BODIES AS TEXTS: WOMEN TEACHERS' PERSONAL CHANGES AND PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE

by

CHRISTINE A. MALLOZZI

(Under the Direction of Donna E. Alvermann)

ABSTRACT

Excluding teachers' individual stories from current education research reifies simplistic images of teachers. More complicated stories are necessary in research for educators to examine how the mind, the body, and the professional and personal lives of teachers matter in schools. Bodily images of teachers provide an access point for considering what is socially and culturally accepted in a specific community and time.

The purpose of this interpretive feminist interviewing study is to use narrative methodology to interview seven teachers who have experienced a personal change and have perceived a subsequent difference in how they were considered publicly. Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory of action as text is used with de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging to establish the body as a text that can be read for meaning. Interviewing was the method of data gathering. Analysis moved from a general thematic analysis (Riessman, 2008) of content to Discourse analysis (Gee, 1999) driven by linguistic and graphic signs.

Participants told stories about their bodily images and actions resulting in meaning about the participants, regardless of the body being observed directly or indirectly. Bodies were read by the school community, and meaning was attached to action that occurred as well as potential

action. In some cases, participants purposefully made their bodies texts to be read. During the practice of reading bodies, readers joined context, readers' expectations, and body signs to develop meaning about the women. Participants took different career paths, but their teacher images were factors across all participants' careers.

Further exploration is needed into the matter of reading potential action to develop the potency of Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory of action as text, and there is evidence that researchers need to attend to the influence of observers' expectations in de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging when translating the theory from cinematic studies to face-to-face communications. Teacher educators are obligated to guide teachers in understanding how their personal lives and bodies are involved in the politics of education, and teacher education researchers need to bear witness to the cultural influences of participants and themselves when working with notions of cultural models of teachers.

INDEX WORDS: Teacher, Professional life, Personal life, Mind/body binary, Interpretivist, Feminist, Action as text, Imaging, Narrative, Discourse analysis, Divorce, Heteronormative, Homosexual, Transsexual, Reading, Icon, Teacher education, Teacher research

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DEDICATION

To my husband John, for sharing in the second time around. It's a charm. To Phoebe and Ava, for reminding me that sometimes now really is the best time to go outside, get some fresh air, and play. And to Peanut, whose patience allowed me to birth a dissertation first.

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Seven special participants, who trusted me with their stories.

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The Salings, who reminded me that what I am doing actually is pretty cool.

My family, who kept a copy of *Our Bodies, Ourselves* on the shelf and never let me forget that I simultaneously am and am not as smart as I think I am.

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and I did not speak out
because I was not
a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Jews,
and I did not speak out
because I was not a Jew.

Then they came for me,
and there was no one left
to speak for me.
- Pastor Martin Niemöller

(Posted in Gabbie's office during secondary school employment)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The image of teacher is iconic. The institution of schooling in United States' culture has guaranteed personal and visual access to teachers. This access exists throughout several phases of a person's life. As a student, a child or adolescent interacts with teachers throughout compulsory education. As an adult, one may encounter teachers by working in a school setting, having school-aged children, or recalling teacher images in memory. Cultural representations in television, movies, books, songs, art, and other media reinforce the iconic image of teacher so that people can see how their personal and individual examples of teacher compare to the wider cultural versions.

Iconic images are problematic though. They provide a reified view on a subject that is more complicated than any one image would suggest. Seeing a teacher as an embodied person with a complicated life may transgress the boundaries that an iconic image of teacher sets. Understanding a teacher as a person who experiences change undermines an image of a teacher that never changes or changes very little. Reductive portrayals of "relatively static conceptions that ignore change within teachers and change in the school system and society that surrounds them" (Lightfoot, 1983, p. 242) have established a metanarrative (Lyotard, 1979/1984), an all-too-simple story, of teachers' lives. This metanarrative roots a universalizing concept of teacher that masks more complex stories. The result is a stagnant, one-dimensional image of teachers, which creates the need for those who work with teachers to examine complexities of teachers' lives.

A Reflection on My Cracked Image

These iconic images of teacher had very real effects for me when it came time to choose a career. As a prospective teacher, my memories of past teachers created a silhouette of the teacher I wanted to become. These memories of influential teachers were heavily simplified, overcast by the images described above. Now, as a former teacher, I rely on the memories of my own teacher-me that are more complicated than I ever anticipated as a hopeful beginning teacher.

Mornings were either a mad dash or a quiet clock marking when I needed to walk down those slippery tiled stairs to greet the students. As soon as she showed up at my door, I'd wished it were a mad dash day, one when I'd be down at the copier or in the paper room finding make-do materials. Instead it was a quiet clock morning. I was enjoying the last bits of peace in my room before the start of first bell, when Tim's mom[1] came to the door. When a parent asks a teacher, "Do you have a minute?" I was taught that "No" is never a sufficient response. And compared to the look on her face, anything I was doing would have to wait.

I had taught Tim as a fifth and a sixth grader. His work and grades in our language arts class were decent, and he seemed to have several good buddies in school. Any redirection he needed was usually about his good nature getting the better of him. She confirmed that it probably would "be best" to close the door, and I trusted her on that. Tim's mom did not tend to inflate situations.

As I reached for the brass knob with one hand, my other hand grasped the door jam. I was grateful I could steady my body because I suddenly felt uneasy without knowing the purpose of her visit. I had taught Tim's older sister and now Tim for two years. Surprise visits were not in this family's repertoire. I had always admired Tim's parents' celebration of their children's gifts as well as their appreciation of their children's average abilities. In a school that boasts an

[1] All names of people and places are pseudonyms. Regions are named without pseudonyms.

expectation of above average students, Tim's mom seemed pleased with her kids just being happy in a generally supportive school environment. I also admired Tim's mom for distinguishing herself by dressing in running gear and no makeup to school visits, when many other moms appeared to be competing for style points.

My biased opinion of Tim's mom's sensibility opened my ears to what she was going to tell me, but my stomach churned guessing what that would be. We took two chairs at the table closest to the door. She explained that she had to tell me something that happened at home the other day with Tim and his friends and that she didn't think it was really serious but something I should know. Thoughts raced in my mind to find something that wasn't serious but would incite her blushed cheeks and make my skin go to eggshell.

Here was the issue: She overhead Tim and his friends talking in an adjacent room. The boys had all agreed that they'd noticed. These 12-year-old boys noticed that when I bent down, they could see part of my underwear peeking above my waistline.

Wide-eyed, I cupped my open mouth, wondering when this could have happened. Thinking back, I never doubted that it did indeed happen. I always knew that elementary school teaching was a much more physical and active job than people were led to think. I was always down on the floor with students, bending to their eye-level when seated or reaching up high to nab some books from an almost inaccessible shelf. And our class was in the middle of literature circles. I usually spent half my day pretzeled on the floor with kids, a situation that would prompt any woman's wool crepe pants to be uncooperative – especially if she were too focused on the discussion to "sit pretty". It's funny now to consider that I was not so concerned that it happened, but when did it happen? How many times did it happen? In which outfit or (oh boy) outfits did it happen? I realized teachers' undergarments could be seen ever since third grade

when I saw Miss McMullen's bra strap from beneath her gauzy white shirt. I was less embarrassed that it happened once than at thinking I might be a repeat offender.

Tim's mom assured me that she didn't want me to feel bad and didn't see the need to go to the principal about it because she supposed that I probably didn't even realize. Alarm bells sounded in my head. The principal… over underwear? "Oh no, neither do I," I responded probably too quickly. But it was her last throwaway detail that landed a blow.

In the family living room, Tim apparently said, "Well, she's single now. You don't think she wants one of us to be her boyfriend do you?" The boys paused. They broke the silence with several "naws" and "no ways" which fell into giggles that groups of 12-year-old boys indulge in when they think no one is listening. Although I was physically sitting at a table in my classroom, I simultaneously at a snail's pace escaped my body. Hovering above the two of us, my mind's eye saw Tim's mom amused, and I imagined the boys sitting around Tim's living room, hands sweeping the silly idea out of the air, and someone pushing Tim's shoulder with a you-knuckle-head intensity. I returned to my body just in time for Tim's mom to tell me it was "kinda cute." But all the "naws," playful jostles, and cuteness didn't erase this kind of raw exposure.

Tim's mom told me she knew it was just boy talk but thought I'd want to know. I oh-yes-thank-you-ed in anxious politeness, but did I really want to know this? Did I really need this on my mind, too? Wrestling with my divorce, holding onto a steady job when I wanted to run away or crawl under the covers, and now this? Some boys seeing my underwear was not the problem – a minor breach easily fixed in my mind – but this transgression of what Tim's mom and perhaps society at large saw as an appropriate teacher image was a matter that I could not shake.

Transsexual bestselling-author and English professor Jennifer F. Boylan (2003) and I are strange bedfellows. About her transition from male-to-female, she wrote

> What I've taken away from this, however, is the way in which we can become obsessed with clearing our good name, even after our innocence has been established. It is a very human impulse, but it's ultimately fraught with peril. The more we feel compelled to keep explaining ourselves, the less like others we become. (p. 250)

I had long considered that designing an academic study that was prompted by how people in my school community saw me as a less than ideal woman teacher almost implicated me or in the least drew more attention to that opinion. I knew that some readers might indulge in a she-doth-protest-too-much assumption that I am not as innocent as I propose, or readers might interpret my choice of dissertation topic to be an unnecessary clearing of my name that in some odd way raises suspicion. However, all texts are susceptible to reader interpretations that deviate from the authorial intentions. For example in this study, participants' bodies were texts that others in their school community interpreted, sometimes with unanticipated meanings. No doubt this written text is also vulnerable to reader interpretations that stray from the messages I hope to convey about how I came to this study.

In this chapter I will explain the problem that iconic images of teacher are subjected to binaries that are inadequate for the complicated lives of teachers. The two binaries that are most pertinent to this study and thus will be presented in this chapter are mind/body and professional/personal. Second, I will introduce a group of research questions dealing with bodies as texts and personal changes becoming public knowledge. Third, using a theoretical frame based in interpretivism and feminism, I posit Ricoeur's (1971/2001) concept of action as text and de Lauretis's (1984) concept of imaging in a theoretical marriage to examine the three research questions. Last, I argue for bodies to be regarded as texts that are able to be understood for meaning in the presence of these insufficient binaries.

Problem Statement

The problem with relying on iconic images of teachers is that they reinforce a lack of individuality, activity, or context. An iconic image sets standards for teachers to achieve regardless of who they are, what actions and events take place, or the setting. Iconic images are subject to two notable binaries that shaped this study: mind/body and professional/personal. Maintaining these binaries are in part what make iconic images unsatisfactory for the teaching profession.

Against the Mind/Body Split

Descartes (1641/1996) organized human existence as the mind being separate and superior to the body. Although this duality is not isolated to teachers, the institution of schools has repeatedly emphasized a Cartesian mind/body split for teachers, denying the presence of their bodies in the classroom (Alsup, 2006; Johnson, 2005, 2006, 2008), and thus favoring their minds. Informally, teachers' bodies are seen all the time by students in the classroom, by coworkers in the hallways and faculty lounges, by parents in conferences and through students' descriptions. The closest formal attention given to teachers' bodies may come in administrative evaluative observations, in which an observation form may include reference to teacher dress and presentation appropriateness. If there is attention given to a teacher's body in the classroom, MacLure (2003) contended that it is often not a positive discourse because the teacher likely deviated from professional expectations. This discourse includes real teachers, such as me, as well as rhetorical ones, such as the teacher created in my students' talk about my appearance. Real and rhetorical versions of teachers will be central to this study as I examine participants' stories of how the public perceived their teacher bodies.

This study builds on Alsup's (2006) and Johnson's (2005, 2006, 2008) conclusions that a teacher's body is continuously on display and observed, and therefore, educators' bodies matter in the classroom. Because most of kindergarten through 12th-grade teachers are women (Strizek, Pittsonberger, Riordan, Lyter, & Orlofsky, 2006; Zumwalt, & Craig, 2005), it is particularly noteworthy that women's bodies are on display. In several ways there is a collision of the knowledge of the mind and the doing of the body in the kindergarten through 12th-grade classroom. A classroom is a setting where watching the teacher, who is often female, is acceptable and preferred as part of mindful learning. Of course, this kind of treatment of bodies is wrapped in ills that feminists have been struggling with for decades. Women are positioned as object to be looked at often for the pleasure of others (Berger, 1972; de Lauretis, 1984; hooks, 1992/2003; Mulvey, 1975). For example, although I was unaware at that moment, Tim and his friends were engaged in watching my body. At times the object of the gaze is divided into focused parts of a woman's body, a kind of dismembering, as was the case when Tim and his friends focused on my underwear. This dismembering can occur with any focused area of the body.

The issue of observing a teacher's body certainly occurs in the enduring image of the teacher at the chalkboard with a whole class of students looking on (MacLure, 2003). However, observation of the teacher exists even in classroom practices that break from that image, such as the teacher on the floor with a group of students or in a one-on-one conference. These practices only change the watching of the teacher by increasing the teacher's proximity to students. This closeness may allow areas of her body to be noticeable that may have gone unseen when she was at a distance. In the least, observers are able to see her body differently. During classroom literature circles or reading and writing conferences, I sat on the floor on their physical level to

be part of the student discussion. Bending down in unforgiving teacher clothes risked the likely outcome of showing my undergarments, a risk that was maybe too great to take given Tim's mom's reaction.

Although United States' compulsory schooling has focused on teachers using their minds to develop student knowledge, the design of classrooms puts a teacher's body front and center. Expecting teachers to maintain the mind/body split dooms them to failure in comparison to the uncomplicated iconic images of teacher, which ignore the teacher body, mask it, or find it unproblematic. While the mind/body split may support the uncomplicated iconic image of teacher, it disservices teachers who cannot live up to its impossible standards of favoring the mind and disregarding the body.

Against the Professional/Personal Divide

Iconic images of teachers are also subject to the professional/personal binary. Because icons are somewhat the same with little individuality, personal circumstances are given little if any attention so that the image can be plugged into the profession without conflict. However, professional and personal circumstances cannot be completely separated as the binary might suggest. Because teachers are considered moral leaders, responsible in guiding students into society as respectable citizens (Grant & Murray, 1999), personal qualities can be considered in judging a person's ability as a professional teacher. For example, teachers' personal dress is used as an indicator of appropriateness for the profession, under the assumption that certain types of personalities accompany certain clothes (Weber & Mitchell, 1995). Assumptions also work in the other direction, using the professional to make judgment about the personal. For example, teaching has a history of using observations of what happens in the professional realm of schools as evidence of the type of person one is or will be in the personal realm, such as a nurturing

woman teacher is expected to be a nurturing mother (Lightfoot, 1978). Professional and personal boundaries are definitely blurred and inclined to affect how a teacher is perceived.

The professional/personal binary implies that personal matters are supposed to remain separate in a professional setting and that personal matters seeping into the professional world is a negative situation. My personal identity as a newly divorced woman spotlighted that some people thought I was more likely to seek the attention of males in school, even too young males, to find a new romantic partner. However, accepting the personal in the professional does not mean that someone will be a bad teacher. For example, because I was personally taxed, I was more sensitive to helping students and colleagues overcome their own personal difficulties. The presence of the personal colliding with the professional is undeniable, but the professional/personal binary still has influence on how teachers are judged.

Teachers are observed when they are at work by members of the school community. Because the personal is present in the professional, teachers' personal lives are also open to scrutiny. In effect, a teacher's personal life in the public and professional realm of school is deemed as less than the iconic standard of keeping the professional/personal binary in place. A more complicated teacher is flawed compared to the iconic teacher who has little to no individual personal circumstances to affect her work.

Research Questions

The problem of the mind/body split and the professional/personal divide as principles in teaching led to several research questions. The purpose of this interpretive feminist interviewing study is to use narrative methodology to interview seven current or former teachers who have experienced a personal change and have perceived a subsequent change in how they were

considered publicly; participants' narratives will inform how teachers' bodies are read as texts in this situation.

Overarching Question

How are bodies read as texts in circumstances when teachers perceive that personal changes become public knowledge?

Guiding Research Questions

1. What are the stories that current and former teachers tell in relation to experiencing a personal change and perceiving a change in how they were related to professionally?
2. How does a participant's body serve as a text that is read to inform her personal and professional lives?

Theoretical Frame

The concept of the physical body is fundamental in feminist research (Kolmar & Bartowski, 2005) and, for this study, matches critiques of the Cartesian mind/body split to reestablish bodily action as a site for meaningful knowledge. Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory that bodily action can be read and interpreted as a text to produce knowledge placed value on the body. This theory indirectly troubled the mind/body binary. de Lauretis (1984) proposed that the body is a form of representation. Although much of her work is in the fields of film theory, cinema studies, and cultural studies, she made the case that cinema is "directly implicated in the production and reproduction of meanings, values, and ideology in *both* sociality and subjectivity" (p. 37, emphasis in the original). Cinema can be understood as work that produces "effects of meaning and perception, self-images and subject positions" (p. 37). This applies to those engaged in and around the cinema. Looking at women's bodies

> is so pervasive in our culture, well before and beyond the institution of cinema, … it necessarily constitutes a starting point for any understanding of sexual difference and its ideological effects in the construction of social subjects, its presence in all forms of subjectivity. (de Lauretis, 1984, pp. 37-38)

It is with these concepts of reading the body from interpretivism and the woman's body as an image of the gaze (i.e., people's intent looking) from feminism that I propose this study.

Interpretivism and feminism are two primary macrotheories that help in seeing how women's bodies are read as texts in the collision of the personal and professional worlds of teachers. Interpretivism is important in theorizing how a text is read. Feminism maintains the body as a site for development of knowledge. Ricoeur's (1971/2007) interpretivist theory of action as text dovetails with de Lauretis's (1984) feminist theory of imaging as contextual meaning making from images. A body is part of action, and a body can be represented in image. The conceptual triangle (See Figure 1) of text as action, body portrayed in image, and interpretation for meaning of action and image form a base for this study. Together, Ricoeur's and de Lauretis's theories establish the body as a text that can be read for meaning.

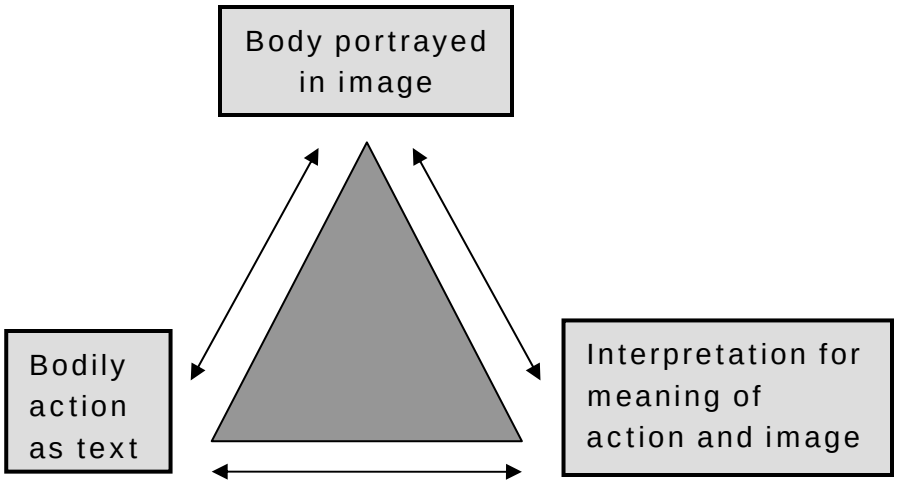

Figure 1. Triangular Conceptual Frame

Interpretivism

Interpretivism, namely interpretation for meaning of action and image, will serve as part of the triangular base for this theoretical framework. “To interpret is to render near what is far” (Ricoeur, 1981, p. 111) in regard to time, place, culture, or spirituality. According to Ricoeur, to interpret a text and question the ideology on which the text rests, the reader needs to bring the text theoretically closer, interpreting the text in relation to the reader’s life. The reader must then take the text further away, back into the more distanced world to situate it in a wider view so that it has meaning outside the reader’s self. During this interpretation, eventually a person develops an understanding of something, within reach of meaning to the interpreter and meaningful to others in a broader sense, as opposed to simply resting on preexisting assumptions.

Hermeneutics is one way to approach a text to develop meaning from the interpretations of the text. The western tradition of hermeneutics is long and varied (Crotty, 2003), but hermeneutics as I am using the term is “the theory of the operations of understanding in their relation to the interpretation of the texts” (Ricoeur, 1981, p. 43). Much of Ricoeur’s work stemmed from texts in the literary field; however, he linked concepts in the humanities to the social sciences (see Ricoeur, 1981), establishing a new hermeneutics. This newer hermeneutics is of use to this study because it applies to the social world and how human action can be read for meaning.

Interpretation is not just about rendering something near to produce a personal meaning. The interpretation, though situated in the specific, must remain in tension with the general to be meaningful (Gee, 1999). For example, the model of a quiet, sweet, attractive, young woman teacher may become the idealized image of a teacher in one community, but this cultural model may not withstand a shift across cultural groups. One can investigate power issues surrounding

the status of this cultural model from community to community. The model can be used as a tool to develop meaning on a larger terrain. Thus, an interpretive process can bring something near that was once far, then take that entity out again to have meaning in a wider realm.

Hermeneutics has been criticized for several reasons. Compared to some sciences, hermeneutics may seem relativistic because it acknowledges the context and interpreter's influence, while addressing generalities. Feminists also criticized modern hermeneutics for masking the influence of other feminist theorists (e.g., Bartky, Ellison, Warnke, Welby) with male theorists like Heidegger, Gadamer, and Ricoeur (Bowles, 1984; Code, 2003; Holland & Hunington, 2001; Waithe, 1995). This critique is not to imply that one school of theory robbed interpretivism from the other, but relying on a male-heavy canon hampers the recognition for feminist theorists' work. Still, hermeneutics holds a place in feminist practices (Bowles, 1984) and in this study specifically for attending to issues of the body as a text to be interpreted.

Feminism

Feminism maintains that the body is important to the history and future of women (see Kolmar & Bartowski, 2005; Tong, 1998). Löyttyniemi (2006) noted that for all the possibilities that Ricoeur's hermeneutics offers, it makes little space for explicitly female bodies. Ricoeur's hermeneutics yields to the assumptive male perspective as the default for interpretation. Löyttyniemi (2006) made an argument for pairing a feminist perspective with Ricoeur's theories, by asking, "Don't we need a notion of narrative that can speak our bodies and our identities … in relation to the other who is different?" (p. 260). Speaking the female body is particularly important in regard to teaching because female bodies make up the majority of people in the teaching profession (Strizek et al., 2006; Zumwalt & Craig, 2005).

To examine the production of meaning from these images, de Lauretis (1984), like Ricoeur (1981), went beyond a rigid structural semiotics, which assumes consistency of signs and meaning. She invoked a more situated and complex meaning system. de Lauretis (1984) developed a theory of *imaging*, which is "the articulation of meaning to image, language, and sound, and the viewer's subjective engagement in that process" (pp. 46-47). The creator and spectator of the image both perceive the image. They produce meanings of signs, but these meanings are not direct, simple, or predetermined. The ways people see signs is socially determined and contextual. Meaning making is involved at all levels of "sensory perception, inscribed in the body" (de Lauretis, 1984, p. 56). For example, I unknowingly created an image of myself in the classroom which was simultaneously perceived by Tim, his friends, and by proxy Tim's mom. Each perception was wrapped in social and personal contexts, making each perception and the associated meanings slightly different.

de Lauretis's (1984) theory of *imaging* is an "ongoing but discontinuous process of perceiving-representing-meaning" that is "neither linguistic… nor iconic… but both, or perhaps neither" (p. 56). In other words, this cryptic description of imaging boils down to a complex system of meaning making from images that involves context, expectation of the observer, and sign production that can change perception as well as material reality. Because de Lauretis's theory of meaning making is so situated, it is less systemic and structural than other types of semiotics.

Enacting situated, on-site activities and identities includes "one's body, clothes, gestures, actions, interactions, ways with things, symbols, tools, technologies…, and values, attitudes, beliefs, and emotions" (Gee, 1999, p. 7). These personal effects change in meaning from one context to another. Language about these facets of life can be used to reify the status quo or it

can produce different possibilities. The theorized imaging that de Lauretis (1984) proposed will be delivered in this study through image as well as language, which makes the matter of language paramount to the theory of imaging in this study.

Thus far, de Lauretis's imaging theory has only been framed in terms of image. This is due to its development for cinema and film studies. de Lauretis (1984) also looked to art history to establish that perception and illusion are intertwined, allowing a person to fill in gaps with illusion based on contextual expectations. An image and the real thing that the image is based on can both prompt mental activity and the search for meaning. "The similarity of the represented (images) to real objects … is transferred from the representation to the viewer's judgment" (p. 64), and the viewer's judgment is in the material world. This link of the image to the real reinforces bringing these theories into the non-cinematic reality. In stating that the "relations between meanings and images exceed the work of the film and the institution of cinema" (p. 69), de Lauretis seemingly offered an invitation to apply these cinematic theories to the real-life images that people encounter. These encounters are complicated by the combined use of image and language in the real world.

de Lauretis (1984) provided women's bodies as sites for meaning making through image and language both in the cinema and the rest of the world. de Lauretis attended to the role of the woman as an image-text and a spectator-reader included in her feminist move to take cinematic theory to a politically feminist level. A history of women being objectified as images in film texts is well established (hooks, 1992/2003; Mulvey, 1975), but de Lauretis (1984) insisted that women should also be seen as spectators of film and thus readers of filmic textual images. This call encouraged women to be the readers not only of others' body texts but also of their own bodies as texts.

Establishing Bodies as Texts

Ricoeur's Paradigm of Text

Ricoeur (1971/2007) offered a basic paradigm of text, on which he patterned another paradigm of text involving bodies. To formulate his basic paradigm of text, he distinguished between discourse and language. Discourse occurs in the now with a speaker and listener(s). No one needs to ask, who is speaking because the speaker is evident in that moment. If Tim's mom talks to me as Tim's teacher, no one needs to clarify who the speaker is and who the listener is; the speaking and listening are already occurring in that moment by the two people in that situation. Discourse refers to or represents the world where it is occurring and addresses a specific listener in that world. Discourse is an event.

Comparatively, language is outside of the time to which it refers and therefore does not have a speaking subject in that referential moment. That particular time with that speaking subject can only be virtually represented in language. When I write about Tim's mom coming to see me as Tim's teacher, I need to indicate who is speaking and who is listening because you as the reader cannot access that time any other way except through language. Language provides the codes to access a precise here and now that can only be accessed virtually. The actual world of that moment is no longer.

Language of the text provides an avenue to what would have been inaccessible otherwise. Language compensates for the way discourse flees. With language, however, the discursive event becomes coded, recursively identified and reidentified until the discursive event is linked to the same general meaning again and again. For example, revisiting the narrative of Tim's mom coming to my classroom would not elicit a radically different general meaning on the second read than it did from the first read. Admittedly, the meaning may have changed in

nuanced ways, but generally the reader would find that the same people, events, and issues were present. The story is not brand new with each reading.

Language offers affordances but at certain costs. It affords accessibility to a world that is not in the here and now but gives up the luxury of an assumed immediate speaker and listener. Textual language also limits authorial influence when it is accessed by an audience. My writing the story of Tim's mom allows a reader who wasn't there to access this event, but I as the author cannot guarantee the reader will gain what I intended. The reader has no way of asking me what I meant because I as the author am distanced from the text. "What the text says now matters more than what the author meant to say" (Ricoeur, 1971/2007, p. 148). When Ricoeur wrote that the text "matters more", I interpret that to mean not a qualitative deeper or truer mattering more but that the text can be accessed by others and therefore has matter beyond (i.e., mattering more than) one author's intent. The meaning of the event for the readers, as accessed through language, surpasses the actual event.

With language of the text, the situation of primary importance is no longer the situation of the speaker and listener. The noteworthy situation is the reader's. "To understand a text is at the same time to light up our own situation" (Ricoeur, 1971/2007, p. 149). Ricoeur could have meant that text figuratively sheds light, as in enlightenment, on the reader's world, but more moderately a text can bring awareness to a portion of the reader's world. The story of Tim's mom visiting my classroom may have clarified, changed, or invigorated a point for the reader. In the very least, the language temporarily opened another time and place, and the reader's immediate situation was loosened. By loosened, I mean that because the text has many potential addressees, many readers are able to "be" in their present world differently by accessing another time and place through text.

Reading Bodily Action as Texts

Ricoeur (1971/2007) used his paradigm of text comparing discourse to language to establish the concept of bodily action as a text. He maintained that action can be regarded as a text to be analyzed as an object of study for social sciences. Of course, Ricoeur already established that action can be examined without direct observation and participation because action can be accessed through textual language. His new twist was that bodily action did not need to be translated into language; bodily action could be analyzed directly "without losing its character of meaningfulness" (p. 151) and could have meaning detached from an actual event. For example, the action of my inadvertently exposing my underwear in the classroom had a meaning that existed outside the event in which it took place, as evidenced by student conversations outside of my classroom and with Tim's mom who was not privy to the "underwear exposure" event. The meaning of action no longer just belongs to the discursive events in a situated time and place but exists outside these parameters.

Positing the action as text also has affordances and consequences. The action can be accessed by others who are not privy to the body, giving more people the opportunity to read the bodily action. However, accessing the action without proximity to the actor reinforces distance between intention of the bodily actor and the action. Like a lingual text, the action distanced from the actor means more than what the actor intended. Again, the reference to the action meaning "more" is not a qualitative descriptor but that the action is able to mean something to more people than the actor. The action as text takes on a social dimension of its own.

The reader of the action can return to it, even repeatedly, developing meaning based on his own situation. These actions can be reified in meaning long after the action occurred. "An action leaves a 'trace,' it makes its 'mark' when it contributes to the emergence of such patterns,

which become the *documents* of human action" (Ricoeur, 1971/2007, p. 153, emphasis in the original). The action of my exposing my underwear played into the complicated social dimension of what showing a woman's underwear has come to mean. Taking the practical approach, accidental underwear exposure can happen to anyone, especially to women.

With the increased number of undergarments women are pressured to wear to suck things in and push other things out, there is an increased likelihood that at some point their undergarments will be exposed. Joseph (1986/1995) proposed that properties of the body are transferred to the clothing that covers those parts, and underwear often holds a connotation of erotic fantasies. Further, the underwear itself needs to be concealed because it becomes taboo once linked to those fantasies. Joseph posited that this may be especially true for women because women's undergarments (e.g., bras, corsets, bustles) have a tradition of being used as props to enhance a public image. Once those undergarments were seen in public, the trick of her body image would be "found out". Not only would she have shown her own unmentionables and revealed the reason for her own body image, but she also would have put all women's images at risk. A hint of underwear on a woman picques the public interest of what is *really* under there to make her look the way she does. "Plumber's crack" on a man may be considered gross neglect, but a hint of underwear from a woman has come to mean an invitation to entertain erotic notions. This social meaning represents what Ricoeur (1971/2007) called "reputation and which constitutes a basis for blaming" (p. 154). These human deeds become solidified. Their meaning is divorced from the actors' intent, and thus the meaning exists in the action itself.

The divorcing of action from the actor may seem harsh, lacking context, and disembodying. However, to classify this move of action as text as wholly bad would be to ignore what it affords the social world. New receivers, thus anyone who can read the action, bring

"fresh relevance" (Ricoeur, 1971/2007, p. 155), which can be just as meaningful as the meaning from the initial readers of the action. Reading the bodily action is not about getting it right, as in figuring out the actor's intent. It is about coming to an understanding regarding the reader's own situation. Ricoeur was careful not to concede that any reading of an action is equally acceptable; he maintained that some interpretations are more easily validated than others. The probability of verifying a reading establishes its validity. Ricoeur guarded against an anything-goes approach but also held there would never be a "last word" (p. 162) about an action. He bluntly referred to such definitive explanations as "violence" (p. 162). Keeping the opportunity for interpretation open allows the action to loosen the present state of the reader by providing entree into the time and place where the action occurred. These personal interpretations shape the social messages and communication among individuals.

The individuals involved in this study do not hold a particular key to understanding how teachers' bodies are texts that are interpreted for meaning when personal changes become public knowledge. The stories these seven participants tell are pertinent in that these women do not represent the iconic images of teacher. Their stories confirm that the mind/body and professional/personal binaries are insufficient structures for teachers. Of course this chapter has been crafted to make just that point. However, Lorde (1977/1984a) reminded me that I should not be looking for new ideas but for new ways to make them felt. The stories of these seven women do offer new ways to feel the limits of iconic images of teachers and open possibilities for different images of teachers to be presented in research and practice.

- Rose endured public scrutiny when reentering substitute teaching at the kindergarten through 12th-grade level after sexual reassignment surgery in her male-to-female transition. The appropriateness of her bodily changes was called into question in a public

school board meeting, which attracted national and international media attention. According to Rose's lawyer and advocate, the public "wanted to see what they were hiring" – an appropriately dressed and presentable teacher or a manly woman who wore "spiked heels and fishnet stockings."

- Erin is a high school teacher who got divorced during her first year in a new teaching position. After her divorce became public knowledge, a parent complained to her in a phone message about questionable attire, despite her wearing similar outfits while she was married.
- Kendyll, a former middle school teacher, has since returned to teaching at another school in another region of the United States. While in her former middle school position, Kendyll experienced a very public marriage proposal; after the relationship ended, Kendyll felt increasingly "pushed out" of the culture of her school.
- Rachel, a teacher in a Jewish synagogue school, was marrying her female partner. The administrators of the school told Rachel that she had their support in telling the students about her upcoming marriage to a woman. After Rachel told her students about the wedding, behavior problems from some students impeded teaching and learning. During a phone conference, a student's parent informed Rachel that the students' behavior really wasn't the students' fault because "he and several of the other boys don't have any respect for you." The support from the administration in this situation was ambiguous.
- Gabbie is currently a college professor who formerly taught and coached at the high school level. Gabbie self-identified as gay in college before she entered her teaching career but went though several degrees of being out within her school communities depending on her comfort level. After one of Gabbie's students discovered Gabbie had a

women-centered tattoo, the student used the tattoo symbol to represent Gabbie in a class project, making her body a focus.

- Elizabeth is a current high school teacher and a male-to-female transsexual woman who experienced national media exposure as part of her transitioning on the job. Elizabeth maintained her job in the school district where she worked as a man. She experienced varying levels of support from the school community, but her bodily appearance remained a central focus for meaning while teaching.
- Buffy taught high school English at several schools, repeatedly moving and "settin' up house" with her husband. During a respite from teaching, Buffy divorced her husband and entered into a committed relationship with another woman. Currently, she would like to return to teaching, but her fear that people would reject her personal life in the profession keeps her from pursuing a teaching job. These fears are not unfounded. An administrator at her school said that "he would never hire someone he knew was gay."

These seven participants offered their stories of personal changes in professional settings as a way for me to examine how their bodies were interpreted for meaning.

This first chapter has presented the problem of simplified images of teachers and explained the interpretivist and feminist theoretical frame I used to investigate several research questions surrounding the problem. Chapter 2 provides a review of literature concerning teachers' professional and personal selves, women teachers' bodies in the schools, and teacher embodiment within a heteronormative sex/gender system. Chapter 3 outlines the narrative research methodology I used to gather and analyze data from the aforementioned seven women. Chapter 4 is an in-depth analysis of the participants' stories in regard to the research questions.

Finally, Chapter 5 offers significant implications for education regarding research and teacher education.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The ideas of teacher and woman are in a sociocultural marriage. By 1870, women's increased presence in the teaching field was undeniable, and since the 1930s the majority of teachers have been White, middle-class women (Lortie, 1975/2002; Lucas, 1997). Data from the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) indicated that in 2003 to 2004 approximately 75% of school teachers were female (Strizek et al., 2006), an unsurprising statistic considering females made up a clear majority of teacher candidates (Zumwalt & Craig, 2005). With 83.1% of the teachers categorized as White, non-Hispanic in 2003 to 2004 (Strizek et al., 2006), the historical lack of racial diversity in this profession also still exists.

A meta-analysis by Zumwalt and Craig (2005) on teachers-in-training indicated that the trend of White, middle-class women in teaching continues to hold for future teachers. A lower proportion of female secondary school candidates exists, but women still comprised the majority of all types of teachers-in-training. Regarding class, candidates who were White and female were most likely to have parents who both have at least some college education and were likely to be of middle or higher socioeconomic backgrounds. White teachers tended to be younger than Black teachers, and the average age of prospective teachers had increased only slightly. Like any iconic image of a teacher, these demographics present a useful but uncomplicated portrayal of people in the profession.

Demographic statistics are a starting point to discussing women teachers' bodies as texts. Demographic identity markers describe historically placed bodies and situate them into characteristics of human populations on a large scale for institutional purposes (Foucault, 1975/1977, 1976/1978). Characteristics of those bodies (e.g., sex, race, class) are separated into specific categories (e.g., male/female), and the number of bodies in those categories are tallied under the assumption that the totals will yield a snapshot of the people involved. These statistics provide a wide, thin sketch but fall short on depth of description. I rely on other approaches to data to provide a depth of knowledge about the bodies being studies, albeit on a smaller scale.

I return to Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory of action as text and de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging. Both theories offer different potentials for understanding how women teachers' bodies are texts and sites for producing knowledge about the profession. Ricoeur (1971/2007) established that when a bodily action is read as a text, meaning can develop among people who were not the actors or immediately proximal to the action. Ricoeur's action as text theory holds a moment in time (the action) as a subject matter that can be accessed by many and has relevance in their lives with varying levels of depth. de Lauretis (1984) maintained that images could produce meanings and perceptions of social subjects, even beyond those portrayed in the image. de Lauretis's imaging theory asserts the image as a starting point to understanding larger cultural meanings with varying degrees of pervasiveness and social effects. The emphasis on bodily action as text and imaging of the body reveal my aim to have a deeper understanding than what the wide net of demographics can offer.

In this review of literature, I hold the theories of bodily action and imaging in conversation with research influenced by sociohistorical and sociocultural factors. I first discuss issues regarding teachers' professional and personal lives to establish that professional and

personal actions are neither completely integrated nor separate but exist in complicated relation to each other. Then I review literature on women teachers' bodies to reinforce the inadequacy of simple definitive readings of teacher images. Subsequently, I contextualize professional and personal teacher embodiment within transgressions in the heteronormative system of United States education. In doing so, I show how the practices of transgressions have worked to reestablish rather than weaken iconic expectations for teachers. The findings and methodologies of the literature are threaded through the chapter to build my argument of the research that is needed to study how bodies are read as texts when personal changes become public knowledge in the professional teacher setting.

Teachers' Professional and Personal Lives

Teachers are in the public eye. When they are at work, their actions are being observed. Boundaries of the professional and personal are blurred in teaching. The profession has a history of using observations of what happens in the professional realm of schools as evidence of the type of person one is or will be in the personal realm (Lightfoot, 1978). The structure of school purposefully includes private family matters of students and parents, but the inclusion of personal matters of teachers in schools is more obscure. To begin to clear the obscurity, in this section I outline literature regarding professional and personal matters. I show that the professional and personal have been depicted in different ways throughout the 20th and 21st centuries.

Prior to the late 1800s the majority of teachers were men. The late 1800s marked a change in the teaching population as one that was dominated by women. By the 1930, there were five times as many women as men teachers in the United States (Lortie, 1975/2002); therefore any studies about personal and professional lives of teachers are particularly pertinent for

understanding the lives of female teachers, a focus of this study. I begin with Waller's (1932/1965) oft-cited sociological study that held integration of professional and personal lives as the key to being a prestigious teacher. Waller described the teaching profession with its restrictions and formalities that prevented intimate interpersonal relationships within the school environment in the early 20th century. For example, the isolation of one teacher in each classroom surrounded by students left little opportunity for fostering adult relationships (Biklen, 1995; Lortie, 1975/2002). Waller (1932/1965) explained the optimal image of a teacher was an earnest, well-mannered, conservative, stable person of high moral control, even if these standards have been mitigated by or abandoned in the school community. Fulfilling these expectations included integrating the teacher's professional self and personal self, so that a teacher was an exemplar whether in or out of school.

Attempts to integrate professional and personal selves can be seen in the stories of individual teachers who were beginning their teaching careers in the 1930s and 1940s, close to the time that Waller (1932/1965) was documenting teachers' social actions. Waller's (1932/1965) study provided worthwhile sociological data of teachers but included very little of the personal stories and voices of the women being studied. Adams et al. (1998), using data from oral history interviews and document analysis, developed a reader's theater script based on the stories of four retired teachers. The stories of these four teachers (Sarah, Cleo, Virginia, and Anna) defy a unified understanding of teaching. All four showed attempts to integrate their professional and personal lives but with varying degrees of success and certainly far from the expectations described by Waller.

Adams et al.'s (1998) portrayal of these four career teachers showed a tension in how each woman was seen professionally by others and the way each woman personally saw herself.

Sarah was remembered by others as being fulfilled by a vocational calling to teach, with her students as her family, but her diary showed she felt lonely and isolated. Cleo, a retired social studies teacher, saw the teaching profession as a practical way to gain her independence and break from "a controlled life" (p. 387), but personally admitted, "I could have lived another life and been just as happy" (p. 385), revealing a level of detachment from her chosen profession. Conversely, Virginia saw being a teacher as a vocational fulfillment and never questioned that the Lord made her a teacher. Anna believed she was not made a teacher but chose to teach, and she was thankful for this decision because her profession afforded many personal relationships with children, parents, and colleagues in her life. Overall, Adams et al. (1998) made the case that each participant succeeded in varying degrees to integrate her personal life while teaching; however this integration may not have been as easy or widespread as Waller (1932/1965) proposed. The personal and professional lives of teachers may be more complicated than Waller purported, but throwing out Waller's findings is a reckless move. For example, Lortie's (1975/2002) sociological study both supported and weakened Waller's (1932/1965) sociological findings. Lortie's analysis supported Waller's description that the virtuous teacher in professional and personal realms was still the standard. However, Lortie did establish doubt that teachers were willing or able to integrate their professional and personal lives.

On one hand, teachers in Lortie's (1975/2002) study expressed always being a teacher even during the official off-school hours, a feeling that dictated their personal activities and might indicate an incorporation of the professional and personal. A 34-year-old female fifth-grade teacher said, "Teaching is confining, emotionally and socially. I mean a teacher has to be a Caesar's wife, beyond reproach, particularly in the eyes of the community. You think twice about doing things" (p. 97). A teacher's actions are a text about who she is personally and

professionally. A 32-year-old female second-grade teacher's statement conveyed that there are restrictions on her personal life: "Teaching is too confining…You find that you're always watching who is around who might know you from school, and how you have to behave and who shouldn't I be seen with here and all this and that" (p. 97). The belief that "everyone is watching" (p. 97) was socially and intellectually stagnating. Again, teachers' embodied actions were a focus.

More than male teachers, women teachers mentioned that the professional and personal constraints inhibited their chances to meet potential mates (Lortie, 1975/2002). For example, women teachers did not feel they were free to go to bars where non-teachers go to interact with other singles. Many participants expressed concern at their lack of interaction with other adults and that without seeking intellectual stimulation one could easily slip into a narrow existence suitable to only being with children. These data might imply that teachers saw their professional and personal lives as one and the same, but Lortie found that teachers did not consistently uphold the professional and personal integration that Waller (1932/1965) described.

Lortie (1975/2002) used survey data to suggest that the teaching profession has an in-and-out appeal for a woman, that teaching is a temporary engagement she can enter then leave once she gets married and has children. Later a woman may choose to return to teaching under the assumption that the profession will basically stay the same in her absence. According to Lortie, women situate teaching as supplementary to marriage and motherhood. Not only are these actions not integrating their personal and professional lives, as Waller suggested of teachers in the 1920s and 1930s, these women teachers do not consider that their personal and professional lives even can be incorporated. Lortie, focusing on breadth over depth, established a clear tendency for women to make a choice between professional lives and personal lives.

Women choosing between family and career are not isolated to teaching. Holland and Eisenhart (1990) gathered ethnographic data from 1979-1987 to explore female college students' responses to schoolwork, expectations for their gender, and romantic relationships. Several students with diverse academic majors scaled down commitment to their careers for both academic and personal reasons (i.e., romantic relationship, family). However, choosing between a professional life in teaching and a personal life with marriage and children is a decision that Biklen (1995) proposed was thrust on women teachers due to sociological expectations. The traditional binary-based gender social role of a man was that his duty in the private family realm was having a job outside the family in the public realm. The traditional gender role of a woman was that her contribution to the public workforce was taking care of the family in the private realm. A woman's commitment to a public career such as teaching represented an opposition to her private family responsibilities. Because teaching, especially at the elementary level, was considered women's work, instead of altering the sociological gender roles so that women's participation in public careers was more acceptable, the work of teaching was demoted to a semi-profession (Etzioni, 1969). Women teachers were still considered "careerless" (Biklen, 1995, p. 26), because in effect they were just waiting to return to a private family life.

To accept the views of Waller (1932/1965), who recognized the integration of professional and personal lives of teachers, would be to contradict and negate the work of Lortie (1975/2002), Holland and Eisenhart (1990), and Biklen (1995), who saw evidence that women teachers separated their professional and personal lives. Both conclusions are too simplistic to accept as final answers to how professional and personal realms affect teachers. Some researchers proposed other possibilities, namely that professional and personal worlds of teachers can coexist sometimes separately, sometimes quite closely, but always in complicated ways.

These findings may leave the field less satisfied because no clear answers are provided; however, because I am arguing for more complicated studies of the teachers' lives, studies such as the following ones, present opportunities for differently seeing the professional and personal.

Pajak and Blase (1984) found the professional and personal teacher selves were allowed to coexist independently with the help of temporary structures used to alleviate tension. Using participant observation and unstructured interviews, Pajak and Blase (1984) studied the phenomenon of 200-300 teachers gathering at a local bar each Friday after school and how that barroom interaction functioned in their personal and professional lives. Most teachers were under age 35 and single. This study provided entrée into the personal and professional lives of teachers even though the stories and voices of teachers were limited.

Overall, teachers dichotomized their personal and professional identities, but the bar served as a transitional setting where teachers moved from professional to personal self. In the bar they discussed school problems affecting their private lives and experienced more interpersonal freedom than possible in a strictly professional setting. This finding is counterintuitive to Lortie's findings that positioned bar-going as a no-no for teachers. However, the bar-going in Pajak and Blase's (1984) study functioned as a phenomenon to transition from professional to personal, not a complete reversal of the image of teacher.

Eight of 42 teachers spoke of needing to cope with conflicts in their professional and personal identities. One teacher said, "I have to shed my school. I just have to get rid of it," and another participant said, "You just – You want a little life a little bit" (Pajak & Blase, 1984, p. 167). The barroom was seen as a safe place for teachers to be "off" from being a teacher. Fifteen of 42 teachers spoke about concerns in communicating with teachers and that meeting at the bar allowed teachers to drop the professional front and get to know each other beyond the

superficial. One teacher said, “They sort of work themselves into their role of being a teacher, which is what it really is. You do get into that role. And you come in [the bar], the only person you can be is yourself. You can be the teacher for the first ten, fifteen minutes, but after that you have to let yourself go…” (p. 168). It was understood that entering the establishment allowed people to be less accountable professionally.

These barroom gatherings established personal friendships, as well as the induction and socialization of new teachers. Colleagues were used as sounding boards to support a professional action teachers made or a problem they were having, but there was also an understood limit to the professional conversation that was tolerated. The researchers suggested that professional and personal conflicts were dealt with through compartmentalization. Participants did not entirely divorce professional and personal lives, but they also were not completely integrated. They were held sometimes in tandem, overlapping in the setting of the barroom.

To explore how teachers’ personal lives affect their professional lives, in a later study Pajak and Blase (1989) analyzed open-ended questionnaires from 200 teachers. Again, stories were limited by the questionnaire structure, but participants described their feelings associated with personal life factors and the effect of each factor on their relationships with students, colleagues, and school principals. Analysis yielded that 13 personal factors that authors grouped into three categories: interpersonal (being a parent, marriage, single status, and being a member of an extended family or network of friends), personal (personal interests, personal traits, spiritual beliefs, personal experiences, and health.), and socioeconomic (finances, visibility, social status, and miscellaneous problems).

Pajak and Blase (1989) found that teachers typically saw their personal lives benefiting their professional lives with students, unless their personal lives took attention away from

classroom responsibilities, leaving teachers feeling guilty. Connections across teachers' personal lives often brought colleagues closer except when teachers judged that a colleague was letting personal circumstances get in the way of professional work. Some personal conditions isolated teachers from their colleagues, unless colleagues were already friends or acquaintances. Teachers felt trust and anticipated support in sharing a personal matter with a principal, but positivity was not always a given.

Notably, the factors in this study were colored by heteronormative[2] standards or universal issues (e.g., health issues). Also, the questionnaire never addressed other stakeholders in schools, such as parents, who have been cited as factors in job satisfaction (Liu & Ramsey, 2008; Macdonald, 1999; MetLife, 2005; National Education Association [NEA], 2003). Pajak and Blase (1989) mentioned in their implications the importance of teachers cultivating their personal interests, but their findings imply that this may be true only if the interests fall within the norms of teaching in a kindergarten through 12th-grade school system. Pajak and Blase established that professional and personal lives are not fully integrated or separate but affect the other according to the context (i.e., in school, out of school). The personal issues in a professional setting were acceptable if they were uncontroversial.

Likewise, through direct observations in a school, Biklen (1995) noted that certain aspects of family and personal life (e.g., engagements, births, adoptions, anniversaries) were celebrated within the professional setting of school while others were ignored.

> There was so little space for individual emotional privacy in the classroom that teachers who were going through personal traumas such as divorce, illness, or the death or illness of a parent found it difficult to 'get through the days.'" (p. 177)

[2] This tem will be addressed further later in this chapter. Briefly, the term *heteronormative* means the predominant sociocultural and institutional view that heterosexual preference and related behaviors are the norm.

For example, Biklen did not report talk of colleagues supporting each other in care-giving situations by delivering meals or notes of kindness, even though there were other kinds of social talk. Talk seemed to surround events that reinforced the concept of an intact heteronormative family, which was uncontroversial in the school community. Biklen (1995) observed, that some personal matters were not discussed, which functioned to keep the school community from having to question the status quo. Once again, professional and personal matters are not completely integrated or separate, but there are complicated and situated limits as to how welcome the personal is in the professional world.

When educators are not able to reconcile their personal and professional lives, one result may be that they leave the teaching field. Alsup's (2006) study of personal and professional identities provided some insight into women's embodiment issues leading to the decision to leave the teaching profession. For example, one participant name Carrie had a rigid notion that secondary teachers were confined by expectations for a conservative and "classically feminine" (p. 101) appearance; she was willing to modify her appearance only to a point and eventually did not become a teacher. The participants were teacher education students so they may offer a different perspective from practicing teachers, but Alsup's inclusion of narrative and discourse analysis provides guidance for a study into the personal and professional lives of more experienced teachers. It would be useful to have in-depth information on how embodiment issues affect practicing teachers' career paths, but thus far, the information on teachers' careers, attrition, and mobility is from large scale studies that provide cursory explanations.

A mobility and attrition study using National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) data for 2003-2004 found that 40.9% - 64.7% of respondents stated balancing the professional and the personal in a job outside the kindergarten through 12th-grade classroom was better than it

was as a K-12 classroom teacher (Marvel, Lyter, Peltola, Strizek, & Morton, 2006). The statistics provide little detail as to why or how this is the case. There are many misunderstood or unacknowledged areas of teachers' professional and personal lives that are not represented in mass questionnaire and survey studies, such as Marvel et al. (2006). An exploration of individual stories is necessary to address issues that go beyond the heteronormative and assumptive characteristics of kindergarten through 12th-grade school teachers in the United States. Teachers may be reluctant to share their own stories, but Grumet (1988) maintained that new stories need to be shared, stories that include the personal and private. If different stories are never told, the hegemonic structures will be reinforced and will further produce the same limiting stories of teachers, so that "silence certifies the 'system'" (p. xvi).

These investigations into the professional and personal lives of teachers create a range of possibilities. This body of literature shows it is inadequate to state that professional and personal matters are fully integrated or completely separate. I advocate for a more complicated view, that these two realms are held in relation to one another and affected by context. To address these complex factors, research is needed that examines stories in some depth instead of mass sociological and survey studies so that the stories can provide insight into actions and images of teachers.

Women Teachers' Bodies

Physical bodies are always present, and it is precisely their constant existence that makes them less visible. The presence of bodies is expected, so they go unnoticed. When they do become a matter of focus, bodies are easily objectified, moving from whole person to parts (e.g., breasts) or things (e.g., underwear). The objectification of women's bodies can be seen in several social representations and in media. One form of objectification is that women's bodies are

regulated to serve an institutional or external purpose (Kilbourne & Jhally, 2000; Sawicki, 1991). Bartky (1990) made the case that institutional structures objectifying women in general are more concerned with their sexualization than with other qualities like motherhood. Following Bartky's assumption even as institutional school structures seek to discipline teachers for being sexual, they also incite discourse around teachers' sexiness (Foucault, 1976/1978). Teachers as sex objects are just one possibility for the objectification of women teachers' bodies.

The institution of schooling makes teachers objects of students', parents', administrators', and the community's gazes. Evidence of this can be seen in personal examples and in depictions of teachers in classrooms, popular culture, and media. Many researchers offer personal examples of bodies being the focus of a gaze and subsequent attempts to regulate women's bodies. Johnson (2004) interviewed female prospective teachers who reported being self conscious under the gaze of high school students, especially the males. As a high school teacher, Johnson (2008), too, was the object of the gaze of a colleague who "executed a flawless performance of 'schoolmarm'" (p. 17) and questioned Johnson about the shortness of her skirt. With Walkerdine's (1990) oft-cited story of nursery school teacher Miss Baxter, Walkerdine challenged the assumption that such body objectification only happens in the perhaps hyper-sexualized environments of adolescence. After Miss Baxter redirected the misbehavior of two 4-year-old boys, the boys told the teacher "show your knickers," "show your bum off," "take all your clothes off, your bra off" (p. 4), which Miss Baxter chalked up to a boys-will-be-boys excuse. My own story of Tim's mom confirmed that even when parents are not directly watching teachers, teachers are being watched by parents through the eyes of their sons and daughters. The gaze of students, colleagues, and parents sends signals to a teacher about what is expected of a teacher's body. Other people regulate her body until she regulates herself, because she is pressured to function within the

institutional expectations or risk being disciplined (Foucault, 1975/1977). Teachers or teacher candidates must decide to conform, resist, or find other options.

Thus far in this section, I have provided evidence that women teachers' bodies have been sexualized, but this explanation is too simplistic to satisfy an in-depth reading of teacher images. Images of women teachers' bodies have created a spectrum of objectification. To better understand these images one must take into account who saw the image, who created the image, the sociocultural meanings involved, and the sociohistorical influences – in short, the context cannot be ignored (de Lauretis, 1984). At times the expectations for teachers are overtly about sexuality, but more often a nebulous discourse of professionalism is invoked.

The discourse of professionalism can be communicated as expectations for teachers' appearance. Teacher handbooks or dress codes may indicate what is acceptable. The *2009 Job Search Handbook for Educators* (American Association for Employment in Education [AAEE], 2008), a publication distributed to university career centers, advised new teachers to "dress more conservatively and formally than you think is necessary, especially on 'casual Friday,'" adding, "It is far better to be noticed for being 'over-dressed' than to have a reputation as the inappropriately dressed new teacher!" (Obrycki, 2008, p. 9). More often and perhaps most effectively, teachers are enculturated into expectations for teacher appearance long before they even enter the field. Teacher education students are people who have watched teachers for 13 years or more during their compulsory education. Through this "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie, 1975/2002, p. 61) teachers-in-training have a clear expectation of what a teacher should look like. In Alsup's (2006) study of prospective teacher identity, expectations for teacher appearance were so clear that even when a prospective teacher participant could not control certain aspects of her teacher image, such as age and a petite-body frame that made her look

quite young, she recognized the need to mitigate what could be seen as flaws in her teacher image. She expressed the value in professional dress because "if you're pretty dressed up [students are] going to be paying attention" (p. 103) and showing respect.

Children play an integral role in organizing teacher images. Waller (1932/1965) recognized that some images exist even before the actual teacher is a factor and that children superimposed those images onto the teacher; other images are manufactured by the children at the moment of meeting the teacher. Waller claimed that several archetypal teacher images created by children hold differing levels of prestige. Weber and Mitchell's (1995) study almost sixty years after Waller's study emphasized the value of teacher images (e.g., drawings, popular culture texts). Weber and Mitchell analyzed over 600 drawings of teachers by students and teachers who were prompted by the invitation "Draw a teacher (any teacher)" (p. 17). The researchers interviewed the participants with a prompt, "Tell me about your picture." Also, researchers asked participants to write about their drawing or included participants in a group discussion about who teachers are and what teachers do.

As may be expected, teachers' bodies were front-and-center in students' drawings. Male students tended to draw female teachers as masculinized, like a man in women's clothing, or male students drew women teachers as feminized through body parts, such as breasts, an act that came with "a certain illicit pleasure" (Weber & Mitchell, 1995, p. 40). In several drawings, the erasure marks around the breasts seemed to indicate that the boys knew they should not be focusing on the teachers' breasts, a sexualized body part in many cultures. Female students also feminized their drawings of women teachers, by decorating the drawings with jewelry and make-up. Few girls drew women teachers with breasts. Weber and Mitchell (1995) surmised that the girls may have connected more to the emotions of the school environment and aspired to the

qualities of those women teachers, when the boys may have been more concerned with impressing their peers and taking the opportunity to rebel against the teacher, the assignment, or both. These suppositions depend on gender stereotypical behaviors of boys and girls and therefore remain questionable in this present study that aims to complicate too-easy explanations, but it remains an interesting matter that girls and boys tended to use different images to represent teachers. Although this is one portion of Weber and Mitchell's (1995) study that deserves revision, much of the study is useful for understanding the cultural images that both influence and capture the teaching profession.

Drawings were also markedly different depending on the age of the drawer. The majority of students invoked the iconic image of a teacher, which as described by MacLure (2003) is a modestly dressed woman, standing in front of students, with a nearby blackboard or presentation surface. However, drawings by kindergarten and first grade children contrasted with most drawings. Younger children drew teachers outside among their students (skipping rope, walking, or standing) surrounded by rainbows, sunshine, and green grass. As confirmed by her teacher, one 6-year-old's drawing was inaccurate with the activity but exact with the clothing. The inaccuracies of action in the drawings open the images to critique and mar their credibility, but the accuracy with the clothing reinforces that teacher appearance is a visual focal point of students, even at young ages. Weber and Mitchell (1995) contended the images of teachers have a dubious quality in that they appear simple on the surface, a wish-fulfillment of what a child wants the teacher to be, but involve complicated social and cultural meanings to create images as standards teachers are expected to meet.

To read images, sociocultural meanings need to be taken into account. Weber and Mitchell (1995) situated an analysis of this data into an examination of popular culture texts such

as movies, books, television episodes, and toys to interrogate the contradictory images and stereotypes that affect curricula and professional identities of teachers. Weber and Mitchell used the concepts of intertextuality in television (Fiske, 1987) and deep and surface level readings of stereotypes (Gilman, 1985) to develop a methodology that resisted oversimplified readings of images. They maintained that any single interpretation of a teacher stereotype or metaphor oversimplifies lived experiences of teachers, leading to an inadequate reading of the profession. The iconic classroom in popular culture (i.e., a teacher at the front, students in front of her) is readable and a consistent symbol that controls the image, so much so that other images are "alien or threatening" (MacLure, 2003, p. 14). When one accepts the notion that non-iconic images are threatening, that resignation reinforces constricting images that teachers are expected to embody. Resisting that resignation would mean that the existence of an icon does not establish that all images should actually fit into that simplified vision.

It is clear that these iconic images have a stronghold on the profession. Clothing, as portrayed in drawings and pop culture, is a site that informs limits of acceptable teacher appearance. Across data sets in Weber and Mitchell's (1995) study, teacher dress was portrayed as somewhat dull and conservative, but a few participants submitted drawings of females in glamorous or stylish clothing. More often female teachers were drawn with their hair in a bun, wearing glasses and pearls, and usually a wide or sack-like skirt. Male teachers were usually drawn in a shirt or sweater and pants, sometimes with a beard and often with heavy glasses. Images in popular culture followed suit. When any images did rupture the idea of teacher as asexual and dowdy, instead of the unusual image opening the possibility for different kinds of teachers, the images actually worked to reinforce that teachers were expected to conform, not rebel. That is to mean that the images, like teacher-as-punk rocker or teacher-as-Ninja Turtle,

were considered unusual and counter to the expectations. The images were almost always in a context that made the teacher's appearance improbable, such as a teacher dressed as a fairy princess in front of a chalkboard with a wand instead of a pointer. The drawing had an expected context with an unexpected image of teacher. These drawings conveyed that a teacher *could* look like some fantastical figure in a far-fetched way, but it is not the normal expectation in real life and breaks with tradition. Again, instead of these unusual images opening possibilities for teachers to break from the norm, the conventional expectations were actually reinforced.

Figure 2. Rockwell's (1956) painting Happy Birthday Miss Jones depicts the model of a dowdy schoolmarm.

Weber and Mitchell (1995) made the case that images of teachers are often smaller or larger than life. If a common smaller-than-life image of woman teacher is the dowdy schoolmarm (see Figure 2), a larger than-life image that doesn't quite fit real life is Barbie.

Although there are many versions of Mattel's Barbie doll as teacher, Weber and Mitchell used student-teacher-Barbie doll as she appeared in a Marvel comic (see Figure 3) as a site of interrogation into the deep and surface structures of this image of woman teacher. Shapely, smiling, manicured, fashionable Barbie is matched with a fun-loving nurturance and concern for her students. Weber and Mitchell's analysis contended that this surface structure matches an ideal of a female student teacher, but these surface features are linked with the controversy of Barbie's critics who are suspicious of the consumerism, glamour, and overt sexuality. Barbie is a text of desire with real social effects, but incongruently as a toy, she can't really be taken seriously. Even when Barbie succeeds in the stereotype, she is doomed in that success. Barbie's contradictory surface and deeper level meanings offer an example that even iconic images cannot be taken at plain sight.

Figure 7 Barbie is not just any student teacher

Figure 3. Cover of Barbie comic as it appeared in Weber and Mitchell (1995)

As a toy, Barbie's image is commercially regulated and subject to some highly artificial structures. Munro's (1998) less artificial example of a participant named Bonnie showed how surface structure readings of a teacher image can be held in tandem with the deep structure reading of teacher appearance to reveal oppressive systems. It is important to note that Bonnie's story, like any story of teacher image, is situated in a sociohistorical context (de Lauretis, 1984). In 1965, while in college, Bonnie joined Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) and was assigned to Atlanta, Georgia to work with Planned Parenthood in an all Black housing project educating residents on family planning, nutrition, and child services. At the end of her training, male VISTA officials handed Bonnie an early dismissal stating they were concerned for her safety as an attractive White woman in a Black area, giving the reason that she was "unwittingly seductive" (Munro, 1998, p. 96). Bonnie said, "I had long hair and I suppose in the sixties I wore clothes that were short; they seemed quite normal to me." Bonnie's actions and image created a text about her in the public realm as read by others. Certainly, the racial overtones of this encounter are undeniable, and it is arguable that they were simply a sign of turbulent times in the southern United States. However, Bonnie saw this situation as evidence of patriarchy and that women are not welcome to be active in the public sphere. As a secondary school teacher, Bonnie encountered similar experiences.

Bonnie recalled the regulatory practices a male high school principal initiated with her regarding footwear. This incident notably occurred when women teachers were just beginning to be allowed to wear slacks to school in the early 1970s, presenting the possibility that an increase of rights in women teachers' dress came with increased monitoring and critique. Bonnie, who with the physically active job of teaching was on her feet all day, wore open-toed sandals to accommodate swelling feet. Seeing her toe-exposure as unprofessional, the principal asked a

male teacher and male department administrator to "counsel" (p. 102) Bonnie. The principal also recommended Bonnie wear Japanese toe-covers that look like five-fingered socks to cover her feet. The principal's discomfort with Bonnie's exposed feet and exposure of the female body in general was clear, but this incident speaks to the systems of body regulation (Foucault, 1975/1977).

Munro (1998) maintained that covering the female body makes it less obvious that women have tread into the public sector, spaces stereotypically reserved for men in some sociocultural realms. Although women comprise the majority of the teaching profession and female principals are on the increase in elementary schools, males continue to occupy the bulk of administrative and leadership positions, especially in secondary schools (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 1997, 2007). The males in Bonnie's narrative were either at the same professional level as Bonnie or just above her; however all the men in the story acted as her superior, invoking a platform of morality to encourage a change in Bonnie's behavior. Bonnie's male principal encouraged the men to take such actions toward Bonnie. Like her experience with the VISTA officials, Bonnie was reminded that if she as a woman did not regulate her body, a member of a patriarchal system would challenge her to regulate it. Importantly, according to the male superintendent, Bonnie did not develop a reputation as a woman teacher who would actively "use her sexuality to get what she wanted" (Munro, 1998, p. 103), but he added, "twenty per cent [sic] of the female staff would use it" (p. 103). I state this not to prove that Bonnie was a "good girl" teacher but to reinforce Munro's (1998) point that Bonnie on the whole self-regulated her body and her sexuality. However, when it was seen that she was not self-regulating properly, there was a definite reaction.

Gendered identities have inconsistencies, but contradictions create opportunities for people to resist and for analysis of those resistances (de Lauretis, 1984). Contradictions exist in subverting gender norms, and there is no simple reading of any image of teacher (Weber & Mitchell, 1995). As evidenced by Bonnie's story, women are not just victims of patriarchy but can be agents with resistance when they do not conform to patriarchal expectations (Munro, 1998). However, even if the intent is to subvert the system, it is how the bodily action and image is read by others that matters (Bordo, 1993; de Lauretis, 1984; Ricoeur, 1971/2007). The review of literature on gender transgressions in the next section reveals that there is a tension that any transgression to subvert a system can be also read to reinforce the transgression as deviant. The deviant act can end up reinforcing stringent gendered expectations.

Transgression in the Heteronormative System of United States Education

A part of enacting feminist theories is to seize the opportunity and right to name the conditions that affect women's lives. A major difficulty of this task lies in naming circumstances that are seemingly natural, to have always existed. I integrate three theories from Rich (1980), Rubin (1975), and Fausto-Sterling (1993, 2000) to address naming the heteronormative sex/gender system of U.S. culture. Rich (1980) posited that women have been enculturated into a system of compulsory heterosexuality for several reproductive, cultural, and economic reasons. A woman subverting her gendered expectations maybe considered deviant in an entire system that holds heterosexuality as the norm. The heteronormative standard is enacted on the individual level as explained by Rubin's (1975) sex/gender system.

The sex/gender system (Rubin, 1975), as part of human identity in society, maintains that bodies' sexual and reproductive biological markers plus societal influence determine the gendered identities of people. The sex binary of male/female is divided along body parts, but the

gender binary is more complex. The sex/gender system is highly influenced by the male/female binary in which males are masculine and females are feminine. However, individual gendered identity is formed not just by body parts but by society. The societal constructions and institutions are not the only factors that complicate gender beyond a male/female sex binary, but they are influential.

Fausto-Sterling (1993, 2000) provocatively proposed at least five sexes (women, men, hermaphrodites, male pseudohermaphrodites, and ferms), maybe more, as being more comprehensive than a binary system. Although her terminology is out of vogue and arguably offensive, her theoretical piece was intended to stir the overwhelmingly accepted sex binary by stretching it to a sex continuum, even though the continuum was still rooted in reproductive organs. When paired with Rubin's (1975) sex/gender system, if sexes were expanded, gender would also be expanded beyond a one to one correspondence of male to masculine and female to feminine. The societal influences on expanded gender categories would become less definitive.

When Rubin's (1975) sex/gender system and Fausto-Sterling's (1993, 2000) sex continuum are combined with Rich's (1980) theory of compulsory heterosexuality, there is disjuncture that complicates gendered expectations. If a woman is no longer a simple given of a feminine counterpart to a masculine man, then compulsory heterosexuality creates friction. Compulsory heterosexuality is not negated but remains in tension with the more complicated gender system. However, instead of the revised sex/gender system opening categories of gendered people, compulsory heterosexuality positions action outside the male/female binary as deviant. Heterosexuality with a male-to-masculine/female-to-feminine binary is reestablished as normal. U.S. society is marked by heteronormativity, and the education system as a part of that society also remains heteronormative (Sumara & Davis, 1999).

A Brief History of Transgressions

The heteronormative stronghold in U.S. education creates expectations that teachers negotiate. Blount (2000) delivered a historical analysis of educators transgressing gender expectations in U.S. public schools. What is called a transgression is always situated, but Blount established that transgressions are historically met with punishment or removal from the institution. I trace the movement of these gendered transgressions beginning with women entering the public workforce, which led to a second gender transgression of women remaining single in the workforce. Next, I present a third transgression of married women remaining in the workforce. Last, I illustrate with more detail a fourth transgression, homosexual teachers in a heteronormative education system. With each transgression there is evidence of a reaction for "correction".

With female teachers currently in the majority, it is hard to consider women entering teaching as once being a gender transgression. However, prior to the late 1800s when primarily men were in the classroom, the first women teachers were considered independent and lacking femininity. The first women teachers broke gender bounds by entering the public world of employment (Biklen, 1995; Hoffman, 2003: Lortie, 1975/2002). Catharine Beecher (1846) called on women to take up teaching as a way to affect social change, as well as prepare for being wives and mothers. In a historically and socially significant oral address, Beecher postured that women in the teaching profession would save children from ignorance as well as provide a productive opportunity for women to remedy "a depressing influence upon our sex" (Beecher, 1846, p. 5). Beecher was adamant that women over men should be educators, advocating women's self-sacrifice in return for the power to shape society. In describing "*the educating of children* [as] the true and noble profession of a woman," Beecher (1846, p. 10, emphasis in the

original) drew teachers as a skilled icon of "all that is good, and wise, and lovely" (p. 10) A high moral bar was set for women teachers based on heteronormative, societal expectations. That which was once a gender transgression, namely women being in the public workforce, became normal.

A second gender transgression grew from this movement. In the early 1900s, single women were expected to teach for a few years then return to the private realm of the home so that their attention was not divided between wife and mother duties and work tasks. However, so many women in the public realm remained single (Emerick, 1909), and teaching was one of the only professions for women (Biklen, 1995; Hoffman, 2003) that the term *schoolteacher* was no longer just a virtuous woman dedicated to her students. The transgression of staying in the public realm after reaching marrying age changed how single women were seen in teaching.

In the early 1900s negative images of "spinster" and "old maid" teachers in tight hair buns and pinched lips began to appear in popular culture novels, comics, and news stories, images that are prevalent in more current depictions of teachers (Weber & Mitchell, 1995). Critics saw unmarried women not bearing children as resistant to serving men, as race suicide[3] (see Emerick, 1909), and at least contributing to the weakening of the White, middle class (Blount, 2000). This transgression of single women in the professional world led to another transgression, homosexuality, one that I present later in some detail. The negative image of the spinster teacher prompted another shift.

It is difficult to call this shift a transgression because it in effect was a "correction" of the transgression of single women in the workforce. At a certain time married women in the workforce was a gender transgression, but several factors shifted the landscape toward the

[3] A popular concept of the early 19th century, publicly touted by notables such as Theodore Roosevelt and Helen Keller, that women seeking higher education was related to their remaining single and not bearing children, which would eventually lead to the dying out of White middle-class Americans.

inclusion of married teachers into education. Peters (1934) and the NEA (1942) made cases for married teachers based on increased student achievement, perhaps due to marriage and parenthood preparing the women to be better teachers. The same argument, which supported single women in teaching in the late 1800s, that women's attention could not effectively be split between teaching and family, had moved in the opposite direction. The pendulum had swung and it was exactly marriage and motherhood that was assumed to make women better teachers. Also, the teacher shortage in the post World War II era opened the doors for married teachers. The increase in married teachers came with a decrease in single, women teachers. Blount (2000) took this point as evidence that single women were purged from the profession in favor of married teachers. Married women in a public field had shifted from being transgressive to being accepted.

The transgression of homosexuality still existed, however. In Davis's (1929) study of 2,200 women, over half the sample were employees of schools. In examining patterns of sexual experiences, approximately half of the single women educators reported "intense emotional relationships with other women or homosexual relationships" (pp. 246-247). The question of having an intense emotional relationship with another woman was followed with approximately 26% of the single women educators confirming that intense feelings were accompanied by physical or sexual activity beyond "ordinary endearments" (p. 247); Davis classified these women as homosexuals if they acted on those feelings.

Davis's (1929) study opened the possibility to challenge the binary of heterosexuality/homosexuality among single women schoolteachers. The survey results showed an in-between area in the heterosexual/homosexual binary where a single woman teacher had intense feelings toward another woman but did not act on them. Following Davis's

categorization that acting on the feelings qualified the participant as a homosexual, the women who did not act on their feelings would need another category other than heterosexual or homosexual. This third category would complicate the heteronormative standards for teachers; however instead of widening the definition of what a woman teacher might be, Blount (2000) argued that single women teachers were portrayed in research and popular culture as "not altogether heterosexual" (p. 90). The binary system was maintained in that single women teachers were considered either heterosexual or "not altogether heterosexual" (p. 90). Single women teachers, once useful to society, were likely to be seen as deviant. Eventually, spinster teachers were conflated with lesbianism and the heteronormative binary system of heterosexual/homosexual remained. This conflation of single teacher being a homosexual teacher reinforced the "corrective" move of married women teachers in the field.

Blount (2000) noted that in the 1940s and 1950s at a time when Cold War McCarthyism was strong, any transgression brought suspicion. Women who crossed gender boundaries were linked to homosexuality and signs of sexual abnormality. Just as the direction of the Army-McCarthy hearings of 1953-1954 put people's professional and personal activities under question (Committee on Governmental Affairs, n.d.), the professional and personal activities of teachers were scrutinized. It is difficult to determine how many teachers were dismissed or threatened with dismissal based on homosexual activity, partially due to inexact records and some homosexual teachers accepting termination on alternative grounds (Harbeck, 1997). Florida and California were particular hotbeds of scrutiny of teachers' personal lives that resulted in a revocation of teaching certificates and dismissals based on charges (not necessarily confirmation) of immorality. To squelch rumors of homosexuality, lesbians later reported marrying men and feminizing their appearance (e.g., dress, high heels, hosiery) (Faderman,

1991) because crossing gender boundaries (e.g., staying single, dressing masculine) became evidence of homosexuality. From 1940 to 1960 women teachers married at higher rates than the general workforce, and marriage was seen as evidence of heterosexuality and suitability as a teacher (Blount, 1998).

Social movements and organized resistance groups of the 1960s and 1970s increased the visibility of homosexual people. Instead of the visibility of homosexual people providing support for the system to be more inclusive of homosexuality, it was held as a gender transgression and reinforced the heteronormative system. Homosexual visibility was greeted with pressure to push gay and lesbian people back into hiding. For example, protective rights for gay people, and for homosexual teachers specifically, were increased through court cases and legislative addenda, such as Tinker v. Des Moines Independent, 393 U.S. 503 of 1969, NEA protections of 1974, and legislative protections in the District of Columbia of 1977 (Harbeck, 1997). However, these protective rights were greeted with attempts to counter security for homosexual teachers, like the Briggs Initiative of 1978 that proposed removing gay and lesbian teachers from classrooms (Harbeck, 1997). Throughout the 1980s until current times, gender transgressing teachers, of which homosexual teachers are one kind, are at risk for discrimination because they cross conventions of gender and heterosexuality.

To sum, there were changes in what were considered gender transgressions for women teachers in U.S. society. Women's entrance into the field signaled the first gender transgression. Then it was taboo for married teachers to remain teachers. Later, staying in the field as a single woman was risky in that it brought suspicion of homosexuality. This transgression led to the taboo of married women in the workforce being considered more acceptable, thus no longer a gender transgression. Homosexuality continues to be a transgression, one that holds in the

heteronormative U.S. society. These shifts in acceptability create a complex matrix of gender expectations for women teachers. These transgressions were presented retrospectively; however more current sources of data such as women's narratives and images in the media provide an indication of what is acceptable for women teachers on a larger social scale as well as on more local terms.

Defining Current Transgressions

Narratives of female prospective teachers in Alsup's (2006) study on negotiating professional and personal discourses and circumstances illustrate that traces of certain gender transgressions still operate in teaching. Alsup's example of prospective student teacher Carrie showed how a teacher's body is a site for discrimination due to the heteronormative sex/gender system wrapped in body issues. Carrie admitted, "You still have to be really careful about being in the education field" (p. 100) and supported her statement with an example of a female friend who had difficulty being a teacher because she was not conservative or classically feminine. To embody the identity of a female teacher Carrie worried that she would need to buy an entirely new wardrobe. Carrie eventually decided to forego student teaching, an education degree, and teaching entirely. Many educators cannot accept a teacher body and identity as their own, and Alsup (2006) found that prospective teachers who couldn't visualize an embodied teacher image for themselves had difficulty entering the profession. The two participants who told the most narratives about embodiment tension in negotiating the concept of "teacher" did not teach after graduation.

Images of teachers in the media are also an indication of what is acceptable for a woman teacher. Maintaining that popular Hollywood movies represent the larger culture, Dalton (2004) examined teachers in the movies. In over 100 (mostly American) movies, cinematic

representations of good teachers, bad teachers, women teachers, and gay teachers leave the current educational system intact with little reason for revision of the current images of teacher. In the specific cases of women teachers, Dalton found that popular narrative cinema either ignored women teachers or reinforced the stereotypical woman teacher roles; both options maintain a narrow image of a woman teacher and further, almost erase its image due to its ordinary presence. Tackling the issue of sexuality, Dalton (2004) stated, "Hollywood continues its reluctance to give women teachers, whether lesbian or straight, stories in which they can act out their sexuality without being punished" (p. 20). Compare this to her analysis that gay male teachers are consistently portrayed as the "good" teachers in every way but in being gay. These are not equal comparisons of a sexual teacher and have complex intersections that popular Hollywood movies do not adequately identify. The arena of cinema is a site where personal and anecdotal knowledge of teachers is played out in the media. Dalton's (2004) point that movies reinforce the status quo of schooling is magnified by the apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975/2002). The apprenticeship of observation is the socialization and learning about teachers that students undergo through the watching of teachers. Portrayals of teachers show us what teachers should be, and perpetuates a system that reinforces those portrayals so that images which exist outside the norm are further marginalized. These images of transgressions are generally abrasive to a heteronormative gender system.

For an action or change to be considered a transgression, it needs to go against the expectations of the community, which can be difficult to determine. For example, establishing divorce as a transgression among teachers is particularly difficult due to the decades-long lack of information on divorce cross-referenced to occupations (Monahan, 1958). Women were excluded from early divorce and occupation studies (e.g., Monahan, 1955), perhaps due to a

prevailing White, middle-class standard of women remaining at home, not in the workforce (Friedan, 2001). An increase of women in the labor-force coinciding with an increase in divorce rates in the second half of the 20th century prompted the assumption that the two factors were linked (Cherlin, 1992). This argument harkens to the race suicide idea of the early 19th century, which linked women's education and entrance into public realms with the crumbling of the White, middle-class U.S. family.

Further investigation found that women's choice of occupation correlates with her likelihood of divorce. Using data from the General Social Surveys for 1972-1983, Greenstein (1985) reported that female professional and technical workers, of which teachers are part, do have the lowest propensity to divorce. Indeed, in 2001, 73% of 1,467 surveyed teachers self-identified as married, 15% as single, and 12% as widowed, divorced, or separated (NEA, 2003). Female teachers (13%) were more likely to self-identify as widowed, divorced, or separated than male teachers (6%).

Because respondents described as widowed, divorced, or separated were lumped together, it is difficult to determine the specific marital status of men and women teachers, but data from the 1990 U.S. census indicated that women who work in occupations with a larger percentage of males are more likely to be divorced (McKinnish, 2004). Teaching is not an occupation that has a large percentage of males; therefore divorce would be less likely among women teachers. Further, men, who work in occupations with larger fractions of females like the teaching profession, are more likely to be divorced (McKinnish, 2004).

This finding complicates the conclusion that female teachers were more likely than men to self-identify as widowed, divorced, or separated. It opens the possibility that of the 12% of teacher respondents who self-identified as widowed, divorced, or separated, men may be more

often the divorced ones, whereas the women may be more likely to be widowed or separated. Of course, it is impossible to make definitive conclusions across data sets and analyses, but in the least divorce among women teachers is uncommon and may be considered a transgression of teacher and gender expectations, within their school community even if many of the families in the school community are divorced. The only way to determine what counts as a transgression is to explore situated contexts. In this study, women teachers share stories about actions and images surrounding personal changes to see how their bodies were used as texts.

Summary

More complicated stories are necessary in research for educators to examine how the mind, the body, and the professional and personal lives of teachers matter in schools. Bodily images of teachers provide an access point for considering what is socially and culturally accepted. The review of transgressions in this chapter pointed to the fact that any transgression, although influenced by larger societal and cultural mores, is specific to community and time. Therefore, an individual teacher's stories of experiences in a specific community are an effective approach to understanding what constitutes transgressive action. Excluding teachers' individual stories from current education research opens the opportunity to reify simplistic and inaccurate images of teachers and may close opportunities to resist limiting images. Based on these principles, Chapter 3 includes clarification of my choice of narrative methodology for this research project.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Stories are central to this research project, thus the methodological approach is a narrative one. Although some researchers distinguish between narrative and stories, I invoke Riessman's (2008) decision to make these terms interchangeable. Narratives or stories provide a site for people to contrast their perceptions and experiences with the models of the dominant culture (Personal Narratives Group, 1989). The overarching research question (*How are bodies read as texts in circumstances when teachers perceive that personal changes become public knowledge?*) and the two supporting questions (*What are the stories that current and former teachers tell in relation to experiencing a personal change and perceiving a change in how they were related to professionally?* and *How does a participant's body serve as a text that is read to inform her personal and professional lives?*) are concerned with past experiences. In this study these past experiences were represented through the participants' storytelling. Because the participant is the sole informant on the situation, I cannot nor do I wish to verify her answers. Part of a feminist research approach is to enter into research intending to trust the participants (Oakley, 1981); revising that decision may be necessary (Reinharz, 1992), as in times when a participant's agenda seems in conflict with giving forthright answers, but the intent is to begin with trust. The participant has a right to her stories, and the interviews provide an opportunity for her to tell the stories that she wants others to hear.

Ricoeur's (1976, 1981) theoretical approach to the telling of narratives complicates matters because, according to Ricoeur, stories construct meaning in the act of the telling. The

telling of a narrative is not the same as the events themselves, but a narrative is a synthesis of events and shows how the narrator developed meaning (Ricoeur, 1991). Like Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory of action as text in which the meaning of the action lasts long beyond the action itself, the meaning(s) of a narrative can reach beyond the immediate telling. Also, like de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging, the images of women created by and in narratives go beyond the immediate story to the social systems, ideologies, and practices that existed before, during, and after the telling of the narrative; therefore it is important to receive narratives in context. The here and now of the narrative telling cannot be ignored, but the narrative must be interpreted with the factors that extend beyond the immediate telling.

To provide more detail regarding my methodological approach, I continue this chapter with several sections.

- In the section Participants, I outline my participant recruitment and introduce the seven participants.
- In the section Narrative in Research Design, I present three levels of representation in the narrative research process at described by Riessman (1993): Telling, Transcribing, and Analyzing.
- In the section Telling, I explain how the telling of narratives is facilitated in interviews. This includes an extended description of interviewing as the data gathering method, the data sources used in interviewing, and a description of data management.
- In the section Transcribing, I explain how I converted the audio-based interviews into written language based on the purpose of the study. Phase one of transcription is creating verbatim transcripts of the audio interviews. Phase two is the creation of in-depth transcripts of focal narratives and includes six steps, which are outlined in this section.

- In the section Analyzing, I present how I approached the narratives using thematic analysis (Riessman, 2008) and Discourse analysis (Gee, 1999; Riessman, 2008) to investigate the research questions. Within Discourse analysis, there were three phases. Phase one included developing preliminary understanding of the narratives through examining I-statements, cause-effect assumptions, and cultural models (Gee, 1999). Phase two included analyzing the five language components of narratives, which were narrative structures, syntax and cohesion, main and off main line plot, psychological subjects, and emphasized words (Gee, 1991). Phase three involved images and the in-depth analyses their production, the image itself, and the audience of the image (Riessman, 2008; Rose, 2001).

This chapter provides a description of how I arrived at the research findings I present in Chapter 4.

Participants

Participant Recruitment Procedures

Like many qualitative studies, I used purposeful sampling (Patton, 2002) to recruit participants who could provide information-rich responses for the research questions. Of the several strategies available for purposeful sampling, I used intensity sampling (Patton, 2002), which involved seeking participants who have experienced a phenomenon intensely. I was not interested in finding participants who experienced a range of personal changes, meaning I was hoping neither to recruit extreme cases nor several different personal changes. I was interested in recruiting women teachers who experienced enough intensity of a personal change becoming public knowledge so that it prompted reflection. The participant's quality of reflection was a sign that the phenomenon was intense enough, and the participant criteria surrounding a participant's

personal change was key in determining if the woman's experience had a useful level of intensity.

The participant selection criteria for this study were 1) women or participants self-identifying as female, 2) current or former teachers in kindergarten through 12th-grade settings, 3) current or former teachers having gone through personal changes, 4) current or former teachers perceiving they were considered differently in their professional lives after their personal changes became public knowledge, and 5) a willingness to tell stories about personal changes and public reactions. At the point of participant recruitment, I assumed that this "change" could be many things, such as divorce, a physical illness, a decision to come out of the closet as a homosexual woman, or a married woman becoming a widow. Regardless of the change, it needed to be one in which the participant's personal life was outside professional expectations of the community. I assumed this personal change that went against expectations would prompt community and participant reactions.

In one community, expectations may be that teachers will be heterosexual, able-bodied, middle-classed, family oriented, of the religious majority, and generally will represent the values of the community. However another school community expectations may differ from that generalization. In another community, sexuality, physical ability, religion, and other markers may matter little in the community's expectations for teachers. Because individual contexts are so important in examining participants' narratives (Personal Narrative Group, 1989), the selection criteria were kept purposefully broad. Participant intensities (Patton, 2002) in experience were important. Because the participants were asked to provide information-rich narratives on the phenomenon of interest, I surmised that intensity of experience would yield richer narratives.

I conducted participant recruitment in three ways. First, I sent a research invitation on the listserv of the Institute for Women's Studies at the University of Georgia, a forum geared toward women's issues. The invitation introduced me, the participant selection criteria listed above, and my contact information (see Appendix A). Three potential participants responded and subsequently joined the study. Second, I sent a research invitation containing the same information as described above to eight potential participants. These eight women recruited through chain sampling (Patton, 2002) were people I knew directly or were "friends of friends". Three women responded, and two decided to join the study. Third, I contacted two potential participants whom I learned of through national media publications on transsexual people. After receiving my research invitation, both women agreed to participate. Of the seven participants, three learned of the study through the general call on the women's studies and issues listserv, and four learned of the study through a personal and direct research invitation.

The purposeful sampling approach to participant recruitment led to a select group of participants who experienced personal changes that were unique to each woman's situation. Although each person's story was individualistic, each participant's narratives were useful in illuminating the research questions and are of interest to the broader education population. My intention is not to claim generalizability of participants' stories to all teachers in the profession, but as Sacks (1989) offered, "the general comes from particular lives, and I was looking for lives that would shed some light on the problem" (p. 88) of a stagnant, iconic image of teachers. A small number of participants allowed me to have time with each participant for in-depth interviewing. A tenet of narrative research is that individual context includes the general as well as the specific (Personal Narratives Group, 1989). Therefore, an in-depth study of a select

number of teachers allowed personal stories to be told then analyzed within the larger context of schools.

Introductions to Participants

Participant recruitment resulted in seven women teachers volunteering to be part of the study. Each taught at one or several grade levels in kindergarten through 12th grade. All seven were White, which match the demographic majority of teachers (Strizek et al., 2006). Participants' ages ranged from 27-74, but four of the seven were in their late thirties and early forties, which is close to the average age of teachers (Zumwalt & Craig, 2005). Participants lived in several regions of the United States (e.g., the Northeast Coast, the Midwest, the Central West Coast), though four of the seven women lived in the Southeast. They taught in several regions, and as a group their teaching experiences were in the Northeast Coast, the Southeast, New England, the Midwest, the Western Plains, and the West Coast. Although I was not seeking a range of personal changes, participants' self-identified changes varied from the more common change of getting divorced to the less common sexual transition from male to female. To deepen these brief summative statements about this group of women, I provide the following descriptions of each participant.

Gabbie

Gabbie responded by email to the research invitation on the women's studies and issues listserv. She invited me to give her a call. In the conversation she explained that qualitative researchers were some of her favorite people and that she saw her participation as a way to payback all the people who had helped her earn a doctorate. Gabbie is an academic faculty member at a Southeastern university and suggested we meet in her office on campus. Gabbie's office served as our meeting spot for our face-to-face meetings.

In the building that housed her office, the ceilings were low, the volume was low, and the energy was low. The halls were empty, and most office doors were closed, despite it being late March when classes were in-session. I immediately worried about modulating my voice which is prone to enthusiastic loudness, but Gabbie's choice of her office as a meeting place led me to assume she was comfortable here, which was my primary concern.

I knocked on Gabbie's solid gray door that was ajar, and she stepped from behind her desk to greet me. Gabbie invited me to get settled while she finished a few tasks. I noticed right away that she had printed and signed the consent form and had it ready for me on the table where it seemed she imagined us talking. Her office was tidy, and framed sports memorablia and personal photos decorated the walls. These were my first hints that Gabbie included her personal life in her professional setting.

Elizabeth

I contacted Elizabeth via email after another participant reminded me of her story. I had forgotten that I read about Elizabeth in a national news magazine that published a cover story on trends in gender. After knowing Elizabeth's name and school district where she held a job as a high school English teacher, I was able to find her email address and invite her to participate. As a male-to-female transsexual person who transitioned on the job, Elizabeth responded, "I certainly fit your criteria. :-)". We determined some dates to meet, and I made arrangements to travel to the Midwestern town where she lived.

I arrived at her townhome with breakfast pastries in hand. We both agreed we'd have to start our diets tomorrow. After introducing me to her husband, she invited me to a place on her couch in the living room where I set up my audio equipment. We sat down with warm cups of

coffee and oversized pastries and, after reviewing the informed consent paperwork, Elizabeth curled her tall frame up on the couch, and we talked for several hours.

There were a few unforeseen events of my first meeting with Elizabeth. First, my recording equipment was running low on batteries, which distracted me while I was interviewing her. As it turned out I did lose some data but was able to recover most of the themes through reflective note taking and follow-up interviews. Second, her husband was within earshot of our interview space, which raised a question if his presence would affect her interview responses. Periodically, she called to him to clarify a detail of a story or to make a joke for his benefit. Because Elizabeth seemed comfortable with him near, I did not outwardly question this. Third, Elizabeth's teenage daughter appeared halfway into the first interview. At one point, Elizabeth tried to shoo her out of the room when she wanted to discuss something Elizabeth didn't feel was appropriate to share with her daughter. When her daughter questioned what her mom could tell a complete stranger that she couldn't tell her own daughter, it was a sticking point in the conversation. Neither Elizabeth nor I could give satisfactory explanations to the daughter's question. Her daughter showed suspicion of my trustworthiness, which I took as protectiveness of her parent. Elizabeth persevered, but her daughter's presence undoubtedly changed the dynamic of the conversation.

Later that evening, I received an email from Elizabeth:

Now that we've met and all, I have a couple of questions that it occurs to me I have never asked:

1. How did you find my name?

2. What are some of the situations among non-TS [transsexual] individuals (if there are any) in your study?

:-)

See you tomorrow!

Elizabeth (email from Elizabeth to me, June 15, 2008)

I quickly let Elizabeth know I found her through media coverage and an Internet search. I briefly explained some of the experiences of fellow participants, and I disclosed my own experiences that led to developing this study. During our second visit the next day, she said the information was helpful in understanding the project, and we entered into a three-hour interview.

Rachel

Rachel responded to the research invitation on the women's studies and issues listserv. In an email to me she questioned if she would fit the selection criteria:

> I am happy to participate but I am not sure my experience fits within the scope of your research. My 'personal change' was not so much in my physical appearance as it was in my family situation. I became involved with and married another woman, and when this became public knowledge, it influenced how some of the students and parents interacted with me. But if you are looking specifically at bodily change, this may not be helpful to you.

I assured her that hearing about her experiences would be helpful, but this exchange did highlight an issue about participant recruitment. It is possible that some potential participants read the call and assumed they would only qualify if their personal change was directly related to their bodies. This assumption may have deterred women from volunteering, though I will never be certain of who was deterred, how many women had this same assumption, or how this study would have changed with a revised recruitment statement.

For our first meeting, I secured a quiet room on central campus where we could talk, and I let her know the meeting place. When she gently came in the room, we both agreed that the other looked familiar, but neither of us could place the other's face. After walking her through the informed consent forms, midway though the first interview I let her know I figured out where we had met. I first met Rachel and her partner when they attended a Women's Studies class in which I was enrolled. The professor asked Rachel and Joy to share their stories of being a legally married gay couple who adopted a daughter in an inhospitable state legal system. Although our first introduction was brief in the rather formal setting of a college classroom, my having some knowledge of her background and meeting her partner, established some familiarity with Rachel and her stories.

Rachel's sense of humor showed through, and her manner was easy-going on that first day and throughout the research. She shared several stories about her teaching experiences at several religious schools in synagogues across the United States and in tutoring settings. Rachel showed pictures of her daughter and stories about how people reacted to Rachel as a gay woman and a lesbian parent. She used her parental experiences in reflective response to her teaching experiences.

Rachel told a story of a 12-year-old boy's parent who stated that children that age cannot handle learning about two women marrying each other. To me, Rachel provided her belief that kids can handle what they are exposed to as long as they are supported in understanding. She told of her 2-year-old daughter differentiating between her Mommy and her Mama in several settings and contexts, even correcting others when they interchanged the two; Rachel's daughter seemed to handle the concept of two moms just fine.

Attending a Southeastern university, Rachel repeatedly showed her generosity as a research participant and a scholar. She explained her master's thesis to me and offered to help with a Women's Studies class I was teaching. Rachel often said she wasn't sure she was providing the details I needed for my research, but more often than not, her descriptions and insights were so apt that I had difficulty asking follow-up questions.

Rose

I first learned of Rose's story though an electronic weekly national education news publication, which reported that Harry Burgess, a regular substitute teacher in his seventies, underwent sexual reassignment surgery to become Rose Burgess and was battling to return as a school district employee. After a brief media and Internet search, I found her mailing address and contacted her via post. Rose responded via email and agreed to participate in the research, sending her informed consent through the postal service.

We set a date for me to travel to her East Coast town, and she offered her help in making travel arrangements. Although she offered to let me pick the time and location, I asked her to choose a place convenient and comfortable for her as long as it was private and quiet enough to speak candidly. When she wrote back she started her message with, "I will go easy on you and invite you to come down my way." I wasn't sure how to interpret that, but during the second interview I realized she may have been alluding to how she dealt with the number of reporters coming to her door requesting interviews. She took one reporter to "her favorite spot…way the hell" out, deciding if they wanted to talk to her, "it'll be on [her] terms." With me she decided we should, "make it a fun event," taking a picnic lunch if it were a nice day. Unfortunately, transportation problems put stress on our first meeting. The car I rented started leaking oil a half-hour into my two-hour trip, and I was delayed approximately four hours from getting to her

house. Several phone calls later, she assured me that she understood and that "these things happen." Nevertheless, I felt as if I had already breached some researcher-participant trust. The only peace offering I had was a box of half-dozen sticky buns I had planned to share for breakfast.

Her house showed her love of garage sales and auctions. As I sat down on the worn couch next to the sizable dictionary stand, I noticed the collections of *National Geographic* magazines, Atlantic City souvenirs, and surfing motif decorations. More than an affinity for collecting, the house held remnants of her former life as Harry. Pointing to hunting pictures and ship models, she mentioned, "You still see a lot of my past here," and that she didn't suddenly decorate with flowers after her sexual reassignment surgery. Maintaining ties to her past were part of her refusal to "go stealth," meaning a refusal to start a new life in a new place just because she was now Rose.

Erin

Erin was a former colleague of mine. One of my first conversations with her happened after I shared my experiences as an elementary teacher feeling that parents viewed me differently after my husband and I divorced. Hushed in a hallway, she responded that she had similar experiences as a high school teacher. We soon cultivated a friendship, and she helped me craft my dissertation project. I was already familiar with the basic storyline of her personal change becoming public knowledge, so once I had earned Internal Review Board (IRB) approval, I formally asked Erin via email to be a participant in this study. Erin agreed.

Because Erin had recently moved to her hometown on the West Coast, I traveled there for our first three interviews. She graciously hosted me for my visits, so we were clear on times that were reserved for data collection and times that were social. We made time in our schedule to do

the interviews, but once we completed them, we did not discuss the research. All interviews took place in her home, with both of us usually in loungewear with warm cups of coffee. Periodically, her husband, daughters, or dog interrupted the interviews, but for the most part we had privacy, and the meeting spots were comfortable.

Kendyll

Kendyll replied to my invitation on the women's studies and issues listserv. I knew Kendyll through some doctoral courses at the University of Georgia, but I did not know the details of her personal changes as they became known at the middle school where she taught before attending the university. Because we previously had a relationship, our meetings were a mix of social catching-up and research interview.

We scheduled the first meeting at a local coffee shop that proved to be too noisy for audio recording. Subsequent meetings were held at Kendyll's home. I usually contributed something modest to eat, but Kendyll was always a joyful hostess, having cookies, candies, and drinks set out for us. After having a hefty dose of social conversation and settling her dogs, we gathered on the couch in her living room. At least once during every meeting Kendyll would marvel that I found interest in her stories or ask if she was giving me data that I needed. Her polite timidity changed to pleasure when I discussed why her stories were important to the research.

Buffy

I formally invited Buffy to be a participant through email after I received IRB approval. Buffy was a friend who was instrumental in shaping my dissertation research, but I was aware that being a participant might change how we interacted as friends. Also, because she knew so

much about my dissertation research, I was concerned that her participation might be unduly influenced. In general, once she joined the study I shared less about my work.

Buffy received the same research invitation with selection criteria as the other participants, including the phrase "Please consider participating in this study if you have experienced a personal change that was outside your school community's expectations, and if you believed that others saw you differently once that change became public knowledge." I knew Buffy was a high school English teacher who divorced her husband during a break from teaching secondary school. However, I was not aware of the timing of the many changes Buffy experienced. While teaching high school, Buffy was married and considered herself heterosexual, though she admitted there was something that was a "tickle in her throat," something that she couldn't identify but she felt was unsettled. After leaving teaching for graduate school, Buffy divorced her husband and entered into a committed relationship with another woman. Buffy did not consider herself "closeted" in high school regarding her sexual orientation, because at that time she did not think of herself as gay. However, her experiences did affect how she envisioned herself in the teaching profession and how much she shared with people from high school regarding her divorce and lesbian relationship.

For several weeks to myself I questioned if Buffy were an appropriate participant if no one in her high school community had a chance to see her differently once that change became public knowledge. However, because Buffy was able to provide insights about the decision to remain closeted in some areas of her life and out in other areas, I reasoned she might be able to offer a different dimension to the research.

When we met at Buffy's house for the first interview, without prompting, she shared one of her high school yearbooks to illustrate her high school teacher image. She had done much

thinking about her bodily appearance as a high school teacher and how she included much of her personal life in her teaching. Buffy was ready to share what she had been thinking about the intersections of her personal and professional lives, which made me rethink how I planned to approach interviews with Buffy. Because Buffy's background and familiarity with the research was slightly different than the other participants, I realized that Buffy's strength as a participant came in her ability to challenge my thinking and assumptions about her own and others' stories.

Narrative in Research Design

The wide range of approaches to narrative analysis necessitates a description of the approach for this study, which is Riessman's (1993, 2008) version of narrative analysis. Riessman (1993) offered levels of representation in the narrative research process. I used three levels (telling, transcribing, and analyzing) to represent the research design of this study. Riessman presented these levels as somewhat exclusive, but I found they were inextricably intertwined. Still, they provided a useful structure in presenting the research methodology and design (See Appendix B). The remainder of the chapter explains how these three parts of the process (telling, transcribing, and analyzing) were carried out in this study.

Telling

Telling is an apt descriptor for reinforcing that a participant has a story or stories to share, but "by talking and listening, [the teller and listener] produce a narrative together" (Riessman, 1993, p. 10). As listener and researcher, I do not subscribe to the belief I can give a participant voice to tell her story. The value placed on women's voices is related to a history of social silencing of women (Reinharz & Chase, 2003). Jackson (2003) critiqued positing voice as a liberating tool for women; she maintained the expression of women's voices does not equal a reversal of social hierarchies as much as it is a starting point for shifting power relations in

society and social sciences research. To resist simplifying or overvaluing the concept of voice, Mazzei (2004) encouraged researchers to also attend to voice's sister concept: silence. Because even voiced words have limits, Mazzei explored silence as a path to participants' blind spots that exist within discursive systems. After the postmodern turn of social sciences research, voice has been exposed to examination of its limits, functions, instabilities, and propensity to elicit researchers' unquestioned trust (Jackson & Mazzei, 2009). Remaining aware of these critiques, I strove to structure the interview as an opportunity for participants to choose to use voice and silence. My role is in hearing, recording, and interpreting the voices and silences involved in storytelling, while acknowledging that I come to the stories with my own history.

Storytelling is relational: calling on people to listen, share, and work toward understanding. These descriptors make storytelling a useful fit with a feminist research agenda. Storytelling allows a participant to establish her presence in relation to the dominant culture instead of being subsumed by it (Reinharz & Chase, 2003). Storytelling allows both the participant and the researcher a chance to analyze, interpret, and situate the participant's story in a larger context. The researcher is interested in and accepts the participant's memory of the account (Smith, 2003). This approach is useful in narrative interviewing because it assumes that the relationship between participant and researcher can be established in the here and now, even though the topic of the stories may have already occurred.

Like voice and silence, storytelling is not without its issues in research. Narratives allow the participant to offer the story that she wants the researcher to hear. Some storylines preexist the interview (Smith, 2003), as in a story the participant has told several times. Other storylines will be constructed closer to the interview encounter (Smith, 2003), as in a story the participant shared in the interview in a unique way she hadn't done before. A participant may share a

narrative to persuade the audience who she believes to be skeptical. This use of narrative as persuasion can alter the narrative or mislead the audience (Riessman, 2008). Memory and point of view play important roles in crafting narratives, but memory and point of view are subjective and can be revisionary; every witness to a scene is influenced by her own perspective, making consensus on a story complicated (Potter, 1996). Even with these critiques of storytelling, narratives are no more or less valuable than other types of data. No datum is entirely unfailing or innocuous, and narratives remain worthy of attention for the complicated insights they allow participants to share.

Interviewing as Data Gathering Method

The storied data were gathered though interviewing. Each participant and I had four meetings. Meeting one started with a participant's story of coming to teaching and shifted into issues related to the research questions. To concentrate on the participant, I did not disclose my teaching experiences at this first meeting. I transcribed the audio files verbatim and developed clarifying questions based on the research questions and what was shared during meeting one. Meeting two concentrated on the telling of narratives about the teacher's personal change(s) and professional life. In this second meeting, I disclosed more about my own personal change while I was a teacher. Meeting three was a videotaped interview in which I asked a participant to retell specific narratives that answered the research questions based on thematic analysis, which will be described in the *Analysis* section of this chapter. Meeting four was a member check, in which I met some participants face-to-face and some over the telephone.

I used a general interview guide approach (Patton, 2002) for the meetings, meaning I had a prepared set of questions and issues (see Appendices C-F) to address with each participant, but I was able to probe and ask follow-up questions in a conversational manner to illuminate the data

being shared. The interviews were semistructured, an interviewing type that allows unscripted interactions between interviewer and interviewee and complements feminist interviewing (Reinharz, 1992).

Interviewing women with a feminist approach made a difference in the data that were gathered. Feminist qualitative interviewing is a broad term, but it tends to include open-ended questions and avoids an a priori hypothesis. Feminist qualitative interviewing often emphasizes building connections and equality between people rather than the researcher controlling the situation and those in it. The logistics of feminist qualitative interviewing (e.g., When and where the interview will be? Who will decide? etc.) are regarded as potentially contentious and require careful consideration. Overall, feminist interviewing gives participants a chance to share how they theorize their lives and to formulate their own messages within the interview construct (Munro, 1998; St. Pierre, 2001).

Women interviewing other women is complicated and not made easier because both interviewer and interviewee claim the same sex identity (Riessman, 1987). Women act with and from several positions and identity markers, such as race, class, sexuality, religion, and more. Being a woman interviewing women, I am simultaneously an insider and an outsider (Hesse-Biber, 2007). Because the participant and I both claim womanhood, it may be easy to assume we can relate on that basis. Especially, because I have come to this research topic with some personal history, there is some insider knowledge. However, part of the reason I talked to these women is because they have had experiences that I have not had.

I waited to disclose my experiences as a teacher until the second interview. This self-disclosure was complicated because the way the participant sees the interviewer is one of the biggest determiners of the direction of an interview (Hesse-Biber, 2007; Riessman, 1987).

Similarities and differences that exist in the interview can create a connection as much as it can create discomfort. Differences in social status (e.g., insider/outsider perspective) need to be explored so that the researcher can theorize any effects on the interview. To the participants, I presented with caution how I came to the project, not to draw comparisons or make assumptions about the participants' lives based on my story.

When I disclosed my experiences to the participants, I felt anxious. In listening to the audio recordings of my disclosure I noticed I entered into a preplanned narrative. I mentioned how when I was a teacher, my husband and I got divorced and I noticed that people reacted to me differently as a divorced woman than they had when I was married. I told the participant that my body remained a focus, whether it was parent comments about my dress, hearsay that 12-year-old boys were wondering if my breasts were real, or mothers of students warning me that their ex-husbands found me attractive and were planning to ask me out on a date. Although my story remained steady across interviews, my voice wavered when my experiences were on display. My main purpose for disclosure was that I did not want participants to think I was voyeuristically looking at their stories of homosexuality and transsexuality, especially since I do not claim those identity markers. I felt confident that I presented adequate personal and professional reasons for conducting this study.

Interviewing to gather data is a way to address a history of women being silenced or silencing themselves (Reinharz & Chase, 2003). *Gynopia* is the "inability to see women" (p. 74), as in the failure to recognize the worth of women. Many women continue to be affected by gynopia, having their competencies and knowledge go unrecognized. I chose the tradition of interviewing women to contribute the feminist effort of combating gynopia, to record and learn

from the data generated by women about their life experiences. These data were gathered in the form of the many data sources described below.

Data Sources in Interviewing

Audio files. I included audio files distinct from transcripts because I returned to audio recordings of interviews throughout the data collection, analysis, and reporting. The audio files were integral in transcribing interviews. The audio files served as the primary data set for making line breaks, setting stanzas, marking phrases for emphasis, or denoting intonation. For example, if a speaker emphasized a word that also seemed like the end of a line. The emphasis often acted like an audio punctuation mark. Because speakers cannot place a literal punctuation mark in speech, the emphasis acted like punctuation at the end of a line (see Appendix G). Also, for a speaker who used staccato cadence, the lines were broken to reflect a disjointed sound (see Appendix H). In the end, the transcript was a visual representation that matched the sound of the narrative.

Transcripts. Two types of transcripts served this research. The first was a verbatim transcription. This type of transcript functioned to get the audio files "on paper" so that I could read the dialogue of the interview and determine which narratives best answered the research questions and what themes were present in the data. The second transcript type was an in-depth transcription of narratives using Gee's (1991, 1999) and Jefferson's (2004) notation and arrangement (see Appendix I). These transcripts took into account the prosody and speech patterns of the speaker. Appendix J is an example of the same piece of data represented in the first and second types of transcription. More detail on my decisions for transcription is in the *Transcription* section of this chapter.

Video. As mentioned above, the primacy of bodies in this interviewing project required acknowledging the bodies in the actual interviews. Videotaping interviews allowed me to analyze how a participant's body was involved in telling narratives and how our bodies interacted as narratives were co-constructed in the interviews. I did not videotape the first and second meetings because I wanted to ensure the participants were comfortable with me before I imposed the gaze of a video camera on them.

Meeting three was videotaped using a digital video recorder and mini DV cassettes. The data on the cassettes were then dubbed to DVD by the Office of Information Technology on the campus of the University of Georgia. The increase of technology also increased the chance of a technical error occurring. The first three videotaped interviews had poor audio quality. No data were lost because I was recording with an audio recorder also, but the poor audio on the DVD limited how I might be able to use that data for presentation purposes.

Timelines. During the first meeting with participants I asked each woman to sketch a timeline of events linked to their personal change becoming public knowledge. I handed the participant a paper with the word *Timeline* at the top and a straight line with outward pointing arrows at each end (see Appendix K). I did not specify when their timeline should start or end, but I did ask that participants talk through the events they were noting. Several participants remarked this timeline activity was instrumental in eliciting narratives and making connections across events.

Although the activity was prompted by a straight line structure, three participants (Buffy, Kendyll, and Erin) reworked the straight line with swirls, curves, or waves as they commented their lives did not follow a simple straight line. Appendix L shows participant Buffy's timeline that she revised to suit her experiences after her personal change in 2004. One participant Rose

skirted completing the timeline stating, “You don't need a timeline you need a dot and that's it. That's how quick it happened,” about her personal change of her male-to-female transition becoming public knowledge. Her perceptions were that a rapid rumor mill changed her situation almost overnight, and a timeline was an inadequate structure.

Researcher notes. After meeting with participants, I took notes about the meeting. If able, I took written notes on my laptop. Occasionally, I was traveling after the interviews and verbally spoke into an audio recorder. When making notes, I concentrated on aspects of the interview that were not going to be clear in the audio or video recordings. I remarked on the feel of the meeting space, the weather, interactions before and after the recorders were on, the participants’ appearance and body movements, how the participants took up space in a room, and the energy of the interview.

Images and photos. Still images and photos were gathered primarily during meeting two. I asked participants to show pictures from the time of their personal changes. Participants discussed images in yearbooks, photo albums, digital photos of themselves and others, snapshots taken by students with messages written on the back, and framed mementos. For analysis purposes, I took a digital picture of each image, so that I could have an immediate record. I did request that some participants forward better quality photos if the images played a key role in analysis or if they gave permission to use the images for publication purposes. Although the images needed to be digitally altered for confidentiality, the content of the images remained unaltered.

Media sources. Because two participants, Rose and Elizabeth, experienced international media exposure due to their male-to-female transitions while working as teachers, data produced by the media were useful in understanding participants’ stories. Newspaper articles, magazine

articles, and media announcements, often with accompanying photos, were written about both women. Rose gave televised interviews to a national talk show and cable network. Media outlets, such as *The O'Reilly Factor* (O'Reilly, date withheld[4]) produced segments on transsexual teachers, using Rose's story even when she did not appear on the show. Television newscasts, radio shows, blogs, and websites addressed the events surrounding the schools employing transsexual teachers. These data sources are varied and useful in examining how their personal changes were portrayed in a public sphere.

The data sources of audio files, transcripts, researcher notes, images and photos were used more often than the others data sources to complete this dissertation. I used the research questions to determine which data sources would be most useful for the immediate goal of answering the questions. These data hold potential for future examinations of the research topic, even though each source may not appear in this report.

Data Management

This study deals with sensitive issues, and the identity of participants was kept confidential. To accomplish confidentiality of participants, only two hardcopies of each participant's consent form (see Appendix M) exist. The participant has one copy, and I have the other, which is kept in a locked cabinet in my home office. All data remained safe.

Each interview was audio recorded on a digital recording device. Audio files were stored on the hard drive of my personal laptop computer. These files were then transcribed using *Transana 2.12* (2005) transcription software. At the time of transcription I assigned each participant a pseudonym and masked any identifying information. The transcription of interviews was saved in the form of a word document and stored on my personal laptop computer and on an external hard drive for back-up security. The external drive was kept at my home office.

[4] Date of television broadcast is being withheld to protect confidentiality of participant.

I had planned to use Atlas.ti 5.2 (ATLAS.ti GmbH, 2006) as an analysis tool. I believed the program would allow me to organize the data and keep track of my current thinking by writing memos about storylines and assigning preliminary codes. My past experiences with data analysis software showed me that it is necessary to understand and organize the data before using the software. I began organizing the data in Microsoft Word by using simple tables, with the narrative in one column and researcher notes in another column. I found that as I worked more with Microsoft Word, I was able to accomplish my goals in doing thematic and structural analysis of narratives without Atlas.ti. I believe that Atlas.ti will help me organize and retrieve the data for future projects when I use more images and video data. However because I was analyzing only a few specific narratives and images, Microsoft Word proved adequate for the immediate dissertation analysis.

Transcribing

Transcription is an interpretive practice. Mishler (1991) likened transcription to photographing reality. Photos are fixed representations of what the artist feels is important based on certain theories or outlooks, and there are things missing or skewed in a photograph. Just as the telling of a story will never be neutral, the transcriber of a story is also subject to the influences of the content of the story, the way in which the story was told, theories, and life experiences. Transcription is affected by these influences, and therefore transcription can never be unbiased. Analysis cannot be completely separate from the transcription process (Ochs, 1979).

To determine what counted as a narrative, I focused on my purpose for using narrative analysis, which was "to see how respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives" (Riessman, 1993, p. 2).

Participants offered stories about their lives, and the meaning of those stories. When a participant used stories to explain the meaning of her personal changes becoming public knowledge, I considered those stories to be narratives pertinent to this study.

Narrative is a complex discourse of "embedded narrative segments within an overarching narrative that includes nonnarrative parts" (Riessman, 1993, p. 51); therefore determining what constitutes a narrative is not a formulaic process. "Sequence, thematic, and structural coherence… "temporal order, [and] evaluation" (p. 51) of talk guided what I considered a narrative. I made use of the context of storytelling, attended to the content of the story, and inferred issues surrounding lived experience. Interviews one, two, and three were transcribed in full. Interview four was partially transcribed as needed to represent statements pertinent to the member check.

Phase One

Phase one of transcription was a verbatim linguistic reproduction without punctuation or conscious editing of what was said during the interviews (see Appendix J). I transcribed approximately three fourths of the 40 interview hours, and due to time constraints, I paid a transcription service to transcribe the remaining one-fourth (see Appendix N). The total number of transcription pages was 759 pages.

Phase Two

Phase two of transcription "represents a reduction based on my hearing, with the earphones of Gee's theory on my head" (Riessman, 1993, p. 51). Riessman's brand of narrative analysis folds in Gee's (1999) Discourse analysis, which has implications for transcription. Gee's (1991, 1999) strategy of using oral speech to build a written transcription emphasized the importance of prosody and speech patterns, as well as the meaning of the stories, during teller

and listener interactions. To develop transcripts, Gee advised a focus on linguistic choices that included structures like stanzas, metaphors, key words, verb tenses, and development of themes made by the participant. Because analysis is woven through the transcription process, some description of the analyses is present in this section about the second phase of transcription; however, a more detailed explanation of the analyses is included in the *Analyzing* section.

Step 1. I used narrative thematic analysis (Riessman, 2008), an analysis that keeps the story intact and maintains content as the only focus. Thematic analysis determined narrative segments of the verbatim transcript that required more detailed transcription.

Step 2. Transcription steps 2 through 6 are related to narrative structural analysis (Riessman, 2008), which is concerned with how the narrative is put together using linguistic and discursive markers. I read the transcripts and listened to the audio recordings to set the lines based on stresses and pauses in the participants' speaking patterns. Each line usually had one piece of "salient information" (Gee, 1999, p. 106) and was characterized by a unified tone and idea.

Step 3. For interview segments that required detailed transcription, I marked the transcribed narratives with notational devices (Gee, 1991, 1999; Jefferson, 2004). I supplemented Gee's (1991, 1999) guidelines with some of Jefferson's (2004) markings because Gee's guidelines did not account for intonation and speech volume. Also, Gee used many common notational devices without acknowledging Jefferson's (1984, 1985) contribution (see Appendix I). Gee's notational devices actually represent a melding of his and Jefferson's notations. The purpose of these marks was to alter the verbatim transcript so that the linguistically detailed transcription visually matched how the narrative sounded during the telling.

Step 4. I patterned the lines into stanzas based on thematic content and linguistic markers. For example, if the end of a line was marked with double slash marks indicating a tone of finality, it was likely that line represented the end of the stanza. A stanza represents a "unitary topic or perspective" (Gee, 1999, p. 89). In bold print, I coded stanzas according to the function the stanza had in the narrative. For example, if a data clump surrounded a brief summary of the story, I named the stanza with a capital letter and the word *Abstract* in bold print (e.g., **Stanza A. Abstract**).

Step 5. Macrostructure labels of narrative sections (Gee, 1999) provided a way to organize one or several stanzas. These macrostructure sections were similar to what Gee (1991) once called *strophes*, as in related stanza pairs, but the macrostructure sections are more closely linked to the function they hold in the narrative structure and are not limited to a stanza pair. These macrostructure labels (Gee, 1999) described the sections' roles within the story. In bold capitalized print and a roman numeral (e.g., **II. CATALYST**), I coded each macrostructure section as "SETTING, CATALYST, CRISIS, EVALUATION, RESOLUTION, [or] CODA" (pp. 110-112). In general terms the sections were described as the following: SETTING was the participant describing the scene of the narrative in terms of time, place, characters, and context; CATALYST was the setting-up of the problem or main issue; CRISIS was the presentation of a problem or issue; EVALUATION was the participants' making sense of the story; RESOLUTION was a wrapping-up of the events of the story; and CODA was the participant bringing the story to a close and into present time. Not all macrostructure sections were present in every narrative.

Step 6. Because narratives are complicated and can include narratives within narratives (Riessman, 1993), I used Gee's (1991) delineation of narrative parts to group several

macrostructure labels. These narrative parts "make up the story as a whole" (p. 23), and they approximate titles for the story. For example, in Chapter 4 I included Erin's data of a parent complaint about her attire, so I labeled that narrative part in bold print as **Part 1. Parent Complaint**. Erin then told a narrative within a narrative about a dance lesson she gave in class, so I labeled that story in bold print as **Part 2. In-class Event**.

In sum, once I determined focal narratives in step 1, I delineated a microstructure of lines and specific linguistic sounds during steps 2 and 3. During transcription steps 4, 5, and 6, I established stanzas, then mascrostructures of narratives, then narrative parts. The progression from steps 2 through 6 moved from representing a micro view of the narrative to a macro view. Examining the microstructure and macrostructure of narratives is important because it shows how speakers make structural decisions to organize meaning (Gee, 1999). During transcription, I made decisions for microstructure and macrostructure based on my ideas about the meaning of the story. As I made structural decisions, I was able to use those structures to confirm or refute my supposition about the meanings of the narrative. A person's use of narrative structure is married to meaning, and my transcription of narrative structure and meaning also are inseparable.

As stated, this type of transcription is linked to analysis, but I presented this explanation of transcription to show why the narrative physically appears as it does in Chapter 4. This narrative transcription with an eye toward linguistic aspects allowed me to determine participants' storylines of how bodies are read as texts in circumstances when teachers perceive that personal changes become public knowledge. These transcriptions were integral in the analysis of participant narratives.

Analyzing

Analysis is woven throughout the research process. Analysis is the creation of a metastory, a hybrid of the happening, the telling, and the listening. Concentrating on meaning, structural make-up, and broader sociocultural issues required a two-part process of analysis. The first part, thematic analysis, included interpreting narratives based on the content and the telling within the interview method (Riessman, 2008). Thematic analysis of the images also included how the images played a role in the participants' stories. In the second part, Discourse analysis (Gee, 1999) was used to move from the content of the stories to more fine-tuned interpretations of discursive language and images. Gee (1999) distinguished the lower-case "d" discourse as on-site language in the event and the upper-case "D" Discourse as "one's body, clothes, gestures, actions, interactions, ways with things, symbols, tools, technologies…, and values, attitudes, beliefs, and emotions …non-language 'stuff'" (p. 7). Although my concentration is on Discourse, the little d and big D versions are intertwined. Even when the on-site language (i.e., discourse) of the narrative is being analyzed, it informs the meaning of all that is included in big "D" Discourse. The analysis of discursive signs provided indicators for how the participants' language reflected larger social and cultural meanings. A critique of small-scale narrative studies is that they are limited and not broad-reaching enough to speak for a larger population (Shavelson, Phillips, Towne, & Feuer, 2003). However, narrative analysis assumes that the "culture 'speaks itself' through an individual's story" (Riessman, 1993, p. 5), and Gee's (1999) Discourse analysis is a way to analyze the talk of a culture within the individual stories.

Thematic Analysis

The thematic analysis of narratives focused on the content of the stories (Riessman, 2008). The research questions and theoretical frame were held within my analytical field of

vision throughout thematic analysis. I attended to participants' bodily actions and images in stories and how the actions and images were being read by the participant and others. These ideas helped determine which narratives to analyze. For each narrative, I sought the reason(s) the narrator told this story in this way to me. I wanted to clarify if the narrative was in response to a question that I asked, was a result of a situation in the interview setting, was a narrative within a narrative, or something else. The answer to this question created a starting point for me to build a thematic analysis. I determined the overall structure of the narrative, such as chronological, circular, an aside, digressive, or other pattern. In thematic analysis I looked for the general message of the narrative within the context of the entire interview. Appendix N provides an example of thematic analysis note taking.

The thematic analysis of the narrative included asking how image played a role. Did the participant rely on a story that created a visualized image for the listener? Was there an actual icon or graphic that was part of the story? If no image seemed central to the story, I did not seek one. If an image was important, I studied the image, again, to determine the general message, which often was explained in narrative language. I investigated the content of the image for what it meant in the immediate situation of the interview, as well as the role it played in the narrative (Riessman, 2008; Rose, 2001).

Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis of narratives rests on the idea that language builds a real world. When a person tells a narrative, that narrative is created to be appropriate for the situation and in turn helps produce that situation (Gee, 1999). This is a real happening through language, or what Gee termed "language-in-action" (p. 11), a combination of language with action, interactions,

symbols, objects, tools, thinking, feeling, and believing. Therefore, a narrative can still be a representation. A narrative is a construction of the real, and a narrative constructs reality.

Several aspects of narratives can be used to analyze the Discourses that participants are using in building their worlds. I divided Discourse analysis into three phases with several discursive features. These phases and features are summarized in Appendix P. The first phase of Discourse analysis provided insight into how participants used language. Based on the research questions, I predicted that three aspects of language would be helpful. The second phase of Discourse analysis included five levels of investigation into the linguistics narratives. The third phase of Discourse analysis involved analyzing the images connected to the participants' narratives. These three phases of Discourse analysis provided enough evidence for me to interpret the participants' narratives in answering the research questions.

Phase one. During phase one of Discourse analysis, I concentrated on three discursive markers to create a preliminary understanding of the narratives. Appendix Q provides an example of Discourse analysis note taking during this phase. First, I took a microview of the story by looking just at how the participant used the pronoun *I*. "I-statements" (Gee, 1999, p. 124) were important to this study. I-statements helped participants build a socially-situated identity by referring to themselves in the first-person. I identified cognitive statements (e.g., I think, I know), affective statements (e.g., I like, I want), state of being and action statements (e.g., I am, I dressed), ability and constraint statements (e.g., I can, I have to), and achievement statements (e.g., I want to, I challenge). These I-statements helped me interpret how a participant was seeing herself and her actions in the interview and in the world.

Second, I investigated midlevel language of the narrative by examining how the participant made cause-effect assumptions across the narrative. The research questions are based

somewhat in a cause-effect assumption. Participants experienced a personal change followed by or concurrent with a reaction in their professional lives. The research purpose assumes there is some connection between the two events, so I examined participants' statements of cause and effect to better understand how they are building the world with narratives. Gee (1999) noticed that participants build connections across sentences and even larger portions of their texts. These connections reveal the social languages in use, whether they are based in logic, belief, or emotion.

Third, I attended to a macroview of the narrative by looking for language that addressed the cultural models of teachers on a broad sociocultural scale. Cultural models are "images or storylines or descriptions" based on the "taken-for-granted assumptions about what is 'typical' or 'normal'… [and] leave out many complexities" (Gee. 1999, p. 59). Cultural models are related to situated meanings. Situated meanings are understandings that "'hang together' to form a *pattern* that specific sociocultural groups of people find significant (p. 41, emphasis in the original).

For example, during participants' telling of narratives, the women sometimes exhibited situated meanings of the word *teacher* from their experiences. Participant Rose was a substitute teacher so the word *teacher* meant something different in her situation than in other participants' experiences. To Rose, a teacher was a person employed on a daily basis by a school to deliver lessons to students and manage a classroom. For other participants a teacher was a person in a career, responsible for educating a specific group of students for an academic year, who was trained to develop lessons, units, and curricula in line with professional regulations. These situated meanings of teacher are different, but both are appropriate considering the participants' experiences. Rose's situated meaning of teacher did, however, comply with other participants' situated meanings of teacher when it came to teacher attire. Rose recognized that the standard for

a woman teacher was to dress in a conservative and feminine way. This common, simplified, assumptive understanding of teacher dress is part of a cultural model of a teacher regarding clothing and image.

Cultural models helped me understand the standards others placed on participants and participants placed on themselves. Also, cultural models being compared to situated meanings were helpful in understanding the standards that were set for teachers in their individual contexts and how their personal changes transgressed or complicated that model. Analyses of these cultural models and the situated meanings of their personal changes were necessary in answering the research questions.

Phase two. After moving from micro to midlevel to macro ideas in the narrative, I gained a general sense of the participants' stories, but it was necessary in the second phase of Discourse analysis to return to narrative language. I concentrated on five levels of structure in language (Gee, 1991). Each of these five levels made a contribution in developing broader social and cultural meanings from situated language in narratives.

1. Narrative structure (Gee, 1991) included lines, stanzas, macrostructure, and part structure. The sections are described in steps 2 through 6 of the *Transcribing* section. These structures represented the patterning used by participants in creating each narrative (see Appendix R) and provided ideas on the participants' perspectives on how the story should be told in the interview setting. For example, if the participant began a narrative with an abstract, she set my understanding for the outcome of the story upfront. If another participant told a narrative with a crescendo toward a surprising ending, she built anticipation and emphasized the unexpected outcome. Also, a participant who was struggling with the meaning in a narrative might delay the resolution of the story or leave

that resolution section out altogether. The structured pattern of the narrative allowed me to interpret how the participant organized and made meaning of her story.

2. The syntax and cohesion level (Gee, 1991) included word order and grammar and was a deeper look into the cause-effect decisions described in phase one of Discourse analysis. Participants built connections by placing ideas close to each other in the narrative, by using the conjunctions *and* or *so* to join, by saying the word *then* to describe a series of causal events, or other demarcations (see Appendix S). These linguistic markers show how participants are explicitly making connections. Sometimes it was a lack of a linguistic marker that indicated a participant's assumption about how narrative parts cohered. For instance, if a participant assumed it was obvious why two statements were connected, she might not see the need to explicitly connect them with a conjunction or other marker. These uses of language or choice to omit certain language to create cohesion in the story showed how the participant was thinking about the events of her personal change.
3. Determining a participant's main line and off main line of plot (Gee, 1991) showed what the participant thought was the central storyline. The main line events are the basic plot, constituted by nonsubordinate, nonembedded clauses usually in simple past tense, and comprise only a small fraction of the entire narrative. Statements of generic events, states-of-being, or habitual events were not included. Appendix S shows an example of what were main line plot clauses in one narrative. For example, "they were talking about how you dress" (D5) is an independent nonembedded clause that indicated action of characters. However, the phrase "It was on a Friday" (F4) was not included in Appendix T. It is an independent, nonembedded clause but a state of being clause, and therefore

classified as "off main line" (Gee, 1991, p. 29). Main line plot and off main line plot provided two different reductions of the narrative. Gee (1991) maintained that main line plot is not more important than off main line plot, but that they should both be viewed as significant and informing the other. Each provided a different perspective of the same story.

4. In this fourth level, I investigated the "psychological subjects" (Gee, 1991, p. 30) present in each focal narrative. In phase one of Discourse analysis, I examined the psychological subject "I" by examining I-statements, and this fourth level widened my investigation by including other subjects, such as *they*, *we*, and *he*. To be counted as a psychological subject, the subject needed to demonstrate a point of view; therefore a "dummy" (Gee, 1991, p. 30) subject, such as "there" or "it" may not be counted. Psychological subjects provided insight into what points of view the narrator was taking and how. For example, in Appendix U, Erin used the pronoun *we* (J2, J3) to group herself with the students. She also used the pronoun *I* (D2, D6) as she took on the perspective of the student's mother during a phone call. This first person narration allowed Erin to portray the mother with a wispy voice and a condescending tone, revealing Erin's stance on the mother's phone message, without Erin explicitly stating her own point of view.
5. The fifth level concentrated on the emphasized words in and across stanzas. According to Gee (1991), a narrator emphasizes certain words as part of a system to focus the listener on what is important. For example, in Stanza L (see Appendix V) at Erin's point of contact with the male student, she emphasized several image-related words, which focused me as the listener on how important her teacher image was at that moment.

Emphasized words in the same line were separated by a comma, and emphasized words across lines were separated by a number sign (#).

Phase three. The third phase of Discourse analysis concentrated on the images connected to focal narratives. In conducting Discourse analysis of the narratives, I sought linguistic evidence of how the participant described her experiences, but the Discourse of an image meant the evidence often was not linguistic but graphic. Some participants told stories with images. Some participants told stories about images. "Images become 'texts' to be read interpretively (as written transcripts are)" (Riessman, 2008, p. 142). That is to say images do not "speak for themselves" (p. 143). An analysis of images required that I make an argument in words about what the images mean and contextualize those meanings in light of the research questions, theoretical frame, and narrative methodology.

Using Rose's (2001) sites for visual analysis of images as part of a narrative methodology, Riessman (2008) suggested exploring the production of the image, the image itself, and how the image is received by audiences. This data was gathered during the second interview (see Appendix D). My analyses of these three discursive sites of an image are described below.

1. Understanding production of an image included how and why an image was made. Participants often explained the origin of the image and how it related to their narratives. Therefore, the analysis of the origin of the image was mediated by the views of the participant, but because the perceptions of the participants are important to this study, this mediation created cohesion across analyses. The intent of the image was also informed by where it appeared. For instance, a photo in a yearbook was created or chosen by a member of a yearbook staff for the purpose of recording the academic year's events.

However, a photo in a local newspaper may be created and published to inform, influence, or entertain the readership. Captions for images provided clues about the creation, intent, and production of an image. Analyses of the making and distribution of an image were situated in the context of participants' narratives and specified what people in the setting thought was important to record.

2. To read and analyze the image itself, I examined what it included, how the components were arranged, the color, media, and technologies of the image, and any sign characteristics related to the research questions and participant's narrative (Riessman, 2008; Rose, 2001). The participant also indicated what she thought was most important in the image, providing a focus for me as a viewer. For example, while looking at yearbook pictures, I asked Elizabeth, "When you look at this picture, … tell me what you see in that picture." She talked about her smile before and after her male-to-female transition and how her posttransition smile reflected her genuine happiness at becoming a woman. Without Elizabeth focusing me on this feature of the image, I would have analyzed the image differently. I dissected and analyzed the image both as an isolated datum and in relation to the participant's story.
3. Analyzing an image also involved analyzing the audience reaction (Riessman, 2008; Rose, 2001). An important latter step in any discourse analysis is to move from the fine-tuned analysis of a sign to the social and cultural meanings. To do this, I needed to recognize the "audiencing" (Rose, 2001, p. 189) of the image. I attended to reactions of initial viewers (e.g., students, community members, administrators, etc.), the participant as a viewer, myself as a viewer, and other subsequent reactions to the image. Viewers of images are positioned in many ways, such as access to the image, the context of the

image presentation, and social and cultural language that guides the viewing. This analysis provided insight into the Discourses surrounding the presentation of a participant's body. Without analyzing these audience aspects, I would be ignoring one of the implicit purposes an image has: to be seen.

Summary

The narrative methodological approach to this study included several layers of participant recruitment, representation, and analyses. The seven participants, recruited through purposeful sampling, provided a wealth of data from many sources. I was guided by Riessman's (1993) three levels of representation (telling, transcribing, and analyzing), which kept participants' stories central to this research.

The representation linked to telling involved interviewing. Interviewing was the method of data gathering, during which each participant told stories of her experiences of personal change or changes becoming public knowledge. The representation linked to transcription was multilayered. I created full, verbatim transcriptions of entire interviews then used thematic analysis to determine which narratives required more fine-tuned transcription. This fine-tuned, in-depth transcription of linguistic and discursive speech components included marking lines, linguistic sounds, stanzas, macrostructure sections, and narrative parts. The most developed representation of narratives included both thematic analysis, which focused on the content of the narratives and images, and Discourse analysis, which occurred in three phases.

Phase one of Discourse analysis concentrated on I-statements, cause-effect, and cultural models to sketch a micro, mid, and macrolevel understanding of participants' narratives. Phase two included analyzing five levels of narrative language. The five levels were patterning of narratives, syntax and cohesion of words and grammatical markers, main line and off main line

plots, psychological subjects, and focusing systems. Phase three was the Discourse analysis of images concentrating on the production of the image, the image itself, and audience reactions to the image.

Overall, analysis moved from a general thematic analysis of content to Discourse analysis that was driven by linguistic and graphic signs. These processes of representation allowed me to develop an understanding of how the situated stories of individual participants informed the sociocultural expectations for teachers. These expectations for teachers appeared as cultural models, simplified storylines and images of what a woman teacher should be according to school communities and U.S. culture at large.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

In this chapter I present the findings from the detailed narrative and Discourse analyses described in the previous chapter. All participants, in their own storytelling styles, shared narratives of their school and extracurricular experiences. Although each of the seven participants experienced personal changes in different ways, together their stories contribute to the understanding of the reading of women teachers' bodies. Regardless of the women's experiences, their bodies were present and involved in the meanings people developed about the participants as women and teachers.

First, I present narratives from Rose and Erin as two examples that answer the question *what are the stories that current and former teachers tell in relation to experiencing a personal change and perceiving a change in how they were related to professionally?* Using Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory of action as text, I show how Rose and Erin perceived differences in how they were related to professionally after their personal changes became public knowledge. Second, to answer *how does a participant's body serve as a text that is read to inform her personal and professional lives?* I examine Kendyll's and Rachel's narratives beside each other to understand how similar signs are read differently due to context and the expectations of the observers (de Lauretis, 1984). Third, Erin and Gabbie's stories of bodily tattoos provide a different answer for *how does a participant's body serve as a text that is read to inform her personal and professional lives?* The stories illustrate how students read the sign of tattoos for meaning about their teachers. Using de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging, I show how context,

observer expectations, and sign production can subvert or reinforce cultural models and situated meanings of the word *teacher*. Fourth, Elizabeth's stories illustrate the force that readers' expectations have as they develop meaning about Elizabeth's body after her transition from male to female. Taken together, the analyses of these stories provided answers to the overarching research question *how are bodies read as texts in circumstances when teachers perceive that personal changes become public knowledge?* Finally, in recognizing that these women's stories have an effect on how the women consider their teaching careers on a larger scale, Buffy's reflective narrative provides a view on how participants' teacher images are involved in their career paths.

Reading Bodies

To answer the research question *what are the stories that current and former teachers tell in relation to experiencing a personal change and perceiving a change in how they were related to professionally?* I present narratives from two participants, Rose and Erin. Rose is a male-to-female transsexual woman who worked as a substitute teacher for several years at the K-12 level. Rose told a story about her personal change being displayed in a public way at a school board meeting, called, according to Rose's lawyer, because "they wanted to <u>see</u> what they were hiring." Rose's story serves as a blatant example of a teacher's body being read to gain meaning. It sets the stage to discuss Erin's more nuanced story. Erin worked as a secondary English and Social Studies teacher at the time of her divorce. After getting a parent complaint about "how she dresses," Erin recognized that her body was part of the meaning parents and students developed about her. Although each woman's experiences are quite different from the other, their stories point out participants believed that their bodies were read by people in their school communities.

These stories are in line with Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory that bodily action can be read and interpreted as a text to produce meaning.

A Story from Rose

Rose, a male-to-female transsexual substitute teacher, shared a narrative about her body being a focus of public and media scrutiny after she applied to reenter as a school district employee. Harry (Rose's name in male mode) substituted in two different states and several schools, including substituting for five years in the River Forest School District. After sexual reassignment surgery and transitioning to Rose, she experienced a public school board meeting in River Forest about her transition. Rose's narrative had a heavy thread of chronological events mostly likely because I was asking her to clarify the chronology of what led to her personal transition becoming public knowledge. The order of events was important in Rose expressing how her personal life became a public matter.

In male mode, Harry was a school district employee working as a substitute teacher. In January 2005 before transitioning, Harry informed the school district he would not be available that semester but did not let them know that he would be undergoing sexual reassignment surgery and hormone therapy. Harry gave no reason for being unavailable that semester. After the sexual assignment surgery in May of 2005, Harry took the name Rose. In Rose's home state, by law she was required to take an advertisement out in the local newspaper stating Harry Burgess was changing to the name Rose Burgess.

Rose chose to reapply at River Forest School District because she felt she had the best relationship with the people at River Forest Elementary, a school in a working-class primarily White, East Coast town. Of all the schools where she substituted, Rose had the strongest sense of teamwork at River Forest, saying "I felt part of something." In November of 2005, Rose returned

to the school district office where they informed her that she would need to reapply for employment because they considered her absence a breach of service. Although she was the same person who substituted there for years as Harry, she needed to reapply as a woman named Rose. She underwent the reapplication process, including fingerprinting, FBI background check, and submission of her medical records that stated her sex change. The school district required Rose to provide the letter from the surgeon who did her sexual reassignment surgery. The letter was body-centered; it described the removal of male-identified sexual and reproductive body parts and the creation of female-identified sexual body parts. The letter included personal information of the surgical procedures and hormone therapy that Rose underwent. This letter is included in her medical files held by the school as her employer.

In January of 2006 Rose received a letter from the River Forest School District that she was approved by the school board as a substitute teacher after a four to one vote. Rose's comment on their initial decision both expressed her joy and foreshadowed the difficulties that followed:

> When I got the letter from River Forest that I was accepted … back on the rolls there, I said, "Oh my golly they consider me a person of worth," but then the experience of the last few years has indicated that's not [how they feel].

The following narrative confirmed that River Forest School District was not entirely accepting of Rose.

Part 1. Personal Change Known to School District

I. SETTING

Stanza A. Orientation to chronology

A1. I didn't change my name until after my surgery

A2. which was May in 2005

A3. so all my medical records for that had Harry Burgess on it …

A4. well now they knew who I was

A5. when I went back

C: so they decided to make this public

A6. they didn't

A7. not directly

A8. that's why I'm talking to [you]

A9. why I said to you about … the medical privacy↑

II. CATALYST

Stanza B. Medical information leak starts rumor mill

B1. only four people in that office knew

B2. the connection between Harry and Rose

B3. not that other people might not have connected [it] the public didn't know that

B4. somebody in that office

B5. started leaking that I had transitioned

B6. ok↑

B7. and whatever

B8. and started a rumor mill up in that little township

B9. which ended up … when I was accepted by the school board

B10. then this gentleman ran a full page ad

III. CRISIS

Stanza C. School board meeting purpose

C1. I don't know how the school board meeting got called

C2. but … I got a letter from them

C3. saying for me to appear at this meeting

C4. that they wanted to question .. me

C5. and the lawyer was (•sigh•)

C6. had a pretext they wanted to see what they were hiring

C7. they wanted to know if I would be dressed appropriately or someth-

C8. I said what do they expect spiked heels and fishnet stockings I mean give me a break

C9. do I know do I know how to dress as a school teacher

C10. um it was a charade in a way //

Stanza D. Official outcome of school board meeting

D1. but they did keep their four to one vote and the public hearing did not dissuade them

C: so that four to one vote↑ was [that] the case↑ did they take a vote originally↑

D2. yes

C: and then ok they took the vote originally

D3. and people come in and tried to get them to rescind it

D4. and they did not //

IV. EVALUATION

Stanza E. Peripheral outcome of school board meeting

E1. and then little things started to slip out

E2. the superintendent who's also like the principal [in] such a small little district

E3. was saying things to the effect that um

E4. oh will there always be another teacher in the room with her↑

E5. this is to appease the parents ok

A knock on her house door interrupted this narrative, but the story provided some key events to the matter of how Rose believe her personal change became public knowledge. Some of the details are missing about how Rose's transition became known by the public, but by putting the events in chronological order Rose came to some conclusions. Rose believed that one or more employees in the school district office leaked Rose's private medical information to the public.

In Stanza B, Rose presented a case for why she believed her medical information surfaced as rumors in the community. Rose stated that four people in "that office knew" (B1) her history, though she admitted that others could have connected Harry and Rose (A4, B3) without the official paperwork. Rose made cause-effect connections about the information becoming public knowledge, despite not knowing who leaked the information or the particulars (B4, B7). Her rising intonation on "ok↑" (B6) invited me as the listener to confirm that I accepted the connections she was making despite some missing information. Rose used the connective "then" (B10) to indicate that what started as a rumor mill (B8) escalated into a full-page ad run by a community parent (B10).

Rose alluded to a series of episodes with the local newspapers that were connected to exposing her transition to the public. Although Rose had been approved as a newly hired substitute teacher, a special school board meeting was called. A parent in the community took out a full-page advertisement addressing the residents, parents, and taxpayers of the community, encouraging them to attend the upcoming school board meeting. The end line of the advertisement was "Come out and see what's going on. You won't believe it!" (local newspaper, Feb 16th, 2006[5]). Two days later a newspaper article was published stating that a parent asked the school board if it was true that a transsexual substitute teacher was teaching in the school district. The same parent who bought the full-page advertisement confirmed in the article that the rumor of the transsexual teacher was "going around town [and] a lot of parents were talking" (local newspaper, Feb. 18th, 2006[5]). A school board meeting was scheduled for a week and a half later to discuss Rose's employment.

As with all participants, I asked Rose to mark events on a timeline related to her personal change becoming public knowledge. She responded to the request by stating, "You don't need a timeline you need a dot, and that's it. That's how quick it happened." However, these happenings with the newspapers reveal a complicated series of events that led to the public school board meeting. Even though Rose may have felt like things happened overnight, it took a matter of weeks and months.

Rose believed that public awareness led to the special school board meeting. The last line of Stanza B refers to the full-page ad run by the man in the community (B10), and the first two lines of Stanza C are "I don't know how the school board meeting got called, but … I got a letter from them" (C1, C2). These thoughts are connected by proximity. Also, it is ambiguous who is in effect calling the meeting. Although she received a letter from the school board, the passive

[5] The detailed APA citation of this source is being masked to maintain confidentiality of the participant.

clause "how the school board meeting got called" (C1) and the contrasting conjunction "but" (C2) indicated she was not convinced that the school board was the only group involved in calling the meeting.

This belief was supported by a newspaper report (local newspaper, February 18, 2006[5]) which stated that at a regular school board meeting, a parent asked the board to confirm the rumors in the community that a transsexual woman was approved as a substitute. Soon after that exchange, the special meeting was called. Rose received a letter asking her to appear at the special meeting. In the letter from the school board to Rose, it stated, "The nature of the board's inquiry will be to determine your gender [and] to conclude whether your attire is appropriate or educationally disruptive." The board already had documentation that Rose *was* a woman, as evidenced by the letter from her surgeon, but the school board was requiring visual proof that she presented the *image* of a woman, and further the image of a proper woman teacher.

Rose's language of the narrative points to the importance of image. In Stanza C, which centers on the purpose of the school board meeting, Rose emphasized the following words and phrases: *got called* (C1), *appear* (C3) *question* (C4), *lawyer* (C5), *see* (C6), *dressed* (C7), *expect* (C8), *break* (C8), *dress* (C9), *charade* (C10). The narrator's system of focusing the listener through emphases is a way to direct attention to what the narrator feels is key (Gee, 1991). In Stanza C, Rose is focusing on being called to the school board meeting so her appearance and dress could be questioned. She showed frustration with the expectation that she didn't know how to dress as a teacher. Because the cultural model of teacher is so prevalent, Rose knew what was expected of her attire as a female teacher.

Rose invoked the words of her lawyer who stated, "They wanted to <u>see</u> what they were hiring." Rose repeatedly referred to this statement as a "pretext." The term *pretext* is useful in

this examination of bodies as texts. A *pretext* implies a predetermined purpose "to cloak the real intention" (Mish, 1991, p. 932). The overt request to confirm her gender through image indicated that the predetermined purpose was to check for appropriate appearance of a woman teacher. I will deal with this predetermined purpose before expanding on the "real intention" (Mish, 1991, p. 932).

In Rose's narrative, she emphasized the words *appear* and forms of the verb *dress*; her bodily appearance and the way she dressed was not only serving as evidence that she was a proper teacher but that she was a proper woman. In another interview, Rose used the term *pretext* again in analyzing the school board's statements about why the meeting was called. She said the school board had a "pretext in their minds that you're going to come in here dressed like a whatever, a hooker," showing her impropriety as a woman and a teacher. In Rose's opinion, the call for her to appear at the meeting and present an image for the community to gaze upon was a charade (C10).

In the meeting, Rose's body was a text, according to Rose, read by the community to gain meaning about her propriety as a woman and a teacher. However, when Rose appeared at the special school board meeting in attire that was not educationally disruptive (see Figure 4), the community addressed her other bodily features. Rose said some responses from the public were "he still looks very man-like [and] has a deep voice." She explained people "pick on anything they can to put you down because they don't have any other defense for their position." Rose gave several examples in which she was perceived as a woman, such as gentlemen opening doors for her or Rose trying on clothes in a woman's fitting room without incident. Rose jokingly pointed out to me that there were ugly women all over the place, and she figured she was one of them. She stated, "I don't care if they know I am transgendered or transsexual. Look at me as a

person; go from there," but it is precisely because the community knew she was a transsexual person that allowed people to read man-like features and a deep voice as part of an improper image of a woman and a teacher.

Figure 4. Rose at the special school board meeting at River Forest School District.

Rose's appearance was not enough to rescind the four to one vote to hire her. It was Rose's understanding that due to state law, not hiring her would have opened the school board to a lawsuit; she saw keeping the vote as a move to protect the board. If members of the school board knew they would need to keep the four to one vote, why was the special meeting called? This question points to a possible "real intention" of the meeting, for which her appearance was only a pretext. Rose's use of pronouns as grammatical markers revealed the points of view and stances she took in this story (Gee, 1991). In the clauses "they wanted to <u>see</u> what they were

hiring" (C6), "they wanted to know if I would be dressed appropriately" (C7), and "they did keep their four to one vote" (D1), the pronoun *they* seems to be referring to the school board. This assumption is reinforced when Rose said, "people come in and tried to get them to rescind it (D3) and they did not //" (D4). According to Rose, the public was asking the school board to reverse its decision. A reversal could have been done at a meeting when Rose was not in attendance, but without Rose's image the public would be less able to establish a case that she was unfit for teaching. The public needed her bodily appearance to establish its case, which points to the "real" purpose of the meeting.

The "real" purpose of the meeting was to reveal Rose as a contentious female teacher. Rose needed to appear if the community were going to be able to undermine her image as a female teacher. When Rose didn't show up in fishnets and spiked heels looking like a hooker (see Figure 4), she still was read as inappropriate due to her man-like features and her voice. The meeting allowed the community members to express their opposition to the vote, which was occasionally met with voices of support for Rose. The meeting also allowed the superintendent to publicly side with the parents by calling for full-time supervision of Rose. Although he did not follow though on this call in the few times Rose substituted after this meeting, the meeting had already established the superintendent's alliance with the community of opposition. The meeting had served its purpose of using Rose's appearance to negate the biological facts of her womanhood, to provide a forum for nay-sayers to speak, and for the school administration to publicly align with the opposition.

The board did give Rose a chance to speak to the public, to address what she perceived was the public worry surrounding her. During the school board meeting Rose said, "Don't worry… It's not contagious. Your children are not gonna catch anything…I'm not gonna walk in

a classroom with a magic wand and change your little boys into girls." Although she admitted that this statement sounded absurd, Rose reinforced, "Believe it or not some people would think that." Rose's appeal to the community to see her as a nonthreatening woman and teacher was unsuccessful. Although Rose was officially hired as a substitute teacher, she did not earn a badge of propriety from the community.

Rose's substitution record provided some evidence that Rose was far from accepted as a woman teacher. When she was employed at River Forest School District before her transition, the district called her to substitute 20-25 times per school year or more. During our meeting she said, "I almost cried when I got my W2 in January." Since the special board meeting, Rose substituted one school day per academic year in River Forest School District. She officially remains listed as an employee for the district but does not reach the number of days substituting that she did before her transition. This drop in earnings is even harsher than the report of the approximate one-third drop in earnings after a sexual transition (Schilt & Wiswall, 2008). Optimistically, at the point of our 2008 interview, Rose still kept a packed bag and her school identification cards in her living room so she could be ready at a phone call's notice, but by 2009 during our last interview Rose informed me she finally put away her ready-to-go teacher bag having accepted that she would not be called to substitute teach on a regular basis.

A Story from Erin

Most teachers don't have a formal meeting with the overt purpose of people gazing at them for approval or disapproval of their appearances. Most readings of teachers' bodies occur in more mundane settings. Erin McNamara shared a story that reinforced how it was not just a teacher's body that was a text but also what actions that body was taking in a certain context (de Lauretis, 1984; Ricoeur, 1971/2007). Ricoeur (1971/2007) established that an action can be

accessed and interpreted by others who are not privy to the bodily action. This interpretation from a distance allows the meaning of the bodily action to extend past those who actually see and experience it.

After teaching at Flora Vista High School for four years, Erin was hired as an English and Social Studies teacher at Alroy High School in a wealthy, primarily White, West Coast school district. Within that first year at Alroy, she went through the personal change of divorcing her husband. By November, teachers, students, administration, and some parents knew of Erin's divorce proceedings. She was a new teacher in the district, so many community members may not have known her by that point, but her divorce certainly was not a secret.

I asked Erin if there was anything she could tell me about this first year at a new school to help me understand what it was like. She shared the following story that occurred while she was teaching a unit on Latin America in midwinter of the 1989-99 academic school year. Erin received a message on her school voicemail from a parent who referred to a conversation that her daughter, a male student, and a third student (sex unknown) were having about Erin's attire. During a particularly trying school year, this parent complaint heightened Erin's awareness of how visible she was to people who weren't even in her classroom.

Part 1. Parent Complaint

II. CATALYST

Stanza C. Gist

C1. um .. but what I do recall is a parent calling

C2. .. calling and leaving a message

C3. it wasn't [on] anybody [else's]

C4. it was on my voice mail

C5. and just saying

III. CRISIS

Stanza D. Phone message (in a light and airy voice)

D1. (inaudible: tsuh) you know

D2. I just really want to tell you that um

D3. you know three of your students were

D4. (*in Erin's usual voice*) two other students besides her daughter were in the car

D5. (*returning to a light and airy voice*) and they were talking about how you dress

D6. and that I just think that that's not appropriate

Stanza E. Inward reaction

E1. and I just didn't know what to do with that

E2. I didn't know

E3. I just didn't know what to do with that /

Erin admitted that the phone message angered her, but her only action was venting to some colleagues about the parental complaint. Neither she nor the colleagues expressed deep concern over the issue, but it was clear that Erin wrestled with what the mother was implying. Erin's confusion over the phone message indicated she was caught off-guard because she believed she was dressed appropriately. Erin's confusion lasted even years later, but Erin returned in her mind to an incident she believed had significance with the parent phone call. She returned to an event in which she taught her students a salsa dance step.

Part 2. In-class Event

III. SETTING

Stanza J. The dance lesson

J1. um wh- Latin America and

J2. we were doing Latin America

J3. and uh we had done a lot of heavy stuff //

J4. and so um what I wanted to do is just have them learn merengue or a little bit of salsa↑

J5. um and so we moved all the chairs out

J6. and you know had the music

J7. and um and I knew the basic steps

J8. so I was just trying to show them the basic step um for .. salsa //

J9. and um so I taught them the basic step

J10. and then I asked them to like …get together

II. CATALYST

Stanza K. Students won't dance

K1. or you know with people and of course heh

K2. boys with girls

K3. boys are freshmen

K4. can't touch each other

III. CRISIS

Stanza L. Point of contact

L1. um so I can remember grabbing one of the boys and just saying ok look

L2. I'm gonna show you

L3. you know this is what you do this is what I do and showing them

L4. and there happens to be a picture of that

L5. um and so

L6. and then all of them started to dance

L7. which was great //

IV. EVALUATION

Stanza M. Internal questioning

M1. um so that's the thing that I think of ↑

M2. when I think of is that what she meant by inappropriately dressed

M3. um because .. well and I was touching a male student

Stanza N. Attire

N1. uh on that particular day I had probably .. one to two inch heels

N2. they were like the strappy sandals that were in at the nineties

N3. um a skirt that was above my knees but just above my knees

N4. you know

N5. um and then like a little sweater set or something I can't remember //

Stanza O. More internal questions

O1. um so I don't know

O2. is that is that inappropriately dressed↑

O3. is it inappropriately dressed because I happened to be touching a male student on that day↑

O4. um is that even what she's talking about ↑

O5. I don't know

V. RESOLUTION

Stanza P. Rationalizing questioning

P1. its j- you know after eight years you kind of …

P2. shoving things together and going is that what it is

P3. is that what it is

VI. CODA

Stanza Q. Implicates herself

Q1. and honestly I had uh a shoe fetish heh ha ha ha

Q2. I did

Q3. I loved those strappy sandals

Q4. and maybe that's it

Q5. maybe it's the fact that my toes were showing you know

Q6. I don't know

C: ok so there's definitely a lot of questions out there

Q7. Yeah

According to the student's mother's phone message, Erin's attire appeared to be at the center of the complaint. Erin did not seek specifics from the mother, and there was no follow-up after the phone message. Therefore, Erin relied on her own reasoning to figure out the basis of the complaint. This limits how the mother's phone message can be interpreted, but it does provide a strong opportunity to interpret what Erin thought of the situation. Out of the 43 I-statements in the entire narrative when Erin was the referent, 28 were cognitive or cognitive-ability statements (e.g., I think, I can remember). Of the 28 cognitive or cognitive-ability statements, 19 of them were focused on trying to figure out what she was faulty of in the eyes of

the mother. For example, the phrase "um so that's the thing that I think of ↑ when I think of is that what she meant by inappropriately dressed" (M1, M2) contained two cognitive I-statements related to trying to understand the mother's perspective. One might suppose that a simple telephone conversation would have cleared up the reasoned guessing, but even direct questioning does not always result in direct answers. This analysis is limited by not having an explanation from the mother. Erin might never have been able to discover the root of the mother's complaint, but Erin's beliefs about the matter validated how she viewed the events at this time. Erin's reasoned beliefs fueled her ideas on how she was viewed by others.

As part of Erin's reasoning about the parent's complaint, in Stanza N, Erin gave a description of her attire on the day that she suspected was the focus of the phone message. Erin even implicated herself in the alleged inappropriate attire, by admitting that she had a shoe fetish. Loving "those strappy sandals" (Q3) in style at the time, exposed her toes and exposed her to criticism. This speaks to the reliance on a cultural model, an iconic image of teacher who is not expected to change for comfort, fashion, or personal circumstances. The mother was judging Erin's attire, and it is likely that this cultural model played a role on some level, perhaps serving as an ideal that Erin was breeching. Despite the seeing focus on attire, two facts led Erin to think that her attire was not the only issue involved in the parent's complaint. Erin believed her actions in that attire was part of the complaint.

One fact was that a female student took some snapshots of Erin during the dance lesson. A student snapping pictures in class was an unusual occurrence. One photo showed Erin encouraging a boy to be her dance partner and male students laughing in the background. The female student who took the photo wrote on the back, "We all know what's up in this picture j/k" with a smiley face with its tongue out (see Figure 5). The "j/k" most likely stood for *just kidding*.

What is more cryptic is what we all are supposed to know. What did the student or students think that they knew was going on in that photo? Further, was it related to the conversation that the students were having in the car that prompted the parent phone call? Erin taught three class sections. The photos were taken in one class section, and the students conversing in the car attended another class section. The coincidence of student reactions across sections around the time of the dance lesson led Erin to believe that the impact of this dance lesson was wide-reaching and gave Erin enough cause to think that there was a connection between the parent telephone call and the dance lesson.

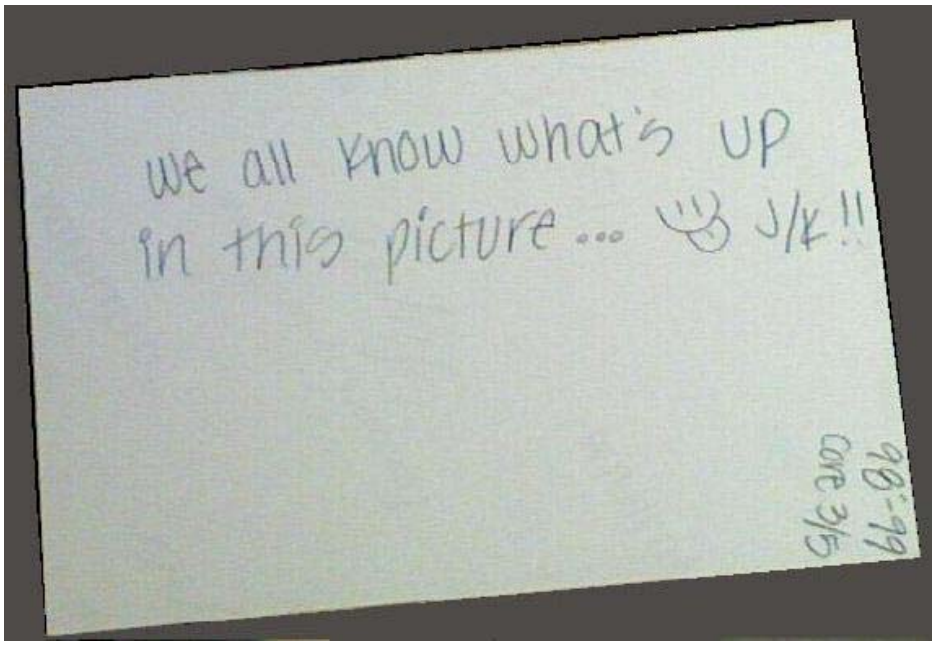

Figure 5. Back of photo taken by female student of Erin encouraging male student to be her dance partner

The second fact was that Erin had worn this outfit, or outfits like it, several times in both her former high school teaching setting and her current one without any complaints. In the narrative she stated she was wearing a sweater set, which she was not, but the rest of her description was accurate. The skirt, sandals, and sleeveless shirt were like other outfits she and

other teachers wore. During interview two, Erin also showed me several photos of her (see Figures 6 & 7) and teacher colleagues[6] in school contexts wearing similar outfits to support her point that the type of outfit she wore on the day of the dance lesson (see Figure 8) was common teacher-wear at the time. Based on this evidence Erin felt that she was dressed according to the situated meaning of teacher in her school context. Therefore she figured it was more than just the outfit that was inappropriate; she guessed it was what she was doing in that outfit.

Figure 6. Erin in a typical teacher outfit.

[6] Due to IRB guidelines, photos of others people are not allowed in this publication without permission.

Figure 7. Erin in her teacher clothes at a colleague's home.

Figure 8. Erin's outfit on the day of the dance lesson.

A subtle shift in Stanza M showed how Erin evaluated what occurred in class that day and the connection with the parent's complaint. In Stanzas J, K and L, Erin described the dance lesson in class, then Erin stated, "um so that's the thing that I think of ↑ when I think of is that what she meant by inappropriately dressed um because .. well and I was touching a male student" (M1-M3). Stanza N is entirely about her attire, but the pause then the insertion of "well and I was touching a male student" (M3) was an important interruption that connected and added context to what she wore that day and mattered in the meaning observers assigned to her body image (de Lauretis, 1984). Erin perceived it was the action of touching the male student during the dance lesson that made her attire inappropriate. Young (2005), in her own exploration of teaching and learning with bodies and non-print literacies in her English class, acknowledged the cultural messages that can be interpreted from sensual movements and mood set through dress in dance. Young recognized that dancing calls for body movements that can affect the messages linked to touching another person. In Erin's case, touching a male student while dancing may have been interpreted as sensual or sexy which put Erin's actions into question.

Part two contained a concentration of action I-statements that Erin used in regard to the dance lesson. She said, "I taught them the basic step" (J9), "I asked them to like … get together" (J10), "I'm gonna show you" (L2), "this is what I do" (L3), and "I was touching a male student" (M3). Although the action statements were fewer than the cognitive or cognitive-ability statements, these action statements mark the suspected moments of inappropriateness. The parent phone message mentioned Erin's attire, but Erin suspected that her attire was offensive due to what she was actively doing. Again, there is no way to confirm if the parent was alluding to the dance lesson, but Erin's belief does provide insight into how Erin thought about others' perceptions.

Stanza L focused on the point of contact with the male adolescent. Examining Erin's emphasized words provided information on what she felt was important in this portion of the narrative (Gee, 1991). Erin stressed the words *boys*, *look* (L1) *show* (L2) *do*, *do*, *showing* (L3) *picture of that* (L4) *dance* (L6) *great* (L7). The words *look*, *show*, *showing*, and *picture of that* indicate that Erin's body was on display, but these emphasized words don't provide the educational context of why her body was on display. Erin had to be watched to effectively teach the students to dance. However the students watching Erin that day were not just watching her to learn the dance step. They were reading her bodily image for meaning.

It should be noted that Erin's lesson in her plan book that day was "salsa dancing". She did not preconceive the series of actions she would take but said she did some of her best teaching when she allowed herself to "adjust on the fly." The students' in-class resistance to dancing with each other, prompted her to grab a boy to teach the step. Because she found this action successful in teaching her students, she subsequently did the same action with her other two class sections. From a teaching and learning standpoint, Erin believed she made a sound decision to do what was necessary to teach the students salsa dancing. From a teacher image standpoint, Erin believed others read her actions as problematic. Erin's comportment was in question. It is unclear how much issue was taken with the attire, the dance itself, or other factors, but the cultural messages in relation to body image were acknowledged by the parent complaint.

Rose's and Erin's Stories

Rose's and Erin's narratives provide answers to the question *what are the stories that current and former teachers tell in relation to experiencing a personal change and perceiving a change in how they were related to professionally?* Once Rose and Erin experienced changes in their personal lives, they perceived they were related to differently in their professional lives. In

each woman's story, her body served as a text that they felt others read to develop meanings about her. Rose told a story of people observing and reading her body directly in a school board meeting. Erin told a story of a mother reading Erin's body through the descriptions of three students. Both stories support Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory that bodily action can be examined for meaning both through direct observation and through textual language. Both stories also support Ricoeur's theory that the meaning of the bodily action extended beyond the event. In Rose's story, people read Rose's body for its meaning in a classroom setting, even though she was being read in the setting of a meeting. In Erin's story, the mother read Erin's body without seeing her directly to develop a general meaning about Erin's image in all professional settings. In both stories the meanings attached to the women's bodies extended past the immediacy of the readings of those bodies.

Bodies as Texts

To answer the question *how does a participant's body serve as a text that is read to inform her personal and professional lives?* I present narratives from two participants, Kendyll and Rachel. de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging is based on a complex system of meaning making from images that involves context, expectations of the observers, and sign production that can change the reading of images as well as material reality. Stories from Kendyll and Rachel allow examination into these three aspects of reading a bodily image. In a heteronormative system of education (Sumara & Davis, 1999), Kendyll's upcoming heterosexual marriage created a different context than Rachel's homosexual marriage. The meanings developed in these contexts were shaped by people's expectations for what it looks like for a single woman teacher to get married. When the cultural model for a teacher is greeted with the cultural model for a single woman getting married, the result is a picture of what is expected of a

single woman teacher entering marriage. Subsequently, the signs of Kendyll's engagement ring and Rachel's wedding ring were produced in different ways to create meaning about these teachers.

A Story from Kendyll

In her years as a foreign language teacher at Steeley Middle School in a working-class, primarily White, industrial suburb in the Midwest, Kendyll Belinski experienced several personal changes, which became publicly known in her school, such as getting engaged after her boyfriend proposed to her over the school sound system. This personal change was supported by her school district and therefore may seem out of the scope of this study which is concerned with personal changes that are counter to community values. However, this narrative provided context and reactions from observers that inform the meanings produced around Kendyll's body as a text. The photos of Kendyll's engagement provide information on the sign production of the engagement ring on her hand. Together the narrative and images establish the material reality where Kendyll was working. The following narrative of Kendyll and her boyfriend Josh getting engaged was crafted from Kendyll's main line (Gee, 1991) events of the full narrative (see Appendix W). This basic plot comprised of nonsubordinate, nonembedded clauses is suitable for providing enough background to discuss the sign production of Kendyll's engagement ring.

"[Josh] proposed to me over the loudspeaker at the school (A1), [and] he had this arranged with my principal (A2)… I state the background of it (B1)… [because] my boyfriend calls up my principal (C3), …[and] they had a meeting like without me (C4)… He asked can I propose to Kendyll over the school PA (C6), and my principal says yes (C7)… [Josh] and I have been dating now for about … a year and a half (D1)… My principal comes on and says (E1), …'Attention everyone (E2). We have a special announcement (E3).' And I'm in my class with

the world languages kids like quiet (E4), …[and Josh is] on my PA system at my school (F3)… He's like 'Kendyll are you listening ↑; (F4). ↑listen up ↑ (F5) '… I had this weird intersection (G1)…

He walks - (H4)… at this point I'm standing there (H5)… He strolls in with the big bouquet of roses (I2) and comes in front of the room (I3) and gets on his knee (I4). I say, "yes," (I5) and everybody's ↑cheering ↑ (I6)…All the other teachers are pouring in my classroom (J1)… They're all like hugging me (J2) and taking pictures (J3)… My principal of course knowing ahead of time this is going to happen (J4) [is] like taking pictures (J5)…. And I'm crying (J10), and my coworkers are crying (J11)… At the time I didn't know words like heterosexism (L1)… I had no notion of this (L2)."

By Kendyll's own admission, this proposal is "out of a movie" (H2). The proposal included cultural signs of a cinematic marriage proposal: an element of surprise, flowers, a bended knee, acceptance, and celebration. In the narrative, Kendyll did not mention the engagement ring, but discussion of this came later. This narrative included the storyline (i.e., cultural model) of what it looks like to be a single, heterosexual woman getting engaged.

There are assumptions threaded throughout this narrative. As evidenced by their reactions (e.g., hugs, cheering), the school community was making a common assumption that this engagement was a positive step in Kendyll's and Josh's relationship. During our interview Kendyll marveled how people in her school community and beyond got "more excited [at] a woman getting married or having a baby than anything else." Teachers and students showed delight the day of the proposal, and afterward, students' parents sent gifts to Kendyll to join in the celebration. One minor but important part of the story is when, Kendyll's principal was getting the students' attention and said, "We have a special announcement" (E3). He could have

said, “There is a special announcement,” “Miss Belinski has a special announcement,” or “This announcement is for Miss Belinski,” but he didn’t. The principal used the pronoun *we*, as if this proposal was for the entire school. Kendyll reinforced this idea by saying, “I think my school was SO ABOUT supporting my romance with [Josh]” (B2). This linguistic evidence reinforced that Kendyll’s school members most likely anticipated she would be happy getting engaged.

Kendyll’s principal, knowing the proposal was going to occur, brought a camera to take pictures that day. He developed them over the weekend and handed the prints to Kendyll the next school day. The pictures show Kendyll in her “school spirit Friday shirt”, a chambray button-down with an embroidered Steeley Middle School logo. In an interview, we joked how her clothes made her seem like the Steeley poster girl, who was meant to be married, have children, and follow the heteronormative expectations for her set by her school community, which Kendyll described as “a pretty conservative blue-collary area.” Kendyll showed photos of three general subjects: someone hugging Kendyll, someone shaking Josh’s hand, and people looking at Kendyll’s ring. It was this last subject that answered how Kendyll’s body served as a text that was read to inform her personal and professional lives. Pictures of people looking at her ring, with each person’s gaze indicated by a black line (see Figures 9-12) illustrate this point.

Figure 9. Kendyll's fiancé Josh looking at and showing off the engagement ring

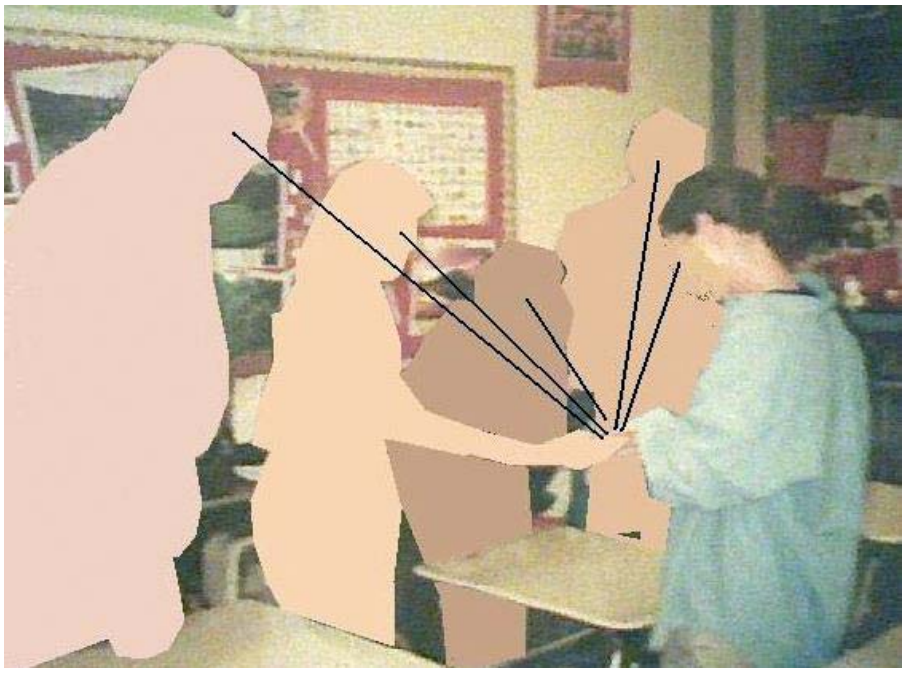

Figure 10. Kendyll's teacher colleagues looking at Kendyll's engagement ring (from left to right: male, female, male, male, Kendyll)

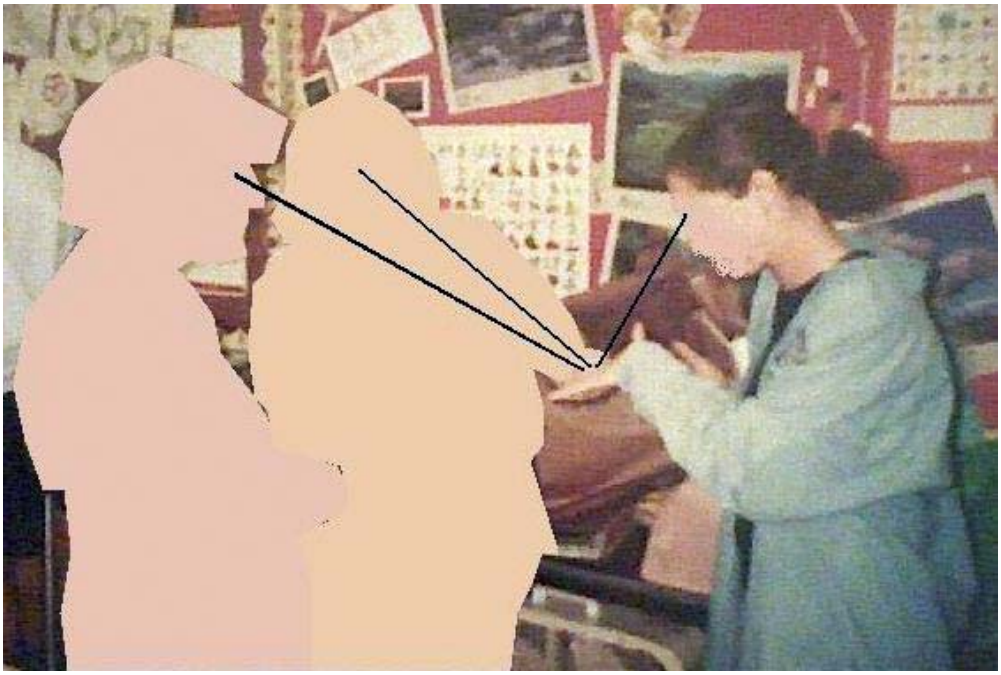

Figure 11. Two of Kendyll's teacher colleagues looking at Kendyll's engagement ring (from left to right: female, female, Kendyll)

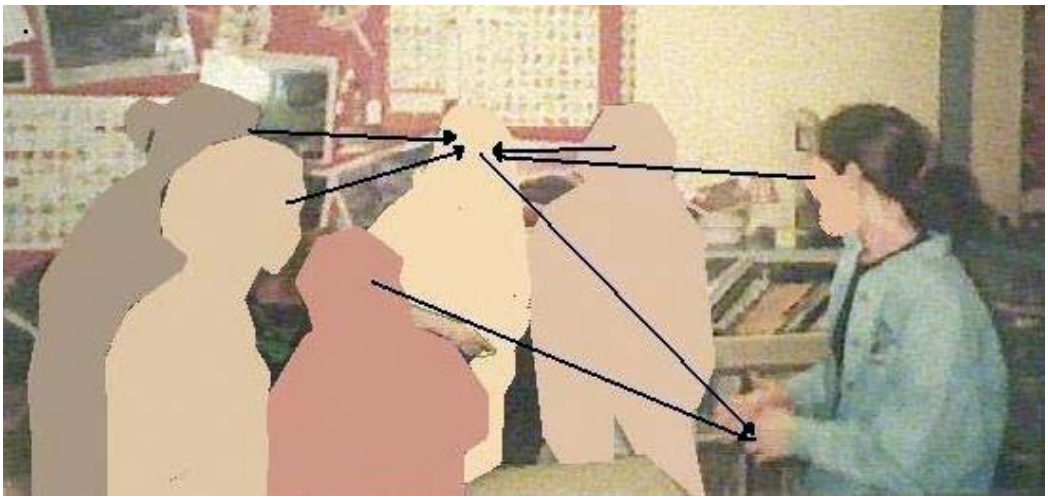

Figure 12. Kendyll and three other students look at a student who is pointing at the engagement ring and exclaiming (from left to right: female, male, male, female, female, Kendyll)

Kendyll noted, "I found this interesting too; everybody's looking at the ring and no one's looking at me… Why are they all looking at the ring↑" Kendyll is also implicated in focusing on the ring, but she showed frustration that her disembodied hand was a focal point of the people in

the photos. The ring was a sign. Engagement rings have a history linked to the betrothal property transaction in which a bride and the dowry from her father were traded for marriage to a groom, who gave a betrothal ring as a sign of good faith (Stewart, 1995). Rubin (1975) critiqued the implication that a woman is a gift to be exchanged from one man to another, unable to give herself away, but Rubin did theorize that women are enculturated into heterosexuality through marriage. The engagement ring is a cultural sign of a heteronormative standard. The marriage proposal within a heteronormative context solidified Kendyll's teacher image as one that fit her school's expectations.

Kendyll's story of getting engaged to be married provided a narrative example of a teacher image fitting the cultural model of teacher. Kendyll's image slipped seamlessly into the heteronormative expectations within the context of Steeley Middle School, as evidenced by how the school community produced her engagement ring as a sign of Kendyll's happy future as a married woman and teacher. Eventually, Kendyll cancelled the wedding plans and did not fulfill the expectations she and others had for getting married and having children. By comparison, the actions she did take, such as teaching abroad, were not met with questions or attention as far as Kendyll could tell. The attention Kendyll received for heteronormative plans waned when she did not fulfill others' expectations. Eventually, Kendyll left Steeley Middle School to attend graduate school where she thought she might find a more welcoming environment for her new life choices. While still attending graduate school, Kendyll returned to a part-time teaching job in a new area of the country.

A Story from Rachel

The following story from a participant named Rachel is in a different context. The community had similar heteronormative standards as the community at Kendyll's school. Once

people's expectations for Rachel were held in relation to the cultural model of teacher, they produced the sign of her wedding ring differently than Kendyll's engagement ring. Like Kendyll's story, Rachel's narrative is also about notifying the school that she was getting married. Rachel's story is different, however, in that she was marrying a woman. In December of 2003, Rachel Kohn applied for a teaching job as a Hebrew teacher at Temple of Yavneh, a synagogue in a primarily White, middle to upper-middle class area of a large southeastern city. During her interview she told the rabbi and the cantor that she was going to marry her female partner Joy in October and would be gone for a few days. Because the cultural model of marriage is a heterosexual union between a man and a woman (Rubin, 1975), Rachel was aware that her homosexual marriage might be controversial at her new workplace. Rachel decided to tell the school administrators because she didn't "feel like dealing with" the stress of deciding to come out to individual people. The following narrative is crafted from the main line plot clauses of the full narrative (see Appendix X). This story reveals how the context and community expectations affected how Rachel and her wedding ring were read by others.

"I told [the administrators] that I was going to be getting married (D2),… and I wanted to let them know (D5)…They said, 'Oh you know it's not a problem' (D6)…I wanted it out on the table before I even started there (D8)… I just wanted it out there (D14),… so I told the cantor who was acting as the director (E1) and one of the rabbis (E2)…They said, 'Oh there's absolutely no issue (E3) … if your students are going to be seventh graders (E4) and if…they ask you about it (E6) there's no reason that you shouldn't just say (E7)… this is the way that it happens to be (E9)…you shouldn't you know sit there and discuss a lot'(E10)… So they were perfectly supportive and reasonable (E12) and had no issues with it (E13).

So I started teaching there (F1). [In my class] I said something like (F3), 'Well you know I'm not going to be here next week" (F4)… One of the kids said, "Well why not"(F7), and I said, "I'm getting married (F9). [When a student asked my husband's name]…I said something along the lines of (F13), 'Um well actually um I am getting married to a woman (F14) and her name is Joy' (F15)… So I did basically exactly what [the cantor and the rabbi] had recommended to me (G1)… [The students] looked at each other (H4), and they were snickering and giggling (H5)… [From that point on] several of the boys in the class had continual behavior issues (I2)…and truthfully they'd been a little bit like that before (I11)… I decided that I was gonna call the parents (J6). I had gone in and talked to the um school director the cantor (J7) and he agreed, 'Oh sure, you know, yeah I think a call to the parents would be reasonable' (J8).

So I called the parent (K6)… So I called this woman up (L1), and I told her we're having some behavior issues (L2.)…She basically said well um you know … it's not ok that he's acting like that (L5)… [but] I know that he and several of the other boys don't have any respect for you (L7) and I don't really think that's their fault (L8)… I tried to ask a little bit more (N1), and I'm saying so you know are you talking about the fact that (N2) I revealed that I was getting married and (N3)… [I explained I had the administrators' support], and she said, 'Well I guess I'm going to have to discuss that with them (P2) and 'I don't think that twelve-year-olds should have that kind of information (P4). They're not ready for that (P5) and they're not mature enough to handle this kind of thing' (P6).

I do remember that when I told [the cantor] (Q6) about the conversation he was uh he was surprised (Q7) that this woman had reacted that way (Q8) and offended (Q9). And he said, 'You know absolutely you have our full support'(Q10)… I kind of assumed from the way that he

was talking (Q21) that that meant that he was going to fix it you know (Q22), but then I discovered that (Q23)…

I was very uncomfortable even coming to that building (R2)… I think I remember [the mother] saying that you know she had kind of discussed it with some of the other mothers (R4)…that had these boys in the class (R5) and they all were kind of in this little consensus (R6) that that was inappropriate (R7)… I'd never really heard anything more (S2). The administrators didn't come to me and say, 'Ok here's what we're going to do (S3)… and I just I never really got any follow up (S10)… I think that I would have asked at least once more you know (T3)… I never really got a true follow-up (T6)… I never got to personally deal with it with the parents anymore beyond that (T8)."

Rachel told the administrators about the wedding before she was hired. It is possible that the administrators were worried of some legal backlash if they did not hire Rachel as lesbian woman, though refusal to hire based on sexual orientation would have been legal (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission [EOEC], 2004). If the threat of legal action were their primary reason for hiring Rachel, they most likely would not have given her permission to tell the students about her marriage. Rachel described the administrator's backing as unqualified, such as 'there's absolutely no issue" (E3), "they were perfectly supportive and reasonable" (E12), and they "had no issues with it" (E13). Rachel felt supported by the administration and acted according to that feeling. Even years later during our interviews, despite the administrators' apparent lack of follow-up with the situation, Rachel maintained that they were genuine in accepting her homosexuality. Rachel said, "They wanted the synagogue to be a place where I could be out and it would be fine, but I just don't think they had an understanding of what that entailed and how to address the issue when it came up."

Stanza N was part of the CRISIS macrostructure section of the narrative, meaning the part of the story which builds the problem (Gee, 1999). In this stanza, Rachel recounted a portion of the conversation she had with the student's mother.

VII. CRISIS

Stanza N. Recounting conversation

N1. so I said uh you know I tried to ask a little bit more

N2. and I'm saying so you know are you talking about the fact that

N3. I revealed that I was getting married and eh-

N4. and I don't remember the I think we probably had the entire conversation without the words gay or lesbian ever coming up

N5. but wa- it became very clear what she was talking about she said something like you

N6. know some personal information was revealed to them that they're not old enough or mature enough to handle

N7. that you know that twelve-year-olds shouldn't be knowing about this kind of stuff

N8. or something like that

Rachel shifted psychological subjects from the pronoun *I* (lines N1-4) to *we* (N4), when she said "we probably had the entire conversation without the words gay or lesbian ever coming up," meaning both she and the mother did not say *gay* or *lesbian*. Like Kendyll who was implicated in focusing on the engagement ring, Rachel was implicated in avoiding the explicit topic of homosexuality, by sidestepping the words *gay* and *lesbian*. The conjunction *but*, in "but … it became very clear what she was talking about" (N5), indicated this silence on homosexuality was not a problem; they both understood the mother's point.

The shared understanding between these two women comes from the cultural model of marriage. The cultural model of a single woman getting engaged to be married to a man is based in heteronormativity (Rubin, 1975); it does not include two women getting married. The words *gay* and *lesbian* were never used because there was no need to emphasize homosexuality as ill-fitting with cultural storyline of a woman getting married. Rachel said the mother felt Rachel should not expose the 12-year-old students to her impending marriage that went against the cultural model.

As a single and dating homosexual woman having taught in several synagogue schools, Rachel had always felt able to reveal her sexual orientation and relationships to whomever she felt comfortable. She occasionally came out to colleagues and supervisors but not students or parents because "it just never was something [she] felt the need to do." Rachel saw her wedding as a "big turning point." She felt she either had to give "some other explanation and lie about why [she was] not [going to be in school] or [she had] to say what it [was]." It was exactly because weddings are public events that Rachel felt she needed to change her approach to letting people know about her sexuality. Because a wedding is "a public declaration of [a] relationship," it necessitated a more public explanation than Rachel had previously entertained. Even though Rachel's narrative provided context for the collision of her personal and professional worlds, there is little mention of her body image. Follow-up conversations revealed information about her teacher image.

Rachel tried to present a "nondescript" teacher image with regard to her sexuality. "I was probably trying to walk this thin line between being out and … jumping into this new life and yet not wanting to like openly … exclaim it all the time … or have it obvious." This "subtle … self-censoring" manifested as teacher dress that didn't "really say very much specific," usually khaki

pants and a blouse. Her outfits neither hid nor showed off her body (see Figure 13). She did, however, try to make sure her blouses were somehow feminine, showing flowers, a design, piping, or some kind of delicate trim. Part of Rachel's duties in this service learning classroom included holding class on community sites which made wearing dresses and skirts impractical, but Rachel said she was "worried about … dressing [in a] dykie way."

Rachel usually wore some jewelry as part of her attempt to look feminine, and after she got married Rachel wore a wedding ring. Unlike Kendyll's ring, which was a focal point surrounding her engagement, when asked, Rachel could not remember any comments or reactions to her new wedding ring. She also did not remember any questions about her wedding. The only reactions Rachel could remember were the surprised looks on the students' faces, some students' subsequent misbehavior, and the parent reaction during the phone call. Unlike Kendyll's students' parents, who sent engagement gifts to celebrate the event, Rachel received no

Figure 13. Rachel's typical teaching outfits included a blouse and khaki pants.

acknowledgement from parents past the aforementioned phone call. Rachel vaguely remembered passing that mother in the hallway: "We just kind of looked the other way." In fact, after the phone complaint, nothing was ever addressed about the wedding or her sexual orientation. Rachel was never sure if other parents had issues with her sexual orientation as the mother indicated, so she had minimal conversations with parents and endured the rest of the term "mentally and emotionally [hiding herself]."

Overall, the material reality of Rachel's teacher image was that the school community did not seem to recognize her as a married woman. Rachel never received acknowledgement from the administration about this issue. No one paid attention to her wedding ring or wedding day, which were both signs of her homosexuality. Just as Rachel and the student's mother actually "looked the other way," it seemed that any signs signifying Rachel's wedding, resulted in the school community also looking the other way.

Although Rachel had no evidence that this school community was recognizing her as a married woman, Rachel did offer a narrative that opened the possibility of how people saw her as a homosexual woman and how her body played a significant role. Rachel told a story about teaching in another synagogue school where she came out as a lesbian to the rabbi who was the school administrator. Rachel received a response which prompted Rachel's theory about why people felt discomfort at her being a lesbian.

Part 1. Coming Out to Rabbi

Stanza A. Rabbi's reaction

A1. … <u>there</u> was even

A2. the rabbi at [another] synagogue …

A3. when I came out to <u>him</u>

A4. he said you know it's interesting because

A5. um you know the minute you say you're gay to someone

A6. it's different than any other thing

A7. because .. you're having to reveal something about your ↑sex life↓

Stanza B. Rachel's interpretation

B1. and you know there's ..

B2. it's just the first thing that pops into people mind

B3. is your ↑sex life↓

B4. and there's no other situation where that's a normal thing

B5. for people just to start thinking about

The rabbi's point rests on the assumption that people tend to equate sexuality with sex. Once people knew that Rachel was a homosexual woman, the rabbi reasoned they thought about Rachel's bodily activity of homosexual sex. After revealing that she was a lesbian and was marrying her partner Joy, Rachel surmised that people had less of an issue with the way she looked than with the way they thought she used her body, as in her sex activity. Rachel believed the contention was not about the body appearing, as some of the literature on teachers' bodies might indicate (e.g., Weber & Mitchell, 1995), but it was more about the body having a function. For those in society who had problems with her sexuality, Rachel reasoned that homosexuality "makes your body dirty because you didn't use it correctly" according to heteronormative standards.

The nature versus nurture debate of homosexuality (Cohen, 2007; Colt & Hollister, 1998; Gabard, 1999; Parrenas, 2000; Ridley, 2003; Silverstein, 1996; Stein, 1999) opens the possibility that some people assumed Rachel was choosing homosexuality over heterosexuality. Rachel

understood some people saw homosexuality as a choice and assumed she was making a choice about how to use her body. Those assumptions affected how those people reacted to Rachel's personal information. Rachel used the term lesbian for herself out of convenience according to social norms because she was in a relationship with a woman. Rachel thought the term bisexual was a more natural term to describe her, and she rejected the notion that her sexuality was a choice. Still, she took on the perspective of someone who believed it was a choice, just to make her point:

> I mean if you at least if you're of a different race you were born that way. Or at least if you are in a wheelchair you either had a disease or an accident that caused you to be that way. It wasn't like you chose to have that, but I think there [are] people that do have a problem with [homosexuality,] they don't often feel that. [They feel] it's a choice.

Rachel believed that because some people think of homosexuality as a choice, "there's that element of morality… with the whole homosexuality thing." Rachel took this thinking to a moral level on societal terms:

> A lot of people feel that homosexuality is a choice, [an] … immoral choice that people make because obviously you could use your body for heterosexual activity if you chose to and you're choosing not to do that. You're choosing to use your body for homosexual activity,

therefore the body is being used immorally by one's own choosing. These judgments are wrapped in the bodily potential for action as opposed to actual action.

Returning to Gee's (1999) description of cultural models and situated meanings enriches the understanding of Rachel's narrative. The cultural model of a heterosexual female teacher is placed in relation to the situated meaning of homosexual teacher that Rachel offered. In applying

this theory to the synagogue where she worked when getting married, the community assumed that she matched the cultural model of teacher as a heterosexual woman. Rachel said, "just all of a sudden I fell under a different category for them. They have these preconceived categories and all of a sudden it was revealed to them that, 'Oh no in fact she's not normal; she's in [another] category.'" Once they realized she did not fit that cultural model of a heterosexual teacher, they resisted the situated meaning of teacher, a homosexual teacher, which she was presenting.

The rabbi's and Rachel's point that "the minute you reveal that you are gay then people… have this in to think about your sex life" implies that people are thinking about what a gay person could potentially do with her body during sex. Although Rachel admitted that in her life people both gently and bluntly inquired about her actual sex actions, most people did not. Most people only had the potential of Rachel's body in mind. Unlike Ricoeur (1971/2007) who posited that action that occurred could be used as a text for meaning, Rachel made a case that it was potential bodily action that was used to develop meaning about her.

Rachel reasoned it was the potential for her to engage in actions of pedophilic molestation that made her body worrisome to members of the school community. She said,

> Some people who find homosexuality uncomfortable then might think that a person who is able to step outside of what [people] perceive as normal sexuality then … since they clearly don't understand the boundaries of normal sexuality maybe they don't understand other boundaries about sexuality like with children.

Tersely put, abnormal sexuality equals abnormal sex, or more accurately, the potential for abnormal sexual action. Although the case for potential bodily actions being read for meaning is a good one, clarification is needed on the rabbi's and Rachel's idea that someone knowing that a person is homosexual is "different than any other thing." In our member check meeting, Rachel

emphasized the point that homosexuality is different it is surrounding sexuality and sex. I contend the judgment of potential actions extends to other descriptors than homosexuality because participants Rose, Erin, and Kendyll have illustrated that they too have been read based on potential bodily action.

In Rose's experience, at the special school board meeting, she addressed what the public thought was her potential for action. Rose said jokingly "I'm not gonna walk in a classroom with a magic wand and change your little boys into girls." She used the rhetorical device of portraying the potential action as far-fetched to undermine the assumptive sentiment. The assumption was that Rose had the potential to act in a way that would affect students' gender identity or students' own gender awareness. Although no one observed an action to this effect, the public was seeking evidence from her body about her potential to do this.

In Erin's case, her potential for action was alluded to on the back on the photo taken by one of her students. When the student wrote, "We all know what's up in this picture j/k" (see Figure 5), the student indicated that "we" read some potential action in addition to what the photo showed, which was Erin encouraging a male student to be her dance partner in the lesson. It is not certain what the potential action was in the minds of "we". It is not even clear who the "we" is, but Erin's actions are being read as well as her potential for bodily action.

The observers in Kendyll's school showed their assumptions that Kendyll would happily follow a heteronormative path beginning with her getting married and possibly having children. These expectations, especially the possibility of pregnancy, reveal the potential for Kendyll's body to function in wifehood and motherhood. The trajectory of Kendyll's story includes that she did not end up getting married or having children, thus she did not carry out the bodily potential her school community expected. As other women on the faculty did get married and

have babies, several bridal and baby showers occurred and made those women focal points, but Kendyll stated, “I sort of fell off everybody's radar.” After teaching in the same school for seven years, Kendyll felt it was her unexpected “personal changes that sort of pushed [her] out.”

Rachel grappled with deciding to leave her position immediately after the parent phone call and lack of follow-up from the administration. She “ended up just deciding [she] would just stick out that semester” because she and her new spouse were going to be moving from the area. Rachel reasoned, “I'll just finish it out .. so that I don't have this track record of just quitting,” If Rachel did not have plans to move or were unworried about having a history of quitting her teaching positions, she likely would have left this position. Rachel taught in two more synagogues as she moved to two different U.S. regions. Rachel eventually left grade K-12 teaching to earn a graduate degree, which she was still pursuing at the time of the interviews.

These women’s stories allow for understanding how bodies are texts. Bodily actions are read for meaning (Ricoeur, 1971/2007), but potential for bodily action is also read for meaning. This potential bodily action included the role of the observers as meaning is derived from reading images in a particular context (de Lauretis, 1984). The body is used as a text in two ways: in reading bodily action and in reading the potential for bodily action.

Texting of Bodies

Two participants shared stories about literally turning their bodies into texts to be read by themselves and others. Their narratives provide another way to answer the question *how does a participant’s body serve as a text that is read to inform her personal and professional lives?* Erin and Gabbie shared stories about tattoos on their bodies that reflected their personal lives and changes they experienced. Pitts (2003) pointed out that in a society where women might feel a level of social control over their bodies, tattoos can be personal expressions and can highlight

"power relations that surround the body" (p. 57). Each woman's school setting had situated meanings of the word *teacher* based on the expectations in their community. Erin's and Gabbie's stories, when examined beside each other, reveal how their bodies were texts that were read in relation to the cultural model of teacher and situated meanings of teacher.

A Story from Erin

During my second interview with Erin, I asked her to complete a timeline of the events surrounding the personal change that became known in the public realm. While filling out her timeline, she realized that a linear representation was not sufficient for this time in her life; she saw events as circular. This revelation led her to explain one of the two tattoos she had on the inside of her foot. The tattoo that had a circular pattern (see Figure 14) was a remembrance of the time in her life when she was getting divorced. Erin said the Polynesian wave symbol served as a reminder to her that "when you come crashing down remember that you will get sucked back up and out…and that if you just keep yourself moving you'll be ok."

At that point in the interview, I offered some on-the-spot theorizing. I went forward with this kind of disclosure because my approach to feminist interviewing included building connections with participants so that the interviewee might feel more comfortable sharing her thoughts. I viewed this on-the-spot theorizing in the same way interpretations are shared with participants during a member check. Because I had known Erin for several years, I felt comfortable making my unpolished theory vulnerable to her. When I shared that it seemed she had turned her body into a literal text, Erin agreed with this theory.

Figure 14. One of Erin's two tattoos on the inside of her foot.

It would be naïve to take Erin's response as unproblematic. Little is known about the impact of interviewer disclosure (Reinharz & Chase, 2003), and it is especially contentious in feminist research. Several approaches to feminist interviewing emphasize the interview as a collaborative effort with mutual sharing of ideas (e.g., Oakley, 1981), but others question if researcher disclosure allows an interviewee to share more or share without pressure to please the researcher (Reinharz, 1992). Erin and I established our relationship prior to this study, and as colleagues we made a practice of critiquing each other's work for our mutual benefit. I believe that if she disagreed with my interpretation, she would have expressed her opinion. Some linguistic evidence supported my belief.

VI. CODA

Stanza I. (partial) Theorizing tattoos

C: and it really um you know when I think about bodies as texts I mean you literally turned your body

I4. • (*gasp*) true

C: into a text

I5. true yeah

When I offered my interpretation of her tattoo related to her divorce, she interrupted my thought with a gasp and repeated the word *true* in agreement (I4, I5). She led into the next stanza with the conjunction *and* (J1), a marker that often indicates the narrator is creating cohesion with what came before (Gee, 1991). Erin also used my words before she rephrased them into her own interpretation. These signals that she agreed with my theorizing led to a narrative within a narrative about students reading her tattoos.

Part 3. Reading Tattoos

I. EVALUATION

Stanza J. Identifying with her body as text

J1. and actually I think it is really interesting because it is

J2. it is me making my body the text

J3. it's like read me read that this happened to me

II. CRISIS

Stanza K. Abstract

K1. um and and students always notice my tattoos

K2. they always do

III. SETTING

Stanza L. When students read tattoos

L1. it's not immediate usually um

L2. it's usually a couple months in

IV. CRISIS

Stanza M. Students notice tattoos

M1. but they're like •(gasp) you have a tattoo …

V. EVALUATION

Stanza N. Moving categories

N1. you're like all of a sudden you get placed in this different category

N2. you know like you're not the teacher that they shove in the closet every night and take the battery out of you know

VI. RESOLUTION

Stanza O. Students ask about meaning

O1. and um so yeah so and

O2. and obviously kids have always asked like what is that and I [say] Polynesian wave symbol that's it //

A cultural model is at work in this narrative, as the simplified image or storyline that involves assumptions about what is normal (Gee, 1999). Erin posited the cultural model of a proper teacher is the "teacher that they shove in the closet every night and take the battery out of" (N2). The values associated with this teacher are that she does not have a personal life to complicate her professional world. This cultural model teacher lives just for the classroom and is the teacher type that society uses to organize experiences and provide limits about what an appropriate teacher is.

According to Erin, her tattoos were a sign produced by her students that indicated she did not fit the iconic view of what a teacher should be. In terms of de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging, the contexts of Erin's school and the observers' expectations led the students to act surprised, evidence that Erin saw as her not fitting the cultural model of teacher once they read Erin's bodily signs (i.e., tattoos). Erin presented this narrative as a typical and generic exchange with her students, not as a single event with a specific group of students. Erin explained that a typical student response was that they didn't expect her to have tattoos. Learning that she did have tattoos changed the meaning they developed about her as a teacher.

Erin represented a situated meaning of the word *teacher* in the context of her school. By saying, "all of a sudden you get placed in this different category" (N1), Erin thought in the eyes of her students that at one point she was considered the kind of woman who existed as an uncomplicated teacher operating only to serve her classroom, a teacher who meshed with the model; once students noticed her tattoos, Erin perceived that they took her out of that cultural model category and put her into "this different category" (N1). Erin did not explain what the different category was, only that it was not the cultural model she was once a part. There was some evidence that Erin was resisting the cultural model of teacher to create a different situated meaning of teacher. Erin had tattoos. As evidenced by the dance lesson story, she dressed in ways different from the iconic teacher. Erin admitted, "I didn't want kids to think I was the teacher that went in the closet and had her battery taken out each night," so she read herself as a teacher outside the cultural model. Erin also knew that throwing away the cultural model of a teacher was invitation for critique, such as the parent complaint about her attire.

Erin believed that some students supported Erin's resisting the iconic model of teacher and some did not. She said, "There's some kids who … they're really interested in the person

that you are inside." Erin said, "Um I think there's other kids who they want to keep you in the classroom it's like I don't want to know that you .. get sick or… just you come in do your job I'll do my little job." Although students' initial reactions were similar, Erin believed their interpretations were different. She believed students ranged in their responses to Erin who resisted the cultural model of teacher in their community. Although students may have had little information about the circumstances of her divorce that led to Erin getting her tattoos, according to Erin, it was her bodily image that allowed students to see the possibility of Erin's personal life. It was also Erin's bodily image that allowed students to read her as outside the cultural model of teacher.

As evidenced by Erin's tattoo and dance lesson narratives, she purposefully did not match the cultural model of teacher. Although this may have created some tension in her school, Erin continued to teach at Alroy for a total of eight years after surviving that rough first year during which she got divorced. After working there for several years, Erin realized the school community was one that "fed on drama," where community involvement included lawsuits and "calling teachers on the floor." She cited two teachers who were "dragged out of that community because of parent gossip." Erin stayed at the school for such a long time because she was impressed with the students' academic work and what she was able to accomplish with students in curricular terms. Erin eventually left teaching to pursue a graduate degree but has since remarried and returned to teaching in a different school district.

A Story from Gabbie

Gabbie Hill's first teaching job was at a small private secondary boarding school in New England called Blair Mill School. As part of her job assignment, she lived in a dorm with students and two other faculty members. In addition to her dorm duty, she was a history teacher,

student advisor, and basketball and soccer coach. Living with students created a setting in which the professional and personal divide was blurry. Students were often in Gabbie's apartment for meetings or study sessions, and Gabbie likened her dorm duty and advising at Blair Mill to being a surrogate parent.

Gabbie was in a setting that melded personal and professional lives. The boarding school facilitated students and teachers being in each other's lives outside the classroom. At the time, Gabbie did not feel secure being an "out" lesbian although Blair Mill offered a "welcoming open environment," where the leadership encouraged "respecting diversity." When I asked Gabbie, "Do you think that you could have been out at Blair Mill?" she responded, "Yes, I could have. I just wasn't comfortable with myself at that time." Gabbie's view that a teacher's homosexual personal life would be accepted exemplified that the expectations for teachers in Gabbie's school were influenced by the context.

Like Erin, Gabbie had a tattoo, but the contexts in which Erin and Gabbie taught and the expectations for these teachers were not the same. Therefore, the meanings developed about their respective tattoos were not the same. A sketch (see Figure 15) of Gabbie's tattoo hung in Gabbie's dorm room apartment, where students regularly had access. One student named Karen asked Gabbie what the sketch was, and Gabbie told Karen it was a tattoo that she had. Karen's response was a simple, "Cool." This image resurfaced when Karen created a quilt project in Gabbie's women's studies class. Gabbie told the following narrative about Karen's project on the history of women communicating through quilting (see Figure 16).

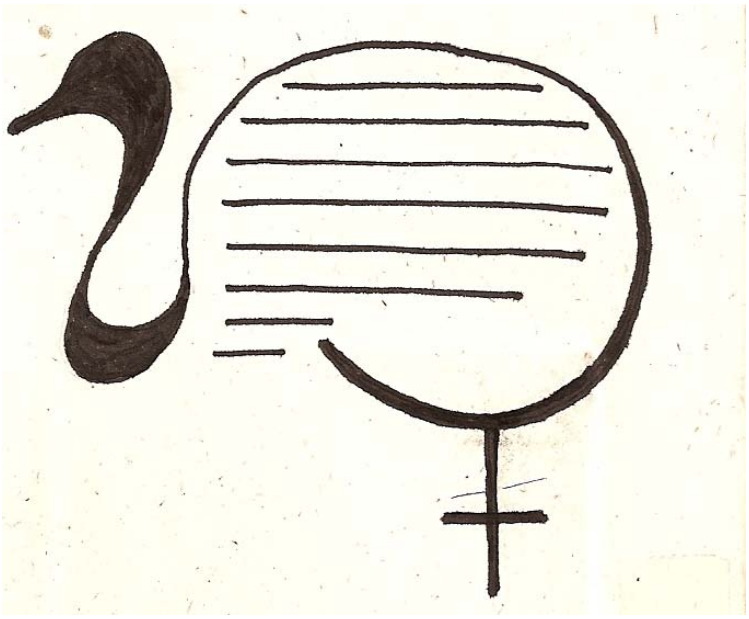

Figure 15. The sketch of Gabbie's tattoo that hung in her dorm apartment at Blair Mill School.

Figure 16. A student's quilt project that represented how the student saw each person in Gabbie's class

IV. EVALUATION

Stanza F. Understandings of persons in the class

F1. And [Karen] pulls this quilt out

F2. and on this quilt I swear to god there were TEN panels

F3. and on each panel it symbolized how she saw the person in the class

F4. and we had one guy that took the class

F5. so for his it was like a lacrosse stick and I forget the other thing

F6. so she like had a camera and a running shoe for Dana

F7. and like a soccer ball and skis for Jan

F8. and for me she had like this design

F9. that actually ended up becoming a tattoo::o that I got

F10. actually

F11. it's like this ah it's this graphic symbol

F12. with a woman symbol and a swan

F13. that my friend designed

F14. it was really cool um

V. RESOLUTION

Stanza F. Emotional connection

F1. and at the very END she gave me the quilt

F2. and I was BAWLING

F3. I was like this is aMAZing

VI. CODA

Stanza G. Quilt in personal space

G1. and the quilt still hangs like in my apartment to this day//

The sketch of Gabbie's tattoo and the symbol the student made for the quilt (see Figure 17) are not exactly alike, but they have similar characteristics. Both show an image of a swan that according to Gabbie meant power of woman, an approximation of the female symbol ♀, and the letter G for Gabbie. The sketch and the quilt symbol are different in curvature, the position of the letter G, and color. Karen included enough of the components (e.g., the swan, ♀, and the letter G for Gabbie) to show she had some sense of the meaning behind the image. The tattoo did not definitively reveal matters of Gabbie's homosexuality, although her students could have interpreted it that way. It is possible that Gabbie's role as a women's history instructor prompted students to see the women-centered symbol as evidence of Gabbie's passion about women's

Figure 17. Symbol that represented Gabbie on a student's quilt project. The symbol was the student's version of Gabbie's tattoo.

issues. Gabbie's intended meaning of the tattoo is known, but how students interpreted the content of the tattoo is hearsay.

It is possible, however, to examine Gabbie's perceptions of how the students saw her tattoo in light of the cultural model of teacher. Unlike Erin's story, Gabbie provided no evidence that her students were shocked at Gabbie having a tattoo. There was no evidence that students knowing about their teacher's tattoo placed her in "a different category." If anything, Karen's quilt and Gabbie's reaction celebrated how Gabbie was represented by her tattoo. The language "I was BAWLING" (F2) and "I was like this is aMAZing," (F3) emphasized Gabbie's joy in her students' work. Gabbie was still displaying the quilt in her apartment almost fourteen years later at the time of our interviews (G1), reinforcing the pride she felt in that quilt project and how she was represented.

The context of Blair Mill School and the expectations of those reading the bodily image of Gabbie's tattoo (albeit in sketch form and on Karen's quilt) factor into the meaning linked to that sign. The boarding school arrangement facilitated students and teachers being in each other's lives outside the classroom. Gabbie's school context ensured that students saw their teachers spending time with friends and colleagues, doing activities, and pursuing personal interests. Therefore the context itself created a situated meaning of teacher who had a personal life outside the classroom that was visible to the students. Further, Gabbie confirmed that the school ethos was welcoming of difference. Therefore, one might predict, in the least, tolerance at a teacher having a tattoo. The context of Blair Mill School fostered a type of teacher that was different from the cultural model of teacher who just lived for her classroom, as described in Erin's narrative.

Although the context of the school may have made a teacher with a tattoo feel more welcome than other contexts, one cannot assume that a teacher with a tattoo was the expectation at Blair Mill. Although Karen's response to the tattoo was an unfussy "Cool," the attention Karen gave to the tattoo implies that Gabbie having a tattoo was notable. The student Karen chose images that "symbolized how she saw the person in the class" (F3). She could have chosen many school-related activities such as basketball or soccer with which Gabbie was involved, but Karen gave the tattoo symbol primacy. The student used Gabbie's bodily tattoo as a text, from which she derived meaning about Gabbie. The tattoo symbol made an impact on Karen, but there was no evidence that Karen read the tattoo as a sign that Gabbie was trying to subvert the cultural model of teacher. Based on the school context and the stated meaning of the quilt, the tattoo seemed more so to be interpreted as a sign of who Gabbie was as a person. It just happened who Gabbie was as a person fit well with the situated meaning of teacher at Blair Mill.

After six years, Gabbie left Blair Mill School to take a job at Nash Academy in a large Southeastern city. Gabbie was an athletic administrator and coach at Nash Academy for four years. She established some strong relationships with her players and players' families, but eventually she found the community was neither willing to acknowledge, nor support sexual orientation diversity in the school setting. Her experiences there affected Gabbie's decision to leave her position at Nash, earn a doctoral degree, and remain at a university setting where she felt it was easier to live her life as a homosexual woman

Bodily Tattoos as Literal Texts

Erin's and Gabbie's narratives showed that tattoos literally make one's body a text to be read for meaning. The cultural model of a teacher (i.e., the iconic image of a conservatively dressed and coiffed female) does not include someone with tattoos, because culturally and

historically in the United States, tattoos are a mode of resistance to mainstream culture (Pitts, 2003); therefore, evidence exists that both Erin and Gabbie represented a situated meaning of teacher that deviated from the cultural model. These deviations were not interpreted the same ways by their students.

Erin believed that her students interpreted her tattoos as evidence that she was not the type of teacher they once thought, a teacher that matched or was at least closer to the cultural model they expected. Students' reactions were a result of their expectations for what a teacher should be in their school. Gabbie's having a tattoo was also a break from the iconic image of teacher, but her students did not interpret Gabbie's bodily text as a sign that she was a different type of teacher than expected. The context of the school was set for a different type of teacher, thus students' expectations were also different than at Erin's school. In both narratives, the issue was not a teacher having tattoos as much as it was how that sign was read in relation to the expectations of the people involved in the context.

Erin was resisting the cultural model to carve out the possibility for a different situated meaning of teacher. Gabbie did not need to carve out that space for a different kind of teacher because the context had already created the opportunity for a different teacher image. Regardless of the level of acceptability of a teacher with tattoos, both Erin's and Gabbie's bodies were sites for meaning making. Their teachers' bodies provided visual input about who these teachers were in their personal and professional lives and how their situated images compared to the cultural model of teacher.

Reading a Multisensory Body Text

Thus far, the analyses of narratives have relied heavily on meaning making based on visual signs. Bodies are not just seen; they are heard, felt, smelled, and even tasted. de Lauretis

(1984) recognized visual signs cannot be considered without the other sensory signs involved in a body as a text. Many modalities are involved in bodily action and image. Narratives from Elizabeth provide an opportunity to explore meaning making based on multisensory body signs.

Stories from Elizabeth

Elizabeth Strunk teaches English at Pine Ridge High School in an affluent, "very White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant" community in a suburb of a Midwestern city. Before her transition from male-to-female, Edward (Elizabeth's name in male mode) was a tenured teacher at Pine Ridge, where the "kids… are completely aware that they are living in a bubble." However it was the community's "somewhat progressive [social]" outlook that gave [Edward] hope" that the transition from male to female could happen on the job at Pine Ridge. Despite some administrative and community pressure, Elizabeth kept her tenured-teaching job, partially due to some savvy and sound advice from her teachers' union representative. It has been ten years since the transition, and Elizabeth is currently in her same position at Pine Ridge High School.

Most people are socialized over a lifetime to the expectations of their gender, but Elizabeth had to learn several aspects of developing her image as a woman in a short timeframe. Because meaning making is involved at all levels of "sensory perception, inscribed in the body" (de Lauretis, 1984, p. 56), Elizabeth needed to learn to look as well as sound like a woman. Two of Elizabeth's narratives serve to illustrate how her bodily appearance, visually and aurally, were read once her school community learned she was transitioning from male to female.

Some transsexual people, such as Rose, engage in cross-dressing before their transitions and, in doing so, gain knowledge about dressing as a woman. Elizabeth did not cross-dress except in the privacy of her home; therefore in the summer of 1998 when she went public with her male-to-female transition she had little experience dressing in women's clothes. Elizabeth

said, “I had no clue even how to shop for women’s clothes; to be honest, I made it up as I was going along …So not only do I not know what size I am, but I don’t know what the sizes are.” Since male clothing in the United States is often based on literal inches, Elizabeth had little knowledge of women’s sizes that often have no common unit of measurement and can elude even someone who has been shopping in the girls’, juniors’ and women’s departments all her life. Because she had to buy a new wardrobe, Elizabeth said, “I tried to learn a lot that summer about how to wear women's clothing.”

A discussion of primary and secondary Discourses (Gee, 1996) is unavoidable here to explain how complicated Elizabeth’s situation was in learning how to appear as a woman in transitioning from Edward. A primary Discourse involves the first social identity and understanding of who a person is within the initial sociocultural setting, which is often one’s family. A secondary Discourse involves socialization outside the initial social setting and the presentations and actions one takes in public to be recognized as part of a group. Gee conceded that primary and secondary Discourses are not exclusive but are constantly negotiated and shifting. In Edward’s childhood, the family’s taken-for-granted understanding was that Edward was a boy; therefore Edward was raised to acquire the primary Discourse of being a boy. Gee (1996) defined the processes of acquiring a Discourse to be usually subconscious with “exposure to models…trial and error, and practice with social groups” (p. 138). Once older and interacting with school-aged children, Edward resisted his primary Discourse of being a boy but with little success due to pressure from his family and school community.

By age 12 (possibly younger), Edward knew his biology did not match his gender but realized he was not able to seek help from within his family about this. He began “master[ing] the art of fitting in.” Although Edward was privately rejecting his primary Discourse, socially he

was pushed to enact it and was not feasibly able to learn a secondary Discourse to unseat it. Edward spent most of his life constantly learning and relearning the primary Discourse of being male within his social sphere. He consciously learned to how to succeed at a sport, grow a beard, join a fraternity, and get a girlfriend, all done in succession to "solidify a position as a guy."

According to Gee (1996), when one masters a Discourse, a person is not aware of the Discourse. In her early years, Elizabeth was especially conscious of the Discourse of being a male. As she got older, she consciously adopted a male "character [she] was playing" and remained vigilant about the Discourse of being male to hide that she was a woman. Gee (1996) continued with the caveat that when one encounters a situation in which a person is unable or finds it difficult to accommodate or adapt, the person becomes aware of trying to mesh with the Discourse. Elizabeth was living constantly in this state of trying to mesh with the Discourse, which coincides with Gee's point that this experience is more common with people who are marginalized. Despite not entirely mastering the Discourse of being male, Elizabeth "mastered the art of fitting in" enough to be believable to the people in her family and social world. People expected Elizabeth (as Edward) to be male, and those expectations assisted her living within the primary Discourse of being a male.

When she transitioned, she outwardly resisted the primary Discourse that, according to Gee (1996), she had never entirely mastered but was certainly convincing in the eyes of others. Elizabeth had no practice in the secondary Discourse of being a female. Although over the years, Elizabeth had been exposed to models of women and thus acquired some knowledge of what being a woman looks like, she never practiced enacting this secondary Discourse in public. Elizabeth consciously learned the secondary Discourse of being a woman.

Elizabeth told a narrative about going to a three-week teacher seminar in the Pine Ridge district during her transition summer. In effect, the teachers in this seminar saw Elizabeth during the first month that she was publicly dressing as a woman. Some of the women gave her "good advice" to help her with what she was "doing wrong in terms of" dressing as a woman. Elizabeth was grateful, saying, "I needed it you know." The following narrative was an example of the faux pas Elizabeth was making.

Part 2. Dressing for Summer Seminar

I. SETTING

Stanza D. Chilly June

D1. oh just like on chilly days ↑

D2. and there were chilly days

D3. it was a chilly June ↓

II. CATALYST

Stanza E. Outfit

E1. um I had I had like long a long skirt on one day ↑

E2. and I my feet were chafing

E3. so I put I wanted to put some stockings on

III. CRISIS

Stanza F. Knee-hi's were a no-no

F1. but I didn't want to wear pantyhose

F2. because it would just [be] too ridiculous right ↑

F3. so I put on some um I put on some uh some knee-hi's

F4. and they were like no .. no .. no

IV. EVALUATION

Stanza G. She didn't think anything was wrong

G1. well I didn't even ↑ think ↑ about that

G2. I didn't even ↑ think ↑ about that

V. RESOULTION

Stanza H. She wouldn't have thought anything was wrong

H1. I wouldn't have thought about that

H2. and they said no

VI. CODA

Stanza I. She didn't know anything was wrong

I1. things like that that you don't think about

I2. 'cause you don't know that stuff

Stanzas G, H, and I reveal the issue that goes beyond the problem of just wearing a poor outfit. Elizabeth did not think about the problem of wearing knee-hi's with a skirt, not because she was distracted nor had unusual taste, but because she never would have thought about it because she didn't know to even consider it. Wearing knee-hi's even with a long skirt was off her radar of matters women were supposed to consider when dressing. In Stanza H, Elizabeth's abrupt switch of psychological subjects signaled the difference between her and her female colleagues. Elizabeth, signaled by "I", wouldn't have considered the knee-hi's a poor choice. Someone first would first need to point out the problem before Elizabeth could figure out the proper fashion response. The women, signaled by "they", on the other hand, had an immediate answer because the other women had already been socialized into rules of acceptable fashion for forty-year-old professionals in the community.

Elizabeth subtly indicated that she was not completely oblivious about women's fashion. The emphasized words in Stanza F were *pantyhose* (F1), *too ridiculous* (F2), *knee-hi's* (F3), *no .. no .. no* (F4). There is a see-saw pattern in which Elizabeth posits pantyhose and evaluates the clothing, then Elizabeth posits knee-hi's and others evaluate it. She wanted something on her feet, but she realized that pantyhose were inappropriate in June in an informal teacher seminar. Elizabeth figured she was making an appropriate choice with the knee-hi's because they would practically solve the problem, yet not be "too ridiculous" like pantyhose. The women's reaction was presented as immediate, simple, and to the point: no, no, no. Elizabeth had crossed the boundaries of how a woman dresses.

More specifically, Elizabeth violated the situated meaning of how a professional female teacher of forty years of age dresses. Some women in Elizabeth's community might dress in a skirt and knee-hi's, and people might think they were eccentric, disheveled, or unfashionable. When Elizabeth wore a skirt and knee-hi's more than Elizabeth's fashion sense was on the line. Because Elizabeth was once male, what might be considered simple fashion mistakes on another female was a crack in the image that she was a proper woman – specifically a professional teacher who would be able to present herself in front of a classroom of high school students. Fortunately, Elizabeth was guided by a community of teachers who were not questioning her competency, and thus they nudged her in a more acceptable fashion direction. However, had Elizabeth exposed herself to a larger and possibly less welcoming school community, a simple poor choice in clothing could be used to question her authenticity as a woman.

The meanings of images are developed from all sensory input (de Lauretis, 1984). In a profession like teaching, in which teachers are being listened to as well as looked at, there are many opportunities to develop meaning about a female teacher based on her voice. Elizabeth

intentionally and periodically tried to alter her voice because she uses her voice in her profession so often. She said her voice might be the most masculine thing about her. Elizabeth stated, "I hate my voice. I wish I could make it softer. I know it's not bad, but it's not good." Elizabeth told a story of her daughters critiquing the way she sounds when she tries to modulate her voice.

Part 2. Voice after transition

I. SETTING

Stanza I. Introduce problem with voice and daughters

I1. and then I run into the (clear throat) then excuse me (clear throat)

I2. and ↑then I run into the problem of [my daughters]

II. CATALYST

Stanza J. Raising voice pitch

J1. who if I start doing that

J2. *(in a higher pitched voice)* if I start exercising and working it ↑up here↑

III. CRISIS

Stanza K. Daughters' reaction

K1. you know they say they tell me I sound funny

K2. or they'll tell me that I'm … you know sounding affected or something like that

IV. EVALUATION

Stanza L. Expectations for her voice

L1. because I do

L2. because I'm not sounding like me like

L3. I'm not sounding like the me that they're used to

V. RESOLUTION

Stanza M. Elizabeth's expectations for her voice

M1. because I'm trying to work my voice back to where it should be

Elizabeth was using a standard for her voice based on the cultural model of how a woman should sound. Elizabeth would like her voice to be softer and higher pitched, so that she sounds, in Elizabeth's opinion, more feminine. A tension existed between what her daughters expected and what she expected of her voice. Despite Elizabeth's daughters showing support for Elizabeth's sex-change, such as calling her "mom", her daughters have a history with Elizabeth. They expected Elizabeth to sound the way she always sounded when she was in male-mode. When Elizabeth exercised her voice and practiced using it at a higher pitch, her daughters said she "sound[s] funny" (K1). Elizabeth agreed (L1), not because she does not like the new sound, but because she was taking the point of view of her daughters who expected Elizabeth to sound like herself, the self "that they're used to" (L3). The new sound appeared disingenuous.

Elizabeth, however, held the higher pitched, softer volume voice as the "should be" (M1) voice, the voice that she should have as a woman. The tension between "sounding like me" and having a voice "where it should be" left Elizabeth either sounding like someone in male-mode and keeping her daughters comfortable or sounding like she thinks a woman should sound and risk making those people uncomfortable who have known Elizabeth for years.

This narrative raised another tension about how she and others read Elizabeth's image as a woman. Elizabeth viewed her voice as an aspect of her image that needed to be exercised and worked (J2) to condition it to have what Elizabeth considered a feminine sound. Like an exercise regiment meant to condition out of shape muscle groups, Elizabeth needed to "work [her] voice back to where it should be" (M1). The phrase "back to where it should be" did not indicate a

return to a feminine voice she used to have; it referred to a time when she was in male-mode, trying to speak from her mask (facial cavity around the eyes, nose, and mouth) rather than from the back of her throat. Using the advice of a speech therapist and a choir director, speaking from her mask would avoid nodules on and damage to the vocal chords, but she said, “I'm lazy and it comes down” to her throat. Elizabeth was using this “mask” technique as a woman to raise her pitch. Elizabeth saw her voice as something she could control and shape, but others, such as her daughters, saw her male-mode voice as natural and right.

Elizabeth’s perspective may have come from the way she viewed her entire transition to becoming female:

> When I transitioned people asked me was it difficult to enter this new world to be a woman, and I said, “No,” because all I did was strip off the character I was playing. I took away all the things I knew were role playing, that I knew were part of the disguise and the externals, and the things I was intentionally doing all these years to play that role, and I figured whatever was left must be Elizabeth.

According to Elizabeth, she played the character Edward most of her life to disguise the female she was. When Elizabeth spoke about her history, she divulged taking actions (e.g., growing a beard, joining a fraternity) to cement her image as a male. For Elizabeth, that image was the inauthentic one.

According to Elizabeth, stripping off the image of Edward, left the authentic woman she saw since elementary school. She said, “I never went out and like took lessons in how to walk or anything,” implying the naturalness Elizabeth saw in her womanhood; however, she did attend to nuances of fashion and her voice when they did not match the cultural model of a woman

teacher. Once she stripped off Edward, the remaining image of Elizabeth was close to passing as an unquestionable woman but not completely.

Returning to Gee's (1996) theory of Discourse is useful. Elizabeth lived as a woman based on the skills she acquired and consciously learned. Gee's point, that the process of acquisition leads to better performed activities within a Discourse, applies here. Elizabeth had an affinity for jewelry, the color pink, make-up, and nail polish – all things that prompted her children to tease her for girly-girl femininity but also solidified her within the bounds of a culturally recognizable woman. She clarified that her children were not critiquing her as a woman or trying too hard but were ribbing her for "being too feminine because they think I am too feminine." Elizabeth was not found faulty with the image she created based on the skills she subconsciously acquired, such as the jewelry and the make-up, which Elizabeth categorized as thing that make "[me] who I am." She was found faulty with the aspects of image she consciously learned, such as the knee-hi's and voice.

The signs of Elizabeth's knee-hi's and voice raised questions. If Elizabeth were always a biological and physical female, the signs of the knee-hi's and voice may have been interpreted as evidence of a woman needing fashion improvement and having a deep voice. Because people once saw Elizabeth as Edward, a biological and physical male, the knee-hi's and voice were evidence that she was not pulling off the image of a woman. It was the expectations of others that affected the interpretation of signs (de Lauretis, 1984). Elizabeth spoke of this when sharing a conversation she was having with Neal, an old friend and colleague, about four years after Elizabeth's transition. The following partial summary is comprised of the basic plot of the narrative (Appendix Y) based on the nonsubordinate, nonembedded clauses (Gee, 1991):

"I don't know why we were talking about my transition (D2) … but we were having a very … open and frank conversation (D3, D4) … and he made the comment that really opened my eyes (D5)… I was dating (E1); I was telling him that um that it was difficult (E2)… to know you know how people were gonna react (E2, E3). He ↑said to me (F1)…, "Do you really think they don't know↑" (F3), and I said well yeah they don't know" (G1).

Elizabeth's epiphany about her friend's point came later in the narrative.

Part 1. (continued) People's View of Elizabeth

IV. RESOLUTION

Stanza J. He sees what he saw

J1. and I said …this thing …

J2. and so we started talking about it

J3. and that basically what he was saying when he looks at me

J4. he still sees what he saw

J5. for all those ↑years

J6. and I realized that that's the problem

V. CODA

Stanza K. Old people, new people, and Elizabeth

K1. and it was the first time that I ever started thinking about what other people saw

K2. who have known me for a long time

K3. instead of what I see

K4. and or what new people see

In this narrative Elizabeth was made aware that visual sensory input is not the same as reading for meaning based on that visual input. In the ten lines of Stanzas J and K, she used

words concerning seeing five times: *looks* (J3), *sees*, *saw* (J4), *saw* (K1), *see* (K3), *see* (K4). Elizabeth takes on the several psychological subjects in this narrative which allow her to understand how she is perceived by herself and others. "He" (J1, J3-J5) represented her friend Neal, but Neal is used as the representative of people who have known and seen Elizabeth as Edward for a long time (K1, K2). "I" (J1, J6, K1, K3) represented Elizabeth and is used to refer to how she has seen herself all her life as a woman. "New people" (K4) represented the people who never knew or saw Elizabeth as Edward. Elizabeth's use of both conjunctions *and* and *or* (K4) reveal that Elizabeth is tempted to say that the new people's reading is the same as her reading, but by using *or* she opens the possibility that new people see her differently than even she or old people like Neal do. Elizabeth is questioning the assumptions that seeing is believing or knowing.

For Elizabeth, if people have never seen her as anything but a woman, she figured they expect her to be a woman. For example, of the men she dates, she said, "They just see the girl they picked up. That's all they see." Men she'd been dating were stunned when she told them she was a transsexual woman. Although schools have institutional memories that can last a long time with faculty and families, after ten years since her transition, many people who were there during her transition are not at the school now. Elizabeth said, "I get this feeling sometimes that there are kids in my class that don't know." These are examples of people who never knew her as Edward, thus never had the expectation of her as a man. Elizabeth also shared an example of a friend who never knew Edward, but as the friend learned more about Elizabeth, the friend figured out Elizabeth's history. Still, Elizabeth said, "at first we were just a couple of women going out," reinforcing the point that the woman's expectations drove what she saw, until she had some knowledge that caused her to question her assumption. de Lauretis's (1984) theory of

imaging supports these examples, by emphasizing that context, viewers' expectations, and the signs involved affect the meanings the readers assign to the image.

Elizabeth surmised that people who had known Edward have a "memory [they were] superimposing on top of what [they were] looking at now." If members of Elizabeth's social circles (e.g., school community) knew the male Discourse Elizabeth once enacted, they may expect to see a man, and thus do, rejecting her as a woman. However, never having known Edward does not mean people are seeing Elizabeth with a blank slate. They are seeing Elizabeth after having been exposed to a cultural model of what a woman looks and sounds like. The Discourses surrounding being a man and being a woman are part of the cultural expectations of gender that Elizabeth has been working to learn her entire life.

Gee (1996) argued that Discourses never can be mastered through learning, that "Discourses are *mastered* through acquisition," (p. 139, emphasis in the original). Gee did not explicitly name who are judging if a Discourse is mastered or what constitutes mastery, but he did state that people who learn a Discourse without mastering it through acquisition "are almost never accepted as insiders, as members of the club" (p. 140). If it is the "members of the club" who are judging whether a Discourse has been mastered, the members' expectations in a certain context need to be taken into account. According to de Lauretis (1984), the image is not simply absorbed by viewers. When an image is read for meaning, context and the historically, socially-situated observers' expectations affect the meaning of the image. The context includes the cultural model of teacher. The cultural model affects the observer's prior knowledge and the educated guesses the viewer makes about teachers. When the observer reads the image based on what is expected within the context, the cultural model of teacher is included as the standard.

Although de Lauretis's (1984) involvement of observer's expectation and memory is valuable, the theory does weaken when bringing the cinematic theory into the non-cinematic world. In advocating for "the relations between meanings and images [to] exceed the work of the film and the institution of cinema" (p. 69), de Lauretis did not address how imbalanced context, expectations, and signs can be when developing meaning from a bodily image. Elizabeth's stories indicate that one's expectations may have a strong influence on producing signs to fit one's expectation based on the reader's prior knowledge. Elizabeth explained her role in how others perceived Elizabeth's personal change. She repeated that it was "partly [her] fault" when people "had issues" with her change.

> 'Cause really when … you're living, it it's like this is me. All I see is me and all I see is, "• why don't you see this …you should just see how amazingly happy I am and how this has always been me, and but no of course, they don't. Of course they don't. Why would they, especially since I specifically forbade them to see it for so many years? I mean I worked so damn hard so they wouldn't see it. Why the hell would I expect them to see it?

Elizabeth acknowledged because she kept her personal status hidden for so long so well, she set people's expectations to see her as a man. Elizabeth understood there was no way she could begin anew after her transition without the burden of people's expectations, but she was tempted to "erase as much as [she could] so that everybody's not looking at [her] funny."

In some ways, Elizabeth wished she could have *gone stealth*, a term transsexual people use to indicate they have physically removed themselves from their old life to start a new life where no one would know their history. However, Elizabeth had a family to consider and needed her job for financial security. Knowing she could not have gone stealth, Elizabeth said if she could have financially, she would at least have left teaching after her male-to-female transition

became public. She decided if the school district fired her, she would file a lawsuit. It would make her personal situation even more public, but because a lawsuit and media attention would be unwelcome spotlights on a quiet upper-class economically-privileged community, she reasoned Pine Ridge would try to make a financial settlement. Elizabeth said, "I almost wanted them to do that," citing the opportunity to be more financially stable and to write a book on her experience.

How Are Bodies Read as Texts?

The overarching question of this study was *how are bodies read as texts in circumstances when teachers perceive that personal changes become public knowledge?* Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory of action as text, de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging, and Gee's (1996, 1999) approach to discourse analysis yielded a complex practice of how bodies are read. People in school communities focused on bodily images and actions. This occurred when participants were observed directly and when participants were being observed indirectly. Participants' actual bodily actions were read for meaning, as well as their bodies' potential for action. When the school communities read actual and potential action, the context and expectations of the readers affected the meanings they assigned to the action. Context and expectations were involved both when the actions meshed with community standards and when they did not.

Participants showed evidence that they intentionally were turning their bodies into texts to be read by themselves and others. These intentions manifested in several ways, such as doing actions, tattoos, clothing, and vocal representations. The bodily signs were read with and against the cultural models of a larger society as well as inconsideration of the situated meanings of what a woman teacher should be and look like within the local community. The convergence of context, readers' expectations, and multisensory body signs guided the practice of reading bodily

texts for meaning, though the practice was not balanced with even distribution of influence among context, expectation, and signs. The practice of reading women teachers' bodies as texts is complicated and distinctive to individual circumstances of personal changes becoming public knowledge.

Teacher Images in Career Paths

Particular circumstances are influential on the practice of reading women teachers' bodies for meaning linked to their personal and professional lives. Although the practice is situated, some important outcomes reached across participants' stories and thus deserve attention. All participants experienced some level of job dissatisfaction during this experience of their personal changes becoming public knowledge. The dissatisfaction may have many reasons. For example, participants could have been unhappy in general, and job dissatisfaction was one facet of a rough time in their lives. It is unclear how these personal and professional circumstances affected participants' perspectives of their jobs and careers, but teacher image and bodily texts are not absent from this discussion. Buffy Tanner, a participant whose sexual orientation became an issue only after she left high school teaching, shared a narrative about the expectations for her teacher image and what those expectations meant for her teaching career.

A Story from Buffy

Buffy was a secondary English teacher, married to her college sweetheart. After teaching at several high schools in several towns in the Southeast for a total of almost 12 years, Buffy divorced her husband when she realized that she had romantic feelings for another woman and was wrestling with her own homosexuality. Buffy left teaching and was pursuing a graduate degree before she and her husband split and before she entered into a committed relationship with a woman. She credits not being in her secondary teaching job for creating a situation where

she even could deal with and commit to her homosexuality. Although she loved teaching high school English and was a talented educator, winning school district awards, she faced the possibility that she might never return to teaching.

Buffy relayed a narrative about encountering her former students at a funeral visitation, years after she had left teaching. She did not come out to her students partially because the circumstances made it inappropriate and partially because she was not comfortable doing so. In planning an outfit for the viewing, Buffy consciously maintained a heterosexual image, avoiding what she called "dykie-looking" clothes. Buffy chose to wear black Capri pants, high-heeled sandals, and a sleeveless top. She described her outfit as "real cute" and "girly," even more feminine than some outfits she previously wore when teaching.

Buffy explained that when she was teaching, she had "a lot to hide behind." As a high school English teacher, Buffy was married, wore a wedding ring, had a conservative haircut, and wore a pearl necklace and earrings. She believed these details added to a feminine, conventional, heterosexual teacher image. After leaving secondary teaching, Buffy has since shed the purposefully feminine, conservative, and heterosexual image in her homosexual life. Buffy believed her return to her students and colleagues at the funeral visitation presented a reason to revive the feminine teacher image she once had. Consciously choosing this feminine image and not coming out to her former students and colleagues were evidence that Buffy did not feel her current life had a place in teaching secondary school. The narrative of her reunion with students included her thinking about the possibility of returning to teaching in a secondary setting.

Part 1. Visitation

I. SETTING

Stanza A. Orientation

A1. when I went back to that

A2. I went back for the visitation

A3. when my student died

II. CRISIS

Stanza B. Emotional reaction

B1. and .. it was a weird feeling for me

B2. because I was going back into a place .. of

Stanza C. Connecting with students

C1. and my former students just flocked to me

C2. it was wonderful

C3. to see them again

C4. horrible situation but

C5. they were so sweet

C6. they ALL came up and just hugged me

C7. and just had great things to talk about with me

C8. and um fond memories we were all sharing

III. EVALUATION

Stanza D. Comfort level

D1. and I felt so comfortable and uncomfortable at the ↑same time↑

IV. CODA

E1. like .. it's just like a different life //

Part 2. Teaching Lifestyle

V. EVALUATION

Stanza E. Possibility of Returning to Teaching High School

C: Okay, you're gonna have to talk me through that so tell me

F1. yeah 'cause I mean people even talked about

F2. you know are you gonna go back to teach high school

F3. and I did not know how

F4. I don't know if I could do this

VI. CRISIS

Stanza G. Doubt

G1. 'cause I don't know that I would feel free to talk about my life

G2. and that I used to that used to be a big part of ..um how I ..

G3. of my teaching persona

G4. 'cause I could talk about my life

G5. and tie that in

G6. and tie their lives in.

G7. and now I don't know if I could do that

G8. 'cause you have people like that guy saying

G9. I would never hire someone who's gay

Stanza H. Change in stance

H1. and uh you know politically I'm much more um not aggressive but

H2. I'm pretty firm about that

H3. I'm not gonna flip flop around about that

Stanza I. Personal-Political Connection

I1. um partly because the political's become very personal to me *(clear throat)*

I2. you know at the same time the personal

I3. the political has been personal

I4. and the personal has become political

Part 3. Deciding

VII. RESOLUTION

Stanza J. Saying goodbye

J1. I just felt weird

J2. it's almost like I was saying goodbye when I was there

J3. I felt like that when I left there

J4. I felt kind of sad 'cause I thought I could never

J5. I could never go back there I don't think

J6. um and be be Mrs. Tanner again↑

J7. 'cause I don't know how to be her anymore

J8. in the way that they would expect me to be

VII. CODA

Stanza K. Withdrawal

K1. I mean I might be totally reading into that

K2. 'cause I have I bet there are a lot of those students who would be like .. whatever

K3. I don't know

Stanza G included many grammatical markers that provided insight into the connections she was making across the issues. The conjunction *and* created cohesion and the word *'cause* or *because* showed Buffy's cause-effect reasoning. These connections surrounded her personal and professional life and how they functioned in her teaching in the past and might function for a future teaching life. She surmised being gay would now mean that she would have to change her teaching or might not be welcomed as a teacher because a past administrator indicated this was the case, in his school at least, saying he would "never hire someone who's gay" (G8, G9). It should be noted the administrator's statement technically was not illegal, as the U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission (EOEC, 2004) discrimination guidelines do not include protection against discrimination for sexual orientation. It is up to individual employers if they choose to protect against discrimination of more social markers than the EOEC sees fit. In Stanzas H and I, Buffy also described cohesion between her personal and professional lives, and it was that connection that caused a disconnection with teaching. Buffy had developed a stronger stance of personal politics than when she taught high school. Her personal life could not be divorced from her politics, and Buffy also did not see how she could keep her politics out of her professional life.

In this narrative, Buffy showed several points of view. Buffy's I-statements show a combination of emotion and knowing, as in "I felt" (D1), "I did not know" (F3), I don't know (F4, G1, G7), "I just felt weird" (J1), and "I felt kind of sad" (J4). These I-statements show a sense of emotional and cognitive conflict about what she feels she is able to do. For example, Buffy stated that she couldn't "be Mrs. Tanner again↑" (J6) at least not "in the way that they would expect me to be" (I8). It is unclear who "they" are in this comment. "They" could be the

students, the administration, or the school community in general. Regardless, Buffy felt she would be limited by others' expectations for Mrs. Tanner.

Buffy was ready to accept that she changed since her school teaching days. She is now divorced, in a relationship with a woman, self-identifies as a lesbian, and is more politically-minded than when she taught high school. Five times during the narrative Buffy used derivatives of the verb "to go back" to denote teaching in high school again or interacting with people from high school. She was using a view of time that rests on progression. For Buffy, returning to teaching is moving backwards for her because she has evolved in ways that do not match that "different life" (E1) anymore. That is not to say that teaching is a less advanced profession than other professions, but in the scope of Buffy's life, teaching in secondary school does not match her trajectory.

Buffy acknowledged that she changed, but she did not show evidence that she thought teaching in secondary school has changed. She seemed to assume that she'd be teaching the same type of students and working with the same type of administrators with the same mindset as she had before. From Buffy's perspective, she assumed she would find the same unwelcoming atmosphere for homosexuals as she experienced years ago. An inhospitable school setting would affect Buffy's teacher image. While teaching, even before she was aware she was gay, Buffy was "very conscious of trying to look feminine" and "of not dressing in the way that somebody would question" her sexuality. She admitted, "I never would have worn some of the things that I wear now." Buffy's image changed as she personally changed.

Buffy and her image are different, but she assumed that she would be teaching in a context with the same expectations as before. Therefore she would either feel pressured to return to her former feminine, conservative, heterosexual image as she did when attending the

visitation, or she would try to maintain her newer image that she felt better matched her personal and political life. Buffy is doubtful she could accomplish either option. About her life as a former high school teacher, Buffy said, “I feel a little bit safer I mean … I'm not worried about [the way I dress] like I woulda been teachin' high school, but it's still in my head sometimes.” As a woman living a heterosexual lifestyle, Buffy was worried about displaying a homosexual image as a teacher. Now as a former high school teacher, she is still aware of how people read the way she dresses as a sign about her sexuality, though to a lesser degree because she is not on display in a classroom.

Buffy was struggling with the probability of returning to secondary teaching. Her ambivalence bled through even when she spoke in absolutes: “I could never go back there I don’t think” (J5). Buffy was uncertain if she could walk away from her teaching world or if she had already walked away as a result of her new personal and political life. She said, “I'm not sure if I'm ready to let go of that [life]. It's kind of like I've left Mrs. Tanner back there.” If she did leave Mrs. Tanner behind, Buffy was not sure if she was capable of returning to reclaim that person from the past, if she were able to reinvent that teacher self in front of the school community, or if she needed to let Mrs. Tanner remain where she was.

Several participants went through their own struggles with how to handle their personal changes in their professional lives and what options they had for their careers. The two transsexual participants, Rose and Elizabeth, represent almost opposite teaching career trajectories after their personal changes became public knowledge. Rose was the only participant who was practically removed from her more regular status in the classroom, though she is technically still an employee. Elizabeth was the only participant who maintained her teaching position throughout her personal change and remained in the same position at the time of data

gathering. Although their experiences were not easy to endure, their career paths are the easiest of the participants to describe.

The other participants represent varied career paths. Kendyll taught for about three years after she and her fiancé cancelled their planned wedding. Within those three years, Kendyll became increasingly frustrated that her school environment was not accommodating to the changes she needed to make as a person and professional. Kendyll left teaching to attend a doctoral program in education and has since returned to a part-time teaching job in another area of the country. Rachel taught for two years after she married her partner Joy. She taught at two synagogues, attempting each time to make sure her marriage to a woman was not a problem for the community, before she left teaching to complete a masters' degree in religion. Rachel once considered becoming a rabbi, but after her experiences as a teacher, she questioned her capability to succeed in a public position as a lesbian woman. Erin taught high school for several years in the same position where she was teaching when she divorced, before she left teaching to pursue a doctoral degree in education. She has since remarried and returned to teaching high school at a different school district. Gabbie spent the years 1994-2000 at Blair Mill School and 2000-2004 at Nash Academy, with varying degrees of comfort at being out in regard to her sexuality to family, friends, faculty, students, and players. Gabbie decided to leave teaching to get her masters' and doctoral degrees in education, after she experienced incidences of homophobia at the school board and school community levels. Although the homophobic sentiments were not directed at her, she felt less secure in her educational position because she was a lesbian woman.

Participants' stories about why and how they remained or left their teaching positions are ineptly presented by simple categories of "stayers, movers, and leavers" (Marvel et al., 2006, p. 3) that some attrition and mobility studies might portray. Teacher participants shared stories

about their personal and professional lives during their changes. Teachers may not have fit a cultural image of woman teacher or may have struggled to match the situated meanings of teacher within a specific context. Yet, not all participants experienced the same outcome with their careers. Not all participants explicitly pinpointed their personal changes or how the community reads their bodies as the only force for their careers paths. However, no participants said their personal changes and public perceptions were removed from their career decisions either.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented narratives concerning the major findings from this study. I explored and analyzed narratives from seven participants who experienced a personal change becoming public knowledge while they were teaching. Based on the narrative and Discourse analyses, I found that participants told stories about their bodily images and actions resulting in meaning about the participants' personal and professional lives, regardless of the body being observed directly or indirectly. Bodies were read by the school community, and meaning was attached to action that occurred as well as potential action. In some cases, participants purposefully made their bodies texts to be read by themselves and others. During the practice of reading bodies, context, readers' expectations, and body signs converged to develop meaning about the woman, though this practice was not a lock-step process of meaning making. Participants took different career paths, but their teacher images were factors across all participants' careers. In the following chapter, I proceed to use multiple theories (de Lauretis, 1984; Gee, 1996, 1999; Ricoeur, 1971/2007) to discuss the pertinence of these findings.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

I designed this study to answer the overarching research question *how are bodies read as texts in circumstances when teachers perceive that personal changes become public knowledge?* I reviewed the literature on teachers' professional and personal lives, women teachers' bodies, and what counts as a transgression in the heteronormative system of U.S. education. Based on the respective literature, I was able to determine the value of examining and presenting more complicated stories of women teachers than the iconic image of teacher allows. Using Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory of action as text and de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging along with Gee's (1999) tools of Discourse analysis, I investigated the stories of seven women teachers. Based on layered and detailed analyses, I found participants believed the school community was reading participants' potential bodily actions for meaning in addition to actual action. In addition, context, signs, and observers' expectations were all integral to reading an image for meaning, but observers' expectations were especially notable. In conjunction with these factors, all participants experienced periods of job dissatisfaction which led to different career paths in teaching. These findings point to issues related to theories and practices that are worth discussion.

In this chapter I address four matters that stemmed from the analyses of participants' data. First, I discuss the topic of reading for potential bodily action in relation to Ricoeur's theory of action as text. Second, I contend that as part of de Lauretis's theory of imaging observers' expectations deserve direct and revised attention as a force for making meaning from images.

Third, I address how imaging and reimaging has implications teacher education. Fourth, I argue for researchers to use a cultural model appropriate to teacher participants rather than simply adopting the model described in this study. With these four discussion points I address researchers and teacher educators who are likely the interested audiences of these matters.

Theory of Action as Text and Potential Action

Ricoeur (1971/2007) theorized that bodily action could be read and interpreted as a text, establishing that bodily action did not need to be translated into language to be analyzed. Ricoeur maintained the body had value in the production of knowledge. He provided a theory to challenge the mind/body binary with the reasoning that the body is neither less important nor separate from the mind as a site of knowledge and understanding. The meaning of the action lasts longer than the action itself, and a person can understand a bodily action without experiencing the action. Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory of reading action as text, however, did not account for reading action that never occurred.

Prompted by Rachel's conversation with a rabbi, Rachel realized that her body's function has a role in how people make meaning about her and her potential to act. Actions are the text, and the body has potential to act, even if that potential is not enacted toward certain functions. For example, in Rachel's case, it was the function of having homosexual sex. In Rose's narratives, her potential for action was in affecting students' gender identity or awareness. In Kendyll's case, it was the function to get married and reproduce, which she did not actualize. Although these function-based actions were not experienced, people read Rachel's, Rose's, and Kendyll's potential for function-based bodily action. The women's bodies were read for meaning based on the actions they can and may take. This was a matter Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory of action as text did not tackle.

Other scholars have critiqued Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory of action as being less than complete. Child (2006) critiqued Ricoeur's theory of action as text as an overstatement that action is not linked to the intention of the actor. Child and Ricoeur agree that some actors' intentions match the interpreted meanings of the action while other actors' intentions do not match the meaning. For instance, when Erin danced with her male student, she may not have intended for others to develop a suspicious meaning about that action, but there was evidence that a suspicious meaning was developed. However, Child disagreed with Ricoeur that actors' intentions can be disregarded because Child saw the intentions of an actor as driving the action. Child presented a case for improving the theory by including the actors' intentions, but Child's critique still does not account for meanings of actions that never occurred.

Denhaur (2007) reasoned Ricoeur's theory of action to be strong but complicated by what one can call an action. According to Denhaur, "actions of saying or writing, doing or making, narrating, and imputing" (p. 204) are central. Further, Denhaur stated that Ricoeur maintained an event can only be classified as an action "if it is the doing of an agent who makes a choice and purposefully acts on it" (p. 204). Denhaur noted, however, it was the agentic person's confidence that she is acting on her own that determines when an event is an action. Further, the event is determined to be an action if others believe the agentic person is making the decisions on how to operate. With this definition of the word *action*, a potential action as described here may not classify as an action at all, because there was never an agent "who [made] a choice and purposefully [acted] on it" (p. 204). However, it is unclear who is making this determination. This uncertainty now brings the issue back to one of point of view and intention.

For the purposes of this discussion the participant is the agentic person. From the point of view of the participant, her potential for bodily action is being read for meaning, and that

meaning is separate from her intentions. She did not have a choice and did not act purposefully because the potential action was formed by the observers' thoughts. Therefore from this point of view, the potential action is not an action. From the point of view of the observers, the participant's potential for bodily action is being read for meaning, and although it is based on the observers' assumptions, it seems that the meaning is in line with the participant's intentions. In the view of the observer, the participant appears to be acting purposefully with choice. Therefore according to the observer, the potential action is an action as text able to be read. Different points of view make the naming of an action contentious.

It is important to note that Denhaur's (2007) assessment incorporated a comprehensive view of Ricoeur's work, including texts that came after Ricoeur's theory of action as text (e.g., Ricoeur, 1992), but at least one issue is still not addressed: when different viewpoints are a factor, who is capable of calling an event an action? This issue is important to the critique of Ricoeur's theory but may be less so in a practical day-to-day sense. According to Ricoeur (1992) within a "pragmatic framework" (p. 155), the actor acts based on the actions of others. Said briefly, "All action is interaction" (Denhaur, 2007, p. 206). Once the potential action has been read for meaning and subsequent actions occur within the context, it matters less that the potential action qualifies as a theoretical action because in context the potential action gets tangled in a web of interactions. However, the issue of how potential action factors into Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory of action is important for sustaining theoretical relevance.

The Importance of Observers' Expectations in Making Meaning

Moving to another theory in this study, de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging basically maintains that the context in which the image is viewed, the expectations of the observer, and the sign of the image itself shape the meaning the viewer makes of that image. de Lauretis (1984)

developed her theory in reaction to Mulvey's (1975) essay about scopophilia (i.e., the love of looking) that assumed a male viewer to be the observer of the objectified woman's body. de Lauretis (1984) acknowledged and further encouraged women to be the observers of bodily signs so they would be shaping the meaning made of those bodies. After de Lauretis, hooks (1992/2003) recognized that the observers and the observed are not simply gendered but also raced; hooks argued that the role of Black women watching women in and outside the cinema needed to be acknowledged for shaping the meaning of women's bodies. Clearly, each of these perspectives on viewing bodily images embraced the role that spectators have in making meaning.

Putting the theory of imaging to work with this study's data underscored the observer's expectations as primary in making meaning of bodily texts. Elizabeth's stories illustrated how people's expectations and memory of her before her sexual transition almost dictated how they saw her after the transition, despite the bodily signs of a female that were physically in front of them. When new people in Elizabeth's life expected to see a female, to Elizabeth's best knowledge, they did. Therefore, in de Lauretis's theory of imaging, the combination of context, observers' expectations, and signs to make meaning of a bodily image is not inaccurate, but it does not aptly convey the strong influence of observers' expectations.

de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging comes from cinema studies, therefore a spectator in the cinema may not have the deep investment in a bodily image that a non-cinema observer might. For example, the people who knew Elizabeth for decades had an investment of time and maybe emotion in seeing Elizabeth's former image as Edward. If a character in a film experienced a personal change, the observer watching the film in a theater might acknowledge the change and read a bodily image for meaning, but the expectations of the spectator will likely

not be deep and personally rooted. Comparatively, when a person changes outside the cinema, the observers have established relationships and possibly deep emotional connections that drive their expectations and readings of the bodily image. Granted, if a friend of Elizabeth's saw a film about someone's sexual transition, the spectator in that case might empathize differently with the characters and have more-than-surface level expectations and readings of the images. However, de Lauretis's theory of imaging, in general, does not capture the force of observers' expectations in non-cinematic life as well as it does in the cinematic realm.

To this point, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue there are differences in the social expectations of face-to-face interactions and non-face-to-face communications. In establishing the groundwork for discussing the reading of images, Kress and van Leeuwen introduced the terms *interactive participants* and *representative participants*. Interactive participants "speak and listen or write and read, make images or view them" (p. 48) during communication. Representative participants are what/who is being communicated. An interactive participant can be both the producer and the receiver when images are communicated. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) also concede that the interactive participant can be the one "explicitly represented in the image, causing the two categories to shade into each other" (p. 48). Although this seems to mesh with de Lauretis's (1984) prodding for women to take on the readership of others' and their own bodily images, Kress and van Leeuwen make the case that the reading of face-to-face communication is dependent on the producer expecting a response from the viewer.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), in a face-to-face communication, the producer of the image is present and calling on the viewer to respond. Kress and van Leeuwen provide the example of being expected to respond to a friendly smile with a friendly smile. When a viewer sees a two-dimensional image of a person smiling, that viewer is not expected to smile

back sociably. Kress and van Leeuwen stated it was the producer's image being present with expectations for the viewer that marked why reading face-to-face images cannot be explained with the same theories as reading non-face-to-face images.

I agree that the reading of face-to-face images and the reading of non-face-to-face images are not the same; however I do not see the producer's expectations for the viewer as being the only or main issue. To acknowledge Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) point, the women teachers in this study as producers of their own image did have expectations for the people viewing their bodily image. For example, in regard to her tattoos being read, Erin said, "I didn't want kids to think I was the teacher that went in the closet and had her battery taken out each night." In reference to being seen at the viewing, Buffy struggled with and questioned the responses from viewers but then partially recanted that statement saying, "I might be totally reading into that." Combining de Lauretis's and Kress and van Leeuwen's theories establish that it is both the expectations of the producer and the expectations of the viewer that are integral in the reading of face-to-face images.

This brief exploration sets the possibility for de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging and Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) grammar of visual images to be used together to address the reading of bodily imaged texts. The theories are compatible in their basic components. de Lauretis (1984) established that context, observers' expectations, and signs are parts of the complex process of making meaning with images. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) stated that the grammar of visual design includes "visual structures that point to interpretations of experience and forms of social interaction" (p. 2) and that "meanings belong to culture, rather than to specific semiotic modes [so that the meanings are] culturally and historically specific" (p. 2). Both de Lauretis's imaging and Kress and van Leeuwen's grammar of visual design

acknowledge the role of sociohistorical cultural contexts, the role of the viewer, and the role of the visual sign as parts of meaning making. The theories differ in the initial point of view. de Lauretis (1984) assumed the prior existence of the image to which the reader comes, and Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) addressed the sign-making of the image then moved to the reading. In combination, these differences in points of view provide a more complex and comprehensive approach to reading bodily images.

Using these theories in combination may have other benefits. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) do not discuss the influences of gender on reading images. For example, they provided the example of the face-to-face communication of an "arrogant stare" (p. 116) being met with "a deferential lowering of the eyes, and such obligations cannot easily be avoided without appearing impolite, unfriendly, or impudent" (p. 116). Kress and van Leeuwen do not address the gender of these people, but the work of Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1996) acknowledged it is often a male having the "arrogant stare" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 116) and a female with the "deferential lowering of the eyes" (p. 116). Studying the behaviors of animals and humans in many societies and cultures established reason to believe a female's lowering of the eyes and dipping of her chin may be an innate mating/survival behavior (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1996), possibly to avoid a challenge to the male for power and a prelude to mating, as well as a social standard. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) proposed the viewer must give a downward glance or risk seeming "impolite, unfriendly, or impudent" (p. 116). They surmised that the obligation of a downward glance "cannot easily be avoided" (p. 116), but feminists (e.g., Beauvoir, 1949/1989; Maher & Tetreault, 2001) have encouraged women to understand that they are positioned, either by human studies based on animal behavior or by society or both, to engage in specific responses like looking coyly at the ground in deference. Feminism has taught women that it is exactly because

women are positioned to defer which establishes their obligation to not comply. Kress and van Leeuwen make a point to include the sociocultural and sociohistorical influences in the reading of images, but as this example shows, they are only addressing some sociocultural and sociohistorical aspects and excluding others, such as gender expectations. Using de Lauretis's (1984) work could strengthen the neglected gender issues in Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) grammar of visual design.

de Lauretis's theory of imaging also would benefit from Kress and van Leeuwen's influence. de Lauretis's theory suffers from theoretical old age simply because it deals with visual communication, a mode of interaction that has changed in at least two ways since 1984 when de Lauretis published her theory. The first is proliferation. Access to tools and practices of technology in visual communication have changed drastically. For example, compared to 1984 people in the U.S. are now regular users of the internet, where visual communication is prominent. In fact the increase is notable within this current decade. Lenhart, Madden and Hitlin (2005) reported "87% of U.S. teens aged 12-17 use the internet, up from 73% in 2000, [and] 66% of adults use the internet, up from 56% in 2000" (p. i). Second, people differently enact roles in visual communication than they did 25 years ago. People are easily able to produce images of professional or semi-professional quality and distribute those images to wider audiences. Further, 12 to 17-year-old girls are more likely than boys of the same age to engage in content creation on the internet. Using data from 2004 to 2006, Lenhart, Madden, Macgill, and Smith (2007) reported 35% of all adolescent girls blog and 54% of girls on the internet post photos online. Although online boys are almost twice as likely as online girls to post video, the women of the next generation of teachers will be experienced at online visual communication. Therefore de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging that emphasized the consumption of images is

still useful but limited for current visual communication that includes the production and consumption of images as regular practices.

Visual communication is increasingly integral to public communication, and visual literacy is a necessity (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Considering more people have access to tools and knowledge to produce their own images, it stands to reason that theories of visual communication would emphasize the image production aspect of the process. However, with an increase in production of images come increased opportunities to read images. This necessitates maintaining de Lauretis's point that observers' expectations are important in the process.

Imaging (and Reimaging) in Teacher Education

The increased ability to read as well as produce visual images has changed U.S. culture. Kress (1997) described the meaning involved in the making of semiotic signs (i.e., the images in the world), commenting on two children creating playthings at home. Kress wrote, "A 'car' is needed, so a car is made – a car which satisfied the purposes of the play" (p. 19). Signs and images are created and used because they are needed or maybe wanted. People have a history of shaping their own images (Roach-Higgins, Eicher, & Johnson, 1995), but the more command people have over their visual worlds, the more capable they may feel to shape those worlds visually to suit their needs and wants. The prominence of visual communication has created a link between non-face-to-face images, such as visual media, and the reality of face-to-face images.

An anecdote exemplifies this point. My friend was recounting the story of sitting with her husband at a minor league baseball game when she was hit in the head and knocked unconscious by a fly ball. My friend explained that before the collision, she looked up and saw the ball coming closer and closer and closer. At that point in the story her husband interrupted to tell her

there was no way that could have happened because she never looked up. True to the notion that no two eye-witnesses report the same event (Potter, 1996), according to her husband, at the time of the collision she was looking in her lap, doctoring her hot dog with relish. My friend was shocked. She was convinced the fly ball looked like something out of a movie, a speeding orb hurtling toward her before everything when black. My friend reimagined this face-to-face (or face-to-ball) encounter to match what she reasoned getting hit with a ball would look like based on the images she had seen in the movies or television. To clarify the concept of reimaging, she shaped her experience to suit her need or want for the baseball scene to match the building of dramatic tension in any decent cinematic portrayal of being knocked unconscious. In this anecdote, my friend was reimaging the object of the baseball. Many women, instead of reimaging objects, turn their own bodies into the object of focus.

I return to de Lauretis's (1984) appeal for women to become the readers of women's bodies to illustrate that women are not only consumers of these images but producers. Women are engaging in a practice of self-objectification in which they are simultaneously the producers, the receivers, and responders to their bodily images. Heldman (2008) reported that women are increasingly practicing self-objectification or habitual self-monitoring, thinking about how their bodies appear to the outside world. For example, Heldman interviewed a young woman who described sex as an "out of body" (p. 54) experience in which she saw herself through the imagined eyes of her sexual partner or the view of an imaginary camera shooting a sex film. What could be interpreted as a fetish of self-voyeurism the young woman explained was a practice that resulted in unsatisfying sexual experiences. Because she was a constant visual critic of her own body, she could not enjoy sexual pleasure. It is the reimaged body that is being judged and inhibiting her sexual experience. The invitation for women to be readers of their own

and other women's bodies has resulted in a more recent practice of women seeing their bodies as something not only to self-monitor but to reimage based on an imagined perspective.

This self-objectifying and reimaging has led to women representing their bodies in a different way. Levy (2005) studied what she called the rise of raunch culture and the increased propensity for women to shape their bodies through plastic surgery, dress in barely-there clothing, and participate in sexual exhibitionism in the name of celebrating and taking control of their bodies. Pitts (2003) documented women's engagement with body modification. She noted tattoos were once linked to non-mainstream and working-class cultures, but tattoos have now reached a status of permanent and widely worn fashion accessories for women. The type of body modification that Pitts studied went beyond the single fashionable tattoo on a woman's ankle, but women who engage in body modification practices (i.e., sometimes extreme modes of embodiment that challenge existing levels of "normal" aesthetic beauty) reported doing so because it provided a way to reclaim their bodies from confining sociocultural pressures.

Currently, feminists are questioning the ability of women to affect how their bodies are seen and subsequently read for meaning by others (Baumgardner & Richards, 2000). One side of the debate is that whatever a woman does to her body, the body is still subject to the social, political, historical, and cultural pressures, institutions, and structures that were influential before the change. The other side of the debate is the adoption of the phrase "the political is personal." This phrase was a call to develop one's politics from personal experiences, but the phrase is now used in the United States to imply a different exclamation: a woman's right to make choices for her own body is an outgrowth of the fight against oppressive conditions and a right that should be practiced freely.

In an interview with Redfern (2002), Natasha Walter stated that feminists in the United States have recently been concentrating on individual successes and empowerment, while other countries and regions, such as her native Britain, have been focusing on the strides of all women. Walter (1998) also wrote that feminism, once based on group aspirations for political equality, has been subsumed by overpersonalization. Likewise, Baumgardner and Richards (2000) conceded that "once-taboo lifestyle activities … rebellious acts or personal choices" (p. 19) should not be held against women, but self-shaping of a person's image also "shouldn't be construed as the same as political activism" (p. 19). Baumgardner and Richards' point is counter to the arguments made by the women in Levy's (2005) exploration of raunch culture. When Levy studied the practices of women who purposefully changed and displayed their bodies to be looked at, the women explained it was their right and choice to do so and their exhibitionism was not a blow to feminism but evidence that feminism had worked. Although Baumgardner and Richards (2000) were not responding to these women directly, they stated "when you find yourself choosing what the patriarchy promotes, it's worth asking yourself if it really is a choice" (pp. 19-20).

These responses point to the issue of anyone's independent ability to shape her bodily image and influence the meaning derived from it. Elizabeth's story of people seeing the old Edward despite a change in body image reflects the difficulty in a person's ability to control the message she sends to others. The women in Levy's (2005) work claim empowerment and feminist ideals, but the analyses in my study challenge how capable women teachers are of shaping their bodies when they are still subjected to social and cultural expectations. The process of reading a teacher's body for potential action may include some elements of reimaging the body to suit the needs of the viewer. For example, in reading Rachel's body for potential

homosexual action the viewer may revise Rachel's body image so the viewer can picture the homosexual action. A culture of revisioning or reimaging has established itself as not only part of the production of images but in reading for meaning. The question is raised what and whose needs are being satisfied when the students, parents, teachers, administrators, and community members read and reimage teachers' bodies for meaning? This question is particularly important for teacher educators as they guide teachers and prospective teachers in the teaching profession.

This study began with the idea of exploring more complicated stories and images of teachers than the iconic image of teacher could provide. The creation and maintenance of the iconic image of teacher may have provided a level of security for students, parents, other teachers, administrators, and community members in knowing what to expect of teachers. The iconic image may also have served to attract others into the profession who were lulled by the simplistic image. This present study was steeped in images that did not match the iconic image of teacher. There was evidence that Rose's non-iconic image of teacher was read in a way to suit the public's needs or wants, namely to undermine her appropriateness as a teacher. Other examples are not as clear in determining how people's needs or wants were served. When students read Erin's tattoos, Erin was resisting the iconic image of teacher. It was unclear if some students wanted her to resist that image; therefore it is ambiguous whose needs are being addressed. The question of whose needs and wants are being served may be beyond the scope of this study and is likely a subject for future research, because the issue is pertinent as students participate in teacher education.

Due to what McWilliam (1994) referred to as the "folkloric discourses of teacher education" (p. 48), the recycled and simplistic assumption has been able to persist that prospective teachers are "ideologically conservative, and therefore fail to comprehend the

political nature of the teaching act" (p. 51). Although McWilliam did not address practicing teachers, the same might be said of them. Teacher educators are remiss to allow this assumption to stand because perhaps teachers are able to comprehend the political nature of teaching but have yet been asked to do so. Alsup (2006) advocated that because educational discourse is political, teacher education must follow suit. Considering this study, teachers need to be asked to attend to how their bodies are texts that are interpreted for meaning about who they are as teachers and people. Using this invitation to teachers to explore their social positioning may allow teacher educators to help teachers approach issues involved with the inadequate mind/body split and personal/professional divide.

It is inadequate for teacher education programs to relegate discussion of teachers' bodies to the periphery with pat advice such as "dress … conservatively and formally" (Obrycki, 2008, p. 9), then concentrate almost solely on the cognitive issues of teaching. My study has shown that matters of teachers' bodies are more complicated than professional dress. If teacher education programs are going to effectively address body presence, image, and action in the classroom, teacher educators are going to need to attend to the views that different generations may have about bodies. The feminist debate on a woman's right to shape and display her body illustrates that a generation of women may be entering teacher education classrooms who may practice this personal right without analyzing the larger politics in the context of education. This is not just an issue of asking teachers to cover-up their tattoos or piercings. As my personal underwear exposure story indicates, even when a woman does not intend to reveal aspects of her bodily text, they can peek out and be read for meaning.

The more effective move is to guide students in evaluating school contexts and in giving thought to people's expectations so they are better able to determine how their body texts are

read. Teachers change and schools change, despite the reductive portrayals of teachers and schools (Lightfoot, 1983). A teacher may find herself fitting well in the school context at the beginning of her career but less so at a later point. It would behoove a teacher to know how to evaluate her situation to know when it might be time to leave that setting, work to change that setting, or leave the profession in search of a better employment situation. Without understanding how she is read by others, a teacher might believe reductive portrayals of schools and think she is better to leave teaching altogether because she has assumed all schools are the same.

Teacher education programs need to dispel the notion that a teacher can keep her personal and professional lives separate. If teachers anticipate maintaining a personal and professional divide, they may be ill-equipped to handle an event that calls their personal lives into question with their professional lives, like the participants in this study. It would be better to provide realistic options for negotiating the two because a teacher's personal life and professional life are mutually affected.

Again, as the feminist debate on body representation indicated, not all teachers are going to see their bodies and personal lives as mattering in the politics of schooling. Still, teacher educators are in a position to provide a wider view of body and personal matters in schools. Teachers have the option to disregard the inclusion of politics in education, but if sociocultural politics are never addressed, they never have that option. Teachers need the opportunity to improve their analytical skills on this front because they are already making complicated decisions with their images within public view. For example, the increased use of social networking websites among women who may enter future teacher education classrooms (Lenhart, Madden, Macgill, & Smith, 2007) is an opportunity for teachers to represent their

personal and professional lives. On personal social networking pages, they create images that may show resistance to the cultural model of teacher, but teachers also need guidance in how resisting the cultural model of teacher on these sites has affordances and limits. With the help of teacher educators, teachers may be better able to understand the structures that allow certain meanings about a teacher's body to be developed and sustained in relation to the cultural model of teacher. Once those understandings are developed teachers will be better able to resist unfavorable or unwanted meanings of teacher.

Teachers need to be encouraged to think of themselves not just *as* a gender but as *being* gendered, and for that matter raced and classed and sexualized, in the classroom and in society. It is also important for teachers to acknowledge how their students are positioned in schools. Some teachers may adopt the colorblind ideal myth, a principle that ignores the influence of limiting structures on groups of people (Thomas, 2005), which prevents them from seeing the active shaping of our experiences by identity markers such as race, gender, class, and sexuality. Although the term *colorblind* may call to mind issues of race, the sentiment can be used for any identity marker. Without identifying cultural and social influences, teachers will not be able to advocate for themselves or their students when they feel injustices have occurred in the educational system.

The Necessity for Different Cultural Models in Teacher Research

The reality that different cultures have different cultural models (Gee, 1999) needs attention. Although race and culture are not synonymous, they are intertwined. Race was a subject that did not appear in the data of this study beyond participants' descriptions of the population of their schools. All participants were White, and their students for the most part were also White. The result may have been a White innocence, not only on the part of the participants

but also on my part as a White researcher (Gutierrez, 2006). Gutierrez used the term *White innocence* from its use in the legal field (e.g., Gotanda, 2004) as a description of the tendency to have an inconsistent or nonexistent race-consciousness that maintains a dominant subject position and further marginalizes certain cultures and races. Gutierrez made a point that White innocence is not so much about who is and is not White, but that we all become implicated in maintaining White innocence if we do not question who is subordinating others. If White people never address the role their race has on how they see the sociocultural world, there may be a tendency to see a White-raced culture as normal, which would leave other raced cultures considered abnormal or unacknowledged (McIntosh, 1988). This is not to imply that all White people have the same culture, a lesson reinforced by studies of Appalachian culture in the United States (e.g., Clarke, 2006; Hicks, 2004; Jones, 2006; Purcell-Gates, 1995); however race does influence how one sees and constructs the world in language (Ladson-Billings, 1994).

While troubling the simplistic iconic image of teachers, I met the conundrum of which Lorde (1984b) warned: "*the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house*" (p. 112, italics in original). By questioning what I saw as a middle-class, White mainstream image of teacher, it reinforced that image *as* a mainstream view, further marginalizing other cultural models of teachers that exist.

It would be irresponsible to map issues of race onto the existing data of this study considering race was only present in its overwhelming absence as a topic of participants' stories. I am able, however, to explain why a different cultural model of teacher is necessary for examining stories of differently raced and cultured teacher. A cultural model is a theory "rooted in the practices of socioculturally defined groups of people" (Gee, 1999, p. 43). A cultural model cannot be transferred from social group to social group without the cultural model seeming

misplaced. Looking at cultural models from other groups allows the cultural models of one's own group easier to see and understand. "The specificity and localness of … practices" (p. 63) misleads one into thinking one's cultural model is the "right" or "only" model. Delpit (2006) aptly wrote, "When one 'we' gets to determine standards for all 'wes,' then some 'wes' are in trouble!" (p. xxv). Therefore it is necessary to examine cultural models of other groups.

Any examination of cultural models here cannot be substantiated past anecdotes and existing literature, but I provide an example of another cultural model to illustrate cautiously how the cultural model of female teachers I described in this study is insufficient for other educational cultures. I write the possibility of a cultural model of a Black female teacher with care for several reasons. First, I am not a Black woman and I do not count myself as a person within the Black American culture, therefore my view is an outsider's. Second, any cultural model is a simplified version of a more complicated subject, so I hope this cultural model will prompt others to search for complicated situated meanings of teacher that go past this simplified version. Anecdotal evidence and reactions from friends and scholars prompted me to examine a potential cultural model for Black female teachers in the United States[7].

Delpit (2006) reported that "teachers of color" more than their White colleagues (p. 117) were influenced by their "experiences as learners, their reflections about their students, and from the cultural bearers in their community" (p. 116). The "culture bearers in [the] community" (p. 116) was a repeated theme as I sought to understand what a Black American community might hold as a cultural model of teacher. Some of the non-White teacher respondents in Delpit's (2006) informal survey cited their mothers as cultural bearers and women who played a role in learning and teaching processes. Collins's (2009) description of biological and non-biological

[7] I use the term Black (e.g., Black female, Black American, etc.) as an adjective of race as per APA guidelines, unless I am citing others scholars' works, in which they use other terms, such as African-American.

mother figures in Black communities reinforced the likelihood that these women might be the type of culture bearers Delpit recognized. Collins (2009) described how "bloodmothers" (p. 192) (i.e., biological mothers) and "othermothers" (p. 192) (e.g., grandmothers, sisters, aunts, cousins, etc.) in Black American communities took a social and cooperative approach to child care. Collins counted othermothers different from teachers in Black communities but explained that Black women's accountability to the community and children established mothers and othermothers as symbols of power in their support for children's education.

Political and racial issues necessitated Black women being the teachers of Black American students in Black communities as long as racially segregated schools were the norm. Foster (1993) drew on life history interviews of Black American women teachers to establish that segregated schools established connectedness of community, families, and teachers. For example, one participant told how when she was a child it was common to have teachers living in the homes and neighborhoods of school families, especially in rural areas, adding "It's kind of interesting to see a teacher in that light. They were part of the family and we cared about them" (p. 106). In these circumstances, the professional/personal binary is especially ineffective. The same participant noted, "It was interesting to us because we'd see a teacher, one wore braids when she was home" (p. 106). It was implied the teacher never wore braids in school, so the children had insight into the teacher as a woman at home and in the classroom, as represented by her physical appearance. The mind/body binary fails here also when students are seeing a teacher's body image out of school compared to in school, where minds have been assumed to be paramount. This example of a teacher living among families in segregated communities provides some social and political history for more recent standards for Black women teachers.

Through structured interviews, Maxwell (1994) sought the beliefs of academically successful African-American high school students about what made an effective teacher. Although the students reported that effective teachers were not identified by race, students explained that effective teachers were caring and described effective female teachers as mother or grandmother figures. These familial comparisons were furthered by Maxwell's findings that African-American male students were strongly influenced by African-American female teachers and that African-American students were proud at seeing African-American teachers as authority figures. Participants in Maxwell's (1994) study described an effective teacher as a "straightforward, strong, caring, understanding, motherly/grandmotherly role, friendly, strict, yet caring and fun, available, [and] motivating" (p. 69). These findings reinforce the likelihood of mother or grandmother figures serving as models for Black women teachers.

The similarities between the African-American students' description of an effective teacher (Maxwell, 1994) and the Black American cultural amalgam of a Big Mama are undeniable. A Big Mama is a specific figure of an othermother (Collins, 2009) and is a Black American grandmother, matriarch of the family, or any older female who helped raise the children. There are several similarities in the way Black communities describe a Big Mama figure, but importantly a Big Mama is different from a common caricature of Black women, the Mammy.

The Mammy caricature is the depiction of an often obese, perhaps sassy or gruff but maternal woman who cared for the White family to whom she was a servant at the expense of her biological family whom she ignored or treated with contempt (Pilgrim, 2000). Some cultural examples throughout several decades are the character named Mammy from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Stowe, 1852/1892), Hattie McDaniel's portrayal of Scarlett O'Hara's servant in the movie *Gone*

with the Wind (Selznick & Fleming, 1939), the housemaid and caregiver Calpurnia in Lee's (1960) *To Kill a Mockingbird*, and Nell Carter's portrayal of a Black housekeeper to a motherless White family in 1980s sitcom *Gimme a Break!* (Lachman & Rosen, 1981). The Mammy has been thoroughly critiqued by feminist literature (e.g., Collins, 2009; hooks, 2000).

Conversely, the Big Mama has not received much attention in feminist literature, possibly because Big Mama has not historically been a caricature but a personal family relationship. Writing from a child's perspective, hooks (1996) wrote

> Big Mama – To us she is special, unique, one of a kind. We do not know that there are other big mamas in the world. She is short and fat…We think her kindness and generosity are related to her fat. She never yells as us – never treats us harshly (pp. 25-26)

LL Cool J (2002) rapped about the unconditional love of his Big Mama, a "little brown-skinned lady 'bout five feet tall," who was a mix of disciplinarian and warm caregiver:

> Big Mama, my grandmother, my main girl
>
> I love you much more than the scandalous world
>
> As a young boy you gave me whoopings to save my life
>
> Cursed me out, to keep me out the streets at night
>
> 'Cause my momma had me when she was young
>
> So you took on the responsibility to raise your grandson

In a televised interview with Alfre Woodard, Tavis Smiley said, "Tell me about your big mama. And I'm asking only because everybody has a big mama… And for the people who are watching who don't know who big mama is, it usually means somebody's grandmother" (The Smiley Group & TS Media, 2005). A Black American male Smiley was interviewing a Black American female Woodard, so between two similarly raced people, Smiley was able to say, "everybody has

a big mama," but he realized that his entire multicultural viewership may not be familiar with "a big mama" and defined the term. Although the Big Mama model is well-known in Black American communities, others such as I, a White woman, am only able to describe a Big Mama in generalities.

I am, thus leery that Guiffrida (2005) proposed the framework of "Othermothering" (p. 701) for faculty of predominately White institutions of higher education to understand the needs of African-American students. The faculty of these institutions are multiracial though predominantly White. The problem with a predominantly White faculty adopting the model of othermothering is that the model is culturally rooted. A person from another culture adopting the cultural model of a Big Mama could easily appear flawed in execution. It is a return to the issue of the difficult and according to Gee (1996) impossible task of mastering a secondary Discourse.

An anecdote from a friend and teacher illustrates this point. While teaching pre-K at a nearly all Black school with a nearly all Black faculty, my friend, a White woman, had difficulty developing a culturally-relevant (Delpit, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1994) teaching persona that would connect to the cultural expectations of her students. She noticed that the Black women teachers in the school used what she called a Big Ol' Mama approach to working with students. My friend tried to adopt that persona, figuring this style fit the needs of her students. She found, however, that her attempt to adopt a Big Mama teaching model was a failure. She neither embodied the model accurately or appropriately, and her students recognized her flawed attempt by reacting negatively to this change. My friend realized she had to find her own way to provide guidance to her students without appropriating a cultural model that didn't match her own culture. A cultural model of an othermother or Big Mama is especially complicated for a White woman teacher to adopt because the othermother figure played a strong role in teaching young

Black children to resist White dominance and structural racism (Collins, 2009). Therefore White faculty enacting this cultural model would further be contradictory to expectation.

Naming a cultural model for any group is quite complicated and Black communities are not an exception. First, an othermother or Big Mama figure originates from personal relationships with Black women, so any reification of those female figures has the potential to be insulting to the individuals in the relationship. Second, despite connectedness of teachers and families within Black communities, there were shared values as well as divergence within the communities. Many Black people had class and color differences due to lighter and darker skin, but they often were lumped together in neighborhoods due to segregation (Foster, 1993). Therefore, a cultural model for Black culture may be unlikely to be solidified. Though any cultural model is the simplified storyline (Gee, 1999), and thus would exclude nuances of cultural difference.

Recently the Big Mama has moved to larger-than-life character status with portrayals, oddly enough, by men in drag. Martin Lawrence's Big Momma in *Big Momma's House* (Friendly et al., 2000) depicted a warm, loving, churchgoing, soul food cooking grandmother. In the movie's sequel (Friendly & Green, 2006), the Big Momma was more of a Mammy character, becoming a nanny to a White family, perpetuating the confusion that outsiders may have between a Big Mama and a Mammy caricature. Tyler Perry's character Mabel "Madea" Simmons in *Diary of a Black Woman* (Perry & Grant, 2005) and other Madea movies (e.g., Paseornek, Block, & Perry, 2006) exposed a different side of a Big Mama. Perry's character was a large-and-in-charge matriarch who would take any means necessary to protect her loved ones including threatening potential perpetrators with a gun or other weapons. These comedic depictions of the Big Mama model are problematic (Kennedy, 2009a, 2009b), especially if some

viewers have only the stereotypes of Big Mama to cling. But a less comedic, less over-the-top version of the Big Mama, a strong Black American figure, may be useful in analyzing a cultural model of Black female teachers.

Specific to this study the possibility of a Big Mama cultural model of teacher is valuable in providing a different example of what an iconic teacher can be. Again, because the cultural model is a simplified example of a teacher, this description can only serve as a prompt to investigate more complicated meanings of teacher in a specific culture. Both the iconic model used in this study's analyses and the cultural model of Big Mama portray women. However, instead of the professional/personal binary being upheld, because the Big Mama model comes from a familial othermother image, already the binary is revealed as weak. Also, the mind/body split cannot be maintained, especially when the name Big Mama conjures thoughts of large women, often from the perspective of small children's memories. Of course, as evidenced by LL Cool J's description, a Big Mama is not always big, but it is that irony that makes the woman's body notable. This discussion is a reminder to researchers that the culture of participants is crucial in determining which cultural models will be useful for analyses.

Conclusion

This closing chapter was built from the findings of the stories of seven women teachers who went through personal changes in the view of their school communities. The stories about women's bodies being read inform theoretical and instructional issue in research and teacher education. A teacher's intentions and agency in bodily action is difficult to determine due to different points of view from people in the school community, but further exploration into the matter of potential action being read for meaning needs to occur to develop the potency of Ricoeur's (1971/2007) theory of action as text. An issue in translating the influence of observers'

expectations in de Lauretis's (1984) theory of imaging from cinematic studies to face-to-face communications presents the possibility that combining de Lauretis's theory with Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) grammar of visual design may simultaneously account for the production and the reading of images, bring a gender focus to Kress and van Leeuwen's work, and update de Lauretis's visual theories.

The current world of visual communication and body image has implications for teacher education also. Teacher educators have an obligation to guide teachers in understanding how their personal lives and bodies are involved in the politics of education. Doing so may provide teachers the skills to understand how they and their students are socially situated in schools. In this same vein teacher education researchers need to bear witness to the cultural influences of participants and themselves as researchers. This is a necessity especially when working with notions of cultural models of teachers because just as cultures are not interchangeable, neither are cultural models. Further, determination of an appropriate cultural model is just a starting point to investigating why that cultural model is an inadequate descriptor for the complicated lives of teachers.

This interpretive feminist research study was a useful exercise in seeking more complex stories of women teachers, but Ricoeur (1971/2007) argued that with interpretation there is no final word. In principle another interpretation is always possible. All interpretations are not equal, but the opportunity is always open for new explanations, the chance to breathe new life into old stories. Ricoeur's point gives me solace because even as I write the last words of this dissertation, I know that in a broader sense this interpretation will not be the last word.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Recruitment Statement

My name is Christine Mallozzi, and I am a Doctoral Candidate in the Reading Education Program of the Language and Literacy Education Department at the University of Georgia. I am currently conducting my doctoral dissertation research on teachers' personal and professional lives.

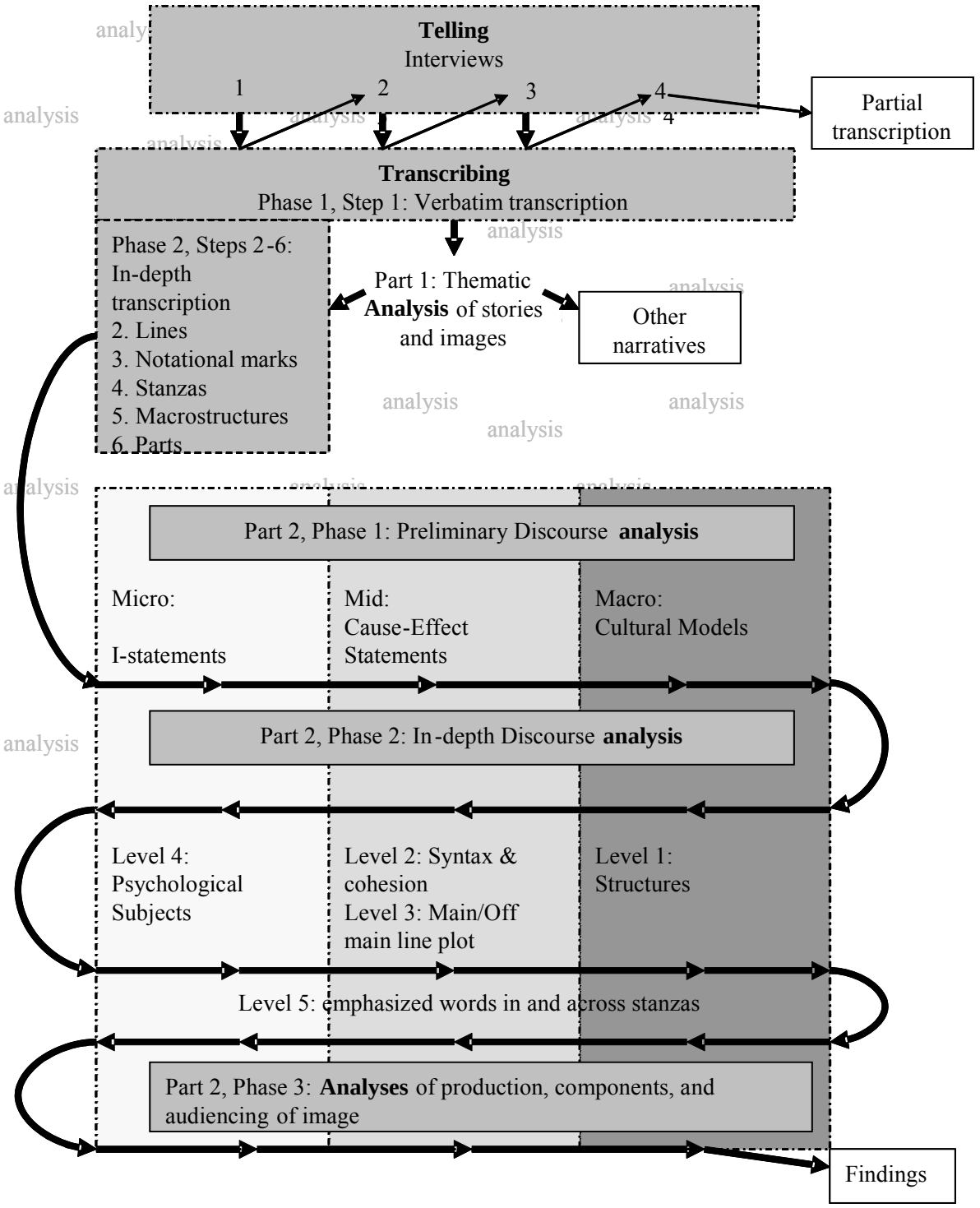
I am interested in speaking to you if you consider yourself to be female (i.e., woman, transgendered person, boi, etc.) and if you are a current or former teacher in a kindergarten -12th grade setting. Please consider participating in this study if you have experienced a personal change that was outside your school community's expectations, and if you believed that others saw you differently once that change became public knowledge. If this description sounds like you, I would appreciate hearing your stories and perceptions surrounding your personal change and your appearance in the public eye.

Please reply to Christine.Mallozzi@gmail.com directly if you are interested in speaking with me or if you have any questions. Your confidentiality will be maintained. I appreciated in advance your consideration of this invitation.

Respectfully,
Christine

APPENDIX B

Overview of Research Methodology



APPENDIX C

Interview Guide for Meeting One

1) Tell me the story of how you became a teacher. (start-up question)
2) What is the story of your teaching career up to this point?
3) Timeline
    a) Here's a blank timeline. Knowing I am interested in your personal change(s) becoming known publicly, can you fill in a few (maybe three) experiences or events that would help me understand the story or stories about that time in your life?
    b) What stories can you tell me about this time in your life?
4) Is there anything else you would like to share?
5) For our next meeting, can you bring in some images of you that will help us discuss your personal change becoming known publicly? The images can be videos, it can be photographs, a yearbook – any images of you that will help me understand your story.

APPENDIX D

Interview Guide for Meeting Two

1. (Start with clarifications from meeting one data.)
2. Last time we met, I asked you to bring some images of yourself that will help me understand your personal change becoming public knowledge. I'm going to ask you some questions so I can understand the context of the image (i.e., photograph, yearbook picture, etc.)
    a. Production
        i. When was it made?
        ii. Where was it made?
        iii. Who made it?
            1. What are the relations of you to the maker? To the "owner" (e.g., the school)?
        iv. Was it made for someone else? If so, how did you come to have a copy of it?
        v. Were there any specific technologies that went into making it? (may not apply)
    b. Image
        i. What is being shown? What are the components of the image? How are they arranged?
        ii. Is this one image of several like it?
        iii. Where is your eye drawn in this photo? Tell me about that.
        iv. Tell me about the use of color or black and white in this image.
        v. Did technology affect this image?
        vi. What kind of image is this? (e.g., a snapshot by an amateur, a formal "portrait", a photo-journalism type image)
        vii. What do I need to know to better understand this image?
        viii. Is anything excluded from this representation of you?
    c. Audiencing
        i. Who was the intended audience of this image?
        ii. How would the image have originally been displayed?
        iii. Would if have been circulated, stored, or redisplayed?
        iv. Who is a more recent audience of this image?
        v. How do you interpret or read this image?
        vi. How do you think the people in you school community would interpret or read this image?
        vii. If these interpretations or readings are different, how are they different?
    d. Tell me a story prompted by looking at these images.
    e. Tell me specifically about your bodily appearance in the story.
    f. Does your bodily appearance show in this image?

APPENDIX E

Interview Guide for Meeting Three

1. What is the story or a story of the personal change that prompted you to join this study?
2. What were your perceptions of your personal change in your professional, public life?
3. Tell me a story about your body in regard to this personal change.
    a. How do you perceive that others developed meaning about your body in regard to this personal change?
    b. How did you perceive your own body in regard to this personal change?
4. Is there anything else you would like to share?

APPENDIX F

Interview Guide for Meeting Four

1. (Start with any clarifications from meetings two and three data.)
2. Review current analyses for insight, clarification, and correction.
3. What main storyline do you think needs to be told about your life?
4. Do you think you withheld or excluded anything in the telling of your stories? Please talk about that.

APPENDIX G

Transcript Showing Emphases at the End of Lines

Reinforcing the lack of detail

C: um what was the what were the
did the parent give you any details about what these girls were talking about↑

um I know there was a boy
and her eah and then um her child was a daughter eah was a girl
um and then I don't know about the third
but I know there were three
that what I know //
um she didn't .. she didn't go into detail uh
she just said that they had been talking ↑
in the back of her car ↑
she wanted to let me know ↑
and she thought that I should um dress more appropriately //

C: and that was it

and that was it

APPENDIX H

Transcript Showing Staccato Speech

Orienting the characters in action

C: and ok so um kind of paint a picture for me of of what's going on around you 'cause I think I have a little bit of a sense what you

well there were fa::ns
and there my team was just you know
they weren't paying attent-
they didn't you know it wasn't any
I didn't feel like th-
I felt like it was more like the parents
in the stands
uh and the fans
who were looking and probably self judging or judging //

Abstract

um yeah it was just
it was really fast

C: Yeah

it was just you know
I saw them
and there were coming down the bleachers
I went across the court
said hey hugged 'em all and said
I gotta go↑
see ya after the game↑
and then that was it

C: Right

but I remember that feeling th- ah- I mean

APPENDIX I

Notation and Arrangement for In-depth Transcription

The following is a combination of Gee's (1991, 1999) and Jefferson's (2004) notations. Gee (1991, 1999) used many of Jefferson's (2004) common notations without acknowledging their source. Therefore, this table of notations is less so a novel combination for this study than an acknowledgment of the notations' multiple sources.

Notation	Explanation	Source
Part 1. Part Label	Part number with bold upper and lower case print indicated the label of the part and is similar to a title for the narrative.	Gee, 1991
II. SECTION	Roman numeral and bold capitalized print indicates macrostructure section of narrative.	Gee, 1999
Stanza A. Description	Stanza letter with bold label with the first letter capitalized indicates the purpose or topic of the data clump in the narrative.	Gee, 1999
A1.	Capital letter and number indicates the stanza and line number spoken by the participant.	Gee, 1991
C:	Indented, italicized capital letter C and colon indicates the researcher Christine is speaking.	Gee, 1999
//	Double slash marks indicate the voice has a pitch that sounds final.	Gee, 1999
<u>word</u>	Underline indicates stressed word or word segment	Gee, 1999
WORD	Capitalized word or word segment indicates an emphatic tone	Gee, 1999; Jefferson, 2004
..	Double periods indicates a pause.	Gee, 1999; Jefferson, 2004
::	Repeated colons indicates elongated sound; the longer the row of colons, the longer the sound.	Gee, 1999; Jefferson, 2004
( )	Parentheses indicate an action or sound, such as (clears throat) or inaudible speech recorded as accurately as possible.	Gee, 1999; Jefferson, 2004
↑	Sound has a rising intonation compared to the pitch that came before.	Jefferson, 2004
↓	Sound has a falling intonation compared to the pitch that came before.	Jefferson, 2004
◦word◦	Degree signs indicate quieter speech	Jefferson, 2004

APPENDIX J

Verbatim and In-depth Transcriptions of the Same Data Example

Verbatim Transcription

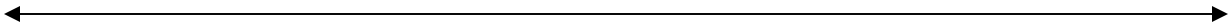
El: so I went to see my union rep first and my union rep said (clear throat) you cannot tell them you cannot tell the administration I said what do you mean I cannot tell the administration I said what do you mean I cannot tell the administration
C: heh
El: caus' my my question was how do I tell them and the union said you can't and wh- wh- what do you mean I can't you can't tell them why can't I tell them because you have no relationship to Linda Loebel other than as an employee well ok that's true so if you tell her then you have made it a personnel matter
C: ok
El: you're best argument is that this is personal
C: ooh ok
El: not personnel

In-depth Transcription

Going to union rep - conflict
so I went to see my union rep first and my union rep said (clear throat)
you cannot tell them
you cannot tell the administration
I said what do you mean I cannot tell the administration
'cause my my question was HOW do I tell them and the union said you can't
and wh- wh- what do you mean I can't
you can't ↑tell them↓
↑why can't I tell them↑
because you have no relationship to Linda Loebel other than as an employee //
well ok that's true
so if you tell her
then you have made it a personnel matter
ok
you're best argument is that this is personal
C: o::h ok
not personnel //

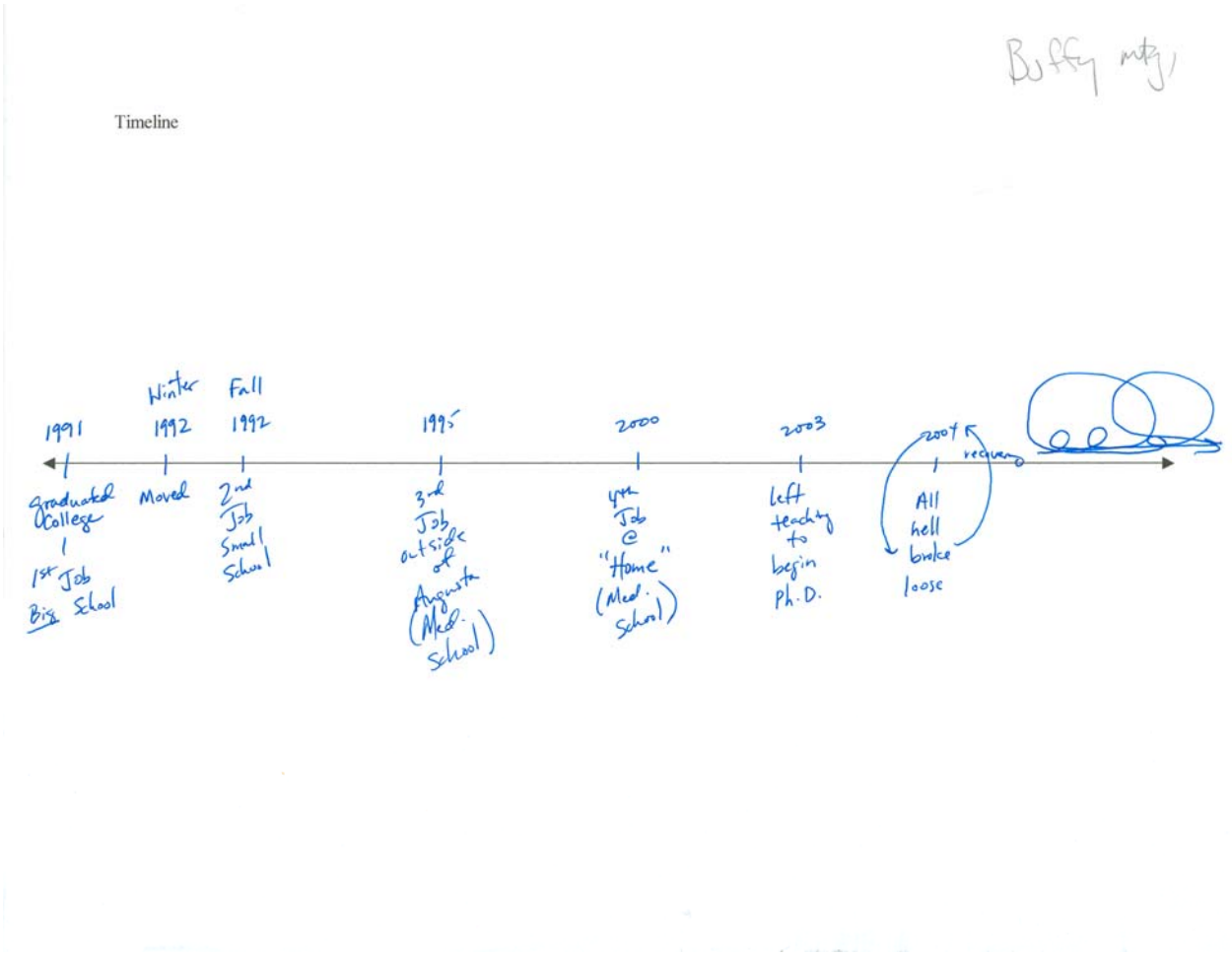
APPENDIX K

Timeline



APPENDIX L

Buffy's Timeline Showing Non-Linear Marks



APPENDIX M

Informed Consent Form

I, _____, agree to participate in a research study titled " Teachers' Stories Bodies in Personal Change and Public Perception" conducted by Christine A. Mallozzi from the Department of Language and Literacy Education at the University of Georgia (706-983-9581) under the direction of Dr. Donna Alvermann, Department of Language and Literacy Education, University of Georgia (706-542-2718). I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can refuse to participate or stop taking part at anytime without giving any reason, and without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I can ask to have all of the information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The reason for this study is to interpret narratives of current or former teachers who have experienced a personal change and have perceived a change in how they were considered publicly; participants' narratives will inform how teachers' bodies are read as texts in this context.

If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to answer questions in four 1 – 1 ½ hour interviews.

1) **In the first three meetings I will talk with the researcher about experiences in education, especially about going through a personal change and perceiving a change in how you were viewed professionally. These interviews will be audio-taped. Meeting three may be videotaped, if written consent is given by me (see below).**
2) **The last of the four meetings will involve a review of researcher's analyses to clarify or deepen researcher's exploration of the data. This meeting will be audio-taped.**

I can choose to participate in any or all of these activities and still be considered a participant in the study. I can skip any questions to which I don't feel comfortable giving a response. My participation in the study will span a total of 3-4 months.

This study will provide the opportunity to develop reflective professional practices and become more thoughtful practitioners and people. The knowledge generated from this study may provide insight into how teachers are regarded as professionals, how to better prepare prospective teachers for their jobs, and what factors into teacher's job satisfaction, dissatisfaction, or attrition.

The risks to you will be minimal in that you may be discussing potentially sensitive personal topics. These risks are rare but will be mitigated by researcher sensitivity to these topics and maintenance of confidentiality.

No individually-identifiable information about me or provided by me during the research will be shared by the researcher with others without my written permission. The results of this participation will be confidential, and will not be released, unless required by law. I will be assigned a pseudonym, and my identity will not be linked to my responses in interviews. The signed consent form will remain with the researcher in a locked cabinet in the researcher's home office. The audio files, video files, and transcripts from interviews will be stored on the researcher's personal laptop computer, to which only she has access. Names and background information that could lead to identification will be changed for the audio and video files, in transcripts, and in any research report so that confidentiality is guaranteed. I can confirm or refute this measure of confidentiality during follow-up meetings.

The investigator will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project (706-983-9581).

I give my permission for the researcher to videotape meeting three. Circle one: YES / NO. Initial _____.

I give my permission for the researcher to use my image (e.g., photograph, videotaped image, etc.) for presentation purposes. I understand that any identifying features will be masked to maintain confidentiality. Circle one: YES / NO. Initial _____.

I understand that I am agreeing by my signature on this form to take part in this research project and understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form for my records.

Christine A. Mallozzi	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	**Signature**	**Date**

Telephone: 706-983-9581
Email: Christine.Mallozzi@gmail.com

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	**Signature**	**Date**

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 612 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 306

APPENDIX N

Transcription Log

Participant	Interview	Transcriber	Time (minutes)	Pages of Transcription
Buffy	1	Christine	131	34
	2	Service	68	43
	3	Christine	60	40
			259 total	117 total
Elizabeth	1	Christine	222	51
	2	Christine	150	45
	3	Service	156	45
			528 total	141 total
Erin	1	Christine	95	24
	2	Christine	105	31
	3	Service	96	40
			296 total	95 total
Gabbie	1	Christine	68	25
	2	Christine	50	19
	3	Christine	64	22
			182 total	66 total
Kendyll	1	Christine	98	35
	2	Christine	106	36
	3	Christine	125	38
			329 total	109 total
Rachel	1	Christine	132	42
	2	Christine	131	34
	3	Christine	97	28
			360 total	104 total
Rose	1	Christine	132	36
	2	Christine	158	46
	3	Service	156	45
			446 total	127 total
		Christine	1924 (= 32 hr., 4 min.)	586
		Service	476 (= 7 hr., 56 min.)	173
		Grand Total	2400 minutes (= 40 hours)	759 pages

APPENDIX O

Example of Thematic Analysis Note Taking

Thematic analysis	Erin's dance lesson narrative	Researcher's analytic notes
Why did she tell this story in this way to this listener?	This was the story that she first told me when we struck a relationship. There may have been some catering to what she remembered of my story. But this story came from when I asked "is there anything else that would help me understand that year?"	
What is the structure of the narrative?	Internal thinking and external actions; narrative within the narrative (dance lesson within the narrative of the parent complaint)	
	Abstract um well I know like one of the conversations that you and I had early on was ea- a getting a parent complaint about the clothes that you're wearing // um and that was the case with me	Situates me to the reason we have a relationship and reason she's in the study
	Orientation and I I can't remember when it was↑ I can remember we were studying Latin America ha ha ha C: It wasn't Gandhi we were studying Latin America um it was probably February // I'm not sure //	Tells time based on what she's teaching. A way to hang onto what she's doing in school since life is upside down.
	Gist um .. but what I do recall is a parent calling uh .. calling and leaving a message it wasn't anybody el- it was on my voice mail and just saying	Most memorable is the complaint
	Phone message (in a light and airy voice) tsuh you know I just really want to tell you that um you know three of your students were two other students besides her daughter were in the car and they were talking about how you dress and that I just think that that's not appropriate	How you dress (commenting about parent without providing a comment)

APPENDIX P

Overview of Discourse Analysis

Phase	Step	Description – what it does for narrator	Contribution to analysis	Question
1	I-statements	Participant built a socially-situated identity by referring to herself in the first-person.	Provided entre into how participant saw herself and the actions she took	OQ, GRQ1, GRQ2
1	Cause-effect assumption	Participant showed how a personal change followed or was concurrent with a reaction in her professional life.	Revealed how participant made connections with personal change and reactions in professional life	GRQ1
1	Cultural models	Participant expressed assumptions about what is "typical" or "normal".	Pointed to standards others placed on participant and participant placed on self	OQ, GRQ1, GRQ2
2	Narrative structure	Participant illustrated perspective on how the story should be told in the interview setting overall structure	Revealed how setting, characters, problem, resolution, and meaning making were organized by participant	OQ, GRQ1, GRQ2
2	Syntax and cohesion	Participant built or disrupted connections across language to create cohesion in the story.	Demonstrated how the participant stitched text (e.g., events, topics) together to make meaning across larger narrative portions	GRQ1
2	Main line/off main line of plot	Participant's main line clauses indicated basic plot. Participant's off main line clauses indicated extra information.	Indicated what the participant saw as the point or significance of the plot	OQ
2	Psychological subjects	Participant showed perspectives she was taking or people/things she was empathizing with.	Showed how participant was constructing others and self; showed the stances people were taking in the eyes of participant	OQ, GRQ1, GRQ2
2	Emphasized words	Participant was able to focus the listener.	Suggested what the participant saw as important	GRQ2
3	Image production	Participant told how image was made, why, and where it appeared to indicate what the community thought was important.	Specified what the people in the setting thought was important to record and how, because the image was mediated by the maker as well as the viewers.	GRQ2
3	Image	Participant indicated what she thought was most important in the image, providing a focus for me as a viewer.	Gave the opportunity to experience social and cultural language that guided the viewing	GRQ2
3	Audience reaction	Participant described what others thought about her image or how they reacted to an image, which allowed her to describe her thoughts on their reactions.	Revealed how audiences reacted to the same image (according to participant); Provided insight into the Discourses surrounding the presentation of participant's body	GRQ2

Key

OQ Overarching Question: How are bodies read as texts in circumstances when teachers perceive that personal changes become public knowledge?

GRQ1 Guiding Research Question 1: What are the stories that current and former teachers tell in relation to experiencing a personal change and perceiving a change in how they were related to professionally?

GRQ2 Guiding Research Question 2: How does a participant's body serve as a text that is read to inform her personal and professional lives?

APPENDIX Q

Example of Phase One Discourse Analysis

Erin's dance lesson narrative	Researcher's analytic notes
The dance lesson um wh- Latin America and we were doing Latin America and uh we had done a lot of heavy stuff // and so um what I wanted to do is just have them learn merengue or a little bit of salsa ↑ um and so we moved all the chairs out and you know had the music and um and I knew the basic steps so I was just trying to show them the basic step um for .. salsa // and um so I taught them the basic step and then I asked them to like get t- get together or you know with people and of course heh boys with girls boys are freshmen can't touch each other	**I-statement:** (affective) I wanted to do (cognitive) I knew (ability) I was just trying (action) I taught, I asked them **Cause-Effect:** heavy stuff – do something light = dancing, asked kids to get together – kids don't touch each other
Point of contact um so I can remember grabbing one of the boys and just saying ok look I'm gonna show you you know this is what you do this is what I do and showing them and there happens to be a picture of that um and so and then all of them started to dance which was great //	**I-statements:** (cognitive-ability) I can remember; (action) I'm gonna show; this is what I do **Cause-Effect:** she grabs a boy to teach the step – they start to dance **Cultural Model:** standard maintain your distance with boys & you can't teach at all costs; her model is you do what you need to teach, don't be conscious, be in the moment and do what is necessary (movies use this standard but can't do it in the real world)

APPENDIX R

Example of Narrative Structure of Erin's Dance Lesson Narrative (Phase Two, Level One Discourse Analysis)

Part 1: Parent Complaint
- **I. SETTING**
  - **Stanza A. Abstract**
  - **Stanza B. Orientation**
- **II. CATALYST**
  - **Stanza C. Gist**
- **III. CRISIS**
  - **Stanza D. Phone message (in a light and airy voice)**
  - **Stanza E. Inward reaction**
- **IV. EVALUATION**
  - **Stanza F. Outward reaction**
  - **Stanza G. Student reactions lead to parent reaction**
- **IV. CODA**
  - **Stanza H. Lack of detail**
  - **Stanza I. Filling in holes**

Part 2: In-class Event
- **I. SETTING**
  - **Stanza J. The dance lesson**
- **II. CATALYST**
  - **Stanza K. Students won't dance**
- **III. CRISIS**
  - **Stanza L. Point of contact**
- **IV. EVALUATION**
  - **Stanza M. Internal questioning**
  - **Stanza N. Attire**
  - **Stanza O. More internal questions**
- **V. RESOLUTION**
  - **Stanza P. Rationalizing questioning**
- **VI. CODA**
  - **Stanza Q. Implicates herself**
  - **Stanza R. Outcome**
  - **Stanza S. Central point**

APPENDIX S

Example of Syntax and Cohesion of Erin's Dance Lesson Narrative (Phase Two, Level Two Discourse Analysis)

Transcript	Researcher's analytic notes
Part 2: In-class Event	
I. SETTING	
The dance lesson	
J1: um wh- Latin America and	
J2: we were doing Latin America	
J3: and uh we had done a lot of heavy stuff //	
J4:and so um what I wanted to do is just have them learn merengue or a little bit of salsa↑	Connective "and" - Because they did heavy stuff she wanted to learn dancing – implication is that this is something lighter, something to have fun with, maybe
J5: um and so we moved all the chairs out	
J6: and you know had the music	
J7: and um and I knew the basic steps	
J8: so I was just trying to show them the basic step um for .. salsa //	"so" - Because she knew the step, that's what her learning objective was
J9: and um so I taught them the basic step	"So" - she taught because she had a learning objective.
J10: and then I asked them to like get t- get together	Connective "then"- it was their turn to try
II. CATALYST	
Students won't dance	
K1: or you know with people and of course heh	
K2: boys with girls	
K3: boys are freshmen	
K4: can't touch each other	
III. CRISIS	
Point of contact	
L1: um so I can remember grabbing one of the boys and just saying ok look	Connective "so" – she made this move because they wouldn't dance with each other.
L2: I'm gonna show you	She goes into the dialogue of the event
L3: you know this is what you do this is what I do and showing them	
L4: and there happens to be a picture of that	
L5: um and so	
L6: and then all of them started to dance	
L7: which was great //	Connective "then" -This move of teaching the dance with the boy led to them all dancing – she accomplished her learning goal

APPENDIX T

Example of Main Line Plot of Erin's Dance Lesson Narrative (Phase Two, Level Three Discourse Analysis)

D2: I just really want to tell you
D5: they were talking about how you dress
D6: I just think that that's not appropriate
F1: um it made me angry
F5: I can remember going
F6: and sort of venting
G1: I know
G4: I know
G6: she didn't go into detail
G7: she just said
G9: she wanted
G10: she thought
I3: I don't
I5: I think
I6: those are the ones
I7: I don't know
J3: we had done a lot of heavy stuff
J7: I knew the basic steps
K3: boys are freshmen
L2: I'm gonna show you
L3: this is what you do this is what I do and showing them
L6: all of them started to dance
M3: I was touching a male student
N1: I had probably .. one to two inch heels
N2: they were like the strappy sandals
N5: I can't remember
O3: is it inappropriately dressed
O5: I don't know
Q1: I had uh a shoe fetish
Q3: I loved those strappy sandals
Q6: I don't know

APPENDIX U

Example of Psychological Subjects of Erin's Dance Lesson Narrative (Phase Two, Level Four Discourse Analysis)

Transcript	Researcher's analytic notes
Part 1: Parent Complaint	**Part 1: Parent Complaint**
III. CRISIS	**III. CRISIS**
Stanza D. Phone message (in a light and airy voice)	**Stanza D. Phone message (in a light and airy voice)**
D1: tsuh you know	
D2: I just really want to tell you that um	I (mom)
D3: you know three of your students were	Three (students according to mom)
D4: two other students besides her daughter were in the car	Two (students according to mom)
D5: and they were talking about how you dress	They (students according to mom)
D6: and that I just think that that's not appropriate	
Part 2: In-class Event	
I. SETTING	
The dance lesson	
J1: um wh- Latin America and	
J2: we were doing Latin America	We (Erin & students)
J3: and uh we had done a lot of heavy stuff //	We (Erin & students)
J4:and so um what I wanted to do is just have them learn merengue or a little bit of salsa↑	I (Erin)
J5: um and so we moved all the chairs out	
J6: and you know had the music	
J7: and um and I knew the basic steps	
J8: so I was just trying to show them the basic step um for .. salsa // J9: and um so I taught them the basic step	I (Erin)
J10: and then I asked them to like get t- get together	I (Erin)

APPENDIX V

Example of Emphasized Words of Erin's Dance Lesson Narrative (Phase Two, Level Five Discourse Analysis)

Part 1: Parent Complaint

I. SETTING

Stanza A. Abstract

early on # parent , wearing # case

Stanza B. Orientation

was # remember # Latin America # February # sure

II. CATALYST

Stanza C. Gist

do # message # my (Erin's), mail

III. CRISIS

Stanza D. Phone message (in a light and airy voice)

know # tell # three # other, car # you dress (Erin's dress) # that's not appropriate

Stanza E. Inward reaction

do

IV. EVALUATION

Stanza F. Outward reaction

Friday # going # venting # joke # Erin getting

Stanza G. Student reactions lead to parent reaction

boy # her (mom's) # third (student) # three (student) # know # didn't # talking # car # know # dress # it

IV. CODA

Stanza H. Lack of detail

right # true # true

Stanza I. Filling in holes

think # pictures # ones # have

Part 2: In-class Event

I. SETTING

Stanza J. The dance lesson

Latin America # Latin America # heavy stuff # meringue, salsa # chairs out # music # knew # salsa # taught, step # together

II. CATALYST

Stanza K. Students won't dance

people # girls # freshmen # touch

III. CRISIS

Stanza L. Point of contact

boys, look # show # do, do, showing # picture of that # dance # great

IV. EVALUATION

Stanza M. Internal questioning

think # dressed # touching, student

APPENDIX W

Narrative of Kendyll's Marriage Proposal

Part 1. Kendyll's Marriage Proposal
I. SETTING
Stanza A. Abstract
A1. he proposed to me over the loudspeaker at the school
A2. he had this arranged with my principal
Stanza B. Gist
B1. and again I state the background of it
B2. because I think my school was SO ABOUT supporting my romance with [Josh]
B3. that they they
II. CATALYST
Stanza C. Josh arranging the proposal with principal
C1. he he met with my
C2. I mean picture this
C3. my boyfriend calls up my principal
C4. they must've- they had a meeting like without me
C5. he he's he's no-
C6. and he asked can I propose to Kendyll over the school PA
C7. and my principal says yes
III. SETTING
Stanza D. Orientation to time
D1. right so like .. and he and I have been dating now for about you know a year and a half
D2. and it was the Friday before Memorial Day
D3. you know five minutes before the bell
IV. CRISIS
Stanza E. Getting the school's attention
E1. my principal comes on and says
E2. you know attention everyone
E3. we have a special announcement
E4. and I'm in my class with the world languages kids like quiet
E5. right right doing that
Stanza. F. Josh's announcement
F1. and suddenly here's .. here is my my..
F2. here's Josh
F3. a huh (*laugh*) he's on my PA system at my school
F4. and he's like Kendyll are you listening ↑
F5. ↑listen up ↑
F6. and it was very weird
F7. cause he's like I love you
F8. and I wanna spend the rest of my life with you
F9. and I'm coming down to your classroom
F10. to ask you to marry me (*laughing*)

V. EVALUATION

Stanza G. Kendyll's reaction

G1. so y- i- I had this weird intersection

Stanza H. Students' reactions

H1. and of course my-

H2. this is out of a movie for my stu::dents

H3. oh they're cheering

H4. and he walks

H5. and you know at this point I I'm standing there 'cause then the kids are screaming (*sniff*)

VI. CRISIS

Stanza I. Proposal

I1. you know 35 40 seconds later

I2. he strolls in with the big bouquet of roses

I3. and comes in front of the room

I4. and gets on his knee

I5. I say yes (*laughing*)

I6. and everybody's ↑cheering ↑

Stanza J. Postproposal reactions

J1. and the next thing all the other teachers are pouring in my classroom

J2. and .. and they're all like hugging me

J3. and taking pictures and

C: ↑ taking pictures↑

J4. my principal of course knowing ahead of time this is going to happen

C: oh my god

J5. like taking pictures

J6. that I have this

J7. I should show you when we have a visual meeting

J8. I have pictures this

J9. of the of kids and me and

C: oh that's meeting two I will be seeing those in meeting two don't you worry

J10. and I'm crying

J11. and my coworkers are crying

VII. EVALUATION

Stanza K. School support

K1. and this is I know this this is funny

K2. because in one of the things that has really stuck in my brain for a long time

K3. is WHAT other event would get that sort of outpouring in a school

K4. like they were

VIII. CODA

Stanza L. Heterosexism

L1. and at the time I didn't know words like heterosexism

L2. you know I had no notion of this (*laugh*)

APPENDIX X

Narrative of Rachel Marrying a Woman

Part 1. Revealing Rachel is Marrying a Woman

I. SETTING

Stanza A. Abstract

A1. so then I was done Syn 3 in December of 2003
A2. Now that was the place where I had the explicit experience of parents having an issue
A3. with it being revealed
A4. that I was getting married to a woman
A5. so and that was a nice very little small heh heh heh

Stanza B. Coming to the job (prompted by my question)

B1. yeah I'm trying to remember how
B2. how I ended up how I ended up contacting them or them contacting me
B3. to find out if they had any teaching available ..
B4. I cannot remember
B5. Yeah I might have just called 'em up
B6. And said I'm an experienced Hebrew school teacher do you have a spot
B7. I was just trying to remember if someone recommended them.
B8. Or I was cannot remember right now why started there

Stanza C. Orientation to chronology

C1. but I went there and at this point I knew that Joy and I were gonna have our wedding ceremony in October
C2. so that's right in here
C3. This is GAY wedding

II. CATALYST

Stanza D. Rationale to come out and reveal wedding

D1. yeah ok so when I was interviewing with them there
D2. I told them that I was going to be getting married
D3. and that it was gonna be you know right smack in the middle of this job
D4. and so I might be gone for a few days
D5. and I wanted to let them know
D6. and they said oh you know it's not a problem
D7. and so because I already knew that was going to be coming up
D8. I I knew that I wanted it out on the table before I even started there
D9.'cause I didn't want the same situation I'd had at the last place where it was well it's D10. probably gonna be ok
D11. for the most part
D12. but I don't know
D13. and I don't really feel like dealing that right now
D14. I just wanted it out there

Stanza E. Administration reaction

E1. so I told the cantor who was acting as the director
E2. and one of the rabbis
E3. and they said oh there's absolutely no issue um you know

E4. there's no reason to worry about that
E5. and yeah if you you know if your students are going to be seventh graders
E6. and if you know they ask you about it
E7. there's no reason that you shouldn't just say
E8. well y' you know by the way this is the way that it happens to be
E9. and you know it shouldn't really be an issue
E10. you shouldn't you know sit there and discuss a lot
E11. but it's you know there's no reason to hide it or anything
E12. so they were perfectly supportive and reasonable
E13. and had no issues with it

III. CRISIS

Stanza F. Reveal to students

F1. So I started teaching there
F2. and um when it came to be a couple of weeks before the wedding
F3. I said something like
F4. well you know I'm not going to be here this week
F5. so this is what you are going to be doing with the sub
F6. and something like that
F7. and and so one of the kids said well why not
F8. you know what are you doing
F9. and I said I'm getting married
F10. and um and one or a few of the kids said
F11. oh well what's your husband's name gonna be
F12. or something like that
F13. and I said and I said something along the lines of
F14. um well actually um I am getting married to a woman
F15. and her name is Joy
F16. um and something about you know we're not really gonna talk about that a lot
F17. but just so you know
F18. and and then tried to you know just go on with the material //

IV. EVALUATION

Stanza G. Rationale for action

G1. so I did basically exactly what they had recommended to me
G2. and you know I felt pretty fine with doing that
G3. since I felt like I had the the um uh administrative support //
G4. so that was what I said

V. CRISIS

Stanza H. Student reaction

H1. so and I could tell when I said it that uh a few of the boys that were kind of sitting in the back
H2. got they kind of got like [noise]
H3. you know really surprised looks
H4. and they looked at each other
H5. and they were snickering and giggling and
H6. um and you know I kind of expected that
H7. at least that //

H8. yeah they're twelve or whatever
H9. I mean sure
H10. so you know that that didn't really phase me a lot
H11. it was um
H12. I mean I'd prefer to live in a world where they they would do that
H13. but eh- it was certainly not outside of what I expected //

Stanza I. Aftermath of reveal

I1. so then after that point
I2. um several of the boys in the class had continual behavior issues
I3. they just um they would just sit in the back
I4. and you could tell they weren't paying attention
I5. and they never participated
I6. and asked questions
I7. and they were writing notes to each other
I8. and just you know being disruptive
I9. and eh- just all the typical whatever behavior issues you end up with with twelve year I10. olds in in a class
I11. And truthfully they'd been a little bit like that before
I12. It wasn't like the you know the children that sat there
I13. you know writing down every word I said
I14. all of a sudden were acting up
I15. It was These were the kind of kids that you weren't really surprised f- for them to be I16. that way anyway //

Stanza J. Again seeking administrative support

J1. So but after a couple weeks of it being particularly um you know getting a little worse
J2. and I mean just not really being able to get anywhere
J3. um in the classroom with with me discussing it with them
J4. or you know I just felt like I had kind of lost uh lost the ability to
J5. to um keep them under control
J6. I decided that I was gonna to call the parents
J7. and I had gone in and talked to the um school director the cantor
J8. and he agreed oh sure you know yeah I think a call to the parents would be reasonable J9. and and um //

Stanza K. Prepare to talk to parent

K1. so you know I I got all kind of prepared,
K2. It's like I I think I made notes
K3. you know these are the kind of behaviors that I've been seeing
K4. and how can we work on this together
K5. so that he can get the most out of his experience kind of thing
K6. and so I called the parent
K7. you know having my nice little (heh heh) prepared thing
K8. just having no idea what I was gonna encounter when I called //

Stanza L. Parent reaction

L1. so I called this woman up
L2. and I told her we're having some behavior issues
L3. these are the kind of things that are happening and

L4. and this was several years ago so you know I don't remember any exact words but
L5. she basically said well um you know it's not it's not ok that he's acting like that
L6. but I don't really think
L7. I know that he and several of the other boys don't have any respect for you
L8. and I don't really think that's their fault
L9. or something like that (heh heh heh - laugh) //

VI. EVALUATION

Stanza M. Internal reaction

M1. And um and so you know I was starting to get a clue where this was going
M2. And and I'm just you know I've never really encountered this in in this particular M3. situation before
M4. so I'm thinking w what am I supposed to do
M5. you know I was twenty-two years old too at the time
M6. so um ..

VII. CRISIS

Stanza N. Recounting conversation

N1. so I said uh you know I tried to ask a little bit more
N2. and I'm saying so you know are you talking about the fact that
N3. I revealed that I was getting married and eh-
N4. and I don't remember the I think we probably had the entire conversation without the words gay or lesbian ever coming up
N5. but wa- it became very clear what she was talking about she said something like you N6. know some personal information was revealed to them that they're not old enough or mature enough to handle
N7. that you know that twelve year old shouldn't be knowing about this kind of stuff
N8. or something like that

Stanza O. Invoke support from administration

O1. Um and so uh- the only thing I really had to say in my defense at that point
O2. because I hadn't dealt with this kind of thing a lot before
O3. was that I had the full backing of the rabbi and the cantor
O4. before I did that
O5. and that it had b- had been discussed
O6. and I had been told explicitly that there was no issue with me sharing that information with the class
O7. I didn't have any words at that point to defend myself on any kind of moral or any other kind of grounds
O8. I just knew that at least I had that in my pocket
O9. that my bosses told this was ok

Stanza P. Parent reaction to administrative support

P1. So that's what I told her
P2. and she said well I guess I'm going to have to discuss that with them
P3. because I disagree with that
P4. and I don't think that twelve year olds should have that kind of information
P5. they're not ready for that
P6. and they're not mature enough to handle this kind of thing
P7. and just all that kind of language //

Stanza Q. Return to administration with feeling they'd handle it

Q1. So you know we ended the conversation
Q2. and um .. I don't remember if we went straight you know at that minute to the cantor's office
Q3. or if I went home with it
Q4. and told him you know a couple days later
Q5. I I can't remember
Q6. but I do remember that when I told him
Q7. um about the conversations he was uh he was surprised
Q8. um that this woman had reacted that way
Q9. and offended //
Q10. and he said you know absolutely you have our full support
Q11. there you did everything as we discussed
Q12. there's no issue with that
Q13. there's no reason that you should be treated that way um
Q14. and you know when I told him some of the words that this parent had used he said
Q15. Oh this woman is truly offensive //
Q16. I mean he was really he was like offended on my behalf
Q17. so that was very comforting to me
Q18. and I therefore (heh laugh) naively thought that that meant
Q19. that the situation was going to be handled
Q20. because I guess I uh
Q21. I kind of assumed from the way that he was talking
Q22. that that meant that he was going to fix it you know
Q23. but then I discovered that
Q24. and and I even think that they really told me that
Q25. I think they said that you know we're going to have to discuss this with h- with her
Q26. and we're going to have to deal with this and fix it
Q27. 'cause that's not appropriate

VIII. EVALUATION

Stanza R. Reaction to phone call

R1. Um so then after of course after that happened
R2. I was very uncomfortable even coming to that building
R3. because I didn't know is she the only parent that feels this way
R4. and I think I remember her saying that you know she had kind of discussed it with some of the other mothers
R5. with that had these boys in the class
R6. and they all were kind of in this little consensus
R7. that that was inappropriate
R8. um so I didn't know if these were the only homophobic Jews in the synagogue
R9. or if or you know if everyone felt that way
R10. and how many people cared
R11. and how many people knew
R12. and you know all of a sudden this was a very uncomfortable environment for me //

IX. RESOLUTION

Stanza S. Realizing there's no follow up

S1. and then on top of that
S2. I'd never really heard anything more
S3. they didn't come to me and say ok here's what we're going to do
S4. we'd like to have a meeting with you and the parents and us
S5. and we'd all like to sit down and talk this out
S6. so that we can uh you know defend you and explain to these parents why this is ridiculous
S7. and um or and they never said well you know
S8. we had a phone conversation with the parents
S9. and told them that they're way out of line
S10and I just I never really got any follow up. //

Stanza T. feeling inaction – relying on system that didn't help

T1. and I (heuh-sigh) I can't remember
T2. 'cause I feel like I I might've I I
T3. I think that I would have asked at least once more you know
T4. has anything been done about this?
T5. And I can't remember if they ever said well yeah we talked to her about it or something
T6. but it was like I never really got a true follow-up
T7. and I never got to um
T8. I never got to personally deal with it with the parents anymore beyond that
T9. um so whether they might have called those parents and told them
T10. they were out of line that's possible
T11. but it never filtered back to me to where I felt like the situation had been handled
T12. where I felt like I was in a supportive environment //

Stanza U. To quit or not

U1. so um I even told them at one point that I was considering just quitting //
U2. um and I I think I was starting to feel pretty bad about myself and my career
U3. 'cause I had just quit another jo::b (laugh) and now I was here for just a couple of
U4. months and I was like well maybe I should leave this one too and
U5. so I ended up just deciding that I would just stick out that semester
U6. because we were going to be moving in the spring anyway to Utah
U7. so I just thought well I'll just finish it out
U8. so that I don't have this track record of just quitting //

Stanza V. Realizing it wouldn't be fixed

V1. but it was just very that was just the way it stayed
V2. for the rest of the semester
V3. was I never really knew where things were
V4. and n- nothing was ever really um fixed
V5. the way that I had naively thought that it would be at first (laugh) //

APPENDIX Y

Narrative of People's View of Elizabeth

Part 1. Perceptions of Elizabeth
I. SETTING
Stanza A. Four years after transition
A1. and the funniest damn thing was
A2. I didn't realize it until I think it was four years later
A3. I was in a room with a friend of mine
A4. one of my really good friends named Neal
A5. and he's I've been teaching with him
Stanza B. College friend
B1. um I said there was nobody else I knew since college but Neal
B2. I went to college with too um but I was teaching I've been teaching with Neal since I got to Pine Ridge
B3. and I knew him in college I wen- we-

Part 2. Knowing Neal in College and Pine Ridge (narrative not included)

Part 1. (continued) **Perceptions of Elizabeth**
Stanza D. Abstract
D1. um but um I uh but but I said to him we were ↑talking↓ about
D2. I I don't know wh- why we were talking about my transition or whatever
D3. but we were having a very open conversation
D4. open and frank conversation at some point
D5. and um and he made the ↑comment↓ that really opened my eyes
D6. he said that
II. CRISIS
Stanza E. Revealing transsexuality in dating
E1. oh I was dating
E2. and I was telling him that um that it was difficult .. because um
E3. because there were ther- it was difficult to know you know how people were gonna react and whatever
E4. um if I told them um uh eh
E5. it's hard to know when to tell somebody
E6. and hard to know ey- you know eh- at what point in the relationship to tell them
Stanza F. Neal's reaction
F1. and he ↑said to me
F2. and again this is the comment that really opened my eyes
F3. do you really think they don't know↑
III. EVALUATION
Stanza G. Elizabeth's reaction
G1. and I said well yeah they don't know Neal
G2. I mean that's the whole point they're freaking out when I tell them

Part 3. A date's reaction (narrative not included)

Part 1. (continued) **Perceptions of Elizabeth**
IV. RESOLUTION
Stanza J. (partial) He sees what he saw
J1. and I said …this thing and he said
J2. and so we started talking about it
J3. and that basically what he was saying when he looks at me
J4. he still sees what he saw
J5. for all those ↑years
J6. and I realized that that's the problem
V. CODA
Stanza K. Old people, new people, and Elizabeth
K1. and it was the first time that I ever started thinking about what other people saw
K2. who have known me for a long time
K3. instead of what I see
K4. and or what new people see