ON THE (COUNTER) NORMATIVE SPECTRUM OF EVERYDAY SCHOOL LIFE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE DUSCIPLINARY EVENTS OF A PUBLIC SCHOOL

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ABSTRACT

This article seeks to question the present day proliferation of discourses related to undisciplined conduct of pupils in schools. Such propagation will be situated, within a foucaultian framework, against the backdrop of complex institutional and socio-historic realities constituted by multiple demands of government of the school subjects. It starts out with a preliminary overview of brazilian academic production concerning the disciplinary theme, and spanning over the last three decades. This leads to a problematization of the theoretical and methodological orientations of research regarding the (counter-)normative in everyday school life. Consequently, the results of a thorough investigation on disciplinary events occurring within a five year period (2003-2007) at a Sao Paulo public high school provide the empirical framework. Finally, the article proposes some analytical approaches to the problem at hand. Most notably, insisting on the fact that if the disciplinary complaints seem, at first, sympathetic to a kind of erosion of the classical modus operandi of schools, upon a second glance it becomes clear that they tend to constitute surfaces of emergence of subtle modes of control of both the teacher and student conducts, in tune with governmentalization processes acting in contemporary society.

DISCIPLINE • PUBLIC SCHOOLS • SCHOOL RULES

N Brazilian educational studies it was only during the 1990s that school discipline/indiscipline gained the status of a specific research theme. It should not be imagined, however, that disciplining did not engage the teaching

imagination before then; see, for example, some of the historical references: Moraes (1922), Arbousse-Bastide (1944), Faria (1945), or Lima (1976). But it was at the end of the 1980s that Brazilian publications specifically devoted to it began circulating in a sporadic way.

With three surveys of the national bibliographic production (attached) available in books, articles in periodicals and dissertations/theses in the first case the inaugural work was the selection organized by Arlette D'Antola in 1989, entitled *Disciplina na escola: autoridade* versus *autoritarismo* [Discipline in school: authority vs. authoritarianism]. As for articles in periodicals, the main reference in the period dates from 1982 and was written by Carlos Eduardo Guimarães in the journal *Didática*, under the title "A disciplina no processo ensino-aprendizagem" [Discipline in the teaching-learning process]. With regard to dissertations the first work, defended at the Pontifical Catholic University (PUC) in Rio de Janeiro in 1979, is by Carlos Vasconcelos Farias, its title being *Indisciplina escolar: conceitos e preconceitos* [School indiscipline: concepts and prejudices] .

On the whole, such surveys provide evidence, at the outset, of exponential growth in interest in the theme. In the case of the books (Appendix 1), 31 works were published between 1989 and 2009, 22 of them by Brazilian authors and 7 translations. The Portuguese production of the theme also has to be emphasized, which, although not included here, is sometimes referred to in national studies, particularly the work of Maria Teresa Estrela (1992). Among the books selected there is also production that is not strictly speaking considered to be academic, but that, because of its dissemination(having been referred to a few times) was included in our survey; such is the case of Tiba (1996), Antunes (2002) and Werneck (2005).

With regard to the profile of the works they can be generically subdivided between the majority that are practical and prescriptive in nature, a few that are analytical and a third hybrid tendency that aims to bring together the two previous types. There is also the case of some dissertations and theses that have been converted into books: Laterman (2000), Freller (2001), Rebelo (2002), Oliveira (2005), Ratto (2007) and Souza (2008).

Another distinctive characteristic of Brazilian bibliographic production is the absence of any conceptual approximation or of a more attuned dialogue between works. Multiplicity and dispersion are, therefore, the main marks of the approach to the theme, albeit with some occasional recurrences. The same can also be undoubtedly said about the articles, theses and dissertations.

Among the articles published in periodicals in the educational area (Appendix 2) 13 scattered references were recorded in the 1982 to 2009 period. Comparing this amount to the volume of books and theses/dissertations produced in the same period, what is very apparent is the low frequency of the theme in the academic literature that was examined. A different situation, however, is seen in the production of graduate work in Brazil between 1979 and 2006. Overall, 88 Master's degree dissertations and 14 PhD theses on the theme of school discipline/indiscipline were defended (Appendix 3).

Preliminary analysis of the material in question reveals a broadening of the boundaries in the approach to the theme. Despite studies being concentrated on the educational perimeter (85 pieces of work out of 102); the theme became the center of attention in other fields of knowledge, such as psychology (9 pieces of work), linguistics (4), sociology (2), history (1), nursing (1) and social services (1).

As for the chronology, there were 26 pieces of work in two decades (1979-1999), while in the subsequent 7 years, between 2000 and 2006, there were 76 new studies, which represent three quarters of the total production. It was also in 2000 that the first two PhD theses on the theme were defended, both in the University of São Paulo, by Luiza M. Y. Camacho at the School of Education, and Cintia C. Freller at the Institute of Psychology.

With regard to the 38 institutions that were home to the research production, almost two thirds are public universities (24, in total), responsible for 70% of the overall production, the most prominent being the Paulista State University (*Unesp*) (12 pieces of work), the University of São Paulo (*USP*) (9) and Unicamp (5). Together, the three institutions accounted for a quarter of all the research. If we add to this amount the 11 theses defended at PUC-SP, the State of São Paulo is responsible for more than a third of the investigations.

Also, it is not part of our objectives to carry out a meta-analysis of previous studies, as Luiz Carlos Faria da Silva (1998) intends doing when he proposes classifying and producing a critique of the explanatory framework used in what he identifies (arbitrarily, it has to be said, according to all sorts of disparate textualities) as being the two groups to be found in

¹ Information about dissertations and theses taken from the Thesis Bank of the Coordinating Office for the Training of Personnel with Higher education (*Capes*) was only possible up until 2006, since data on the *Capes* website have not been updated. Other pieces of work were also included that were not considered there and that were obtained form a survey of the Lattes Platform of the National Council for Scientfic and Technological Development (*CNPq*).

investigations into the topic until then: studies of a psychological nature (especially those associated with the theoreticians of the movement known as The New School²) and those with a critique of power, generally inspired in the theories of Foucault.

For our part, we chose to look at the emergence of studies on the theme of discipline within a social, historical and institutional framework that is permeated by multiform demands for "governing", as Alfredo Veiga-Neto (2005) understands it, school existence, in such a way that these demands may be given new meaning, to the point where they become the occasion of interpellation of the very teaching tasks that incite them and never an expression of the theoretical and conceptual over determinations that are exogenous to them.

In order for it to be possible to operate a certain denaturalization of the normative spectrum in contemporary school practice, our working hypothesis, therefore, deals more with problematizing the discursive proliferation of student (in)discipline than recounting it. This is because this multiplying movement seems not just to reiterate, but also consecrate a strong demand for disciplining school lives that, from our point of view, is highly questionable.

In similar fashion to the conclusions arrived at by Ana Lúcia Silva Ratto, who carried out an extensive piece of investigative, Foucault-inspired work into the narratives in incident registers of the initial grades in a primary school, it is necessary to reiterate the ethical and political premiss that:

...if we assume the perspective that discipline and indiscipline are daily occurrences produced by the school, from the specific configurations acquired by power relations and by the type of logic that in each context institutes both, it is possible to denaturalize them and remove them from an inevitability dimension (2007, p. 256).

If the intention is to examine school normativity and its analytical complexity it will be necessary to bear in mind that the eagerness of the period in disciplining students, not only promotes an anticipated discredit in relation to childhood and youth, but also obliterates the principle that the pedagogical work may well put aside crushing the attitudes of the newest students in favor of the cultivating their intellectual skills. As a result, we refrain ourselves

² New School is one of the names (other terms, perhaps more appropriated in describing this movement is Active School or Progressive School) given to a movement of renewal of the teaching which was especially strong in Europe, America and Brazil in the first half of the twentieth century.

from assuming that one would be a *sine qua non* condition of the other's existence. Instead, it is possible to conceive that between the normative and the intellectual dimensions, there isn't a relationship neither of interdependence nor of over-determination. We examine this issue by way of an example.

The results of an expressive study carried out by Carnoy, Gove & Marshall (2003),³ in which teaching practice in Brazil, Chile and Cuba is compared; emerge as sounding board for such a mentality. Basing analysis on the observation of math lessons given to third grade classes in different school units, the researchers compose a painstaking statistical picture of teaching conditions in each country, using multiple variables, which include everything from use of lesson time and detailing the actions undertaken in class to student involvement in activities. One of the incidental variables used is called "degree of discipline". This tells us that "both in private Chilean schools, but particularly in Cuban schools, the level of discipline at some moments was extraordinary, which was clear from the fact that teachers rarely had to ask for silence" (p. 17). In the Brazilian context, the researchers found:

Sometimes Brazilian classrooms were fairly chaotic, particularly when compared with the groups in Chilean private schools and Cuban schools. Brazilian classrooms were also characterized as having a large degree of student freedom, which was evident in the way in which students approached the teacher physically, or even interrupted her to ask questions (CARNOY, GOVE, MARSHALL, 2003, p. 18).

In order to examine possible reasons for this discrepancy with the other two countries, during the study the researchers raise some suppositions, but without managing to prove them, this not being among the foremost objectives of the investigation. Discipline levels might be related to teaching performance, to the cultural background of the student, to the size of the class, to the age band of the students, to family support, to nutritional quality or finally, to permissiveness in daily teaching relationships. At the end of the text the authors reveal the criteria they used for evaluating the aforementioned level of discipline in the classroom. An observation instrument was used that varied according to the following categories:

³ In 2009, the book *A vantagem académica de Cuba* [Academic advantage in Cuba] by Martin Carnoy was published, in which discussions regarding the research are detailed.

Low (lots of children talking out of turn, not keeping quiet when asked to by the teacher, getting up and walking around the classroom and playing around generally, with the teacher repeatedly asking them to go back to their places and to keep quiet, etc.).

Moderate (some children talking out of turn or walking around the classroom, with the teacher not always being immediately obeyed).

Good (few cases of children talking, playing, walking around the classroom, and quickly obeying the teacher when she asks them to stop).

High (children are very quiet, or discussions are disciplined and the teacher does not need to ask for silence etc.). (p 31, in italics, our emphasis)

As can be immediately deduced the notion of discipline used in the study agrees entirely with a canonical understanding of school uses and customs. School discipline refers to a virtuous harmony between teacher and student steps, resulting in temperance, concord and obedience; in short, order. It is therefore assumed that every practice that deviates from such a pattern would tend to be interpreted as something to be combatted or suppressed.

As far as concerns judging teaching duties (which is inherent to any type of investigation into a certain "reality", regardless of the hype of interpretation of the more or less "scientific" content of the events under examination) the study of Carnoy, Gove & Marshall seems to reiterate a type of school *doxa* that is as generalist as it is reductionist, according to which the quality of school work, allied to the idea of progress, is directly proportional to a strict ordering of behavior in the classroom. Discipline, therefore, means a competence to be cultivated by professionals, which in the case of the Cubans is already in a well-developed state, in the case of the Chileans, under development, depending on the case, and for Brazilians is incipient.

Now, beyond the significant differences that exist between disparate realties (certainly predictable, even if one is dealing with school units in the same country), research of the scope of that of Carnoy, Gove & Marshall (2003) seems to remain prisoner of an argument trap, when what is really in discussion is the (contra)normative spectrum of daily school life: its results manage to describe general scenarios but fail to grasp its generative movements, much less problematize them.

This gives rise to the fact that any analytical comparison of the disciplinary spectrum of a particular school practice demands an approach that is directed at the specifics in play,

without which a fertile terrain appears, which José Mário Pires Azanha accurately calls "pedagogic abstractionism", i. e., the

...fickleness of describing, explaining or understanding real educational situations, ignoring the specific determinations of their *concreteness*, to stick only to general "principles" or "laws" that in their abstract scope are apparently sufficient to take account of the situations focused upon (1992, p. 46).

The concrete dimension of school duties needs to be paid attention to if one wants to achieve a more realistic and perhaps less uniform view of the practices and relationships that occur and that, strictly speaking, are always unique and idiosyncratic. Having outlined this theoretical and methodological direction we now present the results of an exploratory study we carried out into the disciplinary fabric of a specific school institution, with the express intention of scrutinizing what was empirically produced when students actions understood as being undisciplined were placed on the agenda.

ABOUT THE (CONTRA) NORMATIVE SPECTRUM OF DAILY SCHOOL LIFE

The institutional context investigated is that of a public secondary school located in a middle class district in São Paulo (city), which has a stable organizational profile: an appropriate infrastructure, a well-defined policy and teaching project and an active teaching staff and professional team. There are six secondary school student groups a year (two for each grade), each of which has on average 185students, divided equally as to their gender. The typical clientele of a Brazilian public school is marked by social, economic and cultural diversity.

As for the choice of secondary education as the field of investigation, this is the school niche that had the highest rate of disciplinary occurrences: those actions considered to be dysfunctional and/or destructive of the regular functioning of the classrooms or of the school establishment itself, which requited that those involved be sent to the technical authorities (especially for educational guidance). Therefore, as the object of our analysis we chose the registers of occasions involving transgressions of school order over a five-year period: 2003 to 2007.

The reason for carrying out a longitudinal study was due to the wish to understand the development of happenings from a broader perspective of time than those usually employed in similar investigations, which are generally limited to compact periods of time. The initial work of the study was, therefore, to convert scant information (there was no supporting

occurrence register, but records were kept by the educational guidance area) into a common format and, subsequently, the ordering of the data in accordance with three theme categories: frequency, those involved and type of occurrence.

As far as concerns the number of events there is a slight variation in the volume of occurrences in the first four years, while in the final year they almost tripled. Whatever the reasons for such, the swing in occurrences over the five years analyzed, stands out. It cannot be concluded, therefore, that there is an upswing in disruptive acts, but merely a variation, given that over the time there are alternating decreases and increases in the number of occurrences.

Specifying the occurrences by grade (Table1), yet again we have an unstable scenario, principally as far as concerns the first two grades, the comparison of which is similar in 2003, dominant in the first grade in 2004 and 2005, and balanced over the last two years. The third grade is initially the same as the other two, but in subsequent years it accounts for considerably fewer incidents. It may be supposed that this is an institutionalization effect regarding a certain self-consented appearament of students' behaviors.

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCURRENCES BY GRADE AND PERIOD

Secondary school grade	Period				
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
First	35%	62%	68%	44%	46%
Second	33%	27%	15%	50.5%	43%
Third	32%	11%	17%	5.5%	11%
Total number of occurrences	100	90	106	79	274

Another data set, also relating to the frequency of disciplinary occurrences, refers to the dates of the occurrences (Table 2). Overall, the first school semester seems to be more turbulent, despite the fact that over the last three years there was a significant variation between the two semesters. Nevertheless, in 2003 and 2004 there was a balance. Yet again nothing definite can be concluded here.

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCURRENCES BY SEMESTER, BY PERIOD

Semester		Period					
Schiester	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007		
First	42%	52%	80%	63%	79.5%		
Second	58%	43%	12%	34%	19,5%		
No information	_	5%	8%	3%	1%		
Total number of	100	90	106	79	274		
occurrences	100	90	100	19	274		

An intriguing set of reflections can be taken from the data relating to those involved in disciplinary events, whether the as authors of the same, or the targets of complaints.

As for the authors (table 3), we can see that he complaints originated both from teachers as well as the school's administrative staff (guidance, management, inspectors, secretaries and canteen), proportionally. Here we have an indication that many of the disciplinary setbacks did not necessarily occur during lesson-time, since a large number of them were reported by the administrative staff that are responsible for managing areas outside the classroom. There are still marked disparities as to how transgressing students are dealt with. While some teachers were the authors of dozens of complaints several of them made no complaint at all.

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE DISTRUIBUTION OF OCCURRENCES BY AUTHOR AND PERIOD

Author of the	Period of time					
occurrence	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Teachers	42%	54%	45%	47%	49,5 %	
Staff	46%	43%	36%	47%	50,5%	
Students	11%	3%	19%	6%	-	
Parents	1%	1%	-	-	-	
Total of occurrences	100	90	106	79	274	

Another significant fact indicates that it is not only school agents who are responsible for complaints, but also the students themselves, particularly in 2003 and 2005. They can ask for steps to be taken not only against school colleagues, but also against certain teachers. This is perhaps a sample of a sort of demand of an ample disciplining which is based on determined teachers' actions that are considered unfair or unreasonable.

Here it might be deduced that there is a growing (contra) normative regulation in daily life that is also occasioned by those who are the constant object of complaints.

As for the targets of the occurrences (Tables. 4 and 5), striking evidence emerges: in half the cases, on average, the complaints pointed to a specific student, but could equally be extended to a group of students, generally two or three, but sometimes more. One particular deed, in fact, involved all students in the class.

TABLE 4
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES RELATING TO THE TARGET, BY PERÍOD

Torget of the accurrance	Period					
Target of the occurrence	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Students individually	51%	58%	42%	44%	61.0%	
Students in a group	42%	38%	53%	56%	39.0%	
Not students	7%	2%	2%	_	_	
Not determined	_	2%	3%	_	_	
Total number of	100	90	106	79	274	
occurrences	100	90	100	19	2/4	

TABLE 5
TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES WITH STUDENTS AND THE PERCENTAGE NUMBER INVOLVED IN THE PERIOD

Students	Period				
Students	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
involved in occurrences	73	71	106	79	129
Total*	185	185	185	185	185
Percentage	39%	38%	57%	43%	70%

^(*) on an average of 6 student s' classes annually

If we take into account the universe of 185 students, on average, we see that four in every ten were involved in disciplinary episodes in 2003 and 2004. The number rose to 60% in 2005, returned to the previous level in 2006 and finally increased to 70% in 2007. Can one suppose this is an escalation? Right at the outset it has to be clarified that the vast majority of

these students were the subject of just one or two occurrences. The record holders for being sent for disciplining were four students in 2003, six in 2004, six in 2005, eight in 2006 and twelve in 2007 (in the latter case, perhaps because of the expressive increase in occurrences in this particular year).

So far we have dedicated ourselves to describing the flow of disciplinary actions in a general way, i.e., without discriminating the happenings involved. As it will be shown, the events can cover a wide range of activities spread out from daily life maintaining little resemblance to each other. This set of behaviors that is considered to be punishable were here categorized in the following way: 1. Rule violation; 2. Improper attitudes; 3. Conflicts between students; 4. Conflicts between student(s) and teacher(s) or administrative staff; and 5. Damaging property.

FIGURE 1 CHARACTERIZATION OF THE OCCURRENCES

Rule violation	Document adulteration/destruction; late for school, getting into the class or returning to it; absence of work material; truancy; eating in class; damaging school material or that belongs to others; delay in returning to the class after authorization to leave it; excessive number of absences from school; external interruption of the lesson without authorization; not doing homework; not returning to the lesson after authorization to leave it; leaving the class without authorization; smoking; the use of sound equipment or of cell phones in the class; use of alcoholic beverages.
Improper attitudes	Abstaining from activities; threat of nudity; activities foreign to the class; embarrassing, unreasonable or aggressive pranks; singing in class; talking at the same time as the teacher; not paying attention; not complying with agreements; lack of interest; sleeping in class or in other areas; shouting; interfering with activities; ironic questions; refusal to comply with a request or order from the teacher; rude or ironic replies; swearing; mockery.
Violent acts	1) Conflicts between students: physical aggression; verbal aggression; threat of aggression; embarrassment; racial discrimination; being hostile; humiliation; insults; throwing objects at another person; provocation; 2) conflicts between student(s) and teacher(s) or staff: offensive behavior; humiliation; insults; 3) damaging property: damaging physical installations or furniture; drawing graffiti on furniture or walls.

It is obvious that the last three items refer to situations involving violent acts. The category "Improper attitudes" covers actions that, broadly speaking, affect the general field of incivility, while rule violation describes making a mockery of current school rules.

A precaution as far as concerns the type of occurrences immediately implies differentiating between notions of incivility, indiscipline and violence. This is because the

three words are frequently amalgamated under the same semantic and pragmatic mantle of disciplinary problems. Over and above being a linguistic ambiguity or formal defect, the three words seem to be frequently understood as having a similar causal root, or as if one were dealing with a progressive succession: from indiscipline to incivility and from the latter to violence. There is no reason for it to be so in our opinion.

According to Bernard Charlot (2002), incivility refers to precisely the conduct that is opposed to the social rules of peaceful coexistence (of civility, generally speaking). That is why it would not necessarily constitute an affront to operational norms (understand, working rules) in a particular school context, since these are changeable, are isolated and unstable. For example, an execrable action in a certain context may be tolerated or even encouraged in another. Incivility and indiscipline, therefore, point to different contra-normative levels of school relationships.

A similar demand for conceptual distinction occurs with notions of violence and indiscipline. In the words of Marília Pontes Sposito, the former could be synthesized as "every act that implies the breaking of a social nexus by the use of force" (1998, p.60). Despite the recurrent apprehension that these are connected or interdependent phenomena it cannot be assumed that violence and indiscipline have similar features and neither do they have a common causality, since disciplinary setbacks are defined not by the use of force, but only by conduct that is deemed to reverse the normative conventions in use.

Once the distinctions between the three concepts are reminded, the notion of indiscipline would be restricted to be regulated by the regimental order in a given institutional framework or, at worst, as its invalidation. More specifically, undisciplined acts mostly rely on violating the operational and coexistence rules that are used as guidelines, whether because of their excessive obscurity or rigidity, or because of their implausibility, or even their ineffectiveness (Aquino, 2003, 2007).

In a way that is contrary to a major part of the bibliographic production that defines school indiscipline in the light of a certain isolated, theoretical meaning, we here adopt a concrete and, in our opinion, sufficiently elucidatory definition: it is a set of micro-practices that transgress school protocols (without counting the reasonableness, or otherwise, of the latter), whose effects are immediately felt in the teacher-student relationship.

A careful look at the type of occurrences within the context surveyed allows us to draw some relevant conclusions (Table 6). The most evident conclusion refers (yet again) to the impossibility of defining a stable and regular scenario of the disciplinary occurrences that took place there. On the contrary, a type of continuous variation seems to set the cadence of the normative march of daily life, by means of which acts of indiscipline, violence and incivility alternate day by day, with disparate incidence and intensity.

TABLE 6
DISTRIBUTION OF THE TYPE OF OCCURRENCE BY PERIOD

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Violence	13%	7%	29 %	30%	5%
Incivility	31%	58%	40%	36%	46%
Indiscipline	56%	35%	31 %	34%	49%
Total number of occurrences	100	90	106	79	274

Most of the events are divided into rule violation and improper attitudes, particularly in 2003, 2006 and 2007, the years in which violent incidents were less frequent. Among the rule violations the most frequent, by order of appearance in the registers, are: truancy; absence of work material; being late for school, going into class or returning to it; not doing homework; leaving the class without authorization. Among the improper attitudes, on the other hand, are: the refusal to comply with a request or order of the teacher; an embarrassing, unreasonable or aggressive prank; talking while the teacher is talking; creating an obstacle to activities; abstaining from activities.

We therefore have a fairly reliable picture of those common actions that are reputed as being responsible for upsetting school activities to the point of them becoming reason for being sent for punishment. This is a fairly trivial set of actions that, on the one hand, circumstantially reject operational rules in the strict sense of the word and, on the other, harm the expectations of a type of predetermined coexistence within the classroom. It has to be said, however, that by means of such actions students exercise the same old spoofs and refusals that have been known for so many years: spoofs and refusals that certainly form part of school ritual and that, in the final instance, constitute the prerogatives of the student place, bearing in mind that every norm presupposes some level of refusal or indisposition. Why, then, do they persist as expedients to be avoided, or more drastically, punished?

A situation not very different occurred with episodes that involved some modality of violence. Although they reached expressive levels in 2005 and 2006, accounting for almost a third of all annual registers, 2007 (the year with the largest number of occurrences) had the

lowest level in the entire five years: 5%.

By order of frequency in the registers, these violent acts are distributed irregularly and refer for the most part to conflicts between students themselves (especially physical and verbal aggression and threats), followed by cases of damage to property (14 occurrences in the 5 years surveyed), and finally some rare episodes involving conflicts between student(s) and teacher(s), or administrative staff. In this latter item, during the whole period no more than a dozen occurrences were registered, which were restricted to verbal aggression, involving affronts to and the insulting and humiliation of the agents.

Having configured the data we can initially conclude that daily life in the school surveyed is, to a certain extent, a successful model of classic disciplinary order. They are a set of relatively trivial actions that, on one hand, rejects circumstantially the stricto sensu, and on the other hand breaks the expectations of having a specific type of social interaction in the classroom. In short, nothing of insurgency or disruptiveness appears to have happened under the school sun we investigated, to the point that we are witness to some type of deterioration of the practices or relationships there established.

ANAYTICAL APPPROACHES TO DISCIPLINARY COMPLAINTS

In discourses on contemporary education there is unquestionably a direct association between prevalent images related to school clientele and the image of indiscipline and/or of violence. This is an association according to which certain dissonant habits on the part of students have been gaining a position of centrality in the difficulties of the teaching profession.

In the twenty years since the first collection (D'Antola, 1989) and the last work published on the subject (Vasconcellos, 2009), the allegation has been reiterated that one of the main marks of contemporary school life is of an infinite number of disciplinary violations, the administration of which has become the keynote of the work of teaching and, by extension, one of the central reasons for the much acclaimed occupational 'wear and tear' of the teaching profession, most frequently by education professionals linked to elementary and secondary school teaching, but also by infant school and higher education teachers.

It is, therefore, certain that the complaints of professionals seem to echo the equally recurrent allegation that new generations find themselves prejudiced, or even incapable of facing up to their civilizing task, which, according to such complaints, is inherent not to the intellectual foundation of school activity, but above all to conserving its centuries-old habits

that are embedded in the demand for obedience, respect, decorum, etc.

While, on the one hand, our investigative journey in no way allows us to conclude that the relationship between the school context and its young protagonists is marked by harmony, extension and concert, on the other hand, it has to be also admitted that we are faced with a clearly prosaic situation, when compared with the frequently catastrophic images of student behavior today. In the school-field surveyed students seem to act in a very much more orderly and calm manner than they are normally vaunted as behaving. In short, between the rhetoric of attack and the concrete and practical reality there is a considerable distance.

This said, the results of our investigation revealed themselves to be unusual given that they indicated an institutional daily life dotted with (and never over-determined) a set of small offenses that little resemble the hyperbolic image one has of schools that are sometimes hostile and sometimes disruptive. No trace of the degradation of institutional practices and of the relationships that support them was witnessed.

It might be counter-argued that this conclusion clashes with the customary allegations of the school agents themselves, if we take into account, for example, the exponential expansion of the disciplinary occurrences in the final year of the school investigated. How can one put into perspective such an argumentative discrepancy when we look back at the path we have traveled thus far?

In our opinion, the profusion of disciplinary complaints seems to be presented as the effect of a subtractive belief on the part of older generations of the alleged growing complexity of the task of educating in the present day, which frequently lapses into a refrain that preaches the existence of a pronounced school crisis caused by conflicts between its protagonists.

If, strictly speaking, the predicated crisis and conflict have become the arbitrational filters (whether empirically or theoretically) of the institutional and civil atmosphere of Brazilian schooling we must point out the imprudence of their indiscriminate use, since the evidence seems to contrast greatly with the usual apprehension of a supposed erosion (particularly within the public context) of the quality of school practice and school relationships caused by disciplinary events.

Notwithstanding the recurrent allegation about the spread of animosity, disrespect or apathy on the part of students, such complaints, when looked at from another angle, paradoxically seem to point to a type of normalizing triumph of contemporary school

practices, substantiated by the ambition of a long-lasting management of behavior and the final destinations of the lives in play, through the standardization, not only of gestures but above all of their underlying intentions.

Expanding this analysis perspective, current school life seems to be increasingly governed by prescriptions of a normalizing ilk, which open up a complex of ever more diffuse strategies for controlling the conduct of others, now in its most recondite and abstract dimensions: the "social administration of individuality", according to Thomas Popkewitz (2000, 2001), or "government of the soul" for Nikolas Rose (1998, 2001, 2001a).

As far as concerns the normative spectrum of daily school life, in our view this is to locate it in the register of the governmentalization processes in operation currently (Aquino, Ribeiro, 2009), which are responsible for an increasingly more concentric and widespread march of activities, whose intention starts being the consensual conformation of school populations, covering both the multiplicity and singularity that are characteristic of them.

Governmentality, in Foucault's theoretical diapason, refers to the type of ethical political reality that has been in play in social institutions from the mid-18th century, by means of which, on the one hand, the living conditions of the population are regulated and, on the other, the existence of its individual components is disciplined. Totalization and individualization, therefore, begin responding to a single process (Ó, 2003, 2005, 2006). That is why at this exact point governmentality consists in articulation between "technologies *per se*" and technologies that have "domination over others", in the words of Michel Foucault (2004). Add to this the fact that, according to Veiga-Neto (2000), school practices fulfill the role of articulating both technologies, like an empirical hinge.

Sa far as concerns the purposes of this article it has to be admitted that disciplinary complaints seem initially to be in solidarity with a type of ripping up of the classic school *modus operandi*, then later point precisely to an irruption of a subtle means of controlling not only the steps of students, but also of the professionals, both of whom are converted into a population niche like any other, thus responding to a flattening of school specifics in favor of a normalizing turnover that is common to other social spheres.

In this sense classrooms differ little in their ordinary activities from other similar social practices, all united in favor of a common governmentalizing mission: that of constructing a type of individual who, bound up in the performative illusion of self-government on various fronts, proves nothing other than a voluntary yielding to certain

power/knowledge regimes in the social space.

As can be deduced without much effort, contemporary daily school life seems to be gradually being converted into a messianic machine for correcting and improving things and people, by activating an infinite number of mechanisms for subjection and the productive control of existences. This is a sophisticated machine that continues operating in strict harmony with the maximum imperative of the modern age: to educate/discipline.

From Saint Augustine to Alain, from Comenius to Makarenko, from Kant to Gramsci, from Durkheim to Dewey,⁴ almost all those who at some time studied the educational task had occasion to comment on the inevitable correlation between education and discipline. One of those who to a certain extent expressed the modern teaching spirit based on the idea of discipline seems to have been Freinet, when he proposes that "there is only disorder when there is a failure in the organization of work, when the child is not kept busy with an activity that responds to his desires and his possibilities" (apud Estrela, 1992, p. 21).

In the assumption of the French pedagogue therein seems to reside the master-key of modern disciplinary ingenuity, in which constantly keeping students busy is both the starting and finishing point; and not only their bodies, but also their souls, as incarnate in the "desires and possibilities" of each one. Here we are dealing with an individual whose task is to learn and self-govern himself, who will live in the school arena and no longer be a mere student. A similar finding had Veiga-Neto assert that:

...well before functioning as an apparatus for teaching content and promoting social reproduction the modern school functioned (and continues functioning) like a great factory that manufactured (and continues manufacturing) new forms of life. To the extent that education molds us precociously and broadly, we start seeing those molds imposed on us as natural ones (2003, p. 108).

Indeed, a large part of the teaching discussion from modernity to the present day seems to have focused on a fundamental aspect: the search for a conformation that is as edifying as it is infallible to the experiences of the very youngest. By removing them from a potentially harmful minority that would destroy them, educating them comes down to the

⁴ A theoretical, educational picture of the disciplinary theme in philosophical and eduactional thinking is offered by Estrela (1992) and Chamlian (2000). Franco (1986) also brings up the thinking of Makarenko and Gramsci that articulates the disciplinary issue.

obstinacy of fashioning their future existence, by attributing to them a sense of moving from a supposed condition of vulnerability and insufficiency, of incapability, in fact. From this comes the ultra-reformist ambition of school action today that, as António Nóvoa (2009) points out, is materialized in missions and content "within the framework of an image of school as an institution for regenerating, saving and repairing society" (p. 50-51).

It is undeniable that the last few decades have witnessed an explosion of the attributes of education professionals. New dimensions have been added to their habitual expertise, which is not a substitution of functions but adds to them. From the political and administrative spheres to theoretical scope, via public opinion, a type of diffuse multivalence attributed to education professionals seems to be hovering over them.

Enveloped by a utilitarian spirit, which seems to clothe the task-driven image that is nurtured by what should be practiced in schools, a demand for the extensive teaching of students that is capable of covering everything from the use of the body to the vicissitudes of the senses and the waywardness of conscience is sanctified. From this aspect it would possible to teach or prevent almost everything, if not everything.

School action is seen, therefore, to be imprisoned in a network of multiple projects, with a view to irradiating a healthier, more conscious, more participative and more productive life. This means that in each new decade school practices seem to become more or less hostages of the latest attributes, having their objectives and functions reconfigured in the wake of normalization demands that are constantly conceived in the social fabric.

However, that which at first sight consists in a show of the broadening of the scope of the school institution has been experienced by its agents as a hoax. The more new demands pile up, the less they seem to achieve consistent results in the truly pedagogic plan of things, with the school and its agents remaining with a mixture of opulence of their declared purposes and an insufficiency in their concrete effects.

In this sense the profusion of disciplinary complaints emerges as a type of side effect (or in cascade, perhaps) of the expansionist rhetoric of the contemporary school. In other words, in this "overflowing" (Nóvoa, 2009) there resides in our opinion, the generative epicenter of the multiplication of demands for disciplining and by extension the conversion, not only of students, but also or teachers into the heirs of an impossible debt to be paid off.

By means of this ethical political picture, it remains for us to insist in challenging without let-up the unfettered expansion of normative discourses in the current school

environment. A simple question posed by Foucault becomes extremely valuable: "Why, in order to teach someone something, must one punish and reward?" (1996, p. 121). This is a question whose reply should be enough to shake the whole of the normative machinery that has been expanding.

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APPENDIX 1

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APPENDIX 2

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APPENDIX 3

Brazilian academic production about (in)discipline

• PhD theses

Year	Author	Title	Institution	Area
2000	Camacho,	Violência e indisciplina nas práticas escolares de	University of São Paulo	Education
	L. M. Y.	adolescents [Violence and discipline in the school		
		practices of adolescents]		
2000	Freller,	Histórias de psicologia escolar e a atuação do psicólogo	University of São Paulo	Psychology
	C. C.	[History of school psychology and the actions of the		
		psychologist]		
2001	Longarezi,	Os sentidos da indisciplina na escola: concepções de	Paulista State	Education
	A. M.	professores, equipe técnica e alunos das séries finais do	University	
		ensino fundamental [The meanings of indiscipline in school: conceptions of teachers, the technical team and		
		students from the final grades of elementary education]		
2001	Medeiros,	Indisciplina e mal-estar na educação: uma reflexão a	University of São Paulo	Education
2001	C. P.	partir da ética da psicanálise [Indiscipline and malaise in	Oniversity of Suo Fudio	Education
	0.1.	education: a reflection starting with the ethics of		
		psychoanalysis]		
2002	Oliveira,	Indisciplina escolar: representação social de professores	Pontifical Catholic	Education
	M. I. O.	do ensino fundamental da cidade de Cáceres, MT	University of Sao Paulo	
		[School indiscipline: the social representation of	·	
		elementary school teachers in Cáceres, Mato Grosso]		
2003	Pereira,	Disciplina e disciplinamento: da vara de marmelo à	State University of	Education
	M. J. M.	cadeirinha do pensamento [Discipline and disciplining:	Campinas	
2004	G.	from the quince rod to the thinking chair]	C. III.	D 1
2004	César,	Da escola disciplinar à pedagogia do controle [From the	State University of	Education
2004	M. R. A.	disciplinary school to the teaching of control	Campinas	E1 d
2004	Pappa,	A (in)disciplina e a violência escolar segundo a concepção de professores do ensino fundamental	Paulista State	Education
	J. S.	[(In)discipline and school violence in the conception of	University	
		elementary school teachers]		
2004	Miranda,	Violências nas escolas sob o olhar da saúde: das	University of São Paulo	Nursing
	M. I. F.	indisciplinas e incivilidades às morbimortalidades por		- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
		causas externas [Violence in schools from the health		
		viewpoint: from indiscipline and incivility to death by		
		external causes]		
2004	Ratto,	Livros de ocorrência: disciplina, normalização e	Federal University of	Education
	A. L. S.	subjetivação [Incident books: discipline, normalization	Rio Grande do Sul	
		and subjectification]		
2005	Paniago,	Práticas discursivas de subjetivação em contexto escolar	Paulista State	Linguistics
	M. L. F.	[Discursive practices of subectification in the school	University	
2006	S.	context]	Endamel University of	Education
2006	Fernandes, A. M. C.	A psicologia da adolescência no discurso educacional no	Federal University of Minas Gerais	Education
	A. M. C.	Brasil (1944-1959): um estudo sobre as relações entre ciência do desenvolvimento e educação [The psychology	Willias Gerais	
		of adolescence in educational discourse in Brazil (1944-		
		1959): a study into the relationships between the science		
		of development and education]		
2006	Lopes,	A indisciplina – do silêncio à palavra: o esfacelamento	University of São Paulo	Education
	J. P.	do discurso docente? [Indiscipline- from silence to the		
		word: is this the breakup of the teacher discourse?]		
2006	Souza,	"Não premiarás, não castigarás, não ralharás":	University of São Paulo	Education
	R. C.	Dispositivos disciplinares em Grupos Escolares de Belo		
		Horizonte (1925-1955)["You shall not reward, you shall		
		not punish, you shall not scold: disciplinary devices in		
		school groups in Belo Horizonte (1925-1955)]		

• Master's dissertations

Year	Author	Title	Institution	Area
1979	Farias, C. V.	Indisciplina escolar: conceitos e preconceitos[School indiscipline: concepts and prejudices]	Pontifical Catholic University of R. de Janeiro	Education
1987	Ramos, C. M. C.	A questão do poder: a visão de Michel Foucault e uma análise aplicada à escola [The question of power: the view of Michel Foucault and an analysis applied to the school]	Getúlio Vargas Foundation – Rio de Janeiro	Education
1988	Siqueira, M. J. T.	O exercício do poder disciplinar no cotidiano da escola [The exercise of disciplinary power in the daily life of schools]	Federal University of Santa Catarina	Education
1988	Ramos, A. H.	Disciplina escolar: releitura de um antigo tema [School discipline: reinterpreting an ancient theme]	Pontifical Catholic University of R. de Janeiro	Education
1989	Ivanoff, N.	Sistema disciplinar na escola: autonomia ou submissão [The disciplinary system in schools: autonomy or submission]	Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo	Education
1989	Noffs, N. A.	Disciplina: a busca da espontaneidade na escola [Discipline: the serach for spontaneity in school]	Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo	Education
1990	Ruschel, L. I.	Fotografia do cotidiano escolar: o preço da disciplina é a eterna vigilância [A snapshot of daily school life: the price of discipline is eternal vigiliance]	State University of Campinas	Education
1991	Paula, M. F. C.	O poder disciplinar da escola sobre o corpo [The disciplinary power of the school on the body]	Fluminense Federal University	Education
1993	Aquino, M. V. F.	Adolescentes com problemas de disciplina na escola: experiências estressoras e indicadores de apoio social [Adolescents with discipline problems in school: stressing experiences and social support indicators]	University of Brasília	Psychology
1993	Resende, R. M. G.	Disciplina na escola: uma realidade ambivalente. A leitura da normalidade na perspectiva dos alunos [School discipline: an ambivalent reality. The interpretaion of normality from the perspective of students]	Federal University of Minas Gerais	Education
1994	Parolin, I. C. H.	Disciplina: uma construção no grupo [Discipline: a construction in the group]	Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo	Education
1994	Silva, L. C. F.	Disciplina escolar e transformação social: uma interação necessária [School discipline and social transformation: a necessary interaction]	Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo	Education
1995	Ianelli, M. R. Q.	Representação da disciplina por professores e alunos [Representation of discipline by teachers and students]	State University of Rio de Janeiro	Education
1995	Medeiros, C. P.	A disciplina escolar: a (in)disciplina do desejo [School discipline: the (in)discipline of desire]	Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte	Education
1995	Valle, M. C. C.	Padrões de comportamento disciplinares do aluno: dificuldades associadas aos processos interacionais no cotidiano escolar [Student standards of disciplinary behavior: difficulties associated with interactional processes in daily school life]	State University of Londrina	Education
1996	Souza, J. R. S.	A disciplina pelo olhar de adolescentes do primeiro grau no Rio de Janeiro [Discipline from the point of view of first grade teenagers in Rio de Janeiro]	Federal University of Rio de Janeiro	Education
1996	Nakayama, A. M.	Disciplina na escola: o que pensam os alunos, pais e professores de uma escola de primeiro grau [School discipline: what students, parents and teachers of a first grade school think]	University of São Paulo	Psicologia
1997	Sousa, M. M. S. D.	Indisciplina escolar: como os professores do ensino fundamental da escola pública lidam com esse problema [School indiscipline: how teachers in a public elementary school deal with this problem]	State University of Rio de Janeiro	Education

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1998	Narezzi, E. C.	O poder em sala de aula: disputas, amenização e sedução [The power of the classroom: disputes, mitigation and seduction]	State University of Campinas	Linguistics
1998	Sobrinho, A. M.	Identificando a prática disciplinar no cotidiano da sala de aula e seu papel na (de) formação do sujeito: uma abordagem foucaultiana [Indentifying disciplinary practice in the daily life of the classroom and its role in the (de)formation of the individual: a Foucaultian approach]	Federal University of Ceará	Education
1999	Bellini, R. L.	Representações sociais da (in)disciplina [Social representations of (in)discipline	Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte	Education
1999	Laterman, I.	Violências, incivilidades e indisciplinas no meio escolar: um estudo em dois estabelecimentos da rede pública [Experiences, incivility and indiscipline in the school environment: a study in two public school system establishments]	Federal University of Santa Catarina	Education
1999	Lima, A. L. G.	De como ensinar o aluno a obedecer: um estudo dos discursos sobre a disciplina escolar entre 1944 e 1965 [How to teach a student to obey: a study of the discourse of school discipline between 1944 and 1965]	University of São Paulo	Education
1999	Lopes, S. C.	A criança e a indisciplina escolar à luz da teoria psicanalítica [The child and school indiscipline in the light of psychoanalytical theory]	Pontifical Catholic University of Campinas	Psychology
1999	Fialho, J. F. M. B.	(In)disciplina: concepções e práticas no cotidiano escolar (In)discipline: concepts and practices in daily school life]	Federal University of Bahia	Education
1999	Christino, M. I. S.	Disciplina e subjetividade na escola: a formação da virtude da obediência [Discipline and subjectvity in school: the formation of the virtue of obedience]	Federal University of Pelotas	Education
2000	Fernandes, A. M. C.	O engendramento da indisciplina no cotidiano escolar: um novo problema ou uma velha questão [Engendering indiscipline in daily school life: a new problem or an old isssue]	Pontifical Catholic University of M. Gerais	Education
2000	Fragelli, P. M.	Estudo sobre o processo de construção do trabalho docente e questões relacionadas à disciplina e indisciplina na escola de educação infantile [A study into the construction process of teaching work and issues related to discipline and indiscipline in an infant school]	Federal University of Santa Catarina	Education
2000	Macedo, R. M. A.	Indisciplina: representações sociais do professor de 5 ^a série do ensino fundamental de escolas públicas e privadas de Teresina – PI [Indiscipline: social representations of 5th grade elementary school teachers in public and private schools in Teresina – PI]	Federal University of Piauí	Education
2000	Muller, J. L.	Disciplina/indisciplina no cotidiano escolar [Discipline/indiscipline in daily school life]	Regional University of the Northwest of R. G do Sul	
2000	Nunes, J. M.	(In)disciplina escolar: a visão dos alunos [School (in)discipline: the student viewpoint]	Pontifical Catholic University of R. G. Sul	Education
2000	Pereira, M. J. M.	Disciplina e castigo na escola: um estudo a partir da trajetória de vida de duas professoras do ensino fundamental [Discipline and punishment in school: a study taken from the life of two elementary school teachers]	Pontifical Catholic University of M. Gerais	Education
2000	Rebelo, R. A. A.	Indisciplina escolar: multiplicidade de causas e sujeitos: um olhar à Escola Municipal de Ensino Fundamental José Honório Rodrigues [School indiscipline: the multiplicity of causes and subjects: a look at the Jose Honorio Rodrigues Municipal Primary School]	Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo	Education
2000	Roure, S. A. G.	Concepções de indisciplina escolar e limites do psicologismo na educação [Concepts of school indiscipline and the limits of psychologism in education]	Federal University of Goiás	Education
2001	Andrade, S. T. P.	Indisciplina escolar: um estudo exploratório sobre a relação família e escola [School indiscipline: an exploratory study into the family/school relationship]/	Paulista State University	Education

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2001	Castilho, T. C.	A virtude e a disciplina na escola a partir de uma leitura psicológica: um estudo empírico com base no modelo teórico de Kohlberg [Virtue and discipline in school from a psychological interpretation: an empirical study based on the theoretical model of Kohlberg]	Paulista State University	Education
2001	Lepre, R. M.	A indisciplina na escola e os estágios de desenvolvimento moral na teoria de Jean Piaget [Indiscipline in school and the stages of moral development in the theory of Jean Piaget]	Paulista State University	Education
2001	Macedo, A. S. G.	Autoridade e controle na sala de aula: a capacitação de professores para o manejo de (in)disciplina nas classes de ensino regular [Authority and control in the classroom: training teachers to manage (in)discipline in regular school classes]	State University of Rio de Janeiro	Education
2001	Pereira, E. M.	Um estudo sobre a prática da disciplina na materialização da função social [A study into the practice of discipline in the materialization of the social function]	Methodist University of Piracicaba	Education
2002	Alves, C. M. S. D.	(In)disciplina na escola: cenas da complexidade de um cotidiano escolar [(In)discipline in school: scenes of complexity in daily school life]	State University of Campinas	Education
2002	Andrade, C. F. P.	Olhares indisciplinados sobre o corpo disciplinado nas práticas escolares: uma questão de autonomia ou sujeição? [Indisciplined looks at the disciplined body in school practice: a question of autonomy or subjection?]	State University of Rio de Janeiro	Education
2002	Bocchi, K. B.	Comportamento de indisciplina: uma análise de sua ocorrência em sala de aula [The behavior of indiscipline: an analysis of its occurrence in the classroom]	Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo	Education
2002	Bortolas, S.	A indisciplina no interior da escola: uma aproximação com o outro [Indiscipline in the school: getting closer to others]	Federal University of anta Maria	Education
2002	Corti, A. P. O.	Violência e indisciplina no cotidiano da escola pública: jovens espectadores, vitimizados e agentes de agressões [Violence and indiscipline in the public school: young spectators, victimized and the agents of aggression]	Federal University of Santa Catarina	Sociology
2002	Maia, A. M. C. A.	A disciplina escolar como interface de autonomia, mediação e gestão: uma leitura psicossocial em escolas de ensino fundamental em Natal [School indiscipline as the interface between autonomy, mediation and management: a psychosocial interpretation in primary schools in Natal]	Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte	Education
2002	Sella, M. L.	Indisciplina no ensino médio: o ponto de vista de professores e alunos de uma escola particular de Cuiabá – Mato Grosso [Indiscipline in secondary schools: the point of view of teachers and students from a private school in Cuiaba, Mato Grosso]	Federal University of Mato Grosso	Education
2002	Souza, M. A.	O comportamento indisciplinado na escola: a perspectiva dos professors [Indisciplined behavior in school: the perspective of teachers]	Pontifical Catholic University of R. G. do Sul	Psychology
2002	Würch, C.	Relações de poder entre professor e aluno: as marcas na subjetividade [Power relations between teacher and student: the marks in subjectivity]	Pontifical Catholic University of R. G. do Sul	Education
2003	Arenas, K. C.	A (in)disciplina na escola: do poema pedagógico ao cotidiano da escola pública [(In)discipline in school: from the teaching poem to daily life in a public school]	Methodist University of Piracicaba	Education
2003	Azevedo, E. M. S.	A indisciplina na escola: processo de formação de identidade do adolescente [Indiscipline in school: the process of forming the identity of the teenager]	Braz Cubas University	Education

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2003	Hayashi, E. A. P.	Dificuldades de leitura e problemas de indisciplina: aplicação da metodologia da equivalência de estímulos e o procedimento de exclusão [Reading difficulties and indiscipline problems: the application of the methodology of stimuli equivalence and the exclusion procedure]	Paulista State University	Education
2003	Muniz, J. O. C.	Concepções e atitudes dos professores a respeito da indisciplina escolar: leitura do cotidiano de uma escola pública de Mato Grosso [Teacher concepts and attitudes to school indiscipline: interpreting the daily life of a public school in Mato Grosso]	Federal University of Mato Grosso	Education
2003	Novais, E. L.	"Minha turma é tão indisciplinada": a construção social da (in)disciplina no discurso pedagógico em turma de ensino médio em uma escola pública ["My year is so undisciplined": the social construction of (in)discipline in pedagogic discourse in a secondary school year in a public school]	Federal University of Rio de Janeiro	Linguistics
2003	Pereira, M. C. A.	Indisciplina escolar: uma produção da escola ou dos alunos? [School indiscipline: a product of the school or of the students?]	Federal University of Rio de Janeiro	Education
2003	Schmidt, D. A. T.	A contribuição de Marcuse para a questão da disciplina [The contribution of Marcuse to the question of discipline]	Nove de Julho University Center	Education
2003	Silva, J. M.	Escola sem limites: violência, indisciplina e autoridade docente [School without limits: violence, indiscipline and teacher authority]	Federal University of Goiás	Sociology
2003	Weber, E. F.	Descrição do livro registro de imposições de penas da Escola Normal Peixoto Gomide (recuperação da memória e da história) [Decsription of the punishment register of the Peixoto Gomide Normal School (recovering the memory of history)]	Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo	Linguistics
2004	Cardoso, S. R. P.	Às sombras da disciplina [The shadows of discipline]	Federal University of Pelotas	Education
2004	Epoglou, A.	Crenças e inquietações de um grupo de professores de química sobre a indisciplina em suas aulas[The beliefs and concerns of a group of chemistry teachers about indiscipline in the classroom]	University of São Paulo	Education
2004	Evangelista, C. R.	A (in)disciplina na visão de estagiários do curso de matemática da Unemat (Sinop/MT) [(In)discipline in the view of trainees on the mathematics course at Unemat (Sinop/MT)]	Federal University of Mato Grosso	Education
2004	Lima, S. S. L.	Formação em serviço de professoras para a solução de questões da disciplina escolar nas quatro primeiras séries do ensino fundamental [The in-service training of teachers for solving issues of school discipline in the first four grades of primary school]	State University of Rio de Janeiro	Education
2004	Mardones, S. D. Z.	Quando eu mando, você não obedece: um estudo sobre regras de conduta, autoridade docente e disciplina [When I give you an order you don't obey: a study into rules of conduct, teacher authority and discipline]	Federal University of Sergipe	Education
2004	Moraes, R. G.	A vigilância e os registros no cotidiano escolar: para a construção do comportamento moral [Vigilance and registers in daily school life: for the construction of moral behavior]	University	Psychology
2004	Oliveira, J. E. C.	O papel da educação física na minimização da indisciplina escolar [The role of physical education in minimizing school indiscipline]	Moura Lacerda University Center	Education
2004	Oliveira, R. L. G.	As atitudes dos professores relacionadas à indisciplina escolar [The attitudes of teachers related to school indiscipline]	Tuiuti University of Paraná	Education
2004	Santos, I. L.	Indisciplina e resistência: uma descrição fenomenológica [Indiscipline and resistance: a phenomenological description]	Catholic University of Brasília	Psychology

2004	Szenczuk, D. P.	(In)disciplina escolar: um estudo da produção discente nos programas de pós-graduação em educação (1981-2001 [School indiscipline: a study of student production in graduate programs in education (1981-2001)]	Federal University of Paraná	Education
2004	Zandonato, Z. L.	Indisciplina escolar e relação professor-aluno: uma análise sob as perspectivas moral e institucional [School indiscipline and the teacher-student relationship: an analysis from moral and institutional perspectives]	Paulista State University	Education
2005	Almeida, C. A. L.	No meio do caminho tinha uma pedra: a disciplina escolar e sua relação com a política de proteção à criança e ao adolescente no Brasil [In the middle of the path there was a stone: school discipline and its relationship to the child and teenager protection policy in Brazil]		Social Services
2005	Berton, D. R.	Cultura escolar e indisciplina: um olhar sobre as relações na instituição escolar [School culture and indiscipline: a look at relationships in the school institution]	Paulista State University	Education
2005	Carvalho, R. S.	Educação infantil: práticas escolares e o disciplinamento dos corpos [Infant education: school practices and disciplining bodies]	Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul	Education
2005	Chaves, R. S. L.	Sentimentos de professores(as) diante da indisciplina de alunos(as) adolescentes no ensino fundamental [Teacher feelings when faced with the indiscipline of adolescent students in early secondary school education]	Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo	Education
2005	Corrêa, A. S.	A indisciplina no ensino fundamental: uma análise dos registros de ocorrências disciplinares de 5 ^a e 8 ^a series [Indiscipline in elementary education: an analysis of the disciplinary incident registers from the 5th to 8th grades]	Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo	Education
2005	Costa, M. C.	Discurso, orações e castigos: (in)disciplina no ciclo básico de alfabetização [Discourse, prayers and punishment: (in)discipline in the basic cycle of teaching literacy]	Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte	Education
2005	Cunha Neto, F. S.	Práticas do disciplinamento no Liceu no Ceará dos anos de 1937 a 1945 [Disciplining practices in the Lycée in Ceara from 1937 to 1945]	Federal University of Ceará	Education
2005	Murata, I.	A indisciplina na sala de aula e o livro negro [Indiscipline in the classroom and the black book]	Braz Cubas University	Education
2005	Paiva, N. S. G.	A (in)disciplina na escola e o processo de constituição de sujeitos no cotidiano da sala de aula [(In)discipline in school and the process of constituting individuals in the daily classroom routine]	Federal University of Uberlândia	Education
2005	Pastori, M. A. B.	Da indisciplina ao respeito mútuo e autonomia em situações na escola [From indiscipline to mutual respect and autonomy in school situations]	Sorocaba University	Education
2005	Paula, G. F.	A indisciplina e suas representações no cotidiano escolar [Indiscipline and its representations in the school routine]	Federal University of Uberlândia	Education
2005	Pelegrini, R. M.	Indisciplina de alunos: jogos de resistência na Escola Municipal Professor Eurico Silva – Uberlândia (MG) [Student indiscipline: resistance games in the Professor Eurico Silva Municipal School, Uberlandia (MG)]	Federal University of Uberlândia	History
2005	Romero, P. R. S.	Educação e pós-modernidade: vozes de indisciplina escolar em uma escola da rede pública de Sorocaba/SP [Education and post-modernity: voices of school discipline in the public school system in Sorocaba/SP]	Sorocaba University	Education
2005	Santos, C. A. S.	Impasses na sala de aula de matemática: indisciplina, ensino-aprendizagem e subjetividade [Impasses in the mathematics classroom: indiscipline, teaching-learning and subjectivity]	Federal University of Minas Gerais	Education
2005	Schicotti, R. V. O.	Concepções e práticas de educadores acerca de disciplina e limites na educação infantile [Educational concepts and practices relating to discipline and limits in early childhood education]	Paulista State University	Psychology

2005	Silveira,	(In)disciplina e as relações de poder [(In)discipline and	Federal University of	Education
	M. A. P.	power relationships]	Mato Grosso do Sul	
2005	Souza,	Representações sociais sobre indisciplina em sala de aula	Paulista State	Education
	D.B.	dos professores em início de carreira da rede municipal de	University	
		Presidente Prudente – SP: implicações para a formação		
		inicial [Social representations on indiscipline in the		
		classroom of teachers at the beginning of their careers in		
		the municipal school system in Presidente Prudente, SP:		
		implications for intitial formation]		
2006	Cruz,	Tabu, poder e punição: alternativas de análise da	Fluminense Federal	Education
	M. R.	(in)disciplina na escola [Taboo, power and punishment:	University	
		analysis alternatives of (in)discipline in school]		
2006	Rodrigues,	Indisciplina fabricada: o caso de uma escola de periferia	Federal University of	Education
	M. F. L.	urbana [Fabricated indiscipline: the case of a school on	Santa Catarina	
		the urban outskirts]		
2006	Yasumaru,	Comportamentos de indisciplina: um estudo com a 4ª	Pontifical Catholic	Education
	V. T.	série do ensino fundamental [Undisciplined behavior: a	University of Sao Paulo	
		study of the 4th grade of elementary education]		