A Violence of "Best Practice" and Unintended Consequences?: Domestic Violence and the Making of a Disordered Subjectivity

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Abstract: Often, efforts by schools to standardize marginalized children with histories of domestic violence have alarming effects. More recent efforts of standardization typically find a sustained existence in the discourse of "best" practices predicated upon a religious-like adherence to behavioral data driven frameworks. This article traces how children and youth with histories of domestic violence (or HDV youth) navigate and resist deficit laden school subjectivities shaped by special education discourses of medicalization and pathologization. In one case study, I spell out how an elementary school created and maintained an HDV child's EBD (emotional behavioral disordered) subjectivity with detrimental effects. The article ends with further critique of the social and emotional (behavioral) frameworks populating our schools today and their relationship to the school-to-prison pipeline for children and youth with histories of domestic violence.

If we stand back from proximate contexts and their biographies and groups, time becomes historical, and the penetrating continuity of prior circumstances and events becomes discernible and interpretable (Richardson, 2017, p. 38).

There is a subtle and inherent echo in the two arguments that is important to unpack. It includes and exceeds the dilemma of religions-as-belief-systems, nations-as-social compacts and individuals-as-containers and it includes and exceeds the recognition of reductionism and polarization that occur through representation. The echo and its reverberations pertain in this case to what happens when "systems" rewrite "being" and being enfolds within systems differently than before (Baker, 2017, p. 2).

Often, efforts by schools to standardize their marginalized children have violent effects. More recent efforts of standardization typically find a sustained existence in the discourse of "best" practices predicated upon a religious-like adherence to data. It is in the prophesies of "data(s)," both big and small that a new, yet old, forcefulness marches forward in what Baker (2017) refers to above as a newer and very different practice of "systems" rewriting specific "beings." In decades of formidable literature, Baker (2002) and Richardson (2002; 2009) have defined what these kinds of violence(s) are and what they do to children and youth deemed in need of special education services. These scholars capture the effects of marginalizing practices, often framed as "best practices," used in response to children and youth who have been labeled as defective and/or resisting their marginalized experiences in public schools.

In my previous work, I attempted to build on similar claims that children and youth with histories of domestic violence (or HDV youth)[1] experience similar effects, often intersecting at the crossroads of special education, race, and class. These effects have extraordinary consequences and often position HDV children and youth towards punishing life trajectories. I suggested that the collusion of HDV experiences often overlap with other socially marginalized encounters like the overrepresentation of special education labeling, racism, and poverty (Pyscher, 2015; Pyscher & Lozenski, 2014; 2016). The consequences of such effects often fashion HDV children and youths' life trajectories, demarcated by prison, prostitution, or worse, life itself. Thus, there is an urgent need to recast a current light on the realities of these deeply marginalized children and youth based on what Richardson, Wu, and Judge (2017) refer to as the "long shadow of vagrancy" or the desire of schools "…to identify those who would not succeed from those who would" (p. 29). It is not sufficient to identify when these reenactments *occur*. We must also identify *how* these consequences are either/or both intended and unintended for children and youth whose lives are intimately defined by domestic violence.

The goal of this article is to disrupt when and how these consequences occur for HDV children and youth. Specifically, this article examines when and how the school lives of HDV children and youths' subjectivities are (re)shaped by popular, deficit-laden, and often violent discourses framed as special education "best practices" of medicalization and pathologization. In one case study, I spell out how an elementary school created and maintained an HDV child's EBD (emotional behavioral disordered) subjectivity. I trace both the damaging effects of this current day rumination of cleaning up/out vagrancy (Richardson et al., 2017) embodied in a young girl's necessary HDV cultural resistance (Pyscher, 2016a). I expand on my earlier work (Pyscher, 2015), also found in *Journal of Educational Controversy,* where I delineated what kinds and where such discourses emerge for HDV children and youth. In this article, I focus on one distressing story of an HDV girl, Shanna, and her experience with such consequences presented through personal interviews, along with cultural analysis of a school artifact including her third grade special education IEP (Individualized Education Plan). Shanna[2] is the young HDV girl featured in this case study taken out of a larger critical ethnographic study (Pyscher, 2016b). The research presented here seeks to unsettle these popular discourses or what schools refer to as "best practices," for labeled children and youth and attempts to reframe HDV children and youths' socially resistive relationships to normative and hegemonic experience in schools.

How to Begin a Story like Shanna's: Schools as Refuge?

We must demand an explanation on how schools will disrupt practices built upon greater violating educational public discourses and policy. Similar to Richardson's et al. (2017) and Baker's (2002; 2017) arguments, this article directly challenges the damaging effects of special education and their deficit practices shaping the lives of marginalized HDV children and youth. I posit that understanding the intersections between HDV children and youths' cultural practices and the damaging effects of popular and special education deficit discourses and the practices that engender such ideologies is crucial if we are to take seriously the life potential of children and youth who have experienced or are experiencing domestic violence.

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[1] Children and youth with histories of domestic violence and/or youth currently living with domestic violence.

[2] All names are synonyms.

It is an astonishing fact that when a child or youth is raised in domestic violence, schools may be the only institutional space of refuge outside of their home. This is set against and in relationship to Fine's (1991) significant critique of school structures as explicitly harmful for marginalized youth. What I mean by this, is that although Fine articulated this reality in powerful ways, calling for schools to dramatically change practices so to counter the effects on the lives of youth of color and/or from poverty. Schools will need to continue to serve as spaces of refuge for HDV youth, even if such spaces are violating. For HDV children and youth, whose home lives are even more profoundly defined by the intimacy of everyday violence, schools will always serve as sites of refuge. What remains a mystery is if schools can come to not only see their role differently for HDV children and youth, but to also commit to different practices in service to this deeply marginalized population of kids.

As a childhood and adolescent HDV survivor myself and a now teacher educator who experienced violation in my home and in my K-12 schools, I do not use the term "refuge" lightly. Symbolically, such a metaphor is meant to evoke images of shelter or, at worst, an asylum. Like refugees, HDV children and youth seek necessary spaces of social sanctuary outside of the "home." The exception, of course, is that "home" never serves as a settled space for HDV children and youth, but rather as a space navigated back and forth from often one violence (their home lives) and other potential spaces of violation (their school lives) as a daily experience. Unlike refugees, the back and forth navigation between violations is often not disrupted for HDV children and youth, and when it is, these "sanctuaries," like foster care, often multiply the violating experiences of everyday existence.

In a similar way, this is the defining difference between the social marginalization of domestic violence compared to race, for instance. Marginalized children of color and/or from poverty who have to navigate the white and middle class structure/practices of school can return to what Ladson-Billings[3] (1994) refers to as "homeplace," whereas, it can be assumed that HDV children and youth have a very different relationship to "home space." What schools must decide is if they will treat HDV children and youth differently. Will they be more humane, serving as a refuge or safe haven or will they continue to mostly choose the alternative route, one that is explicitly inhumane, evoking images of a dank asylum, or more appropriately a capillary of the school-to-prison or prostitution pipeline? School spaces like the latter, cast a significant amount of HDV youth, who are also often racialized and/or living in poverty, as throwaway youth, relegating them to special education EBD classrooms, Federal Setting Four or Five schools,[4] or

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[3] Ladson-Billings (1994) describes this kind of place a space where "…women have resisted white supremacist domination by working to establish homeplace. It does not matter that sexism assigned them this role. It is more important that they took this conventional role and expanded it to include caring for one another, for children…in ways that elevated our spirits, that kept us from despair, that taught some of us to be revolutionaries able to struggle for freedom."

[4] Setting 04 – The student receives education in a separate day school facility for more than 50% of the school day. This is a specially designed educational program only for students with disabilities or Setting 05 - The student receives education services in a private separate day school (at public expense) for more than 50% of the school day. This is a specially designed educational program only for students with disabilities. https://arcgreatertwincities.org/content/uploads/sites/3/2016/06/Arc-Guide-to-LRE-in-Special-Education-and-Federal-Setting_June-2016-2.pdf

fully incarcerated juvenile delinquent centers (Pyscher & Lozenski, 2014; 2016). So, the violence can either be multiplied or differentiated in these two social spaces for HDV children and youth. If schools accept the former, school refuge can be physical and psychic, as well as a place of social refuge where HDV children and youth can make sense of their cultural knowledges in reading violation in nuanced ways and make use of those knowledges as agentic possibility (Pyscher, 2016a; 2016b). A first consideration then for schools is to define how their popular "best practices," like that of special education labeling, often do unintended and dramatic harm towards HDV children and youth.

Tracing the Objectification of Shanna

"…the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticize the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticize them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight them" (Foucault, 1980b, *see* Chomsky, p. 171).

Theoretically, this article is organized around (dis)ability studies (Baker, 2002; McDermott, Goldman & Varenne, 2006; Mitchell & Snyder, 2006) and critical sociocultural theory (Lewis, Enciso, & Moje, 2007), beginning with an explanation of how labeled youth in general have come to be objectified and represented in public schools. Later, the article reframes HDV children and youths' school experiences, specifically through Shanna's perspective, as social and cultural rather than behavioral and medical. Methodologically, I use Scott's (1990) hidden and public transcripts[5] as an analytic to make connections between Shanna's HDV childhood resistance to school hegemonic and normative practices of labeling her as an EBD child through the construction of her IEP. The analysis and discussion that follow sketch the impact of deficit-oriented representations experienced by Shanna.

For Shanna, her third grade EBD label positioned her towards a precarious school trajectory. From a macro perspective, the process of labeling youth does not originate in schools or with educators, but rather through greater authoritative bodies like the American Psychological Association (APA) and the industrial health care complex. In turn, educators' practices often mirror these deficit-oriented discourses. In response, labeled youths are often marginalized and have frequently resisted traditional models of school (Carter, 2005; Willis, 1977). For HDV youth in particular, I have come to call this type of discursive construction the discourse of disordered Other (Pyscher, 2015).

Foucault (1980) believed that humanity had a history, or was a project of archaeology, an invention. Such a perspective opens agentic opportunities for marginalized subjects as they name their negotiations through and around the violating experiences of power. Through this process, counter-perspectives emerge. For Foucault, the self is bound up in social experiences and institutions; thus, it cannot be excised from the effects of power. He was most concerned with

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[5] Scott (1990) defines hidden transcripts as an embodiment for marginalized people performances of low and high forms of resistive actions and allows discursive opportunities towards of liberating, nonhegemonic, contrapuntal, dissident, and subversive discourses to arise. Importantly, hidden transcripts depend on the opposing force of public transcripts or what Scott refers to as hegemonic and normative acts on the part of the dominant. A public transcript "generates considerable friction and can be sustained only by continuous efforts at reinforcement, maintenance, and adjustment," including "symbolization of domination by demonstrations and enactments of power" (p. 45).

how power operates in our society. A Foucauldian (1964/1965) notion of discourse can be seen as constructed modes of experience. He was less concerned with finding a "truth," but more concerned with understanding the creation of these modes of experience, including the discursive practices that came to constitute objectifying productions like normalization, individualization, and medicalization. Figure 1 below highlights these kinds of discursive relationships and how labeled youth have been objectified through them.

Figure 1. Discursive factors shaping labeled youth

Objectification of Labeled Youth
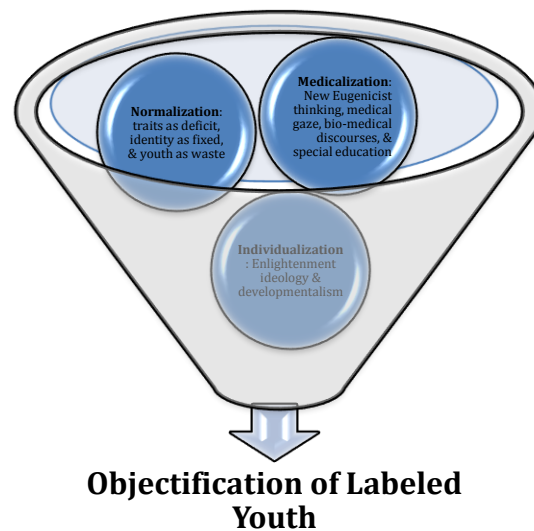
Tracing the Violence of Normalizing Discourses

Fairclough suggested that these dominant discourses occur in local settings (e.g., classroom interactions, special education meetings), institutional settings (e.g. district decisions on special education funding), and societal settings (e.g. policy decisions) (as cited in Rogers, 2002, p. 215). (Dis)abilities studies scholars Mitchell and Snyder (2006) contended, "Nearly every culture views disability as a problem in need of a solution" which "situates people with disabilities in a profoundly ambivalent relationship to the cultures and stories they inhabit" (p. 205). To some extent, this popular discourse is not so unlike other sociocultural marginalizations like race or gender that were originally framed in similar fashions as disability. What often develops as we try to find "solutions" to "problems" are labeling practices like EBD (emotionally behaviorally disordered). Baker (2002) asserted that labeling practices reduce "the totality of someone's humanity to a so-called 'trait'" (p. 690) and that such "proliferation" over the last couple of decades serves to "mark students outside the norm of child development or at-risk of school failure" (p. 676). In school settings, the traditional practices of labeling marginalized youth are common sense acts often solidifying into common sense discourses allowing distinctions and categories to arise that reify what norms are to be performed in service to maintaining the status quo.

For instance, discourses like individualization and developmentalism serve important roles in the discourse of normalization (Ferri & Connor, 2005). Both discourses lead to the objectification of youth who are institutionally labeled "disordered." In addition, both discourses are firmly rooted in Enlightenment thinking, promoting the belief that each individual human

develops through their own individualized experience (Baker, 2002; Corker & Shakespeare, 2006). Discourses like normal versus abnormal often marginalize the sociocultural experiences of HDV children and youth as their representations become fixed and individualized rather than social, multiple, and discursive. They fuse with traditional and current ideological leanings including humanist-cognivist-behaviorist systems of belief, scientific-medical-new Eugenicist models of "treatment," and special education-psychopathological models whose sole purpose is to further the project of normality. Most importantly, these discourses are reified and sustained through educator practices sanctioned by school authorities and cultures.

A New Eugenicist Normality: the "Disordered"

Medical and scientific discourses figure prominently as a central means through which labels have propagated. These deficit discourses encompass many names including the "New Eugenicist" discourse suggested by DS scholars (Baker, 2002; Kliewer & Fitzgerald, 2001; Snyder & Mitchell, 2006). The notion of a new eugenicist discourse has been commonly evoked as a continuation of the historical project that embodies eugenicist ideologies and practices of old, including the key shaping effect that coalesced into the Holocaust or justified forced sterilization of poor and immigrant women in the United States. Snyder and Mitchell (2006) situated these practices in current discourses of special education like medicalized labeling supported by diagnostic processes[6]. Historically, these targets of biological "defective" conditions included the feebleminded, blind, chronically depressed, and the alcoholic; today, this functions in a similarly diasporic manner in which labeling youth "defective" and "disordered" have become common practices (Snyder & Mitchell, 2006, p. 103).

Mapping the Disordered Other in Public Schools

The amalgamation of scientific, new eugenicist, and special education discourses in public schools is well documented. Baker (2002) historically tied these entangled discourses to genetic determinism and current bio-medical discourses (p. 682, 684), referring to their uses as submerged "homogenizing techniques" (p. 697). In public schools, these techniques are situated in multiple eugenicist reiterations. For instance, Davis (1997) claims that disordered subjects often located by special education labels connect statistics (small data), normality, and Darwinian notions "for the idea of a perfectible body undergoing progressive improvement," and the eugenicist obsession with eliminating the "defectives" and the "disordered" (p. 7). Kliewer and Fitzgerald (2001) asserted, "Special Education emerged in the climate of eugenics as a segregating public school response to the first psychometrically identified group of disabled students, the morons. . ." (p. 464). Perhaps Walkerdine (1990) encapsulated the discursive purpose of the new eugenicist classroom most fittingly as a "laboratory where development could be watched, monitored and set along the right path" (p. 29). These medicalized discourses also help construct the disordered HDV Other in school contexts. Walkerdine's classroom as laboratory serves as an efficient and proper space where the labeling of HDV children and youth as EBD becomes a common "best practice" as an extension of special education services.

Mapping Disordered Objectifications of HDV Children/Youth in Schools & Criminality

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[6] They claim: "its power [Eugenicist Discourses] is derived from its designation of many forms of deviance as the product of defective competence" (p. 79).

In K-12 public schools, the discourse of the disordered Other (Pyscher, 2015) is routinely found in conversations about HDV youth euphemized in deficit labels like "troubled," "problem student," and/or "emotionally behaviorally disordered/disturbed." Statistically, HDV children and youth constitute a large number of the youth who have come to be labeled as Emotionally and Behaviorally Disordered (EBD) in public schools (Administration for Children and Families, 2004). This fact leads to an even more significant interrelationship between HDV youth labeled EBD and the school-to-prison pipeline. Studies clearly connect one's HDV childhood experience to incarceration. For instance, 85-90% of women in prison have a history of being victims of violence prior to their incarceration, including domestic violence, sexual violence, and child abuse (American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU], 2011). Rates for incarcerated men mirror this fact. When an HDV child or youth is tagged EBD, a life trajectory towards prison becomes glaringly clear. According to a *National Institute of Justice* study, abused and neglected children were 11 times more likely to be arrested for criminal behavior as a juvenile, 2.7 times more likely to be arrested for violent and criminal behavior as an adult, and 3.1 times more likely to be arrested for one of many forms of violent crime (juvenile or adult) (English, Widom, & Brandford, 2004).

The discourses of the "disordered" HDV child or youth that lead to the trajectory described above can be described as an act of Othering or identifying these youth as in need of treatment-oriented pedagogies as an attempt to *reorder* their traumatic childhood and adolescent experiences of domestic violence. Ironically, these "treatment" or "healing" oriented pedagogies tend to reproduce similar experiences of violation for HDV children and youth in the context of schools. Indeed, it can be expected that such labeled and marginalized youth will endure forms of school social control including discipline, marginalization, and medicalization, often leading to life altering subjectivities.

Under the demands to consent to these discourses, Laws (2011) claimed that our dependency on validity and scientific truth dedicated to "intervention techniques" and subsequent labeling discourages a more complicated social analysis that considers other causal factors shaping these children's lives. For instance, schools often ignore social conditions like growing up in domestic violence or poverty. This decontextualized dominant perspective often clashes head on to the cultural resistance of HDV children and youth like Shanna (Pyscher, 2015; 2016a). Laws (2011) claimed that deficit objectifications embodied in labels like "antisocial, behaviorally disturbed or disordered, delinquent or pre-delinquent, and/or severely emotional disturbed" (p. 42) become easily applied representations. This is similar to Foucault's (1980) argument that the "subject" is often bandied about to the whims of the discursive fields that organize around desires towards objectification. In the following section, through the retelling of Shanna's experience in elementary school, I attempt to trace how these kinds of objectifications create EBD subjectivities for HDV children and how these children rightfully and culturally resist these popular deficit practices in school settings.

How Stories Like Shanna's Help Us Understand the Violence of EBD Subjectivity

Shanna was a female eighth grade student in my larger study and identified as white and living in poverty. She struggled significantly with school truancy in both elementary and middle

school. Her middle school teachers and the social worker, Marissa, believed she was not living up to her academic potential. Shanna's articulation of situations and experiences can be described as witty and adept. She carried several special education labels since third grade (or earlier) as evidenced in her IEPs (Individual Education Plans), including being labeled emotionally/behaviorally disabled (EBD), ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder), and depressed, along with several medical conditions including allergic rhinitis, Shone Syndrome (congenital heart condition), and asthma. Her middle school teachers often commented that the label of EBD, that carried with her from her third grade elementary IEP, did not seem to fit her daily interactions and responses in school. In fact, over the life of the study, when not struggling with truancy and when she felt compelled to do so, Shanna performed as a seemingly "ideal" student both academically and socially in my study. Her EBD label did not fit her most pronounced school subjectivity.

Shanna's childhood and adolescent experience with domestic violence was unique compared to other HDV youth in my larger study. She was the only youth participant who was experiencing domestic violence in the home while participating in the study. Unlike the other HDV youth participants, I chose not to include Shanna's mother as a caregiver "voice" because I knew she was currently living under conditions of domestic violence perpetrated by Shanna's biological father. Shanna's domestic violence included extreme physical and emotional abuse by her father and brothers.

If we follow the supposition that HDV children and youth perform cultural practices of resistance when faced with socially violating situations, then such cultural practices directly challenge the deficit language that frames HDV youth as "disordered" objects (Pyscher, 2015; 2016a). In the study, a significant theme arose for Shanna as she talked about her navigation of elementary school and the violating practices of teachers and her peers. Her social experience of domestic violence was predominantly inscribed as both an individualized experience and/or ignored altogether by educators. For Shanna, highlighted in the next section, her resistive responses to normative hegemonic interactions were labeled as acts of emotional and behavioral disorder (EBD). This directly bumps up against Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain's (1998) argument that "behavior is better viewed as a sign of self in practice, not as a sign of self in essence" (p. 31). Shanna's cultural resistance is objectified as "disordered" during the process of being labeled EBD in her third grade IEP.

Shanna's IEP serves as a public transcript[7] for her elementary school educators who felt compelled to fix her. For the marginalized, such public consents are resisted because they (the marginalized) refuse "to accept the definition of the situation as seen from above and to condone their own social and ritual marginalization," (Scott, 1985, p. 240) or what Scott (1985; 1990) referred to as performances of hidden transcripts. Using public and hidden transcripts as an analytic opened opportunities to connect Shanna's histories of participation in elementary school to the normative hegemonic practices embodied in the public transcripts of her IEP. Her third grade educators and their misreading of Shanna's "hidden" practices of resistance, along with the public transcript of her IEP, set forth a damaging path of objectification that followed Shanna

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[7] Scott (1990) claimed "the public transcript displays a second consciousness of the situation of power relations and existence, one in which the hegemonic situation is accorded public consent" (p. 190).

into her high school years. Intentionally or unintentionally, these kind of special education "best" practices almost always have violent effects on the lives of HDV children and youth like Shanna.

Fighting the EBD Narrative: Shanna's Struggle

When students are labeled EBD, school systems receive more funds to hire staff, buy curriculum, and create structures designed to manage and control—essentially to weed out those who do not demonstrate "normal" productive citizenship and behavior. At the local level, the tensions between public and hidden transcripts are resoundingly clear. So is the harsh reality that school funding follows larger mandates (discourses) that profess god-like "best practices" seeped in data collection that schools often find themselves uncontrollably trapped in. These are the unintended consequences of "best" practice of labeling children EBD. This reality presses hard against Laws (2011) claim that "in order for children [labeled EBD] to be humanized they must be responsive in the right way and become non-violent, rational beings—make the right choices, the safe choices" (p. 43). Yet, what is often ignored in a school's attempts to "humanize" HDV children like Shanna is their inability to recognize that their educators' interactions and practices are both relational and sociocultural moments of connection or disconnection.

HDV youth are repeatedly labeled "at-risk" in the most detrimental and yet acceptable ways. Government labels like SED (seriously emotionally disturbed), an official acronym for EBD, serves to objectify Shanna, making her school identity one seeped in disorder and in need of behavioral support situated in a system that needs resources to better handle her "disordered" self. Under these weighty and damaging school discourses and related practices, what are HDV children like Shanna, who is void of caregiver advocacy, to do in response to institutional forces determined to reproduce violent objectification? Shanna's process of being labeled EBD is especially difficult to tell because it reveals the obvious tensions and power differentials in public and hidden transcripts that most educators feel compelled to ignore in the complex realities of everyday teaching. Important to restate in the following case study is the grim fact that Shanna has no advocacy from either caregivers or educators, creating conditions for her to be an easy target for EBD labeling, and thus setting her school life trajectory towards continual experiences of violation.

Shanna's Fight: You are the Problem—Own It

For Shanna, the experience of elementary school was at best difficult. By third grade, Shanna was labeled EBD in her special education IEP. In the following interview and IEP excerpts, it is clear that Shanna was policed by school staff while also being expected to police her own experiences of bullying by other children. We also see the larger effects of EBD labeling and how, once objectified, HDV children like Shanna are expected to self-manage toward becoming a compliant body. This process occurred in two ways: (1) school gazing and expectations of self and school-maintenance as a part of her EBD label or what Baker (2002) referred to as "perfecting technologies[8]" and (2) Shanna's expectation to self-manage her

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[8] Baker (2002) claimed that perfecting technologies is the "controlling logic of ableism that hopes to turn everyone into the one kind of being at least at some level" (p. 675).

personal responses to bullying by other students or what Siebers (2006) framed as an example of Foucault's conceptualization of bio-power[9].

Excerpt one: Shanna as EBD subject

What is stunning in Shanna's stories and reified in her IEP is how the label of EBD became easily applied and used to construct Shanna's school subjectivity as a disordered child rather than a HDV child trying to navigate socially violating conditions at home and school. Sadly, Shanna's mother and father did not resist her objectified EBD status. In fact, their participation not only reified her "disordered" identity in elementary school, but also promoted a similar "disordered" narrative for Shanna throughout her middle school years. The following excerpt from Shanna's 2009 third grade IEP emphasizes the origins, construction, and reification of her EBD label that solidified her elementary school identity. In the following excerpt, I use Shanna's IEP as a school artifact, authored by a Ph.D. LP School Psychologist, to show how Shanna's subjectivities are constructed through the process of EBD labeling while her social experiences of navigating domestic violence and bullying are never considered or decontextualized. The following IEP excerpts are the full descriptions of the school psychologist written report from 2009.

STANZA 1

In third grade, Shanna was reassessed and was found to qualify for special education services under emotional/behavioral disorders and has been receiving services under that disability category since that time.

STANZA 2
Parent interview in 2009 indicated concerns with stubborn and defiant behavior. Shanna was described as verbally aggressive and there were incidents of pushing mother. Parents also indicated that Shanna had some limitations in areas of adaptive functioning including hygiene, knowing her phone number and address, sleep and eating habits.

STANZA 3
Observations conducted as part of the 2009 evaluation included defiance and inappropriate verbalizations (such as "Shut up," insults and unspecified violent threats mumbled under her breath) directed toward the teacher.

STANZA 4
Teacher interview in 2009 indicated that Shanna was the victim of teasing by peers for her weight and body odor. She was described as having low self-esteem   and taking the role as class clown.

STANZA 5

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[9] Siebers (2006) claimed "bio-power determines for Foucault the way that human subjects experience the materiality of their bodies"…arguing, "the human subject has no body, nor does the subject exist, prior to its subjection as representation…bodies are linguistic effects…" (p. 739).

> Mental health screening in 2009 indicated concerns with difficulty expressing a range of feelings, impulsive and off-task behavior, temper tantrums and immature   behavior. She was described as often inappropriate in her interactions with others including abrupt or demanding behavior with peers, difficulty making and maintaining friendships and resistance to authority. It was indicated that Shanna was often worried (excerpt one, p. 8).

In this IEP excerpt, Shanna is co-constructed as an emotionally and behaviorally disordered (EBD) subject. During her elementary years, Shanna's EBD subjectivity became the central representation of her school identity. Her IEP serves as a direct and powerful public transcript in shaping this subjectivity.

It is clear that Shanna's IEP sustained both normative and hegemonic discourses as words like "stubborn, defiant, impulsive, and aggressive" became objectifying descriptors masking Shanna's HDV resistive cultural actions as something inherently deficient in her. For instance, in stanza 3, the psychologist assigns several EBD-like traits to Shanna through descriptions of behaviors including: "defiance and inappropriate verbalizations …unspecified violent threats mumbled under her breath directed toward the teacher." What is often missing in behavioral IEP reports like these, is social and cultural context. There is no social context for why Shanna feels compelled to mumble "under her breath" defiant words towards the teacher although the psychologist is literally observing the interaction. It seems as if Shanna is alone the person, albeit child, responsible for her problematic behavior and that this interaction is indeed not social. This is not so untypical in these kinds of mediated and hegemonic gazes and subsequent reports that often never frame the interactional relationship between marginalized youth and school authorities. The decontextualization is clear. The teacher (and peers) are assumed to be neutral, innocent, or altogether missing from the narrative; whereas the disordered Other, Shanna, is assigned the problematic behaviors. Reframed, Shanna's behaviors might rather be examples of HDV resistive cultural practices (hidden transcripts) in response to years of violations at home and her "reading" of violating actions enacted by educators and other students (Pyscher, 2015; 2016a; 2016b). What is not revealed in the public transcript of this IEP is the interactional details of the school psychologist. Such authoritative (in)action, void of context, further congeals his/her summary as institutional truth.

The mediated gaze[10] exercised by the school psychologist becomes a powerful tool ensuring that Shanna is framed as an emergent EBD subject and in need of being controlled. Her disordered identity is not only *written* in an official school document as institutional data, but also written on her body through this public transcript. These kinds of institutional arrangements have dramatic consequences for HDV children like Shanna. Thomas and Glenny (2000) described effects like labeling a child EBD as a destructive signifier that promotes practices of inhumanity in schools:

> A term [EBD] that too conveniently packages together difficult, troublesome children with emotional disturbance. In its use is an insidious blurring of motives and knowledges,

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[10] Foucault (1975/1977) described this kind of gaze by educators as "surveillance, defined and regulated, is inscribed at the heart of the practice of teaching, not as an additional or adjacent part, but as the mechanism that is inherent to it and which increases its efficiency" (p. 176).

which imputes problems to children that in reality are rarely theirs. In the dispositional attributions that are therein made, unnecessarily complex judgments about punitive need take place of simple judgments about what is acceptable or unacceptable behavior for a particular institution. Use of the term "EBD" enables the substitution of the former for the latter—of the complex for the straightforward—and this in turn perpetuates a mindset about behavior that distracts attention from what the school can do to make itself a more humane place. (p. 294)

Shanna's EBD subjectivity follows her into her middle school years and continues to have significant power in defining Shanna's life trajectory today.

A Structure of Interdependence[11]: Administration, Teacher, Parent

Beginning in stanza two, Shanna's EBD disordered objectification is co-constructed by school officials with the support of her abusive father. As an interdependent effort, Shanna is socially positioned as an EBD subject. Within this IEP, Shanna is positioned as a disordered subject in four distinct ways: (1) co-opting her abusive father's framing of Shanna's home behaviors of resistance as "disorderness"; (2) silencing/ignoring her experience of domestic violence; (3) constructing her EBD subjectivity through authoritative psychological popular discourse; and (4) compounding her EBD subjectivity through the authoritative voice of her third grade teacher whom she resisted in classroom interactions.

Co-opting an Abusive Father's Perspective

During the development of Shanna's IEP, Shanna's parents, and in particular her abusive father, describes her as having "defiant behavior" at home during their interview by school officials. In turn, the school psychologist uses these descriptions as a way to co-opt Shanna's home behaviors to her school behaviors. These connections are tagged to her ascribed deviant school behaviors in the second section of her IEP.

> STANZA 2
> Parent interview in 2009 indicated concerns with stubborn and defiant behavior. Shanna was described as verbally aggressive and there were incidents of pushing mother. Parents also indicated that Shanna had some limitations in areas of adaptive functioning including hygiene, knowing her phone number and address, sleep and eating habits.

Important to this part of Shanna's constructed EBD subjectivity is the reality that the parental construction of Shanna as an EBD subject was her father—the perpetrator of violence in her home life. I make this conjecture, because in her seventh grade IEP re-evaluations, her father's words in a parental interview serve as a continuance of Shanna's EBD subjectivity in her middle school IEP meetings as told by the school social worker. Shanna also confirms in interviews that her father was always present in school meetings and during her truancy court dates in the juvenile court system. Although her mother would often attend, middle school educators shared that her father's voice was the most prominent in such meetings. These kinds of co-constructions

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[11] Cherkaoui (2007) claimed that most structures built upon interdependent actions of social actors often produce unintended and unanticipated consequences (p. 75-98).

between abusive parents and school officials are most dangerous for HDV children like Shanna, especially when school officials fail to question the social and cultural context of Shanna's resistance in and out school. When educators fail to recognize and practice culturally relevant pedagogies (Ladson-Billings, 1994)[12], HDV children and youths' school experience are not so different than children who are marginalized racially or through poverty, for instance. For school officials, performances of HDV childhood and youth resistance like Shanna's demand culturally specific attention.

The Silencing of Domestic Violence and HDV Cultural Resistance

During the construction of Shanna's disordered subjectivity, a second missing culturally relevant response emerges—school authorities disregarding Shanna's experience of domestic violence. Her elementary school officials were aware of Shanna's reality of living in domestic violence. This fact was confirmed by her middle school social worker. Yet the mention of domestic violence, in this significant school public transcript, is non-existent in Shanna's IEP. Shanna's home life is never considered, although her "deviant behaviors" described by her abusive father are given potent weight. It begs the question of why educators, who are charged with working with deeply marginalized HDV children like Shanna, do not consider and write in the social effects of familial domestic violence in her IEP? Perhaps this is an example of a school's intentional consequence of "best practice" or differently stated, the maintenance of the silenced discourse of domestic violence. Although not discussed in this article, this particular HDV culturally relevant pedagogy is practiced as her home life is discussed in Shanna's seventh grade IEP review completed in 2013. Danforth and Navarro's (2001) study connecting teacher discourses and how they apply medicalized discourses through the social construction of ADHD talk in the everyday language of the classroom sheds light on this dilemma. In their study, they traced how educators use the discursive discourses of medicalized perspectives in shaping the context of school discourses. Their findings are telling:

> This medicalized approach to research tends to overlook the way that childhood disorders are social and linguistic products co-fabricated within the complex construction and contestation of cultural codes, norms, and identities. A medicalized approach often fails to acknowledge that researchers who "discover" childhood disorders and professionals making diagnoses of those disorders operate within the constructive and contested discursive field of political and normative meanings about the lives of children. (p. 167)

When these kinds of discursive actions take place within a structure of interdependence like that of Shanna's IEP, then conditions are set for deficit subjectivities to flourish. The fallout can be stunning for HDV children like Shanna. For instance, her elementary educators never consider the social conditions of domestic violence or the impact these conditions might create for Shanna or, perhaps most importantly, recognize why her resistive "behaviors" are necessary cultural responses to violating social experience in and out of school. Nor is there any evidence that school officials question the practices of Shanna's third grade teacher or why Shanna resists this teacher. In fact, this same teacher, along with the school psychologist and her abusive father, aids

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[12] Ladson-Billings (1994) defines CRP as "a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (p. 17-18).

the interdependent construction of Shanna's disordered subjectivity, creating a third and fourth form of positioning by authority figures.

The Power of Authoritative Psychological Discourse

Sadly, Shanna had few opportunities for agentic subjectivity outside the deficit representation ascribed to her by authority figures. Given Shanna's age, her experiences of objectification, and her lack of advocacy, we should not be surprised that her school trajectory is one typical of the school-to-prison pipeline. In deconstructing stanza 3, this trajectory becomes even clearer as the school psychologist solidifies Shanna's EBD subjectivity as the third point of Shanna's EBD positioning through her/his authoritative opinion. At this point, the authoritative power of this school psychologist is clear—she/he authored the IEP, which serves as a public transcript describing Shanna's disordered body. He/she continues to build Shanna's EBD subjectivity through just a few 20 to 30-minute classroom observations as part of a mandated technique in the construction of a student's special education IEP. As an effort towards co-constructing the narrative of Shanna's EBD subjectivity, the school psychologist also chooses instances from a 20-30-minute observation only highlighting disordered-like behaviors performed by Shanna. These actions further fuel the interdependent construction of her disordered subjectivity.

> STANZA 3
> Observations conducted as part of the 2009 evaluation included defiance and inappropriate verbalizations (such as "Shut up," insults and unspecified violent threats mumbled under her breath) directed toward the teacher.

The school psychologist's professional observation of Shanna ideologically read her problematic behaviors as emotionally and behaviorally disordered in a similar fashion to the deviant behaviors described by Shanna's father. This weighty school authority describes Shanna's actions as "defiance" and "inappropriate verbalizations [e.g., "Shut up," insults and unspecified violent threats mumbled under her breath] directed toward the teacher." It is important to shine a bright light on the fact that this observation is only 30-minutes long although this public transcript will come to serve as a significant framing of Shanna's school subjectivity and trajectory for many years to come. This trajectory continued even as this larger study ended as Shanna continued to carry her third grade EBD label into high school.

These observations serve as a powerful normative tool framed as a special education best practice. During these small moments of time, there was no other content offered by the psychologist outside of language of deviance. Even in that bit of time, it seems he/she is on the "hunt" for signs of Shanna's disability (Baker, 2002). Normative hegemonic actions like these produced by school officials who report such "disorderness" as efficient, non-contextualized data confirm to the greater community that Shanna is indeed emotionally and behaviorally disordered. At this point, actions like mediated gazing and documentation of specific "deficit-oriented" behaviors are violating and especially dangerous because they officially sanction Shanna as deviant. This institutional "truth telling" through data collection helped cement Shanna's EBD subjectivity and school trajectory in precarious ways. These constructions are often tied to classroom interactions between objectified children like Shanna and certain kinds of teachers

they socially and culturally resist. The following section highlights one such instance as Shanna's disordered subjectivity is further co-constructed by her third grade teacher.

Classroom Connections to EDB Subjectivity

Highlighted in stanza 4, a fourth part of Shanna's social positioning as an EBD subject progressed logically as informed by her third grade teacher—a school official whom Shanna resisted along with school peers who even the teacher recognizes "victimized" Shanna.

STANZA 4

Teacher interview in 2009 indicated that Shanna was the victim of teasing by peers for her weight and body odor. She was described as having low self-esteem and taking the role as class clown.

In this stanza, the teacher offers a perspective on why Shanna might possibly display deviant behavior. The missing recognition of the social context and/or social conditions shaping Shanna's responses in this public transcript is glaring. Beyond the missing social context that Shanna is a third grader witnessing daily domestic violence is the fact that neither educational official seems to care or certainly give any kind of social significance to the fact that Shanna is a victim of peer teasing/bullying. For the teacher, it seems the need to build Shanna's EBD subjectivity and desire towards social compliance plays a more significant role than the socially violating experiences Shanna endures as a child and as a student.

A second glaring fact in the IEP excerpt is the avoidance of any possible relational influences of the teacher on the interactions with Shanna outside of the exception that Shanna is deemed responsible for the bullying she experiences. It seems that Shanna brought the bullying upon herself—that she is overweight, unclean, acting as the class clown, and that her low self-esteem is a self-produced embodiment of her continued disordered self. For Shanna, this is the effect of the interdependent construction of damaging public transcripts and the special education best practices embodied in those transcripts. When marginalized subjects like Shanna are deemed the cause of others' hatred and violence toward the Other (themselves), then children like Shanna are expected to be more self-disciplined and more responsible, and to fix their own disorderness.

The educators' analysis and co-construction of Shanna's EBD subjectivity is void of recognizing how she resists the violating experiences in her home and school. In the final stanza, Shanna is fully immersed as a byproduct of the school officials mediated gaze. This gaze creates conditions where Shanna ultimately becomes responsible for managing her own "disorderness" based on *her* problematic "interactions with others."

STANZA 5

Mental health screening in 2009 indicated concerns with difficulty expressing a range of feelings, impulsive and off-task behavior, temper tantrums and immature behavior. She was described as often inappropriate in her interactions with others including abrupt or demanding behavior with peers, difficulty making and maintaining friendships and resistance to authority. It was indicated that Shanna was often worried.

Shanna is ascribed emotive words like "impulsive," "off-task," "temper tantrums," "immature," "demanding," and "resistance." These descriptions serve as a discursive technique where school officials can explain away her subjective experiences of social violence and necessary cultural resistance. In effect, it solidifies their ability to objectify Shanna—easily tagging her as a disordered or throwaway youth (Pyscher & Lozenski, 2014; 2016). The school psychologist offers only one slice of humanizing perspective in this excerpt—ascribing the descriptor of "worried" to Shanna's body. Yet, in this one moment of sensitive analysis the teacher never positions Shanna as anything less than an EBD subject, making her responsible for changing her own behavior rather than educators changing conditions of social violation including their own problematic practices. As described in Shanna's later elementary stories and discussed in the following section, when such actions (i.e. co-constructions) through EBD labeling go unchecked the damaging effects haunt HDV children. For Shanna, as she aged in elementary school, these effects turned towards an act of damaging self-discipline described in Foucault's (1995) conceptualization of panopticism.[13] Similar to Fine's (1991) argument, I contend that this school discourse (and the discursive practices producing such effects) eventually forces Shanna to rupture the strangling effect of her EBD subjectivity through acts of agentic truancy.

The Embodiment of EBD Subjectivity and Necessary Resistive Ambivalence

The label of EBD stuck with Shanna as she began to embody the elementary school's expectation that she self-manage toward a more compliant body. Shanna's earlier resistance, described as "deviant," became a self-reproducing resistive process of self-induced truancy by the time she completed fifth grade. In turn, she became a part of the school-to-prison pipeline as she drifted in and out of juvenile court, beginning in elementary school and continuing through middle school (the point where the larger study ended). Shanna tempered her responses to the social violence she continued to endure both at home and in school through acts of resistive ambivalence[14]—or truancy—disappearing from school altogether. By fifth grade, Shanna becomes the docile body the school officials seek—she collapses inward and by mid-year of fifth grade, she becomes a truant youth, missing over 80 percent of her school year. These actions on the part of Shanna can be "read" as a full rupture between the public and hidden transcripts between herself and the school she attends. Essentially, truancy became an act of cultural self-preservation (Fine, 1991) or resistive ambivalence (Pyscher, 2015; 2016).

The following excerpts, taken out of an interview with Shanna and told through her voice, highlights her elementary school experience including her conscious recognition of having to unjustly self-discipline her bodily responses to socially violating experiences by teachers and fellow students. These excerpts clearly spell out her need for necessary cultural resistance to her continued marginalized experiences in school.

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[13] Foucault (1995) described panopticism as an act where "he who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection" (p. 202-203).

[14] In my scholarship, I have theorized the significant meaning when the veil between hidden and public transcripts is ruptured, or what I have referred to as resistive ambivalence (Pyscher, 2015; 2016a; 2016b). This theory, or what I called a theory toward resistive ambivalence, ponders the meaning encapsulated in the rupture between hidden and public transcripts and where low forms of resistance no longer serve as an acceptable cultural response on the part of HDV youth due to impossible violations they face in school interactions.

(T=Tracey, interviewer and S=Shanna; …=pauses between comments; words italicized=emphasis)

STANZA 1

T: So where we started, Shanna, was um…What experiences most shaped your life up to this point? You kind of mentioned your family…but what else has shaped what you think makes Shanna today?
S: *School*.
T: School? How's that?

STANZA 2

S: *Like* I told you before…like the experiences I've had between like…the difference between like elementary school and all girls' school… [middle school in the larger study] an all girls' school makes me feel like, like… it makes me feel like I can open up more because when I was like in elementary school I felt like I was clamping… really tightly.
T: Why…why do you think you were clamping tightly there?...What would be the reasons for that?
S: …Depression. um…Bullying, the number one thing and then I would say…No friends. I didn't really make any friends in elementary school except for some boys because like they really understood me and like they like think the same things that I did…Yeah.
T: *And…* When you say "bullying," what do you mean by that? What does that look like?
S: Like, in elementary school there would be like this group of girls… and boys and like…they would do their thing and they would always make fun of me.
T: Hum…okay, so they were just mean.
S: Yeah…

STANZA 3

T: *And* how would you respond to them?
S: I would just ignore them. I really wouldn't go looking for a fight because I'm not that kind of person.

STANZA 4

T: Mm-hm. What…How would you describe your relationship with teachers in elementary school?
S: *Not very good* because I… If I told them that some kids were bullying me, they would say, [mimicking voice of teachers] "Just ignore them. Pretend like they're not there."…
And I'd listen, *but like…* that wasn't the very best advice that they gave me.
T: Uh-huh. What would you want them to do?
S: To at least like… tell them to stop.

STANZA 5

S: *or* at least call their parent's home because *like* I've been bullied innumerous amount of times in elementary school *and* I've had a lot of phone calls home about how I'm not sticking up for myself and how I'm not… being confident.

The social identities of EBD subjectivity and becoming a self-disciplined, compliant student are represented in the public transcripts promoted by Shanna's elementary school. The practices embedded in such transcripts are diverse and efficient processes where Shanna is expected to turn the persistent institutional gaze by both educators and peers into a self-disciplining gaze. Foucault (1982) defined this discursive process as one where "the subject is objectified by a process of division either within himself or from others" (p. 208). Shanna, as described in stanzas 4 and 5, is divided from within and outside through the self-disciplining techniques espoused by her teachers who suggest: "Just ignore them. Pretend like they're not there" when she is being bullied because of her weight and hygiene. Shanna questions these authoritative suggestions that are determined to turn her into a compliant subject. She sarcastically claims, "that wasn't the very best advice that they gave me." Shanna is well aware that the teachers' practices were unjust. Based on her third grade IEP, the marginalizing experience of being peer bullied becomes a brutal fact of Shanna's young school life as well as the reality that she is responsible for its affects. Her realizations signify Scott's (1985) argument that the marginalized "are likely to be more radical at the level of ideology than at the level of behavior, where they are more effectively constrained by the daily exercise of power" (p. 331).

These exercises of power and Shanna's realizations that such exercises are unjust were effectively shown in Shanna's last lines of perspective. She comments on the unjust efforts by school officials in punishing her for not doing a better job at self-discipline when she is being bullied. Shanna explains: "*or* at least call their parent's home because *like* I've been bullied innumerous amount of times in elementary school *and* I've had a lot of phone calls home about how I'm not sticking up for myself and how I'm not…being confident" (ll. 4ff-4ii). These school officials exercise both efficient external and self-disciplining processes. These administrative actions shed light on how normative hegemony works as a part of public transcripts. Scott (1990) claimed that such actions persuade the marginalized "that their position, their life-chances, their tribulations are unalterable and inevitable, such a limited hegemony can produce the behavioral results of consent without necessarily changing their values" (p. 74).

Sadly, what Shanna's story illuminates is how the synergetic relationship of actions embedded in normative hegemonic public transcripts emerge from larger deficit-oriented objectifications that become tactics toward self-discipline for the marginalized. Shanna's EBD subjectivity (a technology) built upon the co-constructed best practices of special education labeling and her subsequent cultural resistance offers a clear roadmap tracing the circulation between cultural resistance and hegemonic actions that results in a trajectory towards damaging practices of self-discipline. Dudley-Marling (1995) suggested that labeled students "who do not achieve to their full potential, given sufficient time and the right learning environment" experience and hear the deficit message that they "have only themselves to blame--they are lazy, unmotivated, not willing to put forth the effort, and, therefore are deserving of their fate" (p.

412). The results for HDV children like Shanna are devastating. The labels solidified in Shanna's IEP are conflated with medical and psychiatric discourses that help to strengthen the relationship between Shanna's social identities and the ways that knowledge is organized, making the school's public transcripts and their best practices of objectification a defining life experience for Shanna.

These "interventions" on the part of school officials are considered a particular kind of public care espoused by the school, reified by her own parents (regardless of their intentions), and pointed toward the body of Shanna who is deemed in need of manipulation and control. The co-construction and sustainability of Shanna's EBD subjectivity is a lengthy and complicated process. It is an especially dangerous school formation for Shanna and other HDV children and youth like her, who struggle for advocacy and agency against life's greatest odds. It seems the only other significant adults in Shanna's life, who are charged with ensuring advocacy and having power to create conditions toward agency for HDV children and youth, did the opposite. Rather, these educators represent Shanna's experiences, or HDV cultural knowledges, and responses as disordered**.**

Some Implications

Countering the Effects of "Best Practices" and EBD Subjectivity

For Shanna, the construction of her EBD subjectivity is centered on the reality that schools are assumed to be "safe" spaces for children and youth. Sadly, this was not Shanna's reality in elementary school although she desperately needed it to be. Elementary school turned out to be an asylum rather than a sanctuary. When "disordered" HDV children and youth garner intense attention like the medicalized gaze, their cultural resistances to these violating actions disrupt the sense of structural and psychic safety for schools and educators.

It is clear in interviews that Shanna's responses through class disruptions or mumbling threats at the teacher (low forms of resistance) are performances of cultural resistance and progress into substantial high forms of resistance or ruptures as she ages. One significant and sustained rupture or act of resistive ambivalence is Shanna's truancy by the end of fifth grade. Her resistive ambivalence is personified in the truant label ascribed to her by her school that followed her through her middle school years, eventually landing her in the judicial system. Shanna's truant identity is both agentic and precarious. She wants to leave school desperately but shouldn't leave at all.

Schools and educators must recognize that they are not only implicated in constructing and sustaining the process of EDB subjectivities for children like Shanna, but that they are also responsible when those children and youth choose to leave school altogether. When does the school-to-prison cycle become a conversation about what is not working for kids like Shanna in our schools rather than ascribing the blame to HDV kids like her who endure some of the worst kinds of intimate human violence? Educators need to rethink their "best practices" for *these* kinds of children who garner such heated attention in our schools. They are equally responsible for children and youth whose lives are defined by domestic violence and who feel no alternative than to leave school altogether. Educators must challenge their ideologies and practices and understand how they are shaped by the power of the dominant greater discourses bent toward a

hunt for disability (Baker, 2002). There is nothing simple in erasing and rewriting the written discourses arranged on bodies like Shanna.

Even for some of our most progressive teachers, these youths' HDV cultural resistive responses to normative violating practices are often invisible. So, is it possible that educators mean to do such harm to deeply marginalized children like Shanna? To what extent are their intentions even partially intentional and/or is it under the ruse of "best practices" that they come to believe that such practices are actually doing good to deeply violated children? The answer may sit at the precipice of a desire for normalcy and deficit beliefs regarding HDV children and youths' resistive behaviors. Many educators believe that children like Shanna could be stronger, healthier, and better behaved like the non-traumatized, "normal" child. These sympathetic beliefs have the power to turn into a compliance-oriented imprisonment for the Shanna's in our schools. For Shanna, her early resistance, self-management, and later truancy became an abyss, perhaps an agentic liminal space, upon which she could simultaneously culturally navigate and resist violent experiences in her home and in school.

Beyond School Suspension: The Boundless Danger of Behavioral Frameworks

As an HDV childhood and adolescent survivor myself, Shanna's story eerily feels socially and psychically familiar to me. Like Shanna, I held both public and hidden transcripts in a complicated tension. As an adolescent, I came to partially collapse under my deeply traumatic experiences both in and out of school, but it never became an objectification that hunted me down in school. It was more a personal and psychic battle as I struggled through homelessness and drug use, but I also continued to agentically perform both high and low forms of resistance to the violation I experienced at home and school. I fought back and schools kicked me out. It might just be that those actions were much more humane, the suspensions that is, compared to the experiences of HDV children and youth like Shanna being tagged disordered in our schools today. Educators' practices of discipline in the traditional sense (e.g., referrals, suspensions), never convinced me that I was a disordered child or youth.

What significantly differentiates my violating experience in school from Shanna's is the way I was punished and gazed upon. The label of EBD was a non-existent practice in the 1970's and 1980's. Schools did not systemically tag child and youth resistance as an emotional disorder. Rather, the gaze I experienced was mostly from a real human being; the school's Dean who, in his own caring attempt, often counseled me to make different choices in response to teachers and other peers violating practices towards me. Rather, I was paddled or suspended and allowed to go back into the classroom without the watchful eye of a behavioral IEP or under the heated gaze of the newly emergent Big Data technologies of behavioral management frameworks like PBIS (Positive Behavior Intervention System) that I discuss in the next section. Although paddling was indeed inhumane, it holds no comparison to the grand power embodied in the systemic social and emotional disciplining technologies determined to thwart and extinguish child and youth HDV cultural resistance. Shanna experiences both traditional disciplinary actions and self-defeating objectifications of her body in ways that I cannot imagine. I fear that the dawning of these new technologies of the self, emerging out of special education "best practices" exacted by schools today, may just produce our largest numbers of truant youth yet. And with truancy often comes a life trajectory towards the worst kinds of social marginalization like prison or prostitution.

As I aged and continue my research from an HDV standpoint, I embrace Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) poignant description of decolonizing the self. She suggested, "Decolonization does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centering our concerns and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes" (p. 39). I believe HDV survivors need routes to decolonize their bodies in the midst of these disciplining institutional discourses that have mostly convinced them that they are indeed broken people. I fear that children and youth like Shanna will never have access to this kind of psychic agentic resistance and that the school-to-prison/prostitution pipelines will only continue to flourish as more and more marginalized HDV youth continue to culturally resist in ways that often position them towards precarious life trajectories. I do not have confidence that HDV children and youth like Shanna will be afforded such meaning making especially in this age of Big Data that Baker (2017) powerfully frames in this special issue. What I mean is that the reality for youth like Shanna, who navigate the powerful forces of small data like that of the special education IEP critiqued in this article, can sustain agentic possibility in the conflation of Big Data behavioral frameworks emerging out of special education discourses today. This is especially daunting when the watchful eye of these kinds of authoritative gazing demands an even more rigorous labeling of disordered subjectivity.

An Emergent, Even More Disturbing Trend: The Conflation of the IEP with the Big Data of PBISworld.com

Rather, the critique here is typically that Big Data's version of logic and of theoretico-experiemental rationality pins one and all into a network (digital, electrical, financial and juridical) where there is no in or out, above or below. Along this line, neither transcendence nor immanence are possible. Systemic integration operates instead as enchainment and repositioning into a new trope of associationism across complex interconnected platforms, in which there is something other than gods (*epistrophé*), God (*metanoia*), or the nature of Man (modern individual) operating as the master and decisive agent, judging how well you use your "agency" and how much you have demonstrated "mastery" - an enchainment that "the subject" was asked, encouraged, rewarded, and made, to actively encircle around their "own" legs and champion as competence (Baker, 2017, p. 28).

A Disciplinary technology: Youth as waste[15]

When educators encounter "disordered" (i.e. culturally resistant) HDV children and youths, they typically respond with pity and punishment. Tagging these children and youth as disordered can be thought of as an act of discarding *human waste* (Bauman, 2009), or what Pyscher & Lozenski (2014; 2016) referred to as throwaway youth. Both the HDV children and youths' cultural resistance and deficit-based educational practices emerge out of the interplay between resistance and normative hegemony. Youth like Shanna share similar identities of disorder and/or problematic subjectivities placed upon them by elementary school officials. Yet the actual aim of such framing as throwaway youth is as much about normalizing other

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[15] Disciplinary technology is a Foucauldian (1975/1977) notion defined as a set of operations that join knowledge and power that gather around the objectification of the body.

children[16]. Once a human being is deemed wasted, Bauman (2009) argued, "there are no obvious return paths to fully fledged membership. Nor are there any alternative, officially endorsed and mapped roads one could follow . . . towards an alternative title to belonging" (p. 16). How then do schools clear the rubbish to ensure "normal" subjectivities?

Data driven tactics (of the small kind) like the construction and maintenance of IEP's emerge out of what Foucault (1963/1973) called the *medical gaze* or a dramatic mechanism toward disciplining the body (p. 29). Youth like Shanna know this gaze intimately as shown in the previous discussion. Implementing pedagogical practices of objectification, educators for decades have been taught to gaze upon and diagnose HDV children and youth by observing their everyday interactions through public transcripts like IEP's. Perhaps much more ominous is the current trend of educators diagnosing youth like Shanna as emotionally and behaviorally disordered through the touch of their fingertips through the online delivery of a behavior management program packaged and promoted by the makers of PBIS (Positive Behavioral Intervention Support). Promoted widely in public schools today, PBIS is one such deficit-oriented medical and psychological framework of classroom management[17] (PBIS, OSEP Technical Support Center). PBIS is a veiled, yet dangerous social and emotional (SEL) behavioral school framework/program wedded to the mechanism of Big Data that Baker (2017) described in the opening article of this issue as serving as a renewed effort toward "justifiably excluding" HDV children and youth like Shanna[18]. The PBIS behavioral framework promotes a discourse that positions classroom educators as diagnosis makers and intervenors through intensive and exacting tools of diagnosis void of social or cultural considerations. For HDV children and youths like Shanna, we must question how such programmatic technologies predicated on the use of Big Data that Baker (2017) described increases the production of the school-to-prison pipeline. I fear that once HDV children and youth are caught in the PBIS-like web, their agentic possibilities are thwarted in ways we have yet to define and where perhaps "…neither transcendence nor immanence are possible" (Baker, 2017, p. 28). The concluding section stresses how the technology of PBIS has a potentially devastating impact on HDV children and youth in our schools. I end by applying Baker's (2017) theoretical application of "Big Data and Technologies of Self" through a PBIS online example.

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[16] Laws (2011) wrote that "…perhaps the practices used by the state are not intended to be so very effective. . . perhaps the strategies are critical for producing, in contrast, the normative subject. The actual intended product is not the child who is in need of help but the one who is not" (p. 109).

[17] PBIS is a framework or approach for assisting school personnel in adopting and organizing evidence-based behavioral interventions into an integrated continuum that enhances academic and social behavior outcomes for all students. PBIS is a prevention-oriented way for school personnel to (a) organize evidence-based practices, (b) improve their implementation of those practices, and (c) maximize academic and social behavior outcomes for students

(https://www.pbis.org/school/swpbis-for-beginners/pbis-faqs)

[18] Borstein (2012) contended a framework like PBIS "intends to replace exclusionary discipline practices such as suspension and expulsion with more therapeutic supports in the classroom and the school when students show emotions and behaviors that are difficult for school to accommodate" (p. 3). He also contends problematically that this framework can: "Paradoxically, although the legal intent of PBIS and RTI [Response to Intervention] is to offer a structure through which to build inclusive schools, they may in fact establish discourses that functionally reinforce exclusion. They may substitute one discourse of misbehavior as disability for another in which misbehavior is understood as deviance, yet with the same power to construct an enduring deficit identity of the student as one who can be justifiably excluded" (p. 3).

An Even More Efficient Delivery of EBD Subjectivity: PBISworld.com

Visiting the PBISworld.com website is a stunning example of Big Data's conflation with special education discourses that offer educators a god-like mechanism to efficiently diagnosis the emotional and behavioral actions of children like Shanna. For instance, once a user opens the website, they are immediately introduced to the following screen (figure two below) where they can choose the problematic behavior of the child or youth they are behaviorally struggling with. At this point, I recommend that the reader visit this website at http://www.pbisworld.com and experience the ease of this technology and imagine its influence on the lives of HDV children and youth before continuing to read this article.

Figure two. PBISworld.com mainframe page
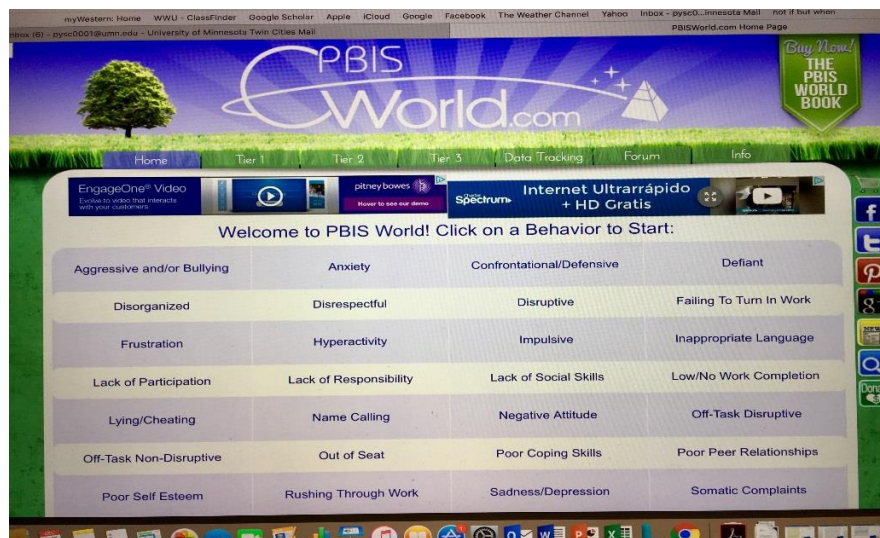
As the user continues to navigate the selected behavior, they are taken to further interfaces where PBIS offers feedback loops tagging evidence-based data of behavioral modification to a plethora of interventions (i.e. worksheets) connected to a specific amount of time so as to responsibly gather enough data to further exact very specific forms of self-disciplining techniques. This design fits directly with Baker's (2017) claim of Big Data's reasoning demonstrated by the coding of phenomena. She suggested, "In the case of Big Data, reason – whether enacted by human or machine programmed by a human - is thought to be demonstrated by definitive coding of phenomena, by quantifying performance, visible behavior or declared attitudes, by error correction via feedback loops, where the patterning becomes both the truth and causal, and where graphic or visual display is the key format of representation" (p. 25-26). Beyond the traditional IEP, the accessibility and ease of diagnosis in itself is stunning. Imagine the impact for a childlike Shanna when such practices intersect evidence-based interventions and then coalesce with the traditional technology of the IEP.

Perhaps most troubling is that this discourse erases any expectation that educators consider the impact of their culturally *ir*relevant pedagogies; or, said a different way, *their*

damaging beliefs and practices in response to HDV children and youth. When the implications of a Big Data driven framework like PBISworld.com is applied theoretically to the EBD subjectivity of a child like Shanna, it is a disturbing vision. The impact on teacher practice is confounding for these PBIS interfaces/data driven interventions that *never* require educators to consider *their* influence on the problematic moment of social interaction with the child or youth under surveillance. Frameworks like these solidify Baker's (2017) suggestion that the authority in charge, be it the philosopher, scientist, or teacher, "can recognize truth and have access to it solely through the activity of knowing, without anything else being demanded, without having to change or alter their being as a subject" (p. 25). For HDV children and youth like Shanna, such a decontextualized medical gaze, especially when positioned with the public transcript of the IEP, is perhaps more destructive than ever before.

What Then Now?

In light of these emerging and popular (!) Big Data behavioral frameworks, schools must consider alternative practices in response to Shanna's cultural resistance. No educator, behavioral program, or disciplinary punishment can erase the cultural knowledges of HDV children and youth. If the popular practices promoted by Big Data driven behavioral/medical/ disciplinary frameworks like PBIS continue to be the impetus for relational interaction between HDV children/youth and educators, both the educators and children/youth will continue to be positioned towards failure. Instead, schools should resist the often damaging and behavioristic or "best" practices embodied in these frameworks that often push teachers to believe and take actions determined to emotionally and socially fix, or worse yet, untraumatize, HDV children and youth. If not, these damaging practices, or better said, school-to-prison moments of interaction, will only increase.

For marginalized HDV children and youth to exist and thrive in our schools educators must come to favor engagement of cultural resistance over control. It is difficult work, especially when frameworks like PBIS flourish, but necessary if we are to truly counter the effects of the school-to-prison pipelines manufactured by frameworks such as PBIS and traditional IEPs. It is difficult work and requires educators to reflect upon their own actions in response to social contexts while also honoring the complicated identities being performed by both HDV children/youth and themselves. I wonder then what our schools would feel like if educators were committed to seeing their HDV students as unknowable, especially during their most tension-filled interactions with children like Shanna. Ferri (2004) asked in another way, "What would it mean to consider all students essentially unknowable, exceeding any categories we might try to impose on them—regarding them as always in a state of becoming" (p. 513)? Perhaps this is the space where agentic possibilities emerge for HDV children/youth and educators to take up agency and subjectivity on both ends, while ushering in room for new, non-deficit discourses to surface.

Such agentic actions also embody the power to dismantle the force of behavioral technologies like PBIS and IEPs at the most local level, our classrooms. Agentic shifts occur when teachers reconcile their frustrations and sometimes outright hostility pointed towards children like Shanna and rethink their damaging practices in real-time. Sometimes this rethinking occurs in minute to minute interaction while simultaneously refusing deficit practices embodied in behavioral frameworks like PBIS. Perhaps a starting point begins with humanizing kids like

Shanna and recognizing that her eight-year-old self was only seeking a more loving and humane experience outside the violence of her home. Like other HDV children and youth, her young life depends on it. In fact, if there is a "best" in any practice, this would be an essential starting point.

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