, "Study if you want to be successful, play if you want to be a failure." Teachers think

that the new evaluation pattern is not in the best interest of students. It has become increasingly difficult for teachers to motivate students to work hard in their studies. This situation, according to some, has resulted in teachers' low job satisfaction as indicated by this teacher's experiences as:

I take pride in my job and I am glad that I am in a profession where I could change students' lives. I feel satisfied if students are attentive and listening to me when I run my lessons. However, this CCE pattern and the policy on the corporal punishment ban has polluted student's mind. I am reconsidering my decision to continue as a teacher. I feel like corporal punishment is my right. I joined teaching profession because I could be authoritative with students if they fail to learn. I want corporal punishment at my disposal, especially for students who do not know their basic concepts.

A female high school math teacher shared her experiences of low achievement of students due to CCE pattern by arguing that, "I get students in 9th grade [sic] who do not know multiplication. I have to start from the basics, which affects those students who already know the basics of multiplication. It is a waste of their time and mine. I get frustrated and sometimes slap some who do not know the fundamentals." This teacher has said that she does not approve CCE pattern because students are performing at lower levels than ever in key subject areas such as math, science and social science.

According to a report by Annual Status of Education Report (ASER, 2013) the literacy rate in India has been going up in the last couple of years. However, in some places students are three to four grade levels behind in reading and math. Those educators with a belief that higher scores in the subject areas are important, have said that the new

evaluation policy is one of the reasons students are performing below their grade levels. For some, it is frustrating to see students performing low; therefore, they turn to corporal punishment. A private school teacher stated his experiences as:

I get frustrated if my 11th graders say that they do not know basic geometry. I have two options. First option is to give-up on those students. Second option is to use strict discipline to help them catch up with what they have missed. As a responsible teacher I use the second option. That is one of the reasons my students do well on the tests.

The traditional evaluation system of one final exam allowed students to see their exact score in the subjects. However, with the new evaluation policy students receive grades (Singhal, 2012; CBSE, 2010). A middle school teacher said that the new grading policy has demotivated students. Furthermore, he added:

My top performers are behind because with the new system we cannot rank individual students. One of my students who use to be first ranked in all subjects received “B” in his last test. I got frustrated and I slapped him. I cannot see him perform low. It is an injustice to him because he studies hard. However those who do not study hard are happy because even with less effort they could get a “B” or at least a “C”.

Some teachers indicated that government’s educational reform policies such as the CCE pattern and the ban on corporal punishment have made their jobs challenging. They indicated that they are way more stressed than ever. A number of teachers considered these policies to be antagonistic to teachers’ beliefs about discipline and classroom

management. They argued that they had to act according to guidelines only to the extent possible. Nearly all participants said that they use their discretion to discipline students.

It appears that teachers interpreted the policy framework on the ban as suggestive. A number of them believe that the government has created the policy for teachers to give them a head start on devising their own policies on discipline. A few teachers said that they avoid corporal punishment to the extent possible. However, they do not believe that they have to give up corporal punishment completely. A private school teacher said:

Some western researchers have said that corporal punishment affects students negatively. The proponents of the ban quote these western studies on corporal punishment. However, we do not know if such studies would be valid in Indian context. Therefore, I am not going to follow this ban blindly.

The general perception among teachers is that the RTE has been copied from western countries. In their opinion this new policy is a result of hasty step by the government of India to model education systems of western countries. A few teachers stated that India wants to portray a picture that they are changing from the traditional chalk and talk model of teaching to more innovative model of teaching. Therefore, they want to implement new policy without thinking about its implications. Some participants declared that banning corporal punishment originated in the west, which is colonizing Indian education. One of the high school principals shared his stance on adopting western educational policies in the following passage:

Since ancient times, Indian schooling system has been one of the best. When the English came to this country they realized that they could not make India a colony unless they changed the education system. They changed the education system in

India by introducing English as a subject. Since then, we are still adopting the English education system in our country.

It remains unknown whether corporal punishment was formally introduced in India during British period, there is evidence that suggests that using corporal punishment was prevalent during colonial times. Interview participants fear that new policies such as RTE, which is influenced, by western policies, will negatively affect schools' disciplinary climate.

In conjunction with RTE, the Indian government has started many schemes to increase enrollment and to retain students in schools. One such scheme is the mid-day meal program in which students are provided lunch in their schools (Jayaraman & Simroth, 2011). According to some teachers, this program has created problems for schools in that teachers have to leave classes to run mid-day meal distributions. An experienced high school science teacher claims that administrative conflicts are caused by this requirement as, "There is no supervision of my students when I leave for my duty. When I come back after duty, my classroom is disorderly. I have to calm my students before I could begin my lesson. Sometimes I spank one or two."

Many urban teachers feel that the mid day meal program has affected disciplinary climate in their schools. In a number of urban schools lunch is delivered to the schools every morning. One of the school administrators stores the delivery until lunchtime. However, in many schools, students seek teachers' permission to eat their lunch early. Additionally, students request early lunch on the days their favorite food is served. This creates problems in the schedule. An experienced male high school teacher articulates his concern as:

Students come to me and say that they did not eat breakfast. I allow some to eat early lunch because I know for a fact that their families do not cook breakfast. I give permission to eat early lunch to students from families who could barely afford food. But then, I find that there is a big crowd near lunchroom. Students leave their classes to eat lunch; especially [sic] on days they serve “*chole bhature*”. Students do not listen to their teachers. Sometimes teachers stay at the lunchroom with a cane in their hands to control the students.

A male middle school teacher said, “Some students come to school to eat, they do not care about studies. We have to deal with discipline problems everyday because of those who come here just to eat.” This teacher said that students leave their school bags in their classrooms and wander in the school premises until lunchtime. While there are security and boundary walls around most of the schools in Delhi, students leave their classrooms to wander outside school premises. Assistant principals, or the principal aided by security guards, primarily supervise school premises. One of the middle schools principals discussed his experiences of monitoring the school premises as:

I go out for rounds every hour and I find students wandering around the campus. When I call them they try to run away from me. They sometimes hide their faces so that I do not recognize them. However, if I catch them I paddle them for leaving their classes.

In many instances students do not want to be seen by their teachers or principals. Therefore, they try to jump the boundary wall to escape from teachers or principals. In doing so they may hurt themselves. A couple of teachers in the sample indicated that they try to let go of students when they see them crossing the boundary walls. They primarily

do that to avoid injuries to students and liability to the schools. A high school teacher shared this problem as:

One of the 10th graders leaves class regularly. On my rounds when I try to call him, he starts running away from me. Yesterday he jumped the boundary wall during school hour and went back to his house. This morning his father brought him back and spanked him right in front of me. The father said that I should hit him hard if he tries to leave his classes again.

Sub Theme 2: Systematic Assistance and Follow-ups

Many participants in my sample indicated that the lack of assistance from the school districts and the government has led them to continue using corporal punishment. More specifically, participants discussed the lack of information and resources to effectively implement the ban. Some stated that the discrepancy in the information about the ban has affected its implementation. An elementary school teacher said, “ I read in the newspaper that corporal punishment is banned. However, I do not have any specific information on the ban.” Another elementary teacher said that, “ I heard from some people at school that corporal punishment is banned.” Many teachers in the study said that they know about the ban from word of mouth or through reading newspapers. An experienced middle school teacher noted that:

I have heard [that] corporal punishment is not allowed. However, our principal did not give any information on the corporal punishment ban. We use corporal punishment every once in a while. Nobody has come and said that you could

jeopardize your job if caught using corporal punishment. I do not think that there are repercussions for using corporal punishment

It appears that participants have partial or no information on the ban of corporal punishment. For example, a middle school teacher who worked in a rural setting said that many people at her school and in the community are not aware about the ban. Another middle school teacher showed his apprehension about the implementation of the ban by saying, “ I have never been told that corporal punishment is banned via a memorandum.” A high school teacher said, “I have read things about the ban in the newspapers.”

Some participants from an urban high schools said that they received memorandum from the directorate of education, which stated that corporal punishment should be avoided. However, these memorandums are vague in that they do not provide clear directions to implementation of the ban. The participants have indicated that these memorandums do not mean much unless teachers are provided with clear instructions to enforce the ban.

About three-fourths of participants did not perceive mild spanking, caning and slapping as corporal punishment. According to an experienced elementary school teacher, “As long as punishment does not hurt students, it is not problematic. Punishment that results in students needing medical attention or missing schools should not happen.” Participants perceive that the ban is intended to regulate child abuse. They do not see mild spanking and slapping as a child abuse. More significantly, they do not view mild spanking as a violation of the ban. An experienced elementary school teacher commented:

Mild punishment to manage classrooms is not against any law. Teachers have always handled classroom management according to their needs. I do not think that this ban is intended to change our classroom management plans. The ban is only intended to prevent harms done to students by some teachers.

This teacher's statement represents the fact that teachers have traditionally been regarded as authorities on the classroom management. Decisions to use corporal punishment are left to teachers' discretion. However, teachers' sense of authority seems to be in direct conformation with the ban on corporal punishment. They are reluctant to approve the ban on corporal punishment because they are afraid that they could loose their authority in their classrooms. Teachers suspect that the ban will create a situation where students would begin to challenge their authorities.

Many teachers claimed that they use corporal punishment to prove their authority in classrooms. They fear that the ban would force them to give away an important tool— corporal punishment, which has been traditionally used to establish order in the classrooms. It appears that the teachers are in denial about the fact that corporal punishment has been taken away from them. Therefore, some do not acknowledge the ban that is antithetical to their stand. An elementary teacher said:

We have used corporal punishment to tech students to wear school dress, come to school on time and to finish their homework. Corporal punishment is needed to run our schools smoothly. How could we not use corporal punishment? You tell me what else is as effective as corporal punishment.

A middle school teacher said that, "Corporal punishment is a necessity to function as a teacher. School decorum could not be maintained in absence of corporal

punishment.” Many teachers spoke about necessity of strict disciplinary codes to maintain school decorum. According to a few, maintenance of school decorum translates into high achievement for the students. Students learn to be disciplined in their studies only when there is a strict disciplinary climate. The school decorum includes: expectations such as students will wear school uniform, complete their homework, maintain 80% attendance and speak in English.

Due to the long colonial legacy English speakers in India are seen as superiors (Desai, Dubey, Vanneman, & Banerji, 2009). Those who could speak in English are preferred over those who could only speak in their native language. Parents encourage their children to use English from the beginning. Some parents send their children to convent schools where English is the only medium of conversation. In such schools its typical to see signs such as “speak in English only”. In some places students could receive corporal punishment if they are caught using a language other than English. A private school teacher stated:

English is the only medium of conversation at our school. We scold those students who converse in any other language than English. We do such things because parents expect their children to be fluent in English. One of the reasons our enrollment is high is because of our English only policy.

Historically, teachers have relied on punitive methods to enforce the school decorum (Desai et. al, 2009). A few participants from private schools have indicated that their survival depends on the school decorum. Therefore, they use corporal punishment to maintain high attendance, or to attract students. A private school teacher said, “Our school has a reputation of a strict school. We could grow only if we maintain our image.”

Some teachers stated that corporal punishment is tried and tested on students and, that they would not give up corporal punishment unless they are assured that other tools of discipline produce similar, effective results. Although the law expects teachers to completely give up corporal punishment, few efforts provide support to teachers seeking effective alternates to corporal punishment.

Educators believe that corporal punishment could help them improve their reputation, as well as the image of their schools. Strict discipline by schools is desirable to many Indian parents in that strict discipline could help their children focus on studies. Some teachers have indicated that they have continued using corporal punishment to attract parents with such attitudes. Some public schools are also using corporal punishment to attract parents who believe that strict discipline could help their children score high in their exams. Teachers in such public schools believe that decision to use corporal punishment is part of their daily routine, and that the government should not interfere. A middle school teacher commented that, “Public schools do not want to be labeled as slackers. We want to show the parents that we could help their children prepare for the exams. Corporal punishment is most effective tool to teach students. So, we use it frequently. I think the government should be happy that we are trying to function like private schools.”

While some participants have indicated that they use corporal punishment to protect or improve their public image, some said that they use corporal punishment due the lack of resources. An elementary school teacher said, “It is impossible to manage your class when you have 60 students in the classroom.” Many teachers discussed the fact that large class sizes have resulted in the continued use of corporal punishment. A

young urban high school teacher who has 58 students in his class claimed that, “If I do not use cane then students would hurt each other or, perhaps they would hurt me. The only reason they are in their seats is because, I have a cane that I could use if needed.”

Teachers, primarily in public schools, have continued using corporal punishment due to the large class sizes. The large class size prohibits them from effectively building teacher-student relationships because teachers could not attend to individual students. Those students who need extensive help with lessons feel frustrated. Additionally, teachers feel frustrated by their inability to help students because some teachers indicated that large class sizes prevent them from running their lessons effectively.

Teaching jobs in India have become demanding with a push from the government to implement creative lessons. However, the large class sizes make it hard for teachers to run their lessons. Some teachers suggested that corporal punishment helps them maintain an orderly classroom to run their lessons. Several teachers indicated that they use corporal punishment informally to control students in their overcrowded classrooms. The informal rules and their implementation are more important to teachers that conform to their natural system perspectives (Selznick, 1959). Teachers are concerned about education of their students rather than implementation of the ban, and are ready to ignore the ban as long as it helps them teach their classes.

Some teachers indicated that they administer corporal punishment on select students. While high performing students might be spared or mildly punished, those students who do not perform well might be punished harshly for disruptions. An elementary teacher explained that, “Students who score high on the tests are excused for violations because they got a lot of things on their head.”

Another teacher mentioned that one of his top performers come to school late because he lives in a neighborhood that is out of the way from the school. This student is excused from tardiness because he is a high achiever. Interestingly, another student who lived in the same area as the students above punished frequently for lateness because he is not a high performer. As a consequence for lateness, a low performing student is asked to either pick trash or get spanked. When probed, the teacher said that, “This student is bad, he does not study and almost failed his last exam. He would not lose anything by spending half an hour picking up trash.”

As the previous paragraph demonstrates, the norms for corporal punishment are relaxed for those who perform well in their classes. However, students who do not do well in the academics are given no relaxation. An experienced high school teacher in an urban school said, “ There are only handful of students on our campus who are trouble makers and they keep failing their classes. I think they come to the school to create problems. We pick on such students and punish them.”

Students who do not perform well in their classes are seen as troublemakers. The heavy emphasis on the subject areas such as, math and science has led teachers to believe that high performing students could not engage in violating the order of school. An experienced middle school principal mentioned his experiences as:

There are only twenty students in our school who create problems. They come to school to make fun of teachers or other students. They have nothing to do with studies. They come here and create nuisances. We keep a close eye on those students. Sometimes we use physical punishment on them.

Many teachers in my sample also mentioned that they use corporal punishment with a handful of students in their classrooms. Usually, the same students regularly receive punishment for insubordinations or low academic performances. According to a female elementary school teacher, most of her students respond well to her commands. However, some of her students only respond to corporal punishment. She said, “When needed I use ruler to strike on students’ palm.”

Almost one-third of the teachers in my sample said that low performance in academics is a type of misbehavior, which, could be most effectively handled through corporal punishment. Teachers believe that the main function of school is to make students learn their subjects; consequence for not learning their subjects is punishment. An experienced male middle school teacher said, “Our duty as teachers is to teach and students’ duty is to learn. If we are performing our duties then students should also perform in their classes. We get disciplinary sanctions for not doing our jobs. Similarly, students get punished for not doing their jobs.”

Though, academic or behavioral reasons could lead to punishment, some teachers said that they ignore high performing students’ misbehaviors. An experienced high school language arts teacher mentioned, “ I do not punish my high performers for behavioral reasons because they study hard. Sometimes they could be mischievous but they are doing what they are supposed to do which is scoring high in their tests. Therefore, I ignore their misbehaviors.” Intriguingly, those students who routinely misbehave and perform below average in their classes are more likely to receive punishment for their misbehaviors. One of the experienced middle schools principal

stated, “ I do not expect a lot out of my low performers. I just do not want them to disturb those who come here to study.”

Occasionally, teachers use corporal punishment on high performing students to motivate them to perform well. A middle school math teacher illustrates his method as: “I spanked one of my brightest students because he was not performing well in the practice test for the math Olympiad. Although, he might have felt bad but he did not say anything because he wants to excel in the math Olympiad.”

Students who have learning issues are more vulnerable to punishment. An elementary school teacher who has a background in special education mentioned that, students with disabilities are more vulnerable to corporal punishment. Such students are generally perceived as lazy and unwilling to work hard in their classes. Thus, punishment is used to motivate them to work hard in their classes.

Students with learning issues are often undiagnosed and are not provided with special services because of the lack of the resources. Schools in Delhi have a large number of students whose needs could not be met in regular classrooms without appropriate accommodations or modifications (Shah, Das, Desai & Tiwari, 2014). Due to the lack of alternative schools, students with special needs attend regular schools. An elementary teacher mentioned that she suspects that one of her students is special need. However, the parents of that student assert that student is mischievous, not disabled. This teacher said that parents have asked her to spank their child if she does not do her classwork. She added, “That child might be a good fit in a special school. However parents do not agree to enroll her in a special school so she still attends our school”.

According to a 2011 report by National Commission for Protection of Child rights (NCPCR), students with special needs are punished more frequently than regular students. Parents and teachers perceive that special education students misbehave to avoid doing their work. Regular education teachers who are not trained to work with special need students use strict disciplinary strategies to make these students work. Some parents of special need students support strict discipline of their children. They spank their children at home and ask teachers to use spankings at school.

Some participants indicated that lack of resources and supports to work with intensive learning need students have led them to use corporal punishment. Furthermore, the lack of oversight and supervision had led them to believe that corporal punishment has no consequences. Due to the lack of regulation or supervision, some participants use the help of senior students to discipline younger students from lower grades. A high school teacher asked that the audio recorder be turned off for him to share the strategies that he uses with students. He said, “We have such a huge number of students in this school that we can not discipline them by ourselves. Therefore we ask senior grade students to discipline junior grade students. This strategy helps older students learn to be responsible. Moreover, it helps teachers focus on teaching.”

Theme 3: Threats from Media Persuade Some Educators to Follow the Ban

While nearly 80% participants disapprove the ban, the remaining 20% follow the ban primarily due to the threats form media. This threat entails fear of shame by media in public domain. Teachers view print, electronic and social media as a threat to their disciplinary practices. They have indicated that media has made corporal punishment

debatable and controversial. More specifically, teachers have indicated that multiple outlets of media have emerged as a threat because these media outlets have been spreading the news about the corporal punishment ban. A middle-age middle school teacher commented:

Students have access to a variety of news through [sic] the newspapers, websites and TV. These news sources discuss about implications of the corporal punishment ban. Students who have access to such news could complain against teachers. It is in our interest to avoid corporal punishment.

According to some participants, online news presents significant challenges for those who favor corporal punishment. One middle school teacher said, “Students know that in western countries where corporal punishment is outlawed, teachers do not use such practice. Therefore, they expect the same from us.” A teacher from an affluent high school commented, “Students browse through news websites from US and UK to learn about students’ right.” Another teacher claimed that, “Students have access to a number of online news sources that publish information about corporal punishment.” He added that these news sources have impacted the teaching profession in that teachers have to change their disciplinary strategies.

Many participants complained that media is biased against teachers because reporters only write about teachers’ mistakes; however, they ignore students’ responsibility towards teachers. Teachers view the media’s coverage of the ban as a propaganda against teaching community. Some indicated that, although, they do not trust media reports, their decision to refrain from corporal punishment are primarily influenced by media. According to an elementary school teacher, “Media always blows things out of

proportion. So, I cannot rely on their reports. However, I am concerned about my reputation so I do not use corporal punishment.”

Another elementary teacher said, “Media is portraying a picture as if teachers are enemies of students. However, they should praise teachers’ for doing such a difficult job with minimal resources. Corporal punishment is not the only thing that goes in the schools.” It appears that participants have questioned media’s role because they perceive that media is spreading negative news about schools. A middle school teacher connected her experiences with roles of media in this issue as:

The other day [sic] I was watching the local news. They reported a case of corporal punishment in our area where a 4th grade girl’s teeth fell off because of a slap by her teacher. I know the accused teacher from working at that school. So, I called her right after the news only to learn the reality that she slapped the student mildly and her already broken teeth fell off. She slapped the student to make her listen to the directions and not to hurt her. Even though the news channel did not tell the whole story, people trust media that the teacher in this news was a culprit. So, I recommend teachers that they should be vigilant about media picking up such news.

A few participants said that the media never tells the truth behind corporal punishment. An elementary school teacher said that news channels dramatize corporal punishment by teachers. A middle school teacher said that because of media, students are not scared of teachers anymore, which causes them to misbehave in schools. Many teachers accused the media of aiding to the growing students’ disrespect towards teachers. A middle school teacher said that students do not respect teachers because they

learn from the newspapers that teachers are using an unlawful practice. According to this participant, students do not listen to teachers anymore as corporal punishment has been taken away from teachers. A middle school principal said that the media is the biggest threat to teachers. He stated:

Couple of months back I read an article called “Brutality of government schoolteachers in Delhi”. The article had illustrated numerous examples of injuries to students caused by corporal punishment. They mentioned a teacher’s name from our school district. While, I know that teachers use punishment to make students realize their mistakes, media does not pay attention to the intention of corporal punishment. Why ruin my public image? I avoid corporal punishment as much as possible.

A few teachers stated that they feel a sense of threat when students refer to news reports to remind teachers that corporal punishment is not allowed. A high school teacher stated, “Students read the news and they use the internet so they are very up-to-date about the recent policies. Although, we have never told students that corporal punishment is banned, most of them know about it.”

A high school teacher said that electronic media has poisoned students’ mind by negatively depicting teachers because they are blamed for nearly every problem in education and schools. He also stated that media is the real threat and not the students. A middle school teacher who is known for his strictness in the school community shared the following incident:

Last week one my student showed me a video clip on some website. He said that the teacher who has used corporal punishment on students in the video might go

to jail. He had a wicked smile on his face while he was showing me this video. He was kind of warning me against the use of corporal punishment.

Some teachers indicated that corporal punishment is needed more than ever in this era of electronic media and social networking to prevent students from delinquency. Teachers would have used corporal punishment for students' engagement in delinquent activities prior to the ban. However, teachers do not use corporal punishment even for delinquent activities by the students because of the potential negative outcomes especially from negative news by the media. An affluent private school teacher mentioned:

Many of my students are on Facebook, which I think is an evil. Last week one of the 7th grade girls was caught with a stranger who she met through Facebook. I am very strict with these students. I think she deserves spanking. However, she is a spoiled brat. So, I did not spank her.

Some participants have indicated that they do not use corporal punishment because of Facebook. One of the main issues with Facebook appears to be the sharing of school related information. A private school teacher said, "My students have joined groups on Facebook. These students share things about the school and teachers on the discussion boards." Another teacher said, "Students write messages on each other walls and they openly use teachers' name." He said that students write things such as, "Teachers are mean at my school. Earlier I might have controlled these students' actions through spanking. However, my attitude right now is why bother with something like this, which can create more problems." A high school teacher said that students waste a

lot of time on Facebook instead of doing their homework. Many indicated that students share information about their schools, which affect their public image.

Another teacher said, “Students not only use Facebook but they shoot videos of the school related stuff and share them on YouTube which is very serious.” Teachers appear to be afraid of video clips on YouTube. The fact that public could see YouTube videos make some teachers nervous. Additionally, they worry that police could use these video clips against them as evidence for corporal punishment.

Teachers are attentive to restricting cell phones that could be used to make videos of teachers. However, a number of times students ignore these prohibition and make videos of teachers secretly. A middle school teacher said that she does not allow students to record anything from school. She shared her experiences as:

A student wanted to videotape the campus-cleaning project. However, I did not allow him to do so because, I was afraid that he would share it on Facebook or YouTube and people would start questioning whether [the] cleaning was related to punishment.

In addition to social media such as Facebook and You Tube, participants questioned the role of the TV and movies in context of the ban on corporal punishment. They sense that digital media platforms embrace the message that corporal punishment by teachers is a type of abuse. An experienced middle schoolteacher quoted, “Instead of learning from the family and parents, student are learning things from the TV and internet, which give them a message that punishment is type of abuse by adults.” An experienced female elementary teacher shared her opinion as:

The TV and movies have made our students aggressive. The violence in society has increased in recent years as a result of students' access to the violent and inappropriate things. Students are no longer innocent or naive. They will take revenge if you use corporal punishment on them.

Some participants stated that they worry if students' could be violent against teachers. A middle school teacher said, "My car was vandalized on multiple occasions because I am strict with the students." Another middle school teacher said, "Yesterday after-school students threw rocks at me. I could have spanked them this morning. However, I ignored their actions because they could go to police or media to complain about me and the school administration."

As the previous examples show, many teachers avoid corporal punishment to protect the positive image of their schools. Some indicated that they are afraid about police involvement; news about police involvement on campus gets spread quickly and could be picked up by media. A high school teacher said, "It might not be a good idea to involve police because then the media will publish articles about the school." A few teachers indicated that if media discovers that corporal punishment was used then they would not hesitate to accuse the teacher, or school, of abuse.

Some participants indicated that they are frustrated with the role of media in increasing negative awareness about the corporal punishment ban. Many have said that newspapers publish articles on students' suicide as a result of corporal punishment. Teachers, however, said that they could not be blamed for students' decision to kill themselves. However, many think that students' suicide after corporal punishment would

bring the blame to teachers so they avoid corporal punishment. An experienced middle school teacher said:

I read in the newspaper that a teacher was sentenced to jail for a student's suicide.

Although, I think parents are equally responsible for students' death, the blame will always come to teachers. This is how our media and press operate.

Some participants expressed that students threaten to kill themselves under influence of newspaper articles on students' suicide due to corporal punishment. A private school teacher said, "Students feel embarrassed after failing or scoring low on exams and they may try to commit suicide. However, the media might cite humiliation by teachers as a reason for their suicidal attempts." Another experienced co-education high school principal reported:

Last year one of our 10th grade girls failed her science test. Although, I could have easily punished her, I decided not to. She cried hard and said that she had no right to live. I got scared and kept her in the office all day. Later when her parents got back home after work then, I gave her a ride to her home. I spoke to her parents about the incident. That girl did not come to school for a week. But afterwards she was fine. I thank god that nothing bad happened. But if for some reason something bad had happen then media would spin this off as humiliation by teachers.

In addition to blaming media for increasing threats of students' suicide, teachers accuse the media of propagating false information about child rights. Media has been active in publishing articles on child rights. A high school teacher said, "Students get the impression that disciplinary sanctions by school authorities are violation of their rights.

Therefore they retaliate against teachers.” Some teachers have stated that media has too focused on children rights that they completely ignore teachers’ rights.

A number of teachers affirmed that media is ruining their reputation among students and parents. Teachers appear to be dissatisfied with news articles, which tend to blame them for problems in schools. An elementary school teacher said, “the news sources publish articles on the teachers’ use of corporal punishment that leads to physical and mental harm to students. However, these articles give very minimal explanations to circumstances that lead teachers to use corporal punishment.”

Teachers view media as a threat to establish their authorities in the classrooms. A middle school teacher explained this situation by quoting an example from his last school as:

A 9th grade student called [sic] 100 (a emergency police helpline like 911 in USA) for a spank by his teacher. Police came and threaten the teacher for using corporal punishment and did not say much to the student. Next day a local newspaper published an article. The article made it sound as if police has to come to school to stop violence against the students. This type of news is ridiculous.

Teachers perceive that the media has made their jobs difficult by blaming them for poor quality of Indian K-12 education. Furthermore they perceive that the digital media platforms have made their day-to-day job harder. For example, students’ use of social media to share school related information has led many teachers to stop using corporal punishment.

Chapter 5

Summary, Discussion, Recommendations, and Conclusion

I begin this chapter by summarizing the study and the major findings. Then, I draw some broad conclusions based on the themes and sub-themes that emerged in chapter 4. Furthermore, I discuss implications of the findings for the practice and policy. This chapter ends with directions for the future studies in light of the present study.

Summary of the Study

Corporal punishment has been widely used by teachers in Indian schools for centuries. However, in the last couple of decades this practice has become controversial. The first effort to ban corporal punishment occurred in 2000 when the Supreme Court of India ruled that corporal punishment should be banned in schools. As a result, some states such as Delhi started the process of banning corporal punishment by forming task forces. Nevertheless, most school districts ignored this judicial ban. In 2009, the Indian government passed the Right to Education Act (RTE). Sections 17 (1) and 17 (2) of RTE states that corporal punishment should be banned from private and public schools.

However, despite the judicial and legislative bans, corporal punishment still persists in Indian schools. For example, Indian newspapers regularly publish articles about corporal punishment in schools. Investigations by the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights confirm these reports. According to their surveys, nearly 75% of Indian schoolchildren received corporal punishment in the 2009-2010 school year.

Delhi is among the first few states in India that initiated the ban in their schools. However, a large number of instances of corporal punishment continue to be reported in

this state. Therefore, this study examined Delhi teachers' perceptions of corporal punishment by evaluating the extent to which they accept this ban, the ways in which the ban affects their disciplinary practices, and the reasons why corporal punishment still persists.

Few studies have analyzed teachers' perception of the corporal punishment ban in India. Thus, this study makes significant contributions to scholarship about teachers' adaptation and resistance to national education policies and how they respond to such policies' effects on their classrooms. My project also accounts for the critical role of local authorities in the effective implementation of national policies such as RTE. Since teachers occupy a powerful position in their communities they can help enact national policies or ignore them.

My theoretical framework primarily drew on Durkheim and Foucault's perspective on discipline and punishment. Applying Durkheim's (1961) theories to teachers' use of corporal punishment raises questions about the status of the corporal punishment in the Indian society at large. By applying Foucault's (1977) notion of modern society, we can begin to see how discipline is used to enforce social normativity. Pupil control theories (Hoy, 2001), natural system (Hoy & Miskel, 2005), and rational system (Hoy & Miskel, 2005) views also guided this study because non-western contexts differ in their expectations, definitions, and practices of normalcy.

This preliminary study used qualitative research design to understand teachers' perception of the corporal punishment ban in Delhi. More specifically, phenomenological approaches employing interviews were used to collect data to analyze the meanings teachers make of the corporal punishment ban. The sample included teachers and

principals from private and public schools in Delhi. The participants were selected based on a purposeful and convenient sampling method from 7 school districts in Delhi. The total number of participants in the study was 37 including 31 teachers and 6 principals.

The data collection method comprised of semi-structured interviews with participants of the study. The semi-structured interviews with 37 participants were recorded and selected portions of interviews were transcribed. Notes were also taken during the recording of interviews to clarify the backgrounds and experiences of the participants. Additionally, informal observations were also conducted to gain a more complete understanding of the context.

The data analysis was done using thematic analysis as suggested by Braun & Clarke (2006). More specifically, the data analysis process used 6-phase process to find the key themes from the semi-structured interviews with the participants. For the initial phases NVivo software was used to code the data. The data analysis process was concluded by creation of a thematic map to study the results. Based on the thematic analysis, the data revealed the following findings:

1. Over 80% of the participants do not approve the ban on corporal punishment. The remaining 20% either approved or showed indifference towards the ban. About 5% respondents expressed their discomfort with breaking the corporal punishment law. Few respondents expressed moral and ethical issues regarding the use of corporal punishment.
2. Teachers have ignored the ban because they adhere to certain socio-cultural norms that allow corporal punishment on children. Personal experiences, cultural beliefs and social factors dominated most of the interview responses.

3. Teachers perceive the ongoing educational reforms as a threat to their authority on the school discipline issues. They cited certain changes in the examination system such as continuous and comprehensive evaluation (CCE) pattern as having a negative impact on the school climate.
4. Lack of resources and assistance have been cited as the main reasons for the continued use of corporal punishment. Large class sizes and limited training to deal with behavioral problems in classes have affected the implementation of the ban.
5. Teachers saw the growing awareness about the laws on corporal punishment via media as a threat. They express the need to control students through means other than corporal punishment to minimize the effects of negative image of teachers portrayed by media.

Discussion

The findings of this study conforms the literature on socio-cultural basis for corporal punishment. The implementation of the ban on corporal punishment primarily depends on the cultural orientation of individuals; personal experiences and belief could predict administration of corporal punishment (Garland, 1991; Hyman, 1990; Straus & Yodanis, 1996; Youssef, Attia, & Kamel, 1998). Additionally, this study also finds that Indian teachers use corporal punishment to maintain order in under-resourced classrooms. Furthermore, some teachers are espousing alternative methods of discipline due to increased media's attention to corporal punishment.

Cultural Aspects of Corporal Punishment

The findings of the study suggest that only small number of teachers felt an obligation to abide by the corporal punishment ban. Specifically, nearly 80% of the

participants disapprove the ban on corporal punishment. The high disapproval rate of the ban is interesting for two reasons. First the data were collected in Delhi, which is one of the first few states that initiated the ban on corporal punishment. Second, teachers in both public and private schools disapprove the ban, which differed from my assumption that more public school teachers would disapprove the ban, teachers in both public and private schools disapprove the ban.

My data demonstrates that teachers still view corporal punishment as an effective tool, decades after the Supreme Court's ruling that corporal punishment should be eliminated from Indian schools. Furthermore, teachers' approval of corporal punishment has not changed even with the RTE guidelines. The findings of the study conforms that teachers' approval of corporal punishment has remained high even with the efforts to ban corporal punishment by school districts in Delhi. The data contradicted my assumption that public school teachers would approve corporal punishment more often than teachers of private schools. Instead, the study found that both private and public school teachers approve use of corporal punishment on students.

Teachers' approval of corporal punishment is surprising in light of Delhi government's pro-education stance and decade long effort to ban corporal punishment. The Directorate of Education (DDE), Delhi has indicated that their vision is to provide child-centered education for overall development of the students. Furthermore, the directorate of education stated its mission as education in an environment free from fear and discrimination. However, teachers have either limited or have no knowledge of the corporal punishment ban implemented by DDE or their school districts. Some of the

interview participants claim that they have continued using corporal punishment because they have not been given memorandums describing the ban on corporal punishment.

Some teachers indicated that district education officers refer to the ban on corporal punishment during meetings. However, they are not provided with clear instructions and details of the ban. Some teachers perceive that the ban on corporal punishment is suggestive. In response to a question about the degree to which teachers have been provided with the details of the ban, a middle school teacher said, “Our education officer has said that teachers should avoid corporal punishment. However, he does not say much about it.” As this teacher’s statement demonstrates, even education officers have limited information about the ban.

Education officers’ and teachers’ partial knowledge of the ban stem from absence of a description of the ban within policy framework of RTE. Section 17 (1) and 17(2) of RTE states that corporal punishment should not be used in schools. These sections, however, do not specify what constitutes corporal punishment or examples of corporal punishment in schools. The lack of clarity related to corporal punishment has led to a wide discrepancy in interpretation of the ban. The participants have limited information because the policy document has not written in way that could help education officers, principals and teachers understand the ban clearly.

Furthermore, the ineffective dissemination of the information on the corporal punishment ban by school districts has also attributed to the partial knowledge about the ban. Participants have not been made aware about the implications of the ban by districts. The consequences of using corporal punishment are unknown. News sources confirmed that since the ban, only handful teachers have faced legal consequences for using corporal

punishment. Thus, many teachers believe that they would not face legal consequences for using corporal punishment.

Some teachers have exhibited defiant attitudes toward the ban on corporal punishment in schools. Even though they are aware about the ban, they do not approve it. There are several factors that contribute to the teachers' defiant stance towards the ban on corporal punishment. Some of factors are: 1) Teachers do not consider mild spanking a type of corporal punishment. 2) Teachers do not consider corporal punishment could harm students. 3) Teachers use corporal punishment as a symbolic tool for classroom management purposes.

Teachers have indicated that the positive outcomes of corporal punishment outweigh negative outcomes. In their experiences, the negative outcomes of corporal punishment are minimal that could be ignored. According to a high school teacher, "a spank has almost no effect on a child. And it helps me run the class smoothly by giving a warning message to other students in the class."

Teachers have been using corporal punishment for classroom management purposes (Chiang, 2009). Teachers in both private and public schools approve the use of corporal punishment. The reasons for corporal punishment in private schools vary a little from the public schools. In private schools, teachers use corporal punishment primarily to motivate students to perform high on tests. In public schools, teachers use corporal punishment to maintain orderly classrooms.

With only 5% teachers stating legal-ethical reasons in reference to corporal punishment, the ban on corporal punishment has not created a situation where teachers perceive corporal punishment as a legal-ethical issue. Without explicit knowledge of the

policy on the corporal punishment ban, teachers do not perceive a legal-ethical dilemma, in regards to administering corporal punishment.

Teachers are concerned about students' performance and maintaining orderly classrooms. Additionally, teachers are concerned about the school decorum and respect from the students. Teachers believe that they need to educate students in ways that fulfills their schools' mission. They are ready to disregard the ban on corporal punishment as long as use of corporal punishment helps them with their schools' missions—students' performance and orderly classrooms.

Nearly all participants discussed corporal punishment as a cultural norm. The word culture dominated every single participant's responses. In fact, this word accompanied expressions about duty wherever they appeared. However, all participants did not derive their sense of duty to culture in the same way. For example, some participants seemed motivated to act dutifully to culture when their own personal experience involved corporal punishment. Other's expressed a duty to culture because of their discomfort and resistance to new technologies. In other words, keeping culture 'the way it is,' seemed to reinforce their actions. Furthermore, some participants' perception of culture was related to negative attitudes towards certain cultural groups within India. For example, punishing students who belonged to traditionally lower castes or religious minorities was necessary to "protect culture." As one participant described:

The Sikh students do not take pride in the school because their families were victims of 1984 riot. They are only interested in the scholarships provided by the schools. We have to be strict with these students to teach them what it means to

be educated. It is our duty to bring them to mainstream of the society through education.

Participants perceive that society has assigned them with duties to educate students to comply with instructions and make them take pride in their schools. As a result of education, children are expected to learn to maintain discipline and order. Teachers use corporal punishment to maintain social order on the similar principals as the larger society. Corporal punishment in schools has been used to maintain the social order such as a caste system (Raj, 2011). For example, students from lower caste are punished more often than those from a higher caste (UNICEF, 2009).

Given that nearly every teacher in the sample experienced corporal punishment and some have some bitter memories of corporal punishment as a student, one might think that they would be sympathetic towards their students and refrain from using corporal punishment. However, upon reflection of their own experiences of receiving corporal punishment and their lives as adults, teachers concluded that corporal punishment is effective. Teachers believe that their students might not like corporal punishment while in schools, but they would realize the importance of this discipline later in their lives.

Teachers' beliefs are influenced by the families of the students, who advocate for corporal punishment in many situations. Families' approval of corporal punishment diminishes the effective implementation of policies such as the ban on corporal punishment. It is imperative that parents are made aware about the policy. Policy on corporal punishment ban in schools would not be effective unless parents and families approve it (Zolotor & Puzia, 2010). The collectivist tendencies promote teachers and

parents to work together to continue the traditional practices on child rearing and education.

Teachers have expressed that the utility of corporal punishment has been tried and tested through intergenerational use (Kaur, 2011). Moreover, corporal punishment has made their jobs easy. Therefore, they perceive corporal punishment as a way of life. A few participants maintained that in times when education system is constantly evolving, they want to adhere to a disciplinary tool that has always given them results. The fact that nearly 80% of the participants disapprove the ban on corporal punishment could be attributed to teacher's perception of effectiveness. They simply believe that they are utilizing tools of discipline that has been used for generations.

Many teachers expressed their experiences with technology integration in the classroom as a reason to use harsh disciplinary methods. In last decade, Indian classrooms have changed. Technology has become integral part of classroom instructions. A number of schools in Delhi have smart boards and other audio-visual gadgets for classroom instructions. The teachers are expected to change their teaching style from lecture to student-centered project based activities. Young teachers who are more apt with technology in the classrooms perceive technology as an asset. However, older many teachers who are not comfortable with technology view this as a challenge to their teaching and perceive the need to control students using corporal punishment.

Systemic Effects on the Effective Implementation of the Ban

Although teachers play a major role in the implementation of the ban, systemic factors such as a lack of resources and support also affect continued use of corporal

punishment (Miethe, & Lu, 2005; Payet, & Franchi, 2008). This finding that not only human factors, such as teachers and administrators, but also resources have affected the ban is noteworthy. Teachers are considered as agent of change. However, their environment plays a significant role in their decisions to change. For example, many teachers have indicated that large class sizes have an effect on their decision to use corporal punishment.

Recent initiatives to make education accessible to everyone have increased school enrollments (Muralidharan, 2012). Student populations in Indian schools are on rise. However, the school infrastructure in many, especially public, schools have failed to keep up with the enrolments. Some of the school buildings were built during colonial era and have no space to add extra room. In many of those schools, the science labs are used as classrooms. In some schools, staff rooms are turned in the classrooms to accommodate students.



Figure 4: Lack of Resources Leads to Teachers' Sense of Loss of Control

Some public school teachers reported that they teach 60 or more students in a typical classroom. A high number of students in classrooms affects the teacher-student relationships and the personal attention becomes challenging. Teachers complain that they do not know their students well enough to help them succeed. Furthermore, matters

(e.g. disruptions, side conversations) that could be dealt by redirection and communication seem more challenging. Thus, teachers use the easiest and quickest tool—corporal punishment—to prevent students from disrupting classes. One of the middle school teachers explained this as, “Corporal punishment is quick and easy. I can spank and just go on with my lesson.”

To make teaching jobs innovative and easy, the Indian government is trying to integrate technology in the classrooms (LaDousa, 2007). In some schools, such as “Kendriya Vidyalaya” classrooms are getting equipped with modern technology. However, technology does not mean much unless it is properly integrated in the classroom instructions. In fact, it could create discipline problems as indicated by a high school teacher, “Computers in the classrooms are unnecessary distraction.”

There are only a few opportunities for teachers to learn about technology integration in their lessons. The findings of this study suggest that teachers perceive that school districts take minimal initiative to train teachers on using technology in their classroom instructions. Many complain that the presence of technology such as smart board has not helped them with instructions. Furthermore, teachers reported that they are not convinced if technology could make their work easy. They would like for somebody to demonstrate that technology could make their jobs easy as expressed by one elementary teacher as, “With so much of new technology, I feel like I do not have control over my classroom.”

Teaching jobs have become increasingly challenging in India (Kingdon, 2007). In addition to teaching classes, public school teachers have to fulfill peripheral duties such as help with census, polio eradication, general elections and scholarship schemes (Kaur,

2011). These tasks require time that teachers could have used for planning lessons; teachers do not get enough time to prepare for their classes. Their unpreparedness leads to disruptions in the classrooms as students notice if teachers are unprepared to teach. Such teachers feel a sense of loss and use corporal punishment to regain the control. For example, a high school principal stated that, “One of my math teachers uses corporal punishment to minimize disruptions resulting from lack of his preparedness.”

Teachers in both private and public schools have a sympathetic attitude towards corporal punishment. Although the findings suggest that there are no significant difference between use of corporal punishment in private and public schools, many private school teachers perceive that public school teachers use corporal punishment frequently. Some private school teachers defended teachers in public school by stating that poor conditions of the public schools lead teachers to use corporal punishment. For example, some of the public schools do not have adequate space in the classrooms. Students in some of these classrooms are asked to sit on the floor. The chances of students picking on each other or disrupting the class are higher in such classrooms, which increases the probability of corporal punishment.

Schools in Delhi are expected to follow guidelines provided by DDE or MCD to develop their code of conduct books. However, this study found that many schools in the sample do not have school wide behavioral plans. Additionally, teachers do not have a clear classroom management policy or expectations for students. Teachers rely on their personal experiences to deal with misbehaviors (Chiang, 2009; Ember, & Ember, 2005; Wong, 2011; Zolotor, & Puzia, 2010). Inconsistency in ways of dealing with

misbehaviors is widespread. Teachers use corporal punishment on ad hoc basis as needed.

In some private schools, teachers might display students' expectations in the classrooms wall, the enforcement of the expectations are not done properly. Even though some private school principals require teachers to create classroom discipline policy, principals ignore "no physical punishment" policies if corporal punishment is used to motivate students to study. These teachers are clearly instructed to follow the directives of school management or principals to prepare students to score high on the exams. This finding of the study aligns with rational system perspectives by Hoy & Miskel, (2005) and Scott (2001), which explain that schools as organizations are designed to attain specific goals. School leadership (e.g. principals) ignores corporal punishment as long as it used to help students attain higher scores.

The social pressure to prepare certain group of students for prestigious careers (e.g., engineer, doctor) has been a primary cause for much corporal punishment in private schools. Teachers use corporal punishment due to the parental pressure of training students to obtain high scores on engineering and medical entrance exams. Highly competitive entrance examination system requires students to excel in their studies (Verma, Sharma, & Larson, 2002). Parents and teachers work together to pressurized students to work hard for these exams. In many private schools, teachers are clearly instructed by principals and teachers to prepare students to score high on tests with strict discipline.

The findings of the study conform to the literature on socio-economic reasons for corporal punishment as discussed by authors such as Morrell (2006), Ember & Ember,

(2005) and Gershoff et al. (2010). Education is seen as the most viable way to move up the social mobility ladder or to retain the higher status. Those who hail from higher socio-economic status use discipline to preserve their class. Low socio-economic class, however, use discipline to improve their economic viability. Parents from low socio-economic classes perceive that strict discipline could lead their children to study hard for the entrance exams; that in turn will change their economic status. They do not want to miss out on the chance to improve their families' economic status by persuading their children to score high on the tests even if it requires use of corporal punishment.

Given corporal punishment has been part of the normative practice; teachers make certain assumptions regarding its utility as a teaching tool. Some teachers in the study indicated that they are influenced by behavioral approach. Behavioral approaches suggests that human behaviors are learned; new behaviors could be learned and could replace all ready learned behaviors (Maag, 2001; MacKenzie et al., 2012). Teachers use corporal punishment as a negative reinforcement immediately after misbehaviors. They believe that immediate physical pain, as consequences would minimize the chances of misbehaviors.

Teachers believe that learning should be about correcting (Garland, 1991). Furthermore, teachers assume that what students know is based on negative memories. A high school teacher said, "I believe that pain motivates students to learn." The idea is that pain as a consequence of the misbehavior would help students deter from such actions. A number of teachers validated corporal punishment through their personal experiences.

Only a few teachers indicated that they were trained to use strategies of classroom management. Most admitted that they did not learn about classroom management

strategies during their teacher preparation programs. Furthermore, there are very few opportunities for them to learn about classroom management strategies. Many indicated that they use corporal punishment as the primary classroom management tool.

Many participants have not been trained on alternatives to corporal punishment. They complained about lack of training opportunities or workshops to learn about the ban on corporal punishment or alternatives to corporal punishment. A middle school teacher said, “In workshops they only talk about curriculum. However, more training opportunities on how to handle students’ misbehaviors would be very useful.”

The changes in curriculum and standard-based teaching have taken a center stage in Indian education system (LaDousa, 2007; Muralidharan, 2012). Under RTE, Indian government’s priority is to train teachers about the child centered and activity-based learning. Teachers reported that nearly all workshops they have attended in recent years were on curriculum. Through workshops and training programs, teachers are given instructions on using new evaluation system and curriculum. The changes in curriculum and evaluation system have affected the classroom rituals and routine (Singhal, 2012). Teachers are skeptical about the changes and feel frustrated to give up corporal punishment. Moreover, in this era of changes, they are adhering to corporal punishment that has helped them manage classrooms for years.

Rationale of Teachers Following the Ban

Some teachers indicated that they are refraining from corporal punishment because they fear digital media platforms. More specifically, they are afraid that media’s reports on corporal punishment could damage their reputation. These teachers are afraid

that students would complain against them. In last 2 years several complaints have been filed against teachers (NCPCR, 2011). In some complaints, media has been used as evidence and teachers have apologized to students and families for using corporal punishment. Teachers perceive that complaints against them and, apologies to students and families would undermine their authorities.

The top-down hierarchical model in the classrooms lead teachers to believe that student' complaints could affect the harmony and structures of their classrooms. The classroom procedures are prepared in collaboration with principals. Teachers in India do not generally include students in creating procedure for the classrooms. Adult-centric views of these teachers create a notion that students could not question teachers' decision to use certain procedures. Students are expected to follow teachers' decisions. Complaints against teachers may signify a complaint against teachers' authority and teaching styles. Thus, some teachers avoid corporal punishment to maintain their authorities.

Media and digital social platforms seem to be influencing teachers' decision to abide by the law on corporal punishment ban. Students talk about school related matters on social media such as Facebook. Some of the comments on these sites could be directly related to certain teachers. Students talk about personalities of teachers on these public websites. Additionally, students bring their personal examples to demonstrate in case they were not treated fairly by teachers. A few teachers seem to be afraid by the fact that they could be discussed on these social networking websites if they use corporal punishment.

Some of the social media discussions pages have quoted corporal punishment as a violation of the child rights, which has deterred teachers from using corporal punishment. A few teachers have indicated that they do not use corporal punishment because they are afraid that their examples could be used to demonstrate how corporal punishment is a violation of child rights. A middle school teacher said, “ I wonder if some of the things they discuss on corporal punishment could be about me.” Teachers appear to be paranoid about some of the online conversations on child rights.

Indian newspapers have published articles on corporal punishment on a regular basis. Reports on teachers getting suspended from their jobs as a result of corporal punishment appear to be scary to a few. These teachers believe that it is too risky to use corporal punishment. Additionally, newspaper articles talk about public outrage over students’ death or injury as results of corporal punishment. Teachers have said that they refrain from corporal punishment to save their public image.

Recently, the news channels have been regularly broadcasting news on corporal punishment. During their panel discussions on effects of corporal punishment, news channel use names of school districts where corporal punishment is frequently used. A few teachers refrain from corporal punishment to avoid attaching bad name to the school. The television news has been instrumental in spreading news on the ban on corporal punishment.

Some of the news channels show video clips of teachers using corporal punishment on students. Occasionally, students via their cell phones shoot these videos. Although, many teachers in the study indicated that “no cell phone” policy is in place in their schools, students secretly use their cell phone during school. At times, students use

their cell phones to record teachers during classes. The videos on teachers using corporal punishment are then released to news channels.

Some teachers understand that nothing is private in a digital age. Therefore, they abide by the law to protect their public image. The public debate on the utility of corporal punishment has led teachers to believe that corporal punishment has become controversial. Moreover, they are realizing that it has not remained a classroom issue. Their use of corporal punishment could draw attention from students, as well as media.

Discussions and controversy about corporal punishment in India has led a few teachers to reconsider the utility of corporal punishment as a teaching tool. This study found that corporal punishment has been discussed in the staff rooms and in meetings. Some teachers hint that they have learned about the negative effectiveness of corporal punishment through discussion and conversations. Thus, they are adopting tools other than corporal punishment to teach students under believe that corporal punishment could harm students emotionally. A middle school teacher said, “Students becomes revengeful after corporal punishment therefore, I do not use corporal punishment.” A few teachers talked about low esteem as an issue because of corporal punishment.

While majority of the participants did not speak about ethical or moral issues related to administration of corporal punishment, a couple of them indicated that due to moral and ethical reasons they avoid corporal punishment. These teachers feel that it is unethical to punish students when they know that corporal punishment could have harmful effects on students. They said that corporal punishment could not be justified given it could harm the students.

Recommendations

This study analyzed teachers' perception of the corporal punishment ban and the ways in which they make sense of this ban. This study asked some critical questions regarding the impacts of the educational reform initiatives such as RTE that has mandated corporal punishment ban and, its effect on the teaching practices. Furthermore, this study also asked questions if teachers were offered training and workshops to educate them about the educational reform policy that bans corporal punishment. However, there are more critical questions to ask.

Recommendations for Further Research

First, I recommend that future research should examine effects of the educational reforms such as changes in the evaluation system that affects teaching practices. Researchers should investigate how teachers are adapting to the educational reforms policies. Furthermore, they should examine the challenges teachers are facing in changing their teaching methodology to accommodate the policy requirements. One way this could be done is by comparing and contrasting the policies of various countries across the world and coming up with a trend to see if policies are being copied from other countries and if these borrowed policies are creating issues in bringing changes.

Second, I recommend that in addition to understanding teachers' perception, researchers carry out studies to understand parents' and students' perception of corporal punishment. Researchers should investigate corporal punishment at home settings, which in turn has implications for the corporal punishment in the schools. Investigation should also examine if there is a correlation between corporal punishment at home and school.

Future studies should investigate parental attitude towards use of corporal punishment. If possible, students should be included in studies to gain understating of their perception of corporal punishment by teachers and parents; and to examine if corporal punishment is viewed differently at home and at school. Including parents, teachers, and students as participants would provide a complete understanding of use of corporal punishment as a disciplinary or teaching tool.

Third, one of the potential avenue for future research is related to limitations of phenomenological approaches used in this study. Although, this study provides an account of teachers' perception of corporal punishment, it does not dig deep into analyzing sociocultural norms to understand the lived experiences of the participants. Therefore, I recommend that future studies use ethnographic approaches at one or two school sites to understand the phenomenon by examining teachers, students, parents, administrators, and policy makers lived experiences. Ethnographic methods would not only help understand perceptions but these methods would provide holistic accounts based on the participants' practices, routines, rituals, communication and language.

Fourth, given a number of participants have used Hindi in their interviews; researchers could develop a future study to analyze responses linguistically. Even those interviewees, who chose to be interviewed in English, have used Hindi words to explain certain concepts. Future research could study the ways in which these words and phrases reveal spiritual and cultural belief system. Analyzing these Hindi transcripts through a linguistics perspective would provide additional perspectives to the findings of the current study.

Recommendations for Policy Makers

This study finds that RTE lacks a clear definition and directives for the implementation of the ban on corporal punishment. As a result, educators' interpretation of laws varies across different schools. Therefore, I recommend that the policy makers define corporal punishment more clearly. Furthermore, the policy makers should issue transparent guidelines for implementing the ban to avoid misunderstanding and perplexity among teachers, principals and education officers. The policy makers could reach out to educators directly by emailing them about the ban or by mailing them individual letters addressing the ban. The efforts should also be made to understand the challenges at the ground level that are affecting the effective implementation of the ban.

The ban on corporal punishment went in effect in 2009 with the enactment of the RTE. Even though the ban is in its 5th year, there has been no formal evaluation by the government to assess the situation at the ground level (e.g. schools). Therefore, I recommend that the government evaluate the policy to learn about the obstacles and roadblocks to the ban. One way of ensuring effective evaluation is by including educators in the evaluation of the ban. I recommend that policy makers open their doors for educators who would like to participate in the evaluation of the ban because such participation could potentially lead to successful implementation of the ban.

This study found that district education officers are first among all educators that are told about the policy change by the government. District education officers in turn notify schools about the policy changes. However, there are a lot of discrepancies in the ways information about policy change reach to teachers and principals. District officers send information in forms of one-page memorandums that do not provide detail

information about the policy. I recommend that the government ensure direct and clear communication with teachers. Furthermore, the government should maintain an ongoing communication with teachers and principals.

This study found that teachers have not been trained on alternatives to corporal punishment. Therefore, I recommend that government should ensure that teachers who are the actual implementers of the ban are trained about classroom management and discipline strategies. The government should also ensure that the school districts provide opportunities to the teachers to attend workshops and training programs to learn about implications of using corporal punishment on students (Brar, 2013). Schools could accomplish this by designating a day of the week as professional development day. For example, in many schools across the United States teachers attend staff trainings on Fridays.

Many teachers claimed that their decision to use corporal punishment is shaped by their struggle to control overcrowded classrooms. Furthermore, in some public schools teachers have to deal with lack of space, furniture, and teaching learning materials on daily basis. Therefore, I recommend that government address infrastructural needs of the schools. One way of dealing with infrastructural issues is by allowing schools to apply for grants based on their needs. To avoid misappropriations districts in collaboration with DIE or MCD could monitor expenditures.

The study indicates that media has been instrumental in influencing those teachers who abide by the law. Deb & Mathews (2012), found that knowledge about child welfare legislation was high among participants of a northeastern Indian state due to the wide media coverage. Therefore, I recommend that the government leverage media to

implement the ban on corporal punishment effectively. This might entail print media and digital media running the campaigns to aware the public and educators about the ban on corporal punishment. Social media could also be used to popularize the ban.

Conclusion

This study concludes that the successful implementation of the educational policy depends on compatibility between local and national socio-cultural norms, teachers' attitudes and beliefs towards the policies' objective, and the availability of resources. In particular, three main conclusions could be drawn from the study.

First, teachers believe in use of traditional tools of discipline such as corporal punishment to educate students. Teachers view corporal punishment as an essential tool in their traditional responsibility on education of children. Teachers have continued to resist or disregard the ban under the fear that it would affect the Indian traditions on educating students. They have ignored the ban to retain cultural beliefs on education and discipline (Chiang, 2009).

Second, educational reforms have not addressed teachers' needs to effectively implement the ban. The poor infrastructure, large class sizes, minimal resources and absence of training program continue to affect the implementation of the ban. Additionally, poor articulation and dissemination of the policy framework on the ban has created a state of misperception of the ban among educators.

Third, it is plausible to think that in coming years more teachers would abide by the law under influence of digital media platforms. Media such as TV, Newspaper and Social Media (e.g., Facebook, Blogs) would play a crucial role in spreading the

awareness about the corporal punishment. Study about effects of corporal punishment on children would be picked by media and could stir public debate (Anderson, & Payne, 1994). The public debate on humanistic ways of dealing with student misbehaviors would increase rate of acceptance of the ban on corporal punishment.

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Appendix A: Interview Protocol

1. Can you tell me about your background? Why did you want to be a teacher?
2. What is a great day at the school and what is a bad day at the school?
3. Do the teachers and the students get along well here? Have there ever been problems with the students?
4. Do teachers here ever have discipline problems with students? What's that like?
5. What kinds of procedures/practices teachers typically take for discipline problems? Probe: Are they formal or informal?
6. What about corporal punishment or paddling? Has that ever been an issue here?
7. When you were in school, what was your experience like? Did teachers use the paddle?
8. I heard that paddling continues in many Indian schools. Is this something that parents support? Probe: Is this your experience?
9. Have you experienced changes in disciplinary policies at the school? Probe: What do you think of changes?
10. As you might be aware that corporal punishment is banned under the Right to Education Act, 2009. What is your opinion of the ban? Probe: What is changed?
11. Have you gotten any guidelines from the school district or the ministry about the ban on corporal punishment? Did you attend workshop/professional development?

Appendix B: Informed Consent

Title of Project: Teachers, discipline and the ban on corporal punishment in Delhi's schools

IRB # 44204 (Date of approval: 10/11/2013), The Pennsylvania State University

Principal Investigator: Ashwini Tiwari
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1. Purpose of the Study: This study will conduct exploratory research on teachers' perception of corporal punishment. Furthermore, it aims at increasing our understanding about practices of school corporal punishment in India in the context of the India government's decision to outlaw corporal punishment in private and public schools under Right to Education Act.

2. Procedures to Be Followed: You will be asked to answer interview questions for not more than 60 minutes. In addition, I would like a school tour at the end of the interview. This interview will be audio recorded and the file will be stored in a personal computer with password protection. Only the research team will have access to such documents. This file will be destroyed 5 years after the publication of the article. I would also like a copy of your school policies on student searches and/or student discipline.

3. Discomforts and Risks: There are no risks in participating in this research beyond those experienced in everyday life. Some of the questions are personal and might cause discomfort.

Some questions address situations that schools or principals haven't thought about it. These questions touch issues related to intrusive searches and school's policies.

4. Benefits: The benefits to you include being able to reflect on your own school search policies and practices and possibly making modifications.

5. Duration/Time: I am looking forward to one interview with 8-10 questions. The time required to answer those questions is a maximum of 60 minutes. In addition, I would like a tour around the schools. Your participation is voluntary and you can stop the interview at any time.

6. Statement of Confidentiality: Your participation in this research is confidential. The data will be stored and secured in personal computer in a password-protected file. The Pennsylvania State University's Office for Research Protections, the Institutional Review Board and the Office for Human Research Protections in the Department of Health and Human Services may review records related to this research study. In the event of a publication or presentation resulting from this research, no personally identifiable information will be shared.

Pseudonyms for principals and schools will be used. All data will be password secured and stored in a personal computer that is password protected.

7. Right to Ask Questions: Please contact Ashwini Tiwari 240-602-3798 with questions, complaints or concerns about this research. You can also call this number if you feel this study has harmed you. If you have any questions, concerns, and problems about your rights as a research participant or would like to offer input, please contact The Pennsylvania State University's Office for Research Protections (ORP) at (814) 865-1775. The ORP cannot answer questions about research procedures. Questions about research procedures can be answered by Ashwini Tiwari at akt150@psu.edu. If I share your results or write an article with these data, I will use pseudonyms for the names of principals and schools and for quotes or coding purposes.

8. Voluntary Participation: Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Refusal to take part in or withdrawing from this study will involve no penalty or loss of benefits you would receive otherwise.

9. May the researcher(s) retain the recordings for future use in presentations and publications?

____ I agree that segments of the recordings made of my participation in this research may be used for conference presentations, publications, education and training of future researchers/practitioners, and shared with other researchers not listed on this application.

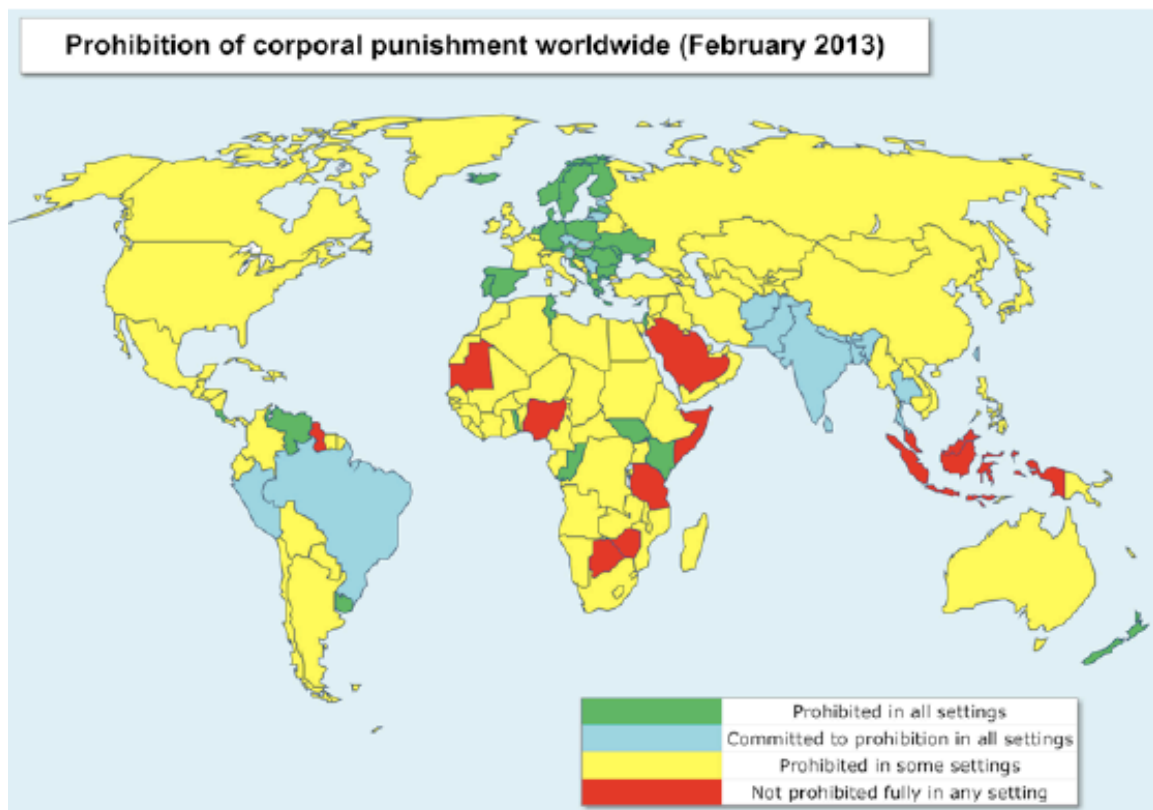
____ I do not agree that segments of the recordings made of my participation in this research may be used for conference presentations, publications, education and training of future researchers/practitioners, and shared with other researchers not listed on this application.

You must be 18 years of age or older to consent to take part in this research study. Please indicate if you agree to take part in this research study and the information outlined above. You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Yes

No

Appendix C: Global Status of Corporal Punishment⁵

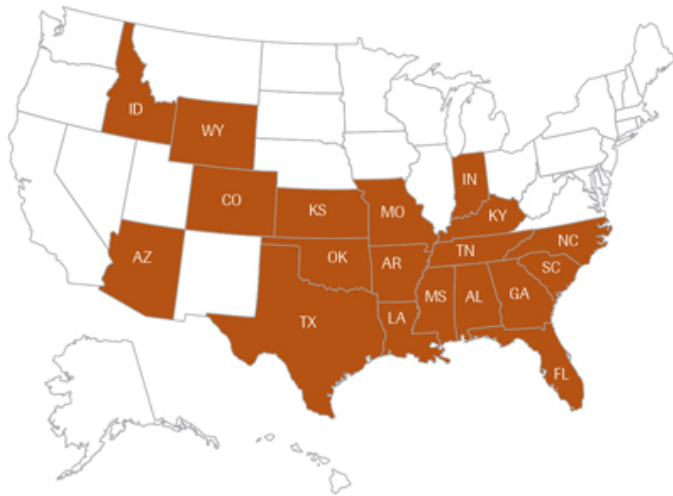
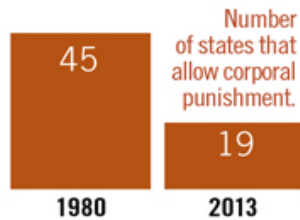


⁵. Source: Global Initiative to End Corporal Punishment of Children

Appendix D: School Corporal Punishment in United States

DISCIPLINE AT SCHOOL

223,190 schoolchildren were subjected to physical punishment in U.S. schools in the 2005-06 school year (latest available data).



SOURCES: Center for Effective Discipline;
U.S. Department of Education

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EDUCATION

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<i>Concentration: Educational Leadership and Comparative International Education.</i> (Anticipated graduation August 2014) |
| 2005 | MA | University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States
<i>Concentration: Special Education.</i> |
| 2001 | BA | Osmania University, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, India
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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 2012-14 | Assistant, Educational Leadership Certification Program, Penn State University, PA |
| 2011-12 | Research Assistant, Educational Leadership Program, Penn State University, PA |
| 2007-11 | Certified Special Education Teacher, Roosevelt School District, Phoenix, AZ |
| 2006-07 | Instructional Specialist, Tucson Unified School District, Tucson, AZ |

SELECTED PUBLICATION AND PRESENTATIONS

Shah, R., Das, A., Desai, I. and **Tiwari, A.** (2013, December), Teachers' concerns about inclusive education in Ahmedabad, India. *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*. doi: 10.1111/1471-3802.12054

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Tiwari, A. (2013, October). *Corporal ethics: Morality, punishment and ethical training for K-12 educators*. Paper presented at 18th Annual Value and Leadership Conference, Oklahoma City, USA.

Tiwari, A. (2013, March). *Corporal punishment in cross-cultural context: Applying ethical paradigms to a court case from India and United States*. Paper presented at Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Conference, New Orleans.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

- Reviewer for Current Issues in Education and International Education Studies (IES)
Reviewer for American Educational Research Association Conference, 2014
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