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NARRATI

NARRATIVE AND THE EXPLORATION OF CULTURE, SELF, AND OTHER IN TEACHERS' BOOK CLUB DISCUSSION GROUPS

By

Mary Birgit McVee

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

NARRATIVE AND THE EXPLORATION OF CULTURE, SELF, AND OTHER IN TEACHERS' BOOK CLUB DISCUSSION GROUPS

By

Mary Birgit McVee

As a result of both the recent debates over literacy and the increasing multicultural nature of our society, teachers and teacher educators are being called to question their past efforts and prepare for future directions in teaching and teacher education. In particular, some advocates of multicultural education, critical theory, and culturally relevant pedagogy argue that teachers, especially, white teachers must learn to value difference as a strength and resource to be used in curriculum and instruction rather than as a deficit to be mediated. However, for teachers to do this, they must first explore and understand their own cultural identities. This is problematic for many white teachers who often claim to be "cultureless." In adopting such a perspective, because their own culture remains transparent, the teachers fail to see how cultural biases privilege certain forms of literacy instruction and ultimately, the success of certain groups of children.

Recently narrative, and particularly autobiography, has been touted within educational circles as a means for teachers to explore their own identities and their perceptions of others as well as a way to explore their own knowledge, experiences, beliefs and theories about teaching. Although past research on narrative in education has revealed interesting and important insights into the lives of teachers, it has for the most part, privileged content over consideration of forms and function of narrative. Additionally, few of these studies have focused on narratives told in conversational context. The

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following study extends past research by carefully considering what teachers tell or write stories about, how they craft those stories and how those stories function. These questions are researched in the context of teachers' discussions and written response to autobiographical literature and academic writings related to literacy. These texts were chosen to surface issues of culture, race, and identity within a masters course on "Culture, Literacy, and Autobiography."

In analyzing the narratives, I found that teacher's stories change across time with multiple retellings allowing teachers to position themselves where they have opportunity to explore issues of race and culture. Analysis also reveals that not all narratives serve the function of furthering explorations of self, other, and culture. Some narratives reify stereotypes and positions. Additionally, I found that adopting the stance of a teacher-researcher was important in revealing how teacher educators can support narrative exploration for their students.

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This work is dedicated to Zhang Jian Hua, Zachary, and Jaden whose love, care, support, and patience made this all possible. And to my parents Marlene and Charles McVee whose unconditional love and support has allowed me to undertake many wonderful journeys far beyond my Montana home.

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For the completion of this work, I am indebted to Jian, my wonderful husband. Without your support this undertaking would not have been possible. Thank you for encouraging me to complete my Masters and go on for this Ph.D. Had you known how many hours you would spend cooking, cleaning and watching babies, you may have chosen differently! For Zachary and Jaden thank you for being patient all those weekends and nights I was away from home. To our families in Montana and China, my thanks for being patient with our being so far away and coming home so seldom.

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[	overlap
/	short p
//	long p
bold	stresse
ooo	elonga
...	dangli
(?)	speake
???	uninte
\	falling
/	rising

LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Transcription Conventions

[	overlapping speech
/	short pause (less than 1 second)
//	long pause (more than one second)
bold	stressed for emphasis
ooo	elongated vowel sounds
...	dangling sentence, feeling of more to come
(?)	speaker unidentified
???	unintelligible speech
\	falling intonation (marked over a word or phrase)
/	rising intonation (marked over a word or phrase)

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

There is no theory that is not a fragment carefully prepared of some autobiography.

Paul Valery[1]

Literacy and the Contemporary Sociocultural Context

Cultural identity has always been a particularly problematic issue for Americans (Howarth, 1980); it has been a defining question for public education since the days of Horace Mann. Quoting F. Scott Fitzgerald in The Crack-Up, Sayre (1980) notes that "France was a land, England was a people, but America, having about it still that quality of the idea, was harder to utter....It was a willingness of heart " (p. 149) He concludes with the bold statement: "America is an idea" (p. 155). There is much debate about what "idea" America is about these days. Debates over affirmative action, charter schools and vouchers to equalize educational opportunities, and the relevance and place of bilingual and multicultural education reflect conflicting ideas of how we define ourselves as a people and a culture. In addition, in the context of this broader cultural, social, and historical context much media attention has focused on the shifting demographics in the U. S. and how after 2000, Caucasians will no longer be a majority. Other events still recent in our collective past-- O. J. Simpson, Rodney King, the Oklahoma City bombing, legislation against affirmative action and bilingual education, and violence in schools--have raised questions such as, What does it mean to be an American? What does it mean to live in America? How can we educate our children so they will make our democratic society a more equitable place? Who are we as a people? And who do we want to be?

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[1]Preface, Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, J. Olney, (Ed.), 1980.

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Another way of phrasing such questions is to ask: What are the stories we want to tell about ourselves? Whose stories[2]will we allow and whose will we defer?

Grand Narratives

At the heart of these questions are the grand narratives, the all-encompassing stories, that represent us and our culture. These narratives have become part of our national landscape and identity. They are part of the "primary discourse" (Gee, 1989a) of an American culture that privileges its White European heritage. Such master stories are not reproduced by articulating them as "a story" with a character, setting, and plot. Like culture these stories infuse themselves into our lives, and we internalize them based on experience, stories, face-to-face interactions, and media information, and other events encountered in our daily lives. Shirley Brice Heath (1997) refers, for example, to the grand narratives about youth culture that are undergirded by our media: In the 1990's young people in our society are self-centered, undisciplined and think only of themselves. Based on research she

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[2]I am using the terms: "story" and "narrative" interchangeably at various points throughout this dissertation. I am aware that some scholars and researchers make distinctions between these words. For example, Gudmundsdottir (1995) provides this summary: "Structuralist literary theorists make a clear distinction between narrative, story , and discourse (Culler, 1975). A narrative has two parts: story and discourse (Chatman, 1978). The story includes the events, characters, settings and so on that constitute the content of a narrative. The discourse is the telling, expression, presentation of the story...The end product is a narrative, an organized text....(p. 25). Others, particularly researchers in the social sciences, have adopted a more flexible definition of narrative, for example, narrative as "a series of verbal, symbolic, or behavioral acts sequenced for the purpose of 'telling someone else that something happened'" (Herrenstein-Smith, in Gudmundsdottir, 1995, p. 25). Much of the analysis in the following chapters deals directly with different definitions and constructions of personal narratives or personal stories. When necessary I have given specific definitions, but readers should be aware that throughout this work, I use the terms "narrative" and "story" interchangeably.

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conducted in youth clubs in urban areas, Heath takes issue with this representation, this story about young men and women in our society. Heath refers to the "'am'ness" and "'are'ness" that is a function of these grand narratives, the ways in which these narratives shape lives and identities.

For most of us who are teachers or teacher educators, these grand narratives and controversies surrounding them may seem far removed from our daily lives. Or, we may simply feel overwhelmed in asking ourselves: Where do we start? How do we begin to critique, to challenge stories so sedimented in history? Instead we may choose to focus our attention on students and classrooms as we attempt to address the increasing linguistic, cultural, and ethnic diversity we are encountering in classrooms.
In contrast to the students who increasingly attend our schools, the teaching force remains predominantly white, female, and Euro American. Thus teachers are more and more often teaching children who come from different backgrounds than their own.

For many teachers, debates about culture may seem disembodied from their own experience. For example, white teachers often feel that they are "just Americans" and do not belong to any particular culture or race. In addition, they often think of schools and classrooms and "ungendered" places where their identity as women, or the gender of their students, is not an issue to be considered as long as the teacher adopts a stance of "treating everybody the same" or "being equal." However, it is unlikely that teachers will be able to assist students in examining their own cultural and literate practices or to prepare students to live in a multicultural society until teachers have a sense of themselves as participants in cultural practices of literacy. This awareness is of critical import in contemporary U. S. society when students come from diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds.

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Literacy, Culture, and Autobiography

It is critical that teachers come to recognize that literacy encompasses more than ways of reading and writing; literacy is a cultural artifact and tool. Literate practices are not limited to print decoding or the cognitive strategies accompanying comprehension or composition. We must expand our views to realize that "literacy acquisition, particularly reading instruction, holds implications for cultural transmission, that is, for how knowledge is transferred, reproduced, and transformed" (p. 288, Roth in Ferdman, 1990). We must strive to understand what this means for students who are confronted with multiple and often conflicting interpretations of literacy. Yet how are we to do this if we as teachers do not recognize how culture is intertwined with our own literate practices? The answer, in part, may lie with narrative--stories of self and other--our own literate pasts. Stories of becoming literate--of educational change or boundary crossings--allow us to examine culture in every day life, not just to think of culture as a construct existing in exotic locales (Florio-Ruane, 1997). Such stories function as a means of self-definition and self-representation (Soliday, 1994).

Recently, teacher educators have begun to propose alternative models of teacher development which foreground the use of autobiography, both by published authors and by teachers themselves (see for example, Au, 1996; Florio-Ruane with deTar, in preparation; Florio-Ruane, Raphael, Glazier, McVee, & Wallace, 1997; Soliday, 1994), as one means to encourage teachers to explore issues of culture, self and other. Such an approach relies heavily on the power of narrative, the power of story. However, this process of exploring issues of culture and identity is not easy as participants can find it difficult to engage in discussions of narratives which address difficult issues , for example, race or gender (Glazier, McVee, Wallace, Shellhorn, Florio-Ruane,

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& Raphael, in press), and narratives can foster both connection and disconnection for participants (McVee, 1998). And, as Soliday notes, this process of how stories help develop a "cultural sense of the literate self" is not well understood (p. 513), even though there are numerous studies of narrative in education.

Previous studies on teacher narrative have made important contributions to educational research by focusing primarily on narrative content as evidence for beliefs that constitute a knowledge base for teaching (Connelly & Clandinin, 1986), a means of planning, understanding and interpreting curriculum (Egan, 1986; Connelly & Clandinin, 1988), or as means of understanding the beliefs and theories that shape teachers' practice (Gitlin & Meyers, 1993; Goodson & Cole, 1993). However, few of these studies have focused on the relationship between teachers' narratives and beliefs about literacy and its relationship to cultural identity. With few exceptions (see Lacey, 1991; Florio-Ruane, et al., 1997; Swidler, 1995), most of this research has not explored narratives as a social performance. Thus it has privileged content over close analysis of the forms and function of narrative (Atkinson, 1990; Riessman, 1993). Additionally, the previous studies have paid little attention to the role that teacher educators or other participants play in courses where narrative may be a primary pedagogical method.

Sociolinguists, folklorists, and psychologists (e.g. Tannen 1989; Bauman, 1986; Polkinghorne, 1991) have argued that narratives are social performances created within social contexts, contexts which include a teller's relationship with listeners/readers. Narratives thus function to identify or position both teller and audience in relation to one another. They can also serve as means by which people alternatively reify and reinvent social reality. In privileging content, researchers risk "ignoring the complex interrelations

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between the individual, social, and textual" necessary for "understanding the development and deployment of oral and written discourse" (Michaels, 1991, p.305). The purpose of the following research study is to provide close analysis of the social performances in terms of their content, form and function to help us understand how telling stories of cultural experience may educate teachers by furthering our understanding of the complex interactions involving culture, narrative, self and other.

Overview of the Study

As a teacher who has worked with students of diverse cultural, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds, I am cognizant of the many challenges that currently face teachers. As a teacher educator, I wonder about how I can help prepare teachers see diversity as an advantage rather than a problem to be mitigated. Unlike many of the teachers I work with, I have had the advantage of spending a lengthy amount of time immersed in other cultures. Although my own public school education was in an isolated rural setting in Montana--a fairly homogeneous environment--I had the opportunity after attending university to live for six years in mainland China and Hong Kong. This experience taught me to examine my own cultural identity and to think about how I viewed my self and others around me. Traveling in Asia further enhanced the opportunities I had for interacting with many cultures, and challenged my thinking about cultural identity and issues of how we position ourselves and those around us with respect to culture. As an English teacher, I was particularly interested in how issues of language, literacy, and culture interact. It was these broad issues that drew me toward graduate studies and eventually led to the dissertation topic explored here.

Unfortunately, most teachers do not have the luxury to spend extended periods of time experiencing first hand the cultural contexts and

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communities of the students they teach. However, story offers us an opportunity to travel beyond our limited views of self and other, explore connection and disconnection, to cross boundaries without crossing oceans. More sophisticated understandings of our own cultural identities as teachers enables us to better serve our students because we become more aware of how culture, race, and gender may affect their lives and learning. As a teacher educator working with literacy teachers, who are predominantly female and Euro American, I set out to explore how literacy teachers might learn more about culture and to encourage them to examine their views of self and other in the context of a literacy masters course for practicing teachers.

The data presented here were collected during the fall of 1997 while I was instructor for a literacy masters course, "Culture, Literacy, and Autobiography" at a midwestern university. Participants in this elective course were six practicing teachers and one student who had been teaching in Alaska and had recently returned to the area who was preparing to return to school full-time. The purpose of the course was to read and respond to autobiographies by published authors to encourage teachers to explore issues of culture, self and other as these relate to literate practices. This included having the teachers (participants) respond to narratives shared orally in the class and narratives written by their peers. Using Book Club (see McMahon & Raphael, 1997; Raphael, Pardo, Highfield, & McMahon, 1997) as a model for discussion and drawing on a model of teacher development outlined by Florio-Ruane & Raphael (see Florio-Ruane & deTar, in preparation; Florio-Ruane, et al., 1997), teachers read autobiographies or autobiographical fiction by ethnic minorities or white teachers who had examined their own practice. The autobiographies were alternated weekly with discussions of research articles related to culture and literacy.

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I focused my attention on the group interactions around narratives that were shared orally in class discussion or discussion of literature and also around narratives written in student work. Initially, three broad questions framed the study:

1. How do written and oral narratives function to create, sustain, or constrain a learning-oriented dialogue among participants? What part do the participants play in these interactions?
2. What part does the teacher educator play in discussions constructed around narrative?
3. What do these narratives reveal about the participants' learning about identity, culture and views of self and other?

As I undertook the study and began collecting and analyzing data, I refined these questions as will be explained in the following chapters.

Chapter Overview

I begin Chapter Two by overviewing the increasing diversity in our national context and its importance to teachers. I then discuss various representations of culture and how narrative can assist teachers in exploring culture. I also describe the theoretical perspectives that framed this investigation including perspectives from Vygotsky (1978;1986) , Polkinghorne (1988, 1991) and Davies and Harrè (1990). I conclude with an overview of the methods and data collection procedures and preview the methods used in analyzing the data.

Chapters Three, Four and Five present three cases of narrative analysis organized around three course participants Ellie, Cathy, and Regan[3] . Chapter Three explores how narratives change as they are retold over time. During the course, Ellie retold one narrative, in oral and written form, six times

[3]For the purposes of confidentiality, pseudonyms are used for all participants.

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Chapter Four focuses on Cathy and one particular narrative which she introduced to the class in written form but later had opportunity to share as an oral narrative. I analyze Cathy's narratives and the discussion of group participants leading up to and following her oral retelling.

The fifth and final analysis chapter focuses on Regan who was something of an "outlier" in this data set. As a recent graduate who was returning to graduate school after an experience working with native Tlingit Indians in Alaska, Regan was unlike the other participants in the group. The stories that Regan shared with the group were also unusual, often in form, content, and function. This final analysis chapter presents Regan's narratives and explores her role in the group.

In Chapter Six I explore implications of the study for education and in particular for literacy instruction. In addition I focus on my role as teacher educator and what I have learned as well as what we can learn from Ellie, Cathy, and Regan about how narrative functions in powerful ways to assist teachers in their exploration of culture.

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CHAPTER TWO

CULTURE, NARRATIVE, THEORY AND METHODS

Introduction

Linguistic, Cultural, and Ethnic Diversity

As the U.S. becomes an increasingly diverse society, teachers and teacher educators are being called to question their past efforts and prepare for future directions in teaching and teacher education. In particular, there is growing concern about how a non-diverse teaching force--one that is 90% female, Euro American and predominantly middle-class (Darling-Hammond & Sclan, 1996)--can prepare students for a multicultural society and address the needs of students who are increasing diverse in cultural background, ethnicity, and mother tongue. It is especially important for literacy teachers who are responsible for educating students in ways of reading, writing, and thinking that undergird democratic ideals.

As we enter a century where our schools will be ever more diverse in language and culture, educators appear to be taking seriously our charge to educate "other people's children" (Delpit, 1995). Authors of recently published books, articles, and conference presentations use key words such as: cultural and linguistic diversity, culturally relevant pedagogy, home-school connections, and multicultural literature to situate their work. Although most educators are in agreement that teachers and teacher educators must find ways to value all languages and cultures in the classroom, not just that of mainstream society, there is also opposition, for example, to adopting multicultural curricula. Some groups are opposed to multicultural education, arguing that educational and economic success depends on assimilation rather than on maintenance of linguistic or cultural diversity within the school and classroom. And, while this assimilationist view is not

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a new one in U. S. educational history, it has recently had an apparent resurgence. For example, recent challenges to bilingual education such as California's Proposition 227, which mandates intensive English-only instruction demonstrate how difficult it can be to celebrate a multicultural, multilingual America. Those backing Proposition 227 argue that in order to be successful, immigrants, and particularly children of those immigrants, must learn English. To accomplish this they must be immersed in English-only environments as soon as possible (Proposition 227, 1999).

Increasingly not just education, but in particular, literacy education has come under the scrutiny of policy makers. In recent years, many literacy experts have faced off against one another and sided with or against state legislatures in passing measures that mandate particular literacy practices, for example, the teaching of phonics. In addition to such mandates from state legislatures, districts are increasingly requiring teachers to use skill-based programs such as "Success for All." Often implicit in the requirements and programs imposed upon teachers is the notion of both literacy and culture are monolithic, static practices which locate literacy in the individual. They fail to consider, in Ferdman's words, that "In a culturally heterogeneous society, literacy ceases to be a characteristic inherent solely in the individual. It becomes an interactive process that is constantly defined and renegotiated, as the individual transacts with the socioculturally fluid surroundings" (1990, p. 187). This view portrays both culture and literacy as dynamic and interactive. From this perspective, students' cultural knowledge is seen as an asset rather than a hurdle to be overcome; students can use their "funds of knowledge" (Moll, 1992) as a powerful starting point for literacy acquisition.

Drawing on the knowledge that students posses, particularly the literate practices of their homes and communities has provided much insight

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for educators in recent decades and has assisted in the development of culturally relevant teaching practices (see for example, Heath, 1983; Au & Jordon, 1981; Moll, 1992; for a brief review see Florio-Ruane & McVee, in press). Although the previous research does attend to issues of culture which have led to some changes and improvements in policy and teaching, culture, race, and linguistic diversity persist as challenges to our educational system and its responsibility to educate all children. The increasing disparities--in race, social class, level of educational attainment, and mother tongue--between teachers and their pupils and families increase the complexity of education in a multicultural society (Florio-Ruane, 1997; Sleeter & Grant, 1999) Thus while some progress has been made, we must continue to seek out, in both research and educational reform, ways of attending to culture. For example, Ladson-Billings (1994) writes: "While it is realized that African Americans make up a distinct *racial* group, the acknowledgment that this racial group has a distinct *culture* is still not recognized. It is presumed that African American children are exactly like white children but just need a little extra help" (emphasis in the original, p. 9). Not only is it critical for teachers to consider their students' cultures, but teachers must examine and uncover the ways in which their own beliefs and instructional practices are situated in their culture, and to explore their beliefs about students and class, ethnicity, and linguistic diversity (Banks, 1998).

Culture and Cultural Identity

Here, I am using the term culture, not in the static where culture is associated with "facts" about various people such as holidays, foods and festivals. Instead, as Clifford and Marcus (1986) write, "culture, and our views of 'it,' are produced historically, and are actively contested" (p. 18). As such culture is dynamic, not static and does not fit into neat categories for

description. They go on to state that "If 'culture' is not an object to be described, neither is it a unified corpus of symbols and meanings that can be definitely interpreted. Culture is contested, temporal, and emergent" (p. 19). According to another contemporary anthropologist Renato Rosaldo (1993), in this view of culture as process, "Culture lends significance to human experience by selecting from and organizing it. It refers broadly to the forms through which people make sense of their lives, rather than more narrowly to the opera or art museums....all human conduct is culturally mediated" (p. 26). The all-pervasiveness of culture implies that for many of us, it is transparent; we do not become aware of culture until some invisible border is crossed and our order of perceiving things is disturbed.

Rosaldo writes, for example, that "A classic concept of culture seeks out the 'Mexican' or the 'Anglo-American,' and grants little space to the mundane disturbances that so often erupt during border crossings" (p. 29). This process of essentialization is one of the pitfalls of autobiography (Zuss, 1997). The "classic norms of anthropology" have contributed to the problem of essentialization by attending "more to the unity of cultural wholes than to their myriad crossroads and borderlands" (Rosaldo, 1989, p. 30). In portraying this classic view of culture and its essentializing nature, Rosaldo, using examples from the Philippines, Mexico, and the U. S. describes how in each national context the group that sees itself as "cultureless" has a great deal of institutional power; those groups that have "authentic culture" wield less power. He elaborates in the following extended quote:

> In practice, the emphasis on difference results in a peculiar ratio: As the "other" becomes more culturally visible, the "self" becomes correspondingly less so. Social analysts, for example often assert that subordinate groups have an authentic culture at the same time that

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they mock their own upper-middle-class professional culture. In this view subordinate groups speak in vibrant, fluent ways, but upper-middle-class people talk like anemic academics. Yet analysts rarely allow the ratio of class and culture to include power. Thus they conceal the ratio's darker side: the more culture one has, the less power one wields. If "they" have an explicit monopoly on authentic culture, "we" have an unspoken one on institutional power. This ration's dark side underscores the urgency of rethinking social analysis in such a manner that at once consider the interplay of culture and power and makes "ourselves" more culturally visible" (p. 202).

The implication of Rosaldo's observation for teachers in profound. The many white teachers who often believe they "do not have a culture" (see Frankenberg, 1993; King, 1991; Florio-Ruane, et al., 1997; McIntyre, 1997), are likely unaware that their definitions of literacy and choices of literacy instruction are colored by their own experience. For these teachers culture is transparent. For example, they may feel that their role is simply to make pedagogical and curricular decisions, without realizing, in Cazden and Mehan's words, that "Like all culturally-based behavior, classroom behavior is guided by rules or norms established by convention, which means they are implicitly taught, tacitly agreed upon, and cooperatively maintained" (1989, p. 50). Becoming aware that they "have culture," that what they learn, know, and teach is shaped by and embedded with social norms and cultural practices, takes teachers a step closer to examining the interplay of culture and power in their classrooms.

Teachers Exploring Culture

The relationships between culture, language and power are critical for literacy teachers to explore. Attending to these issues encourages teachers to

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reflect on how literate practices and forms of literacy instruction are bound by the historical, cultural and social contexts within which they are carried out and by the social cultural and historical lenses through which individuals view literacy. The recognition of literacy as a culturally constructed tool is a critical recognition if teachers are to prepare their students to live in a culturally heterogeneous society.

Unfortunately, the culturally situated beliefs and values of many teachers go unexamined as they and teacher educators focus on the tools needed to conduct literacy instruction on a day to day basis. For teachers, such tools (e.g., how to conduct a writers' workshop, teach phonics and word recognition skills, to assist students in developing comprehension strategies) are of critical importance, but these tools and their appropriation by students for authentic purposes must be understood culturally as well. These tools and their appropriation by teachers are mediated by culture (Rosaldo, 1993; Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991).

Because teachers' cultural backgrounds increasingly differ from those of their students, it is important that teachers consider how culture mediates their own beliefs about literate practices and literacy instruction and how this affects students' opportunities to learn. For literacy researchers who work with teachers this means that we must explore our own positionings and understanding of self and other, and as teacher educators, we must realize that the study of self and other is a critical undertaking for both preservice and inservice teachers who often assume that "treating all students the same" or being "colorblind" (Paley, 1979; Cochran-Smith, 1995) is the answer. But, as Ladson-Billings (1994) explains, colorblindness is a limited response. She argues that it is only when teachers have explored and gained understanding of their own cultural identities can we expect teachers to "capitalize on

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students' individual, group, and cultural differences" (p. 11) in order to engage in culturally relevant pedagogy. To engage in culturally relevant pedagogy means finding ways to empower "students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (p. 18). To engage in culturally relevant pedagogy also means that educators must recognize the inequities possible in their classrooms and in society. Such recognition depends, according to Au (1998) "on an understanding of their own cultural identities as well as the cultural identities of their students" (p. 308). This is why study of teachers' own cultural experience is foundational to learning to teach diverse youngsters.

Au (1996) has helped her students who are preservice teachers explore issues of primary language and ethnicity by scaffolding their development of literacy portfolios. Soliday (1994) suggests that one means of exploring issues of culture and literacy in our own lives is through the use literacy narratives that explore our own literacy learning. These literacy narratives can assist students, particularly minority students, in exploring the deep cultural influence language has in their daily life (Au, 1998). Others (see Florio-Ruane, et al., 1997) have explored connections between literacy and culture through teachers' discussions of multicultural literature in Book Club discussion groups. Each of the previous projects relies upon the use of autobiographical narratives to explore issues of self and other and ultimately of culture as related to literacy.

Exploring Culture Through Narrative

Narrative, and language in general, function as tools which mediate teachers' understandings and beliefs about culture and beliefs about literacy and literacy instruction (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1998). As such, narrative acts as both a means of exploring, expressing, and organizing meaning-

making (Polkinghorne, 1988; Bruner, 1990; Wertsch, 1990). A social constructivist perspective is useful in exploring teachers' interactions because it emphasizes "active engagement in processes of meaning-making, text comprehension as a window on these processes, and the varied nature of knowledge, especially knowledge developed as a consequence of membership in a given social group" (Au, 1998, p. 299). In the reading, writing, and telling narratives teachers actively engage in meaning making. The texts they create, both written and oral, are windows into both how and what they learn. This knowledge, Au notes, is situated within a both social and cultural contexts. In a social constructivist perspective of learning and language, narrative holds forth the potential of scaffolding teachers' interactions and learning around volatile cultural issues such as race, gender, class, and culture.

Scholars in a variety of disciplines (e.g. literary criticism, psychology, folklore) have addressed issues of narrative and suggested that narrative, in particular autobiographical narrative, is an effective means of encouraging teachers to explore their own cultural identities and additionally, to help them understand and explore the cultural identities of their students.

In the field of education, narrative, particularly personal narrative or autobiography, have been highly touted for all that it can do for teachers in encouraging them to construct knowledge (Nespor & Barylske, 1991), in helping them with in curriculum theorization and planning (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988; Egan, 1986; Pinar & Grumet, 1976) and teaching and learning (McEwan & Egan, 1995), in helping them explore constructions of self and other (Witherell & Noddings, 1991), but few have used narrative as a form of inquiry into culture. Concomitantly, few researchers and theorists attend to the linguistic aspects of narrative (Cook-Gumperz, 1993; Turski, 1994). There is an overemphasis on the extracting of content to the detriment of

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examining issues of context (Swidler, 1995). Even ethnographers are apt to neglect examination of story forms while placing heavy reliance on the information contained within narratives of culture (Atkinson, 1990). Given the relative obscurity of research on narrative's forms, functions, and contexts, it is not surprising that very little educational research has focused on how the various forms that narrative takes in teacher discussion groups and how narrative form and content function within conversational settings.

Sociocultural Perspectives of Language and Narrative

Along with narrative theory, a social constructivist perspective (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986) will be used to frame the study and to investigate how teachers' stories about--and in response to--cultural experiences might serve teacher development. Vygotsky argues that all learning is socially-mediated and must be viewed within its social, historical, and cultural contexts--a point of critical importance when studying teachers' explorations of self and other. For Vygotsky, learning occurs first as social or *interpersonal* processes between individuals and then as psychological or *intrapersonal* process. In the context of this study, teachers are engaged in a course in which they read published autobiographical narratives by writers from diverse cultural and social backgrounds. They respond to these autobiographies primarily within book clubs in which they are encouraged to talk and write about the texts, both examples of socially mediated learning. In this context, the offering of personal vignettes in response to the autobiographical texts is not discouraged, but rather elicited.

The social context allows for the creation of new "text" in the form of written or spoken narratives. These texts are *interpersonal* in that they are constructed around interactions with others and *intrapersonal* because they reflect and shape the internalized thought or learning of participants. As

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such, personal narrative is a "tool" that mediates human activity by organizing and interpreting experience whereas the "sign" (e.g., thought) is internally focused. Although we cannot see the internal sign, we receive glimpses of it in external tool use. Therefore, both written and oral narrative, as tools, provide reflections of the internalized thought or learning of participants (Gavelek & Raphael, 1996). In other words, it is in the interplay between discourse and narrative that events are formed, and it is not just the narrative emplotment of these events that deserves important consideration. Therefore, it is critical to examine not only a story's event structure or content, but also to examine how discourse is shaped and reshaped by the individuals interacting within the groups at the level of words, phrases, imagery, and the like. (Florio-Ruane et al, 1997; Marshall, Smagorinsky, & Smith, 1995).

Narrative as Re-emplotment: The Construction of Self and Other

Activities and experiences mediated by language, culture, and the embodied nature of being play a part in construction of life narratives, an act that Polkinghorne (1991) refers to as "emplotment." The sharing of narratives, both fictional and autobiographical, enable literacy teachers to explore and understand the self. This process is not a fixed recollection of past events but an active construction of the self in past, present and into the future. Such exploration and construction of the self is important if we are to understand the self in relation to others. It is an endeavor that allows teachers to be viewed an individuals but also allows situates them within historical, social, cultural, and political contexts and acknowledges the gendered nature of teaching.

Emplotment is explains what autobiographers do when they craft their narrative. Complex events are woven into a single story, and events are

interpreted in relation to each other across time. Polkinghorne (1991) writes that "the historical and social contexts in which events take place exert influence on the understanding of the story....Although emplotment can consist of a single thread that serves to draw elements together, it often consists of multiple threads of subplots woven together into a complex and layered whole" (p. 141). Not only does emplotment apply to writers of autobiography and autobiographical fiction, it applies to the personal narratives told by group members within their small and large group discussions and to their written narratives.

Polkinghorne explains that the historical and social contexts of action influence the understanding of a story's events. This is true on two levels. First, there is the historical, social context of the story itself and the events in it, and second, there is the historical, social context of the setting where the story is told. In the latter case, the setting is the group's history--that stories are written or told within a course setting, perhaps in response to an assignment. Other elements of this setting that must be attended to are that all participants (hearer and tellers) are educators, college students, professionals, females, and of middle-class and Euro American background.

Polkinghorne (1991) cites the work of Scheibe (1986) and Crites (1986, 1987) who "linked the self-concept with narrative configuration" (p. 144). Such self- stories are dynamic, and they are also "embedded in and constructed out of a person's particular cultural environment-- that is, the specific vocabulary and grammar of its language, its 'stock of working historical conventions' and the pattern of its belief and value system" (p. 144). These ideas seem to provide insight into some ways narratives, in this case published autobiographies and personal narratives, shared in a group setting might be useful. First, the studies cited recognize that narrative is linked to

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self-identity. Second, it seems that if we are to encourage preservice and inservice teachers to think about others' cultures, ethnicities, and social position, then we must first encourage them to think about their own cultural and ethnic backgrounds, those larger landscapes within which we locate our selves.

Polkinghorne's work is useful is that he points out the relevance of exploring the past. In our group discussions of autobiography, we often make connections to texts and authors as we tell stories about our pasts. Polkinghorne notes that, "Self-knowledge is an appropriation of the past" (p. 144). He goes on to suggest that, "Disconnectedness with the past results in the loss of identity, with experience becoming no more that the mere sequence of events passing one after the other, a bare chronicle. Identity, recollected out of the past, is the depth dimension of the self that contains a person's character" (p. 144).

Narrative as Cultural Therapy and Positioning

Construction of the self and interpretation is an ongoing process, and telling the story of lives need not be a narcissist process. We draw into our narratives not just our self but the selves of others with whom we come in contact. In addition, we need not focus only on our past, but can rely on narratives to transcend temporal constraints, envisioning future prospects as well as past experiences. The process of bring one's own cultural beliefs, values, and discourse into focus and holding it up against other cultures to sharpen one's awareness of ourselves and others is a practice of "cultural therapy" (Spindler & Spindler, 1993) and has been used as a way for teachers to explore their own culture and the ways in which culture biases their relationships with children. Cultural therapy, with its intentional focus on examining one's sociocultural position, implies that it is important to pay

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attention not just to what an individual says but to how she says it and how this reflects culturally sedimented "assumptions, goals, values, beliefs, and communicative models" (p. 28).

For teachers, this requires detailed reflection of how their discourse positions both self and other. For example, in the context of teachers' discussions about culture and literacy, "one speaker can position others by adopting a story line which incorporates a particular interpretation of cultural stereotypes to which they [other participants] are 'invited' to conform, indeed are required to conform if they are to continue to converse with the first speaker in such a way as to contribute to that person's story line." (Davies, & Harrè, 1990, p. 50). As such, all participants must chose whether to engage in the perpetuation of such stereotypes (e.g. parents of poor children don't care about education), to challenge the stereotype, or to remain silent. However, as Gee indicates above, if we are functioning within our primary discourse and do not have other discourses to offer us a "meta-language," we may not even be aware of how we are positioning others or how we are being positioned by them. Because of this, teachers may respond without questioning such stereotypes. However, this does not mean that stories are meaningless or should not be shared because "conversations with other people will give rise to new stories because different people will ask different questions. In line with positioning theory, those questions can be regarded as forcing the addressee in certain positions" (p. 97, Van Langenhove & Harrè, 1993). Not only can questions cause a participant to revisit, and possibly reinterpret, her position, but the context may also encourage participants to reinterpret or revisit their interpretations of events or actions. For example, telling a story to a different set of conversational participants might mean

telling a particular story in a different way. Or having just read or heard someone else's story may assist someone in reinterpreting their own story. The revisiting of narrative events and examination of one's position in relation to those narratives, is a critical enterprise in understanding one's cultural identity and the position it represents, are phenomenon "generated in discourse" (Van Langenhove & Harrè, 1993, p. 82).

Narrative as Ethics

Examining the what and how of stories, implies attention to "narrative *as* ethics: the ethical consequences of narrating story...and the reciprocal claims binding teller, listener, witness, and reader in that process" (Newton, 1995, emphasis in the original, p. 11). In addressing a similar ethical issue in autobiography Mandel (1980) notes that telling and reading are both problematic because part of what constitutes "truth" in autobiography is the context--how intent the writer is on telling the truth of his/her life and how that truth is laid out by choice of word, style, tone, organization. Not only do the writer's assumptions underlie the narrative, but the narrative is influenced by a reader's "willingness to experience and cocreate this context that allows autobiography to speak the truth" (p. 72). Such cocreation, where reader or hearer acts as interpreter, lies at the heart of narrative ethics. It is in the act of interpretation that we see the social nature of the construction of self and the potential for re-emplotment. No self, even that within a text, is constructed outside of the social setting: "It is, finally, the sign of interpretation which identifies the reader's share in the act of telling the self to others, the dialectic of revelation and concealment, of looking home and looking away, of knowing and acknowledging...." (Newton, p. 285).

The ethical responsibilities embedded in a reader's or listener's response to narrative are problematic for teachers because the acts of reading

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or sharing stories do not in and of themselves qualify as narrative ethic. Narrative ethic requires a critical, reflective stance toward narrative. Such a stance is difficult to maintain because it is difficult to step outside of one's own discourse to think, talk, and learn in new ways (Gee, 1989a). Gee argues that primary discourses--ways of thinking, believing, valuing, communicating which we are first socialized into--often "contain implicit and explicit racism and classism" and "they cannot carry out an *authentic* criticism, because they cannot verbalize the words, acts, values, and attitudes they *use*, and they cannot mobilize explicit meta-knowledge" (emphasis in the original, p. 10). Even when attempts are made to interact with stories in critical fashion, speakers may avoid discussions of "hot-lava" topics, those topics like race or gender (Glazier, et al., in press) which speakers, through their primary discourse, have been socialized to avoid. In other cases, speakers sometimes silenced talk about difficult issues in order to maintain a group's sense of community and avoid conflict (Florio-Ruane & de Tar, 1995). Additionally, critique is limited to the extent that participants share cultural "grand narratives" which organize and bound what can be narrated as well as how it can be narrated; to critique these grand narratives requires stepping outside on one's primary discourse and mobilizing the "meta-knowledge" acquired through secondary discourses.

Narrative ethics also posits that the ethical nature of response to the text lies not just with the interpreter but with the text (oral or written) itself. Teacher educators must be aware that there are "Narratives that bind and narratives that release, 'the stories that help and the stories that hurt': in each case, texts tax readers with ethical duties " (Newton, p. 292). A current trend in narratology is to emphasize that no one story is worse or better than another (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992) but to hold such a view ignores the

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ethical nature of reading any narrative. Such a view does not acknowledge that some stories are not allowed to be told or that stories can be hurtful or helpful. It discounts the role that others have played in constructing this story leaving only the teller's interpretation. It ignores cautionary questions we must ask about all narratives: "Who is served by this story? How does this story distort, even as it represents?" (Florio-Ruane, 1996).

Methods

Course Objectives, Readings , and Discussion Groups

The data presented in the following study were collected in the context of a masters literacy course "Culture, Literacy, and Autobiography." Course participants were seven Euro-American women. All but one were experienced teachers who were teaching at the time of the course (see Table 1).

Table 1

Course Participants

Name	Grade	Teaching Setting	Students
Cass	K	Urban charter school	75% African American, socially & economically diverse
Cathy	1	Urban charter school	75% African American, socially & economically diverse
Ellie	K	Urban charter school	75% African American, socially & economically diverse
Jaime	6	Rural community	predominantly white, socially & economically diverse
Marsha	K	Urban, inner-city	predominantly African American, high poverty
Regan	multi-aged	Literacy Coalition--Urban, inner-city & migrant	African American & Latino
Toni	4	Rural community	predominantly white, socially & economically diverse

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Most worked in elementary school settings and most were working with children in the primary grades. Being white and female, these teachers were representative of 90% of the elementary school teaching force (Darling-Hammond & Sclan, 1996). As explained later in this chapter, I will focus on three participants, Ellie, Cathy, and Regan as case examples; however, the narratives and discourse of other participants will also be drawn upon as necessary.

The course was specifically designed to help teachers teach in linguistically and culturally diverse settings. In the course we used ethnic autobiography and readings about literacy and culture to explore issues of cultural and linguistic diversity, to explore the multiple views of literacy within its social and cultural contexts, to experience and practice dialogue in peer-led discussions of literature, and to explore how we perceive both ourselves and others within cultural contexts. The course was originally developed by Susan Florio-Ruane, and I adapted her syllabus of course readings and assignments (see Florio-Ruane & deTar, in preparation for details on the creation of this course). Originally, course readings consisted of ethnic autobiographies in three categories--white teachers exploring ethnicity, American-born members of "involuntary immigrant" groups (see Ogbu, 1992), and "voluntary immigrants." However, in adapting the course, I replaced the autobiography of Mike Rose (1989) with Amy Tan's (1991) The Kitchen God's Wife (see Table 2 for a listing of books/film). As a member of the Literary Circle,

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Table 2

Book Club Discussions Throughout the Semester

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Sept. 8	Paley	White Teacher
Sept. 22	Angelou	I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings
Oct. 6	Hoffman	Lost in Translation
Oct. 20	Rodriguez	Hunger of Memory
Nov. 3	Tan	The Kitchen God's Wife (Part I)
Nov. 10	Tan	The Kitchen God's Wife (Part II)
Nov. 17	Conway	The Road from Coorain
Nov. 14		Avalon (Film)

a woman's book discussion group, I had read The Kitchen God's Wife the previous year. I had been struck by how artfully Tan blurred the elements of fact and fiction. In a lecture to our university campus, Tan had addressed this blurring of the fictional world with her own history when she shared how her mother, after Tan had finished the book, had asked her how she knew about her grandmother's suicide, a family secret that Tan had imagined and written about as a "fictional" event within the text. Tan's "fictionalized biography" reveals that categories like "autobiography," "biography" and "fiction," are not mutually exclusive. Given my own interests and experiences in China, I was also interested to observe what these teachers could learn from Tan's book about Chinese history and the lives of Chinese Americans.

In addition to the autobiographical works, I also chose a set of readings related to the following themes: Implications of Culture and Ethnicity for Teachers' Work, Ethnic Autobiography, Cultural Perspectives on Teaching and Learning Literacy, Teaching and Teacher Education in Multicultural Settings, and The Role of Narrative and Dialogue in Literacy Learning, and Cultural Understanding. (A complete listing of all readings is presented in the Course Syllabus in Appendix A.)

Two articles in particular figure prominently in participants' discussions as presented in the following chapters. One is a an article by John Ogbu (1992), "Understanding Cultural Diversity and Learning," where Ogbu presents a summary of his classification of minority groups as "(a) autonomous, (b) immigrant or voluntary, and (c) castelike or involuntary" (p. 8). Ogbu also presents some strategies that African American use in adapting to school and addresses the question: "What can be done [to help minority students succeed in school]?" Another article that figures prominently in the following chapters is "A Good Place to Begin--Examining Our Personal Perspectives" Abt-Perkins and Gomez (1993). This example of practitioner research uses narratives of the authors' teaching experience as they attempted to address issues of culture in their classrooms. It was a powerful article for participants to read because it provided classroom examples of teachers' successes and their mistakes. Originally, I had anticipated focusing primarily on the discussions of the autobiographies. However, given the numerous opportunities where speakers wove narratives in and around their discussions of the research and theoretical readings, it was important to explore forms, functions, and content of narrative in both the discussions of the readings and the autobiographies.

As Florio-Ruane had also done in discussing each autobiography, we followed the Book Club model (Raphael, Goatley, McMahon, & Woodman, 1995; McMahon & Raphael, 1997). As is discussed in Florio-Ruane, et al. (1997), the merging of ethnic autobiographical context with the Book Club pedagogy was intended to support teachers' learning of book discussions, culture, and literacy. As instructor, typically I opened the initial large group discussion or First Community Share by inviting participants to talk about what they had included in their sketch books related to the books or by

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identifying themes or topics within the texts or within our preliminary discussion. This sharing time was usually followed by a brief in-class writing response either to the discussion and themes or ideas we had identified or to other issues which had interested participants. I allowed students to write on any topic related to the book or discussion; however, I would also make suggestions for writing to assist students who had difficulty deciding what to write. The writing time usually merged with a break which was necessary in this three-hour course.

Originally, I had anticipated having two peer-led book club groups, but after our first discussion of Paley with three students in one group and four in the other, the students elected to stay together as one group for their discussions because they felt groups of three and four were too small, and they wanted to hear what everyone had to say. Thus, after the first night we remained together as a whole class for each segment. The first night the entire class was together for First Community Share, Book Club, and the Second Community Share I realized keeping the group together meant that transitions between these different parts of the evening were awkward because physical markers that indicated the transitions (e.g., forming small groups, rearranging ourselves into a larger group) were removed when we stayed together around one table for the entire evening. Although I could introduce each segment and try to focus our discussion in a slightly different manner, the lack of physical change affected our discourse and our discussion merged together over the evening. For example, it was difficult to transition to a Second Community Share where, in one sense, there was no need to "share" what we had discussed because everyone had been part of the same discussion, and we were already sitting together, so there was no physical shift accompanying the shift in focus. However, it was still important to me to

have a time like a Second Community Share to reflect on what we had been talking about and to think about what we had discovered or uncovered during our book club discussion as well as to think about issues we had not discussed. To help solidify transitions, I designed physical shifts to accompany each of the different parts of class and adapted the Second Community Share time.

We began our First Community Share seated around a table where we talked about the autobiographies, shared from sketch books and laid out themes in the autobiographies. We followed this with a short writing time and a break. During the break, I arranged pieces of lounge furniture in the room into a circle where we held our book club discussions. After the book club, we would take a second short break and return again to the tables often doing some brief writing before we had our Second Community Share. All books, except The Kitchen God's Wife were the focus on only one book club. Because we read The Kitchen God's Wife near the end of the semester and because it was a longer book, I rearranged our discussion at the students' request to span two nights where we read and discussed half of the text in addition to several articles. Students also participated in one "film club" discussion after watching "Avalon" a film which tells the story of an East European Jewish immigrant family.

Our discussions of the articles followed a similar pattern to our book club nights. We would typically begin class seated around the table. We would have time to share from our sketch books to talk bout what we had written or thought about and students often shared items they had heard in the news media or brought in clippings from the newspapers or magazines that they felt pertained to the course. Most of the time their discussion of these articles remained on a factual level with students sharing information,

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reading excerpts from their clippings and other students asking for clarification or addition information. There was seldom critical reflection or engagement with the grand narratives that framed these stories (for more on this see chapters 4 and 5). Frequently in discussing the articles, we broke into two smaller groups to concentrate on articles we had read. We then reunited as a whole group giving a synopsis of the articles for others who had not read it and holding discussion among all participants. Reflective writing also played a role in our discussions of the articles. At the beginning of class or beginning of a large group discussion time, I would often ask the students to write about what they had read. I let them choose what they wanted to write about (e.g. summarizing or critiquing an article, raising questions across articles, etc.), but I also offered themes or writing suggestions. I have listed all course readings in the course syllabus (see Appendix A).

A Case of Practitioner Research: Data Collection and Methods

As a case of practitioner research (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1990), I acted as both teacher educator and ethnographer. In addition to the data that would typically be collected within a masters course by a teacher (e.g. in class writing, mid-term essay, final project, Sketch Books) I also wrote *memos* about my class planning, and I collected data as a participant-observer in the course. After each class session I wrote *field notes* using ethnographic techniques (e.g. Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). For each class I also collected *audio tape* and later completed tape *catalogs*. In addition to field notes and audio tape, I also *video taped* many class sessions.

Table 3

List of Data Sources Collected During the Study

Data Sources
Course Assignments
Pre-course reflection
Sketch books
In class writing
Mid-Term Assignment
Final course reflection
Other Data
Analytic memos
Catalogs
Follow-up interviews
Field notes
Planning Memos
Transcript
Video Tape

Students completed several types of assignments throughout the course At the beginning of the course students completed a *written reflection* on their beliefs about literacy, autobiography and culture. At the end of the course, students completed a similar *final course reflection* which also incorporated reflection on course themes and their sketch books. As described in the course syllabus the *sketch book* was a place to "trace our thinking and explore how the autobiographies, book clubs, research articles, and discussions have affected our thinking...." I encouraged students to "explore multiple formats and multiple entries for each week...[such as] personal responses to the readings, reflective or analytical responses, poetry, titles of books you wish to read in the future, thoughts on your final project, newspaper magazine, teaching articles relevant to the course, your project or interests" (Course Syllabus, 1997; see Appendix A).

A second assignment which I asked students to complete was to write a *narrative vignette* about a border-crossing experience. To prepare students for this assignment I gave them two examples of short vignettes and a handout

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with questions to think about (see Appendix B). I also told them that we would revisit their personal narratives later in the course and if time allowed we would rewrite them.

In addition to the assignments described above, students also completed two graded assignments. One was a *mid-term essay* where they were to choose a theme or themes in the course and write about how these themes would might relate to their views of language, culture, literacy, or teaching. To assist students in thinking about the mid-term essay, I prepared a handout with "Ideas for getting started" and "Ideas for writing." In preparation for both the mid-term assignment and final projects I built in opportunities during class time for students to write about their ideas or to discuss their ideas in large and small groups. For students *final projects*, I offered five suggestions (see Course Syllabus, Appendix A) but also allowed students to design alternative projects if they talked to me about them before finalizing their plans.

Due to the need to protect students from loss of privacy or bias toward their course work which might come from analyzing it as research data, I conducted the bulk of my analysis following the course. In addition, after the course was complete, I conducted *follow-up interviews* with Ellie, Cathy, and Regan. The criteria for selecting these students for follow-up interviews and as case examples will be explained below. As I began revisiting my field notes, listening to audio tapes and video tapes, I also began writing *analytic memos* to identify categories and themes (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I then tested and refined my analyses against other parts of the data set, engaging in grounded theory development (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Because I was the course instructor as well as a participant-observer, I could not analyze the data until the course was completed. However, in the

strictest sense, descriptions and reflections included in field notes and tape catalogs can be considered a first pass at analyzing the data since both are filtered through the ethnographer's lens (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Acting as both course instructor and course ethnographer caused me to "see with a new set of eyes and hear with a new set of ears." For example, early on in the course, I reflected that I was uncomfortable with many of the narratives that students were telling. I wrote: "Several aspects of this discussion made me uncomfortable. One, I don't agree with the generalization about what we (Americans) do and what other cultures do. These comments are loaded with assumptions, and often inaccurate. What do I do? Say anything or not. Also, I think the assumptions made about stay at home moms or welfare moms are disturbing." (field notes, 9-8-97). On another night I wrote: "I felt really uncomfortable here like things were falling apart into a sort of 'swapping stories mode' and I was wondering if I should let this go on or cut it off. Listening on tape it seems much shorter than what it seemed when I was sitting there" (field notes, 9-15-97). These stories made me uncomfortable, in part, because the highlighted the tension between my roles as researcher and teacher.

As a researcher who had set out to explore the form, function, and content of personal narratives within discussions of culture, literacy, and autobiography, I knew that I should have been overjoyed at all the data--multiple stories--that I was collecting. Yet at the same time, as a teacher educator, some of these narratives made me uneasy because the appeared to reify stereotypes or position culture as exotic or embodied only in others. I faced the dilemma of being a researcher who wanted to celebrate the "rich data" and being a teacher who wondered whether that "rich data" reflected narratives that were educative or miseducative for students. I began to feel

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that the research was interfering with my teaching and my teaching was interfering with the research. In an audiotaped memo to myself I commented that if I were the observer and not the teacher, I could be much more objective about these stories. In contemplating this dilemma, however, I slowly began to realize that the dilemma could enhance both my teaching and my research by assisting me in uncovering and developing my "theories of practice" or "theories in practice" (Cochran-Smith, 1995). Acting as teacher and a researcher forced me look much more closely at the narratives written and told by students and the responses of other participants. For example, had I not been the teacher, I might not have noticed that the narratives appeared to reify stereotypes or the definition of culture as exotic. I might not have been prompted to ask: What is educative about this discussion, these narratives? How do these stories support our exploration of course objectives? In telling these stories, how are we positioning ourselves? How are we positioning others?

As I continued to take field notes, I continued to note questions and dilemmas that confronted me. Upon completion of the course, I was able to begin extensive analysis of the data and to actively refine questions and generate grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). A first step in this process was to prepare transcripts of all sessions; tapes were transcribed by a professional transcriber. After the first pass at transcription, I listened to tapes and read through transcripts making changes, additions and deletions as necessary. Where close analysis of the discourse was necessary, I marked overlapping speech, stress, pauses and occasionally other aspects of prosody like rising, falling, or flat intonation. (A Transcription Key is provided in the preface, page xvi). Working from field notes and catalogs, I first identified segments of talk that appeared to be narrative. I then read

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transcripts to code for narrative talk. As I worked through the data set, I wrote memos about the narratives I was finding and commentary and interpretation on other forms of discourse as well as other data sources, e.g. sketch book entries and assignments.

Being steeped in the data assisted me in coding narratives and identifying themes across narratives (e.g. stories that avoided discussion of hot-lava topics, stories that positioned culture as exotic). In approaching the data, I drew on what I knew about narrative theory and teacher discussions, to hypothesize about how narratives were constructed and why and how the construction and content of these narratives functioned within conversation and within student's learning. While I attended to both data and theory, I also attempted to think beyond the data and theoretical knowledge I possessed (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). For example, rather than using one narrative theory as a lens through which to view all the data, I worked from my coding and categorization of narrative and discussion to identify features of narrative and to develop explanations and interpretations of how narrative functioned. In attempting to think outside existing theories, it was helpful to engage in reflections about what the data would mean if the narratives were not present, in other words, to think against the narrative forms, the "it" that I was exploring (Lather, 1998).

As I engaged in preliminary analysis of the narratives and talk within the course, I realized that using case examples was the most efficient and effective means of organizing the exploration of narrative and generation of grounded theory. I used the original coding of narrative to identify three case examples which I explored more in-depth. I chose the first case, Ellie, because of the unusual number of times that she revisited one compelling narrative, retelling and rewriting it approximately six times throughout the course. The

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multiple narratives she performed presented opportunities to explore how Ellie positioned herself and others through multiple retellings of a story. Although other participants retold or rewrote some stories, none revisited one narrative as many times as Ellie. The second case, Cathy, was chosen because of the deep engagement that other participants showed with her narrative and because of the narrative's content and form. The high engagement is reflected in the length of time Cathy held the floor in sharing this narrative, the physical and verbal encouragement from other participants, and the discussion around Cathy's narrative. I also chose Cathy's case because I thought it would be useful in exploring the ties between the discussion of readings, narratives, and other course curriculum. Regan, the third case, was included in part because her discourse and experiences, and the response of others to her set her apart from other participants. Regan used a great deal of academic discourse, for example, analyzing and synthesizing ideas, in her talk and writing. Her comments were often met by silences from other students. As the teacher and researcher, I was particularly intrigued by Regan because although her comments often represented ways of thinking and types of engagement I was hoping to foster in the course, the lack of uptake by her peers heightened my awareness of the dilemma teachers face in trying to foster peer-led discussion of "hot-lava topics" (Glazier, et al., in press).

Although data collected from the other four participants in the course: Cass, Jaime, Marsha, and Toni has not been developed in individual cases, I did code their narratives and consider how their participation, discourse, and narratives could contribute to the analysis and findings. Given the repetition of patterns across the narratives (e.g. similar form, function, and content), I did not choose to develop a case for each participant. The cases of Ellie and

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Cathy provide insight into and reflections of many of the same features of narrative and conversational discourse typical of narratives and discourse as exemplified in Cass, Jaime, Marsha, and Toni. Although the case analyses highlight narratives and other forms of discourse shared by Ellie, Cathy, and Regan, in the following chapters, there are also examples in which all seven participants were present and participated in conversations or discussions either as listeners or speakers.

Theoretical Frameworks for Data Analysis

In preliminary data analysis I relied on an intuitive sense of what a narrative was. Essentially, as I read and listened to transcript I used a definition of narratives that Polkinghorne described: "'The narrating or relating of an event or series of events, either true or false'" (American Heritage Dictionary in Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 13). I also found that Burke's (1945) notion of a well-formed story composed of an Actor, an Action, a Goal, a Scene, and an Instrument was also a simple, but useful way to think about the elements of a story. However, as I proceeded with the analysis it was critical to construct a more elaborate definition of narrative because I wished to look across narratives for examples of change, particularly re-emplotment of events and interpretation. This required close analysis of narrative form, function, and content.

The work of Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972) is most widely cited in regard to definitions of narrative. As indicated in Table 4, Labov & Waletzky defined narrative as constituted by Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Evaluation, Resolution, and Coda.

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Table 4

Coding System for Narratives from Labov and Waletzky

Element	Definition from Labov & Waletzky (1967)
Abstract	statement that indicates what the story is about
Orientation:	statement that orients the "listener in respect to person, place, time, and behavioral situation" (p. 32)
Complication:	"main body of narrative clauses usually comprises a series of events" (p. 32)
Evaluation:	"that part of the narrative which reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others" (p. 37)
Resolution:	the "result" of a narrative, follows the evaluation and establishes a break between the complicating and resolving action" (p. 39)
Coda:	"a functional device for returning the verbal perspective to the present moment" (p. 39)

Although Labov and Waletzky's definition is helpful in defining narrative, their definition and the constraints surrounding this model of analysis are also somewhat problematic. Labov elicited narratives in interviews. For example, he asked participants to respond to the question: "Were you ever in a situation where you thought you were in serious danger of getting killed?" In analyzing those narrative episodes, Labov carefully broke down each narrative clause by clause. Although this is an extremely rigorous way to analyze narrative, this detailed analysis did not work well with my data because the narratives were often extremely long. Another significant problem was that many of the narratives I wished to analyze were embedded in conversation. Whereas Labov's narratives were free of back channel comments, interruptions, and multiple turns. I have used Labov's definition and the elements of an abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda in the following chapters for a general analysis of narrative structures. However, for a detailed analysis of narrative, particularly within conversation, I have sought other models.

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I looked at a number of other means of analyzing narrative (e.g. Gee, 1985, 1989, 1991; Riessman, 1993) and although I found these interesting, they again proved cumbersome because the narratives I was analyzing contained more than one speaker, multiple turns or long turns. In conducting a detailed analysis of narratives, I found the work of Livia Polanyi (1985) to be most helpful because she extends Labov's work, applying it to the analysis of narratives within conversation. Polanyi's model was useful in extracting what I call a "core plot" which could then be compared, for example, to examine how a speaker changes the same story over time. To extract a core narrative, Polanyi proposes five steps:

1. Divide the story into individual clauses or utterances
2. List separately:
   a. Main Line Story Event Clauses
   b. Crucial Contextualizing Information
   c. Non-Storyworld Clauses/utterances
3. Roughly calculate the amount of evaluation for mainline story event clauses.
4. Combine the most heavily evaluated events into a "core plot".

I adapted these steps to extract core narratives and then compared Main Line Story Event Clauses, Crucial Contextualizing Information & Evaluation, Non-Storyworld Clauses/Utterances to analyze how narratives shift as they are retold. I used this analysis in only one chapter (Chapter 3) where I explain the procedure in more detail.

In exploring how narratives function, I have drawn upon Polkinghorne's (1991) theory of re-emplotment and Davies & Harrè's (1990) notion of positioning, both outlined earlier in this chapter. To demonstrate position and re-emplotment and to explore these as functions of narrative, I

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drew upon methods of discourse analysis often described as "sociolinguistic" (Schiffren, 1994). These methods which draw from the disciplines of anthropology, linguistics, and sociology are heavily reliant on the work of Gumperz and Goffman (Schiffren, ibid). Since they emphasize the "situatedness" of language interaction, they mesh well with Davies & Harrè's construct of positioning which Harrè has argued is alternative to Goffman's constructs of footing and frames (Davies & Harrè, 1990). This perspective is also compatible with a sociocultural theory of language (Vygotsky, 1978; Vygotsky 1986) and the notion of language as a tool. As Schiffren explains: "Gumperz's sociolinguistics of interpersonal communication is a view of language as a socially an culturally constructed symbol system" (p. 102). Tannen is another discourse analyst whose work Schiffren labels "interactional sociolinguistic." Tannen's (1989) work on repetition was important in looking at both the conversational discourse across speakers and within one speaker's sharing or writing of a narrative. Among the possible uses of repetition in conversational settings, analysis here focused on speakers using repetition to demonstrate active listening, to sanction topics, create and "savor" humor. Repetition was also important within a narrative to emphasize a speaker's point and to position the speaker and others. I also drew on Tannen's work in developing a definition for "quasinarratives" as explained in Chapter 5.

In the next chapter I begin my analysis of narrative by introducing Polkinghorne's theory of re-emplotment to look at changes in events and interpretation across narratives as indicated by methods of analysis adapted from Labov and Polanyi. I extend this preliminary and primarily structural analysis by incorporating the methods from discourse analysis and

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positioning theory to explore not only what changes but how narratives change over time.

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CHAPTER THREE

ELLIE'S STORY: THE BLACK JESUS

Introduction

Our second class meeting was our first book club, a discussion of Vivian Paley's (1979) White Teacher where Paley described her early experiences in teaching Kindergarten in a racially diverse classroom. Because of the Labor Day holiday, our initial class meeting had been held two weeks before, so I asked the participants to introduce themselves again. They briefly shared their names and the grades they were teaching before we went on to discuss what they had included in their sketch books. I told the students that I wanted "to give people an opportunity to share how they were working with their sketch books"[1] and to explore how people organized their questions or ideas. Hoping that students would explore many topics and genres through their sketch books, I had not given strict guidelines for what to include, and the students were tentative about their responses as Cathy said, "I'm anxious to hear what some of the rest of you decided to do with yours [sketch book]."

Our discussion began with brief descriptions of what students included in their sketch books. Cathy noticed that Cass had included some articles from the newspaper in her sketch book, and when she commented on this, Cass responded that she just "wrote little things" about the articles. Jaime shared how reading Paley's book was a "re-reading" experience for her because she had already read the book as an undergraduate. During her "re-reading" of Paley, she attempted to make connections to the sixth grade classroom where she was teaching. Immediately following Jaime's

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[1]Words in quotes are taken from audio tapes of the class meetings unless otherwise specified.

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comments, Ellie began to talk about what she included in her sketch book, and she shared the following story[2]:

Ellie: The first time I walked into the building I taught in Finley, there was this big picture, a 16 x 20 of the whole school. And I immediately noticed, of course, how there was absolutely no white faces in the whole thing except teachers. And my first thought was "Oh, I thought this would never bother me. What if it bothers me?" And then I turned around and there's a picture of Jesus in African garb and all the Apostles are African and they're all in their African huts and they're all on the plains of Africa and that just bothered the heck out of me. 'Cause I'm like look, "It says right there he's in Jerusalem. He wasn't in Africa." That just drove me nuts and then um I was talking to my partner that I ended up teaching with and this is us, right here, with one of my classes.

Mary: That's when you were doing your

Ellie: This is when I was wor.. in Finley

Mary: In Finley, okay

Ellie: Yeah, this is one of my classes in Finley and um she said, "You know, it used to bother me too, but if it makes them feel a closer connection to Christ because they see him like they look, how can that, how can that harm anything?" And then I just wrote down here Life magazine there was an article that came out right after that Life magazine did on, magazine did on Jesus. And it had like 15 different pictures of Jesus. It had like the Russian Jesus, the Chinese Jesus, the this Jesus, the that Jesus and it kind

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[2]A transcription guide is provided on page xvi under List of Symbols.

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Although Ellie's story was interesting, it did not stand out from the many other narratives introduced into the group's talk on this night. However, over time I recognized the importance this event had to Ellie. In reading students' in class writing on this night and in listening to the tapes of the book discussion groups, I realized that she shared this story three times during this first evening, and by the end of our fifteen-week course Ellie had retold this story six times which, as I demonstrate in this chapter, provided multiple opportunities for her to not only construct this narrative but to interpret the events of the story.

The Vignette Assignment: Opportunity for Re-emplotment

As explained in the previous chapter, I provided opportunity throughout the course for participants to share narratives through their writing in course assignments and sketch books and orally in their discussion of articles and books. Although students had the option of using their sketchbooks and written assignments to develop their mid-term and final projects--providing opportunities for students to revisit narratives they had written--only one assignment required that students would revisit and revise a narrative. The assignment that required this was the narrative vignette.

Because I had adapted this assignment from Florio-Ruane's course, "Culture, Literacy, Autobiography," where I had been a participant-observer, I had my own vignette to share with students. I included this narrative and an example from Florio-Ruane on a handout for the students (see Appendix B). As I shared the handout with the students, I asked them to think of a border-crossing that they or a family member experienced in relation to school. I told them that they could write this as a piece of "free writing" in their sketch

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Appendices C-H for

book, or they could type their narrative, and I also cautioned them not to be overly concerned with revising, editing, or polishing and to keep their responses to about half a page. The week after giving the assignment, we discussed our narratives using questions on the hand out as a starting place.

The assignment provided opportunities for students to write, revise, and discuss their narratives. Data collected around this assignment included (a) the original drafts of students' narrative vignettes, (b) discussion around the original vignettes, (c) the revised vignettes, and (d) discussion around the revised written vignettes. Discussions around the vignettes varied with some participants sharing additional information about their narratives while others like Ellie retold their vignettes elaborating and extending them. Data collected from Ellie throughout the course stands in contrast to other participants because she was the only participant to voluntarily share one story multiple times and in multiple settings. She was the only participant who chose to write her vignette about a story she had already shared in her sketch book and orally with the entire class. Compared to other students who typically had two or three iterations of their narratives, I identified six iterations of Ellie's narrative (three written and three oral) (see Figure 1) and two occasions where Ellie did not retell the narrative but referred to it by retelling some details or by adding additional information. The multiple tellings of Ellie's narrative come from several sources: her sketch book, large group community share, book club discussion around Paley's (1979) White Teacher, written vignette assignment, discussion of the vignette, rewriting the vignette, and discussion of the rewritten vignette. Figure 1 presents a chronological timeline for the story retellings across the semester (see Appendices C-H for the complete narratives).

Figure 1.

week 2

9-8-97 sketch book (written)

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Figure 1. Timeline of Ellie's Narrative Retellings Across the Semester.

week 2	week 2	week 2	week 4	week 11	week 11
9-8-97 sketch book (written)	9-8-97 large group (oral)	9-8-97 small group (oral)	9-29-97 vignette assign-ment (written)	11-10-97 revised vignette assign-ment (written)	11-10-97 small group (oral)

As mentioned above, the number of times Ellie told this story is one indication of its importance to her. At the time of the study Ellie had just begun her fifth year of teaching. It was her second year of teaching at the charter school. (Cathy, whose narratives are presented in Chapter 4, and Cass, another participant, also taught in this school). Approximately 75% of the students at Ellie's school were African American, and the remaining 25% were culturally and ethnically diverse, and all students at the school come from a diverse array of social and economic backgrounds. Ellie had chosen to teach at this charter school because of its diverse student population, and in her previous teaching position, which was her first job as a full-time teacher, she had worked with African American students and their parents. However, before this first teaching position she had little direct experience with students of other ethnic or linguistic backgrounds. The narrative that Ellie retold at various points during the semester dealt directly with this lack of experience. Although the narrative accounts vary in how much detail and interpretation are offered, the basic story events were similar across the retellings. In each version, Ellie recounted entering a private Catholic school to attend her first job interview, how unsettling it was for her to see Christ portrayed as Black, and how unsettling it was to see a picture of the entire school where all the students were African American and where the only white people were teachers. Although the school was located in a small city

not far from where Ellie grew up, the school's urban and predominantly African-American community stood in contrast to Ellie's own suburban upbringing and her university experience where most of her peers were Euro-American.

As I looked through the data set and read and listened to multiple versions of Ellie's story, several questions emerged, and I wondered: What was it that remained the same over the course of the retellings? What changed as Ellie revisited her story? What could these changes tell me about Ellie and what she was learning or exploring through her narratives? How did they help her understand herself and others? To explore these questions, I began using Labov's (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1972) segments of Abstract, Complicating Action, Evaluation, Resolution, & Coda to look at Ellie's narratives to determine what remained the same over time and what changed. More specifically, in examining the narratives I hoped to find changes in the events and the interpretation of those events, an act that Polkinghorne refers to as "re-emplotment."

Polkinghorne argues that as we narrate life experiences, we emplot and re-emplot events, giving new meaning to those experiences and constructing and redefining the self. Emplotment is the act which configures events "into a whole by 'grasping them together' and directing them toward a conclusion or ending. Thus emplotment transforms a list or sequence of disconnected events into a unified story with a point or theme" (Polkinghorne, 1991, p. 141). Major events, e.g. birth, adolescence, marriage, can disrupt the already existing plot an individual is constructing which "leaves the person to 'experience the profound insecurity, self-doubt and inner conflict which we associate with anxiety" (p. 148). Although Polkinghorne writes about this disruption in relation to "life events," others have argued (e.g. Rosaldo, 1993;

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Florio-Ruane, 1996; Clifford, 1988) that crossing cultural boundaries can also disrupt the stories we are constructing about ourselves causing us to re-emplot our experiences. Because such re-emplotment is a dialectical process between the events being recalled and the theme or purpose of the story, changes in narrative (e.g. additional details or commentary), are not simple embellishments but hold forth the possibility to reflect changes in the Self. Essentially Polkinghorne's notion of re-emplotment implies a change in self over time and a repositioning of the self in relation to life events or circumstances. Thus, examining how Ellie's stories changed over time has the potential to reveal changes in the narrative re-emplotment (the relationship of events and their interpretation) and changes in the narrator (how she positions the Self and Others).

Methods of Narrative Analysis from Labov and Polanyi

Preliminary analysis of Ellie's narratives using Labov's categories indicated a striking increase in the number of evaluative statements--that part of the narrative where Ellie revealed her feelings about the narrated event or the narration of that event. In identifying and analyzing evaluative sequences, I have relied on Labov and Waletzky's (1967) definition of an evaluative clause as "that part of the narrative which reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative [either the telling of it or the events themselves] by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others" (p. 37). These evaluative clauses appeared to assist in re-emplotting the narrative by providing an interpretation, or as Polkinghorne said a "point or theme." Although Labov's model provided an overall feel for the structure of the narrative, the categories (abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, and resolution) were problematic primarily for two reasons. Labov's analysis had been carried out

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on narratives that were elicited within the context of interviews, thus conversation between participants played a minimal role in the construction of the narratives he studied. In contrast, several of Ellie's narratives were shared in conversational settings where other speakers contributed to the narrative's construction. In addition, narratives analyzed by Labov were much shorter often around 30 clauses--one unusual example which Labov calls a "long story" is 53 clauses long (Labov, p. 371, 1972). Ellie's longest narrative is approximately 154 clauses. Using Labov's coding system on these long narratives was helpful in revealing the increased evaluation, but it was difficult to extract the main events, contextual information, and evaluation in a systematic fashion. In searching for methods of narrative analysis, I realized that I needed to use a coding system that would allow me to (a) analyze longer oral and written narratives, (b) analyze narratives told in conversation, and (c) analyze narratives to distinguish evaluative commentary and contextual information from key events that formed the main story line.

The work of Livia Polanyi (1985) was very helpful in this regard. Polanyi's analysis was based on Labov's original categories; however, she adapted his work and developed her own coding system to examine narratives told in one on one settings (e.g. interview) and in conversational settings where speakers jointly constructed a narrative. She also analyzed some longer narratives which, though still shorter than many of the narratives I examined, provided a helpful model. Polanyi's work was also useful because, it demonstrated a "methodology for abstracting from the surface structure of a text those propositions about the storyworld which, if taken together, are the essence of the story as told (1985, p. 9). This method allowed me to cull the main events and formulate a "core plot" for each

narrative in a systematic manner by attending to those events that were most heavily evaluated. This was a necessary step in preparing for cross-narrative analysis that would allow me to look for evidence of re-emplotment.

Similar to Labov, Polanyi develops an extremely complicated and rigorous coding system where preliminary analysis involves separating the narrative into clauses. Polanyi's method relies heavily on linguistic markers to indicate main events, descriptive clauses, and evaluation in a narrative, but also allows for other indicators such as pronunciation, stress, volume, repetition, flashbacks or flash ahead, gestures. As reflected by the linguistic markers, evaluation is "highly-orchestrated" by the narrator (Polanyi, 1985, p. 15). In the following analyses, I have drawn from and adapted Polanyi's method using only five steps whereas her original model included fourteen steps. In adapting her work to identify and compare key elements of Ellie's narratives, I followed these steps:

1. Divide the story into individual clauses or utterances
2. List separately

   Main Line Story Event Clauses--An event is "an occurrence in some world which is described as having an instantaneous rather than a durative or iterative character" (emphasis in the original, p.10, Polanyi, 1985).

   Crucial Contextualizing Information--"Descriptions of characters, settings, and motivations are durative-descriptive [crucial contextualizing information], along with habitual, iterative, or noninstantaneous actions and events which are semantically interpreted to be off the main time line" (p. 12, Polanyi, 1985). Flash ahead and flash back sequences and evaluation are part of

the crucial contextualizing information. I have listed them separately to assist in later analysis.

Non-Storyworld Clauses/utterances-- These are um's, false starts, parentheticals (e.g. you know, I mean) and repetition. I have also included comments from other speakers here, if their talk not crucial contextualizing information or a main line story event clause. Although Non-storyworld clauses do not form the "core plot" of a narrative, they are still important, and after breaking down a narrative, Polanyi urges readers to revisit these clauses in further analysis.

3. Roughly calculate the amount of evaluation for mainline story event clauses.
4. Combine the most heavily evaluated events (main events) into a core plot.
5. Look across the texts "globally" for repetition of words, phrases, clauses, flash sequences, and so on.

Tables 5 through 10 present the analysis of Ellie's six narratives. (A complete set of the original narratives in their unanalyzed form is attached in Appendices C-H). Just a glance across the tables reveals some differences which I will analyze more in detail in the following section. I have chosen to analyze all six narratives, thus conducting a cross-genre analysis including both oral and written narratives. Obviously, there are important differences between the oral and written forms which may raise questions about the feasibility of a cross-genre analysis. A critical difference is the contexts within which the narratives texts were constructed. Whether a narrator is writing alone for her own purposes or for an assignment or whether a narrator is speaking to a group shapes form, function, and content. Even the preliminary analysis highlights some of these differences. For example,

during the beginning states of analysis, I noticed that written narratives aligned closely with Labov's model while in contrast spoken narratives, even conventional narratives (see Chapter 4), were more complicated to analyze because they were constructed in conversational settings where there was opportunity for others to participate, interrupt, and otherwise share in the story and its construction. Another difference apparent by simply scanning Tables 5 through 10 on following pages is that written narratives do not contain Non-storyworld talk. This is not surprising given that writers have more opportunity to craft their words and that the immediacy of face to face conversation and concern for the "presentation of self" (Goffman, 1959) results in more Non-storyworld talk such as repetition, false starts, and side sequences in oral discourse. While I recognize that differences exist between the written and oral texts, comparing only like genres is also problematic because it provides a limited view of how Ellie re-emplots her narrative. Examining both spoken and written discourse provides a more detailed picture of how narrative functions over time and the role it plays in constructing both Self and Other. In recognition of the differences between the oral and written forms, I will indicate possible limitations on my analysis as I proceed with the comparison of Ellie's narratives.

Preliminary Analysis Using Quantitative Comparisons Across Narratives

As a preliminary step in the analysis across all six narratives, we can scan Tables 5 through 10 looking for readily seen changes in the narratives structure. As mentioned above, readers will notice that there is no Non-storyworld talk included in the written narratives. However, we can see a striking increase in crucial contextualizing information across the retellings

Tables 5-10 Analysis of Ellis's Narratives Using Polanyi's Categories

Tables 5-10 Analysis of Ellie's Narratives Using Polanyi's Categories

Table 5 **NARRATIVE #1**

Narrative	Main Line Events	Crucial Contextualizing Information		Non-storyworld Talk/Writing
			Evaluation (*italicized*)	
#1 (written) sketch book entry for Paley's White Teacher	I walked in-- There it was--The picture-- Then behind me was another picture:	Black & white of All students Black only. Jesus & the 12 Apostles dressed in African garb, on the African plains. Jesus lived in the Middle East.	*I always thought it would never bother me.* *I hoped now it wouldn't.* *This bothered me*	NONE
		Flash sequences: 1. I talked to my teaching partner about the picture until I talked to my partner=" *If it makes the kids feel better* *to see Jesus in a way they can identify with* *-then so be it."* 2. Incomplete Flash sequence. Life Magazine Chinese Russian African female--too far		

Table 6

NARRATIVE #2

Narrative	Main Line Events	Crucial Contextualizing Information	Evaluation (*italicized*)	Non-storyworld Talk/Writing
#2 (oral) Large group community share for <u>White Teacher</u>	The first time I walked into the building And I immediately notice [the picture] And I turned around and there's a picture of Jesus in African garb	I taught in Flint. There's a big picture about 16 x 20 of the whole school. how there is absolutely no white faces in the whole thing except teachers and all the Apostles are African and their all in their African huts and they're all on the plains of Africa "It says right there he's in Jerusalem. He wasn't in Africa."	*And my first thought was* *"Oh, I thought this would never bother me.* *What if it bothers me?"* *and that just bothered the heck out of me.* *That just drove me nuts*	and then um <u>(Side Sequence)</u> Mary: That's when you were doing your] Ellie: That's when I was wor.. in Flint Mary: In Flint, okay Ellie: Yeah, this is one of my classes in Flint and um you know and it kind of, um, just came out in my mind. So I kind of just jotted that down. I kind of threw some pictures in too.
		<u>Flash sequences:</u> <u>1. I talked to my teaching partner about the picture.</u> I was talking to my partner that I ended up teaching with and this is us right here (pointing to picture in note book). and one of my classes she said *it used to bother me too* *but if it makes them feel a closer connection to Christ* *because they see him like they look,* *how can that harm anything?* <u>2. I saw a Life magazine article with many representations of Jesus.</u> and then I just wrote down here Life magazine there was an article that came out right after that Life Magazine did on Jesus. There were like 15 different pictures of Jesus. The Russian Jesus, the Chinese Jesus, the this Jesus, the that Jesus		

Table 7

NARRATIVE #3

Narrative	Main Line Events	Crucial Contextualizing Information		Non-storyworld Talk/Writing
			Evaluation *(italicized)*	
#3 (oral) Small group book club discussion of <u>White Teacher</u>	I went [to the interview]	All Crucial Contextualizing Information is presented in Flash sequences.	*It was really interesting* *about the Jesus really bothered me.* *It really bothered me* *If it helps them to identify with Him just to see him like them,* *that really kind of changed [things].*	about, you know, the, you know. you know, that, that one, jus..
		<u>Flash sequences</u> <u>1. Black leaders were trying to prove Jesus was black</u> you heard in the, in the media the black leaders are trying to prove that Jesus is black and I'm like *"Look, let's just take,* *if you believe the Bible is what it is,* *you believe what it says* *you have to believe* *that he was a Jewish boy.* *He probably had olive skin, a big nose, and, and dark hair,* <u>2. My teaching partner talked about the picture</u> But, but then to hear her, her talk about it and say, *If it helps them to identify with Him just to see him like them,* *you that really kind of changed.* <u>3. I saw a Life magazine with many representations of Jesus.</u> The one that really got me though was looking at Time-Life Magazine and they had the female Jesus *and I'm like,* *now that's too far.* *that one, that one went over the edge.* *I could even do the Chinese Jesus,* *I thought,* *"That's kind of cool"* *the Russian Jesus, I thought* *Okay, I can deal with this,* *but the female Jesus...*		

Table 8

NARRATIVE #4

Narrative	Main Line Events	Crucial Contextualizing Information		Non-storyworld Talk/Writing
			Evaluation (*italicized*)	
#4 (written) Vignette assignment to share with others in class	I entered the doors At that moment, everything I had always prided myself on was challenged. but here I was standing in the hall just about to interview to teach at this school.	There on the wall was the 16 x 2, black and white photo of the entire student body and faculty a sea of black faces only broken up every now and then by the adult white one. I did get the job	*so excited at the possibility of a new teaching job* *I never thought* *that I would ever hav a problem with teaching a child of any race.* *What if I did hav a problem with race?* *What would that mean I was?*	NONE
		Flash sequences: 1. I entered school on the first day of class and was so excited I entered the school my first day *still so excited,* *but now, not the least bit concerned about the kids' race.* *I learned so much about the black culture working there* *and honestly never felt the difference between us was a problem.* They were my kids. I was their teacher.		

Table 9

NARRATIVE #5

Table 9

NARRATIVE #5

Narrative	Main Line Events	Crucial Contextualizing Information	Evaluation (*italicized*)	Non-storyworld Talk/Writing
				NONE
#5 (written) Rewritten vignette assignment to share with others in class	I walked [in] the doors When I entered the building, As I looked around the other walls, But then I saw it [the photograph]. At that moment, everything I had always prided myself on was challenged.	there it was, on the wall facing me, a portrait of Jesus Christ. my *first* teaching job (emphasis in the original). After a year of substitute teaching, I longed for my own classroom. I dreamed about having my own class of students, A black Jesus Christ. there was a black Mary and child, and a picture of the Last Supper taking place in an African grass hut, where black Jesus again, and his disciples were wearing African clothing. The 16/20 photograph of the whole school population; a black and white photograph, mostly black. There were a few white faces; those of adults-teachers and administration-swimming in this sea of black children. but now, here I was faced with things I did not believe (black Jesus) and something I never thought I'd face- a class of all black children. I don't ever recall race ever coming up in the interview. So well in fact, I got the job.	*so excited, at the possibility of a new teaching job-* *how I'd be so happy to be their teacher and love every one of them!* *I was beginning to feel very uncomfortable.* *I would probably have a difficult time at this school* *if I was expected to accept a black Jesus.* *I never thought I would ever have any problem teaching any child of any race,* *What if I did have a problem?* *What if I found I was uncomfortable here?* *What if the children did not want to listen to me?* *Would the principal see something in me* *I never thought was there;* *that I did have a problem with race?* *If so, what would that mean I was?* *The interview went well.*	

Table 9, continued **NARRATIVE #5, continued**

		Crucial Contextualizing Information	
		Flash Sequences 1. I heard radio shows talk about: Was Jesus black? I had heard so many talk radio discussions about 'Was Jesus Black' and I always found myself yelling at the radio "He was from Jerusalem! He was Middle Eastern! *Why is that so hard to understand!"* *It would bother me* *that some black leaders felt the need to change my Savior to boost their image.* 2. I went to school on my first day of teaching. When I got to the school my first day, *I was again excited-* *excited to have my own class, children I can teach and love.* *I learned quite a bit about the black culture working there,* *and honestly, I never felt the difference between the kids and me was ever a problem.* I was their teacher, and they were my class.	

Table 10

Table 10

NARRATIVE #6

Narrative	Main Line Events	Crucial Contextualizing Information	Evaluation (*italicized*)	Non-storyworld Talk/Writing
#6 (oral) Small group discussion about revised vignette assignment	but it was about when I went in for the job interview and I walked in and I saw the big picture of the whole student body on the wall. And it really challenged something that had always frustrated me So I had just honestly never thought about it [teaching in an all black school or something else??] and I was just faced with: But, then I was faced with looking at this sea of people	And they were all black and the only white faces on there were teachers. that it wasn't just that the, the big portrait of the student body, but when you walk in the door, right in front of you is a picture of a black Jesus. And then next to it is a black Madonna and child and then there's a picture of the last supper taking place in a grass hut in the Savannah out in Africa and Jesus is black and all the disciples are in African garb and everything. there were some of them in your classroom. 'cause I didn't grow up in an area like that. I wasn't teaching in, [an area like that] even Lakeridge isn't like that,	*I honestly did not know anything about northern Flint.* *And it really bothered me.* *but mostly it was just that initial shock of being faced with my own feelings.* *And it wasn't like I all the sudden went* *"Oh my gosh I don't think I can work in this school,* *but it was just an overwhelming thing.* *I had actually never thought about a school that could be 100% black.* *it was just really hard to think of it being, a 100%* *What if everything I've always thought of myself is not true?* *What if I find that I'm in this interview* *and they see something in me* *that I've always said wasn't there?* *what, what if it's there?* *I didn't ever stand there and go* *"Oh my gosh there's no way I could do this,"* *but I was afraid* *that there actually was something in me that was,* *that would be prejudiced or biased against this or something* *because my first initial reaction was about the black Jesus was like* *"Come on, no way"* *and it was almost like I'm gonna be outnumbered here.* *What if they make me teach this?*	(Side Sequence) Ellie: I took basically my same story and um, Mary: Can I interrupt? You've got about 10 minutes left. I'm gonna move to that group. Ellie: Oh, I can fill ten minutes. Mary: Yeah, I know, I won't worry about you. Ellie: Uh, no, I took the same story but I elaborated more on it. I don't know if you guys remember my story Yeah. And um, I mean, you know you know, Um, so it's pretty much the same thing, only I kind of, I elaborated more on it you know, like I, I, you you know, You know. And I didn't put anything in here about when it stopped bothering me, It, you, to always to me it was there, you know, you know, it's... You know,

Table 10, continued

NARRATIVE #6, continued

			Evaluation	Non-storyworld talk/writing
			What if they make me stand up there working here *and I have to start teaching this things I don't believe in.* *And the whole thing with the black Jesus was like, Well, if it makes them feel better to see him look like them, well, great,* *But mostly my concern was* *what if I get this job and I'm in this room* *and all of the sudden it's a problem* *and it's something that I never thought would be a problem* *and it really is.* *And that's mostly what my narrative was,* *was kind of waking up to who I really,* *who I really was* *and what if there was a person in me* *I never knew was there--* *someone I didn't really like.* *That was mostly what the issue was, was just kind of being faced with:* *What if I am something I've always said I wasn't?* *was thinking about what if you're in this interview* *and this man is asking me all these questions* *I can't answer.* *things I've never thought about or..*	And I didn't hones..., You know, you know... (Side Sequence) Regan: And they have white Jesuses everywhere too. Ellie: Oh, yeah, Regan: White Mary's. Ellie: Yeah Regan: When I went to Catholic school everybody was white Ellie: Yeah it was, It was a Catholic school in Flint. Monica: All black. That's interesting. (Side Sequence) Ellie: No offense, Regan, I know you're into this whole female thing. Regan: No, that's okay. I'm, I'm pretty sure that Jesus was a man. It's okay (Side Sequence) Regan: Hmm, That's interesting Ellie: Do you know what I mean? Does that make sense? you know And I've always Regan: Like if it just comes out one day when you're talking. Ellie: Yeah, or like, I mean, You know,

Table 10, continued

NARRATIVE #6, continued

Table 10, continued **NARRATIVE #6, continued**

		Crucial Contextualizing Information	
		Flash Sequence 1. Before the interview I talked to the principal on the phone. he [the principal] asked me on the phone "What do you know about northern Flint?" I'm like Regan: It's in northern Flint. Ellie: It's in northern Flint *That's all I knew* *I didn't know anything about, the socioeconomic area,* *I didn't know anything about the population,* *nothing.* 2. I heard people on talk shows saying: "Jesus is black." I commented hearing these radio talk shows about, people going up saying things about saying "Jesus is black." And I keep going "He was born in Jerusalem; he was middle eastern. *What is so hard about this?"* 3. I saw a Life magazine article with many representations of Jesus. And I happened to see an article, I think I've mentioned it a couple of times, it was in Life magazine recently after this incident, that talked about Jesus and then it had like 12 or 16 just pictures of all the different Jesuses, even the female Jesus and I went "Now wait a minute" *I can deal with Chinese Jesus,* *I can deal with the Russian Jesus,* *but the female, no, that I can't do.* *I'm sorry* *but a woman hanging on the cross just to me was a step too far.* Ellie: But that kind of helped me too work through dealing with that one issue *cause that was the one thing* *that really bothered me.*	

including an increase in evaluative information. We can also see that the core plot remained essentially the same across the narratives.

To assist in comparison of the six narratives, Table 11 provides a summary of the quantitative changes in events, contextual information, evaluation, and non-storyworld talk as revealed by Polanyi's method across all six narratives. Across the narratives, the main events were between three and seven clauses long. Contextual information (this includes crucial contextualizing information, flash sequences, and evaluation) ranged from seventeen to eighty-eight clauses. Over the course of the retelling evaluation increased from six lines to fifty-three lines, and as would be expected, the longer oral narratives contained more non-storyworld talk.

Table 11

Summary of Ellie's Narrative Retellings by Number of Clauses Per Segment in Narratives #1 Through #6

Narrative	Main Line Events	Context. info--CCI*, Flashes, Evaluation	Evaluation within CCI & flash sequences	Non-storyworld talk or writing	Total # of clauses in this narrative
#1 written	3	16	6	0	20
#2 oral	4	30	9	15	49
#3 oral	1	31	22	4	36
#4 written	3	15	9	0	18
#5 rewrite	5	48	21	0	53
#6 oral	7	88	53	70	154

*CCI = Crucial contextualizing information
Flashes = Flash ahead or flash back sequences
Evaluation = Evaluation within flash sequences as well as main narrative

The preliminary analysis of the six narratives and the summary provided in Table 11 show that as Ellie retold her story, she changed it. However, although all categories (main line events, contextual information, evaluation, and non-storyworld talk, and length of narrative) increased over

time, this change was more dramatic in some categories than in others. For example, as shown by Table 12, the main line events remain relatively the same across all narratives.

Table 12

Core Plots Composed of Main Line Events and Flash Sequence Events for Ellie's Six Narratives

NARRATIVE	MAIN LINE EVENTS
#1 (written) Sketch book entry for Paley's White Teacher	I walked in-- There it was--The picture-- Then behind me was another picture: I talked to my teaching partner about the picture (fs)
#2 (oral) Large group community share for White Teacher	The first time I walked into the building And I immediately notice [the picture] And I turned around and there's a picture [of Jesus in African garb] I talked to my teaching partner about the picture (fs) I saw a Life magazine article with many representations of Jesus (fs)
#3 (oral) Small group book club discussion of White Teacher	I went [to the interview] But then to hear her [my teaching partner] talk about it and say Black leaders were trying to prove Jesus was Black.(fs) My teaching partner talked about the picture (fs) I saw a Life magazine article with many representations of Jesus (fs)
#4 (written) Vignette assignment to share with others in class	I entered the doors [for my interview] At that moment, everything I had always prided myself on was challenged. but here I was standing in the hall just about to interview to teach at this school. I entered school on the first day of class (fs)
#5 (written) Rewritten vignette assignment to share with others in class	I walked [in] the doors When I entered the building, As I looked around the other walls, But then I saw it. [photograph] At that moment, everything I had always prided myself on was challenged. I heard radio talk shows talk about: Was Jesus Black? (fs) I went to school on my first day of teaching.(fs)
#6 (oral) Small group discussion about revised vignette assignment	but it was about when I went in for the job interview and I walked in and I saw the big picture of the whole student body on the wall. And it really challenged something that had always frustrated me So I had just honestly never thought about it [and I was just faced with: But, then I was faced with looking at this sea of people Before the interview I talked to the principal on the phone (fs) I heard people on talk shows saying: "Jesus is Black" (fs) I saw a Life magazine article with many representations of Jesus (fs).

As Table 12 shows, the core events remain essentially the same across all six retellings:

> Ellie entered the building. She saw a picture or photographs showing: the school population where all the students were black and only the teachers were white, Christ as a Black man dressed in African clothing with African disciples, and a Madonna and child, where both mother and child were Black. These pictures challenged her.

Within the narratives, the challenge posed by the black Jesus and black student population was evaluated and resolved by Ellie concluding there was no problem, talking to her teaching partner, or by seeing the article with many representations of Jesus. There is an increasing amount of evaluation across the narratives.

Extending the Analysis to Include Examination of the Discourse

Noting these structural changes (e. g., similarities in main events, increase in evaluation) is important because it reveals the dynamic nature of narrative and seems to indicate that Ellie was "re-emplotting" her story. As she was retelling the events, she was also imposing and changing a plot structure or interpretation. Although this appears to be the case given these structural changes, several questions must be answered before we assume that the increase in various categories does, in fact, indicate re-emplotment. In addition to a more detailed analysis of **what** changed and **what** remained the same, it is critical to consider **how** the narratives changed. This requires extending the analysis beyond the preliminary quantitative comparisons to explore qualitative changes in Ellie's narratives.

Further inquiry into qualitative differences across narratives requires scrutinizing the discourse across the retellings in addition to examining the structure. Attention to discourse is important because "stories of narrative

self-identity must be embedded in and constructed out of a person's particular cultural environment--that is, the specific vocabulary and grammar of its language, its 'stock of working historical conventions,' and the pattern of its belief and value systems" (Polkinghorne, 1991, p. 144). Here Polkinghorne indicates the ties between the construction of self and language. Self-identity is "embedded in" and "constructed out of" culture and language. Although Polkinghorne highlights the aspects of discourse associated with "vocabulary and grammar," he also indicates that culture and "working conventions" play a significant role in identity construction, and while Polkinghorne does not fully explore the implications of this statement, it is worth further consideration.

Bamburg (1991) has criticized Polkinghorne for not emphasizing the role that discourse plays in re-emplotment, stating that: "events are not only given form due to their relationship to the theme or plot, but at the same time due to the language that is spoken and the discourse that is generated" (p. 157). The use of the term "discourse" here refers not only to "vocabulary and grammar" but also to the "working conventions" to which Polkinghorne referred but did not explore. The working conventions with their patterns of "belief and value systems" can be thought of as a "discourse" which Gee (1989) defines as saying or writing "the right thing in the right way while playing the right social role and (appearing) to hold the right values, beliefs, and attitudes. Thus what is important is not language, and surely not grammar, but *saying (writing)--doing--being--valuing--believing* combinations" (emphasis in the original, p. 6). Thus discourse is more than just a way of communicating, more than a "convention," it is "an identity kit," which assists us in constructing the Self and the Other. As such, our

views of self and our views of others are discursively produced (Harrè & Gillett, 1994).

In attempting to re-emplot events and in searching for evidence of re-emplotment, careful consideration must be given to evaluative comments or what Bamburg refers to as "value-orientations. "**How** these evaluations are constructed and **what** is contained within them is critical because such value-orientations reveal the narrator's "subjective point of view" (Bamburg, 1991). The position taken up by the narrative and the positions projected onto others can be identified by "extracting the autobiographical aspects of a conversation in which it becomes possible to find out how each conversant conceives of themselves and of other participants by seeing what position they take up and in what story, and how they are then positioned" (p.48, Davies and Harrè). Thus, how we position ourselves and how we position others within our cultural environment is reflected and also reflexively constructed by how we use language. In sum, a change in re-emplotment requires that a narrator reshape events or the interpretation of those events over time. Change can be determined in part by looking for quantifiable changes (e.g., increases in the occurrence of events, contextual information, or evaluation) but also by qualitative changes (how events change, how evaluation changes). In addition, evidence of re-emplotment can also be found by examining the evaluation or interpretation of the story for how the narrator positions herself and whether there is a shift in her positioning of self and others over time.

In the following section I explore the questions (a) What additional quantitative changes do we see across the first five narratives? (b) What qualitative changes do we see across the first five narratives? And (c) What do these changes reveal about how Ellie positions herself and others? The

section presents a cross-narrative analysis of which foregrounds Narratives #1 through #5. Analysis of Narrative #6 will be presented in the final section. I have chosen to present the analysis of Narrative #6 separately because it is a very long narrative, and it is the narrative that demonstrates the greatest amount of change. In exploring methods of analyzing the evaluative segments, it is clear that there is no set way to determine how different kinds of value-orientations are "in concert" or in conflict" as Bamburg (1991) noted when he wrote: "[H]ow one can analyze such orientations, is far from being fully understood at this point in narrative research." (Bamburg, 1991, 161). However, given the emphasis placed on discourse by Polanyi, Labov, Bamburg, and that implied by Polkinghorne, I use techniques from discourse analysis, particularly the work of Tannen (1989) to identify conflict and coherence across and within narratives.

Evidence of Re-emplotment: Repetition Across Words, Repetition Across Resolutions, and Repetition Across Questions

Repetition Across Words

When I first read across Ellie's narratives, I was struck the repetition within the evaluative segments but also across the narratives as a whole. Although the main events are repeated across most of the narratives creating coherence across stories, there are also other words, phrases, ideas, and structures that Ellie used create a coherence and emphasize ideas across the narratives. In the early stages of analysis, I began highlighting words that were repeated (e.g. Finley, black, bother, picture) and later I highlighted words that seemed to be reflect Ellie's position and how she positioned others (e.g. African, challenge, race, white). Patterns did not emerge for all the words I coded and in some cases, the lack of repetition was as revealing as the repetition (see Appendix I for a complete list of words coded). Table 13

provides a summary of five words that were important not only for the number of times they were repeated but also for how they were used across the narratives.

Table 13

Repetition of Selected Words in Ellie's Narratives

WORD	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6
Africa/ African	3	5	0	0	2	2
black	2	0	2	3	12	8-E 1-M
culture	0	0	0	1	1	0
race	0	0	0	3	3	0
white	1	1	0	2	2	1-E 3-R

E= Ellie R= Regan M=Marsha

As I looked across the narratives, I was surprised to see a shift where Ellie used the word "black" with increasing frequency. In her earliest narratives she used "black" as a descriptive term only twice to refer to "Black students" and "Black leaders." In all other references she used the words "Africa" or "African." In contrast, she used "black" twelve and nine times in her last retellings. My first hunch was that Ellie's language in her first narratives was a more guarded, politically correct use of language where she avoided using the term "black" because it raised the hot-lava topic of race. I hypothesized that Ellie was moving toward a more open exploration of the story and its characters through her multiple retellings. While this assertion cannot be supported by looking only at one term, there is evidence of this movement if we look at other words and how they are used.

In contrast to "black," Ellie used the word "white" much less frequently. Throughout the narrative Ellie used "black" only to describe the

photograph of the children and their teachers. It was a "black and white" photograph both because of the type of film and because the faces of the students and teachers are black and white. In contrast to the increasing use of "black," Ellie used the word "white" to refer only to the teachers at the school. This is not surprising given that white is the "unmarked form" in our society and that white people often think of themselves positioned outside of race and culture (Frankenberg, 1993; King, 1991) and that teachers who are predominantly white women tend to avoid raising race as an issue (Glazier, et al, in press; McIntyre, 1997) . For these reasons, I was surprised to observe that Ellie actually used the words "race" and "culture" in her fourth and fifth narratives, both of which were completed for part of the written vignette assignment.

In these narratives Ellie wrote that she "learned so much" or "quite a bit about the black culture" during teaching in Finley. This could imply that Ellie saw "the black culture" as a monolithic construct that could in fact be "learned." There are no comments that reflect attention or focus on her own "white culture." More revealing was her use of the word "race." She used this word in both narratives five and six as shown in **Table 14.**

Table 14

Comparison of the Word "Race" as Used in Narratives #4 and #5

Narrative #4	Narrative #5
I never thought that I would have a problem with teaching a child of any **race**.	I never thought that I would have a problem with teaching a child of any **race**.
What if I did have a problem with **race**?	Would the principal see something in me that I never thought was there--that I did have a problem with **race**?
I entered the school my first day still so excited but now, not the least bit concerned about the kids' **race**.	I don't recall **race** ever coming up in the interview.

In her narrative, after seeing the photograph of black students and white teachers and after seeing the portraits of Jesus and Mary as Black, Ellie wondered if she would "have a problem teaching a child of any race." This statement indicated the possibility that there could, in fact, be a problem. This possibility was reflected in the two questions Ellie posed: What if I did have a problem with **race**? Would the principal see something in me that I never thought was there--that I did have a problem with **race**? In the end, Ellie concluded that race was not to be a problem she was "not the least bit concerned about the kids' race." Ellie then added: "I learned so much about the Black culture working there and honestly never felt the difference between us was a problem." This implies that the "problem" of race can be dealt with by choosing to be colorblind and by learning "the Black culture." Ellie also indicated this interpretation in her resolution of Narratives #5 and #6, she Ellie said, "They were my kids, and I was their teacher." This ending, described the context--Ellie as teacher (not **white** teacher) and kids as students (not **black** students) and implied that the issue of difference, Ellie being white and her students being black, was not one that needed to be addressed.

As Bamburg noted earlier, the events in a narrative are shaped not only by interpretation but by the language used throughout a narrative (Bamburg, 1991). Although Ellie introduces the idea of race through the events she relates and the words she uses, her interpretation indicates that these events were not important. In avoiding the hot-lava topic of race, Ellie readily solves her dilemma by adopting the stance of a "colorblind" teacher--what Polkinghorne might call a "working convention" that Ellie falls back on to express her idea. As I explain below, this simplistic view of remaining colorblind is **not** a common resolution across the narratives. Several of the narratives, particularly the last retelling, introduce and sustain the issue of race as a dilemma and reveal the complexity of Ellie's evaluative sequences.

Before proceeding with this examination of other evaluative segments, I think it is important to consider how the form of Narratives #5 and #6 may have affected the way that Ellie shaped her story and the interpretation she placed on it. The two direct references to "race" which I analyzed above occurred in Ellie's written narratives. In contrast, there were no direct references to race in the oral retellings. I believe that the form of the narrative (a brief written narrative) and the context (an assignment for class and to be shared with others) contributed to the way that Ellie introduced race as a possible problem but then resolved it. One possibility is that Ellie knew she had to share her story with others and whether she was conscious of her strategy or not, she attempted to mitigate opportunities for argument or disagreement by concluding that race was not a problem, making it a non-issue. It is also likely that the written form contributed to the structure of the evaluation and resolution. All the written vignettes crafted by students for their assignment shared a common form, in that all could easily be coded using Labov's structure of Orientation, Complicating Action, Evaluation, and

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Resolution. This is probably due in part to the examples I provided for students (see Appendix B) which also exhibited this pattern. In some respects this form can be quite limiting. For example, in Chapter 5 I will demonstrate that other narrative forms actually allow narrators more options to raise questions and dilemmas and to present themselves as "multi-voiced" individuals (Bamburg, 1991; Zuss, 1997). However, even narratives organized in a traditional organizational pattern, can provide opportunities for more complex evaluation over time as we can see from further comparison across Ellie's narratives.

Repetition Across Resolutions

As mentioned earlier one of the most striking changes across the narratives is the increase in evaluation. In Ellie's case, examples of evaluative comments range from the relatively mundane statements "That's all I knew [that it was in northern Finley]" to the more provocative self-directed questions: "What if I did have a problem with race?" In addition to these statements and questions, Ellie also uses the resolution of her stories as a form of interpretation. Resolution statements are usually found at the end of the story and function to provide a "result" for the story; they answer the question: "And then what happened?" Resolutions also state or imply an interpretation of the story's events. Ellie essentially offered three overarching interpretations or resolutions to resolve her story. At various points she suggested that the final result of her being white and her students being black or that Jesus being black was (a) seemed problematic until she talked with her teaching partner or read the magazine article (b) could have been a problem but it wasn't, or (c) remained a dilemma. Table 15 provides an overview of they types of resolutions offered in each narrative.

Table 15

Overview of the Resolutions Offered in Ellie's Six Narratives

Narrative	Could have been a problem but wasn't	Seemed problematic until...	Remained a dilemma
#1 (written) sketchbook		she talked to teaching partner & read magazine	
#2 (oral) large group		she talked to teaching partner & read magazine	
#3 (oral) small group		she talked to teaching partner & read magazine	
#4 (written) vignette assignment	They were my kids. I was their teacher.		
#5 (written) revised vignette	They were my kids. I was their teacher.		
#6 (oral) final retelling			What if.....

The plots or interpretations that Ellie places on her narratives are both "conflicting" and "in concert." For example, Narratives #1, 2, 3 have similar "in concert" interpretations. In each case Ellie mentions talking with her teaching partner and reading the magazine article which depicts many representations of Jesus. However, the interpretation placed on the first three narratives is in conflict with Narratives #4 and #5. As mentioned during the section "Repetition of Words," Ellie resolves Narrative #4 and #5 with the statement: "They were my kids. I was their teacher" thus indicating that race was not a problem. All five narratives differ from the resolution of the final narrative in which Ellie leaves open the question of whether race is a problem. Rather than being easily resolved, the issue of race continues to be a dilemma.

The changing resolutions is yet another indication that as Ellie engaged in the process of revisiting and re-emplotting her narrative in both its structuring of events and the interpretation of those events. It implies that her cognitive stance has changed or at least that there is some part of the story that resists being emplotted in the way that she has attempted to do so. The lack of consistency across resolutions is, in fact, representative of the "resistance" that individuals encounter in trying to fit events into a particular temporal and interpretive frame (Polkinghorne, 1991). These assertions--that Ellie is re-emplotting her narrative and thus changing her position--can be supported further by considering the types of questions Ellie asked across her narratives and by exploring how these questions functioned.

Repetition Across Questions

Table 16 presents a summary of the questions asked by Ellie across her narratives. Looking across the questions, one of the most striking details is the dramatic recurrence and increase in "what if" questions, question form that allows speakers to express possibilities. In the first four narratives, Ellie asks only three "what if" questions. In Narratives #2 and #4, she asks: **What if** it bothers me? **What if** I have a problem with race? thus raising the possibility that she perhaps does have or would have a problem with race. She also raises the possibility that she is a racist by asking the question: **What** would that mean I was? These questions reflect Ellie's sudden recognition of having crossed a cultural boundary where the "tables are now turned" and where she, as the white teacher, is the minority. The "what if" form of the questions holds forth the potential to explore what Rosaldo (1993) calls "the mundane disturbances that so often erupt during border crossings" (p. 29).

Table 16

Summary of the Questions Ellie Asked Across Narratives #1 Through #6

Narrative	Questions
#1 (written) sketch book	None
#2 (oral) large group	**What if** it bothers me?
#3 (oral) small group	None
#4 (written) assignment	**What if** I have a problem with race? **What** would that mean I was?
#5 (written) revised	**Why** is that so hard to understand? **What if** I did have a problem? **What if** I found I was uncomfortable here? **What if** the children did not want to listen to me? **Would** the principal see something in me I never thought was there that I did have a problem with race? If so, what **would** that mean I was?

#6 (oral) final retelling	**What** do you know about northern Finley? **What** is so hard about this? **What if** everything I've always thought of myself is not true? **What if** I find that I'm in this interview and they see something in me that I've always said wasn't there? **What if** it's there? **What if** they make me teach this? **What if** they make me stand up there working here and I have to start teachings this thing I don't believe in? **What if** there was a person in me I never knew was there--someone I didn't really like? **Do** you know what I mean? **Does** that make sense? **What if** I am something I've always said I wasn't? I was thinking about **what if** you're in this interview and this an is asking me all these questions I can't answer? You know, [**what if** he's asking me about] things I've never thought about or...?

Ellie increases the potential for this exploration in the next narrative, #5, by raising an additional set of questions when she asks: "**What if** the children did not want to listen to me?" and, "**Would** the principal see something in me I never thought was there that I did have a problem with race?" These two questions represent a critical shift in Ellie's position. The questions imply consideration of how the principal and students will "see" her. Interestingly, the word "see" connotes both her physical self--the principal and children will see that she is White--but the word also indicates how she will be perceived--the principal might perceive that she is a racist or the children might perceive that she is not a teacher to whom they should listen because she is White. Thus Ellie's questions reveal a subtle but important shift. By introducing how other's perceive her, she injects into the narrative the potential to demonstrate that "Life stories need not be simply self-centered and narcissistic. Our individual stories can, and perhaps need

to, expand the protagonist from an *I* to a *we*. The I in the 'Who am I?' can be extended to include other individuals and communities" (p. 146, Polkinghorne, 1991). Thus as Ellie questions herself, she also begins to introduce the perspective of the Other by asking: "How do Others see me?"

Although the potential exists to "extend the protagonist form an *I* to a *we*," for Ellie to explore her position as a white teacher and to consider how her race positions her within the school setting and within the society, Ellie does not push take this reflection any further. This is exemplified in the way that Ellie responds to the questions she has introduced. Her questions, though self-directed and introspective, are also rhetorical, and it would go against the written and oral convention of discourse for Ellie to respond to them directly, for example, by stating, "I am not a racist," or "The principal could see I wasn't prejudiced." However, Ellie did respond to these questions in the way she resolved her stories. As I explained in the previous section on resolutions, Ellie uses two resolutions in concluding Narratives #1 through #5. One was that she talked with her teacher and read a magazine article, and the issue of race (particularly portraying Christ as black) was no longer problem. In the second interpretation, Ellie concludes: "I was their teacher. They were my kids." Both interpretations of her narrative offer a response to the self-directed questions she poses. For example, she responds to the questions: "What if I have a problem with race? What if I was uncomfortable here?" with the reply, given in her resolution, "Race was not an issue; it didn't matter if I was white and the students were black."

The changing questions are further evidence that Ellie's was re-emplotting her narratives and reflecting on the tensions surrounding race. However, as I have noted above, this change is limited. Although she raises the opportunity to explore issues (e.g., her position as a white teacher) she

does not always fully engage these opportunities. In raising questions that potentially problematize her position as a white teacher and then in replying to these questions that race is a "non-issue," Ellie demonstrates how difficult it can be to both raise and sustain exploration of hot-lava topics through narrative. Her resistance to shifting her position, of almost stepping into the place of the Other and then backing away, represents both the potential power of narrative, to explore how others see us and thereby to reposition ourselves and others, but also the resistance to re-emplotting our life stories.

Although the process of repositioning ourselves is difficult and although Ellie may encounter resistance from within herself, I wish to point out that context (e.g. written assignment, oral story) can contribute to the form of the narrative and potentially constrain narrative exploration (Swidler, 1995). For example, in the written narratives, Ellie knew that she was supposed to write about half a page and that the narrative would be shared with her peers. This may have decreased the opportunities for Ellie to pose and respond to difficult questions. However, it is worth noting that even in comparing the two written forms Ellie made some important changes in relation to the questions she posed. In Narrative #4, the first written vignette assignment, Ellie posed only two questions: What if I have a problem with race? What would that mean I was? But in rewriting the narrative (Narrative #5), she included six questions. Five of those questions are questions which are essentially self-directed questions which embody possibilities (e.g. What if I did have a problem?) and two are the type that begin to consider others and how they perceive Ellie (e.g. What if the children did not want to listen to me?). This indicates that although re-emplotment may be constrained by context, important changes can still occur.

Re-emplotting the Self: Questions, Flash Sequences, and Repetition Within Ellie's Final Oral Retelling

Thus far we have looked at repetition of words, resolutions, and questions and how they provide evidence of re-emplotment and shifts in position over the first five narratives. However, it is Narrative #6 that the greatest changes occur. As Table 16 showed, Ellie used thirteen questions in this final oral narrative. Because these final questions are part of a long oral retelling, one in which several other participants play a part in shaping the narrative, it is important to consider the questions in the context of the extended retelling. In the following section I present Ellie's final narrative with analysis that focuses on interpretation of events through the use of questions, flash sequences involving other participants and repetition within the narrative. I also consider how Ellie positions herself through questions, comments, and interaction with other participants.

Ellie's final oral retelling took place eleven weeks into a fifteen-week course. Before coming to class on that night she had re-written her vignette assignment (see Appendix G for Ellie's rewritten vignette). She retold her story in a small group with Regan and Marsha, and this retelling lasted for about five minutes. The complete transcript of this retelling and Ellie's interaction with other participants is available in Appendix H.

In this final version of her story, Ellie uses several different types of questions. The first question is reported speech from the principal with whom she interviewed and introduces a flash back sequence:

Ellie: I honestly did not know anything about northern Finley. I mean, he, he [the principal] asked me on the phone, you know: "What do you know about northern Finley?" I'm like

Regan: It's in northern Finley.]

Ellie: It's in northern Finley] laughter

That's all I knew I didn't know anything about, you know, the socioeconomic area, I didn't know anything about the population, nothing.

This flash back is a humorous exchange that engaged other participants, but it also functioned as a way for Ellie to evaluate this event, to indicate her limited knowledge about Finley. Regan's response: "It's in northern Finley" and Ellie's overlapping speech and repetition along with Ellie's repetition of the idea that she "didn't know anything" or knew "nothing" amplify Ellie's position as a naive actor in the story. Other participants know from hearing or reading previous versions of the story that Ellie grew up in a fairly prosperous suburb not far from Finley. In previous versions of the story, Ellie indicated she was unaware that Finley and especially northern Finley is "known" for being a predominantly black community. Finley also had a reputation for high unemployment and crime, and at the time Ellie interviewed was particularly troubled by unemployment due to General Motors shut down of a major assembly plant. Ellie reveals that she was unaware of Finley's black population and history. Thus when Ellie walked into the school and saw the pictures of a black Christ and his disciples and a black Madonna, it was a "shock" to her.

As Ellie recounts her story, her discourse reveals not only how she is positioning herself but how she is positioning others. Even though in the first 30 lines, she describes talking with the principal, going to Finley, entering the school and seeing the pictures of the Black Christ, she never refers directly to the black students or black community. She mentions the "black and white faces" of students and teachers, "the student body," and the "population" but it is not until lines 35-38 that she directly talks about the school as an all black

school. She says: "I had actually never thought about a school that could be 100% black. It, you, to always to me it was there, there were some of them in your classroom. It was just really hard to think of it being, you know, a 100%." At this point Ellie's language clearly indicates how she is positioning herself and her students. Her depersonalization of the students as "them" ("there were always some of **them** in your classroom") and her inclusion of Regan and Marsha, the others in her discussion group ("there were always some of them in **your** classroom") indicate separation along racial lines. Although white readers may find nothing unusual about Ellie's reference to these students as "them," African Americans who have read and listened to Ellie's narrative have all commented on her depersonalization of the students, a discourse move that reflects white "depersonalization" of Black Americans within our society. Ellie's positioning of herself and other participants in the group and the black students and community as us-them reflects the balkinization along racial lines within our society. This separation is also reflected in Ellie's comment in line 52 when she describes looking at the photograph of the students, "this sea of [black] people," and she adds: "I'm gonna be outnumbered here." Ellie's positioning herself as a naive and passive character and her discourse which uses an us-them dichotomy reflects a conversational strategy that McIntyre (1997) calls "'white talk'--talk that serves to insulate white people from examining their/our individual and collective role(s) in the perpetuation of racism" (p. 45).

Yet what is striking about Ellie's point of view is how she joins this depersonalization of the Other with reflection on her own position. She begins in line 30 by noting that the picture of the black Jesus really bothered her and that she was shocked to be faced with her own "feelings." However, she does not express what those feelings are. In line 42 she continues

reflecting on herself and her views at first using vague references and abstract pronouns (underlined in the excerpt) and she continues to position the black students and the black community as the Other **(in bold** in the excerpt):

42	with: What if everything I've always thought of myself is not
43	true? What if I find that I'm in this interview and **they** see
44	something in me that I've always said wasn't there? You
45	know, what, what if it's there? And I didn't hones..., I didn't
46	ever stand there and go "Oh my gosh there's no way I could do
47	this, but I was afraid that there actually was something in me
48	that was, that would be prejudiced or biased against this or
49	something because my first initial reaction was about the black
50	Jesus was like "Come on, no way" But, then I was faced with
51	looking at this sea of people and it was almost like I'm gonna
52	be outnumbered here. What if they make me teach this? What
53	if **they** make me stand up there working here and I have to
54	start teaching this things I don't believe in. You know, And the
55	whole thing with the black Jesus was like "Well, if it makes
56	them feel better to see him look like **them**, well, great, you
57	know...

The types of questions that Ellie has begun to ask in the excerpt above reflect how difficult it is to explore racism and identity. Ellie states that her own reaction to the Black Jesus challenged her and raised doubts about whether she was racist and about whether she knows herself. Her repeated references to "something in me," and questions of "what if it's there" and "what if everything I've thought.. is not true?" indicate how difficult it is to directly voice the issue of racism. Ellie finally introduces the issue of prejudice and bias in line 48 when she states: "I was afraid that there actually

was something in me that was, that would be prejudiced or biased against this." Ellie's speaking the words "prejudice" and "bias" are significant because she identifies, for the first time, what the "it" is that could be inside her. However, even as she has raises this issue, she is still vague about what the "object" of her prejudice is: "that I would be prejudiced or biased against this." "This" can be interpreted as both the black students and black community or the Black Jesus.

Ellie reifies her positioning the black Other as "they, them" throughout this segment. Although Ellie repeatedly mentions the "black Jesus," she does not mention the "white teacher," and her own race remains transparent, the unmarked form which is not introduced as a topic on the conversational floor. However, immediately after the above excerpt, Regan, who often raised issues of race for discussion (see Chapter 5), attempts to introduce "whiteness" as a topic:

58	Regan: And they have white Jesuses everywhere too.
59	Ellie: Oh, yeah,
60	Regan: White Mary's.]
61	Ellie: Yeah]
62	Regan: When I went to Catholic school everybody was white]
63	Ellie: Yeah it was, It was a Catholic school in Finley.]
64	Marsha: All black. That's interesting.]

The juxtaposition of Regan's comment: "And they have white Jesuses everywhere too" and "white Mary's" and "When I went to Catholic school everybody was white" is striking because Ellie has spent a great deal of time describing the black Jesus, but she did not indicate that the school contained many other representations of Christ or Mary as white. Although Regan does not directly challenge Ellie's description, she indirectly raises the issue that if

there were all-white Catholic schools just as this school happens to be all-black. However, there is no uptake on the idea of "whiteness," and Marsha assists in avoiding engagement with the issue of "whiteness" by noting, "All black. That's interesting." This segment is particularly important because it indicates how even in conversational narratives, which were less constrained than the narrative vignette assignments, it is difficult to raise and sustain discussions where individuals explore how their own whiteness positions them.

Although the group does not directly delve into the topic of whiteness, Ellie continues to skirt the edges of this topic through more "what if" questions. She concludes her retelling with this evaluation:

76	Ellie: But that kind of helped me too work through you know	
77	dealing with that one issue *cause that was the one thing*	
78	*that really bothered me. But mostly my concern was what if*	
79	*I get this job and I'm in this room and all of the sudden it's a*	
80	*problem and it's something that I never thought would be a*	
81	*problem and it really is. And that's mostly what my*	
82	*narrative was, was kind of waking up to who I really, who I*	
83	*really was and what if there was a person in me I never*	
84	*knew was there--someone I didn't really like.*	
85	Regan: Hmm, That's interesting	
86	Ellie: Do you know what I mean? Does that make sense? *That*	
87	*was mostly what the issue was, was just kind of being faced*	
88	*with: What if I am something I've always said I wasn't?*	
89	*And I've always*]	

90	Regan: Like if it just comes out one day when you're talking.]	
91	Ellie: *Yeah, or like, I mean, I was thinking about what if you're*	
92	*in this interview and this man is asking me all these*	
93	*questions I can't answer. You know, things I've never*	
94	*thought about or.*	

Ellie begins this excerpt by indicating that the "one thing" that really bothered her was the picture of the Black Jesus. Yet she immediately follows this statement with the phrase in line 78-80: "But mostly my concern was what if I get this job and I'm in this room and all of the sudden it's a problem..." These two conflicting interpretations of what "the problem" is reflect Ellie's stance at this moment. We have seen over earlier iterations how Ellie had concluded that "there was not a problem with race" or "there could have been a problem with race but in the end, there wasn't." In this final narrative, she ends her narrative not with one of these resolutions but with a set of questions (e.g. What if there was a person in me I never knew was there--someone I didn't really like? What if I am something I've always said I wasn't?) that repeat a common theme of "What if I am prejudiced? What if I am a racist?" This "resolution" rather than being the "result" of the narrative, presents both the narrator and the listeners with a dilemma (Florio-Ruane, & deTar, 1996) and problematizes Ellie's position as white teacher.

Conclusion

In analyzing Ellie's narratives I have argued that the quantitative and qualitative changes across Ellie's narratives reveal re-emplotment. In this analysis I have considered what changed (e.g., evaluative sequences, words, flash sequences, resolutions, self-directed questions) and how these changed,

reconfiguring the relationship between events and their plot, evaluation and interpretation of narratives, and ultimately, a shift in how Ellie positions herself. We see this in Ellie's narrative as she moves from a point where her own whiteness is of no consequence to a point where she begins to ask: How do others see me? a point where Ellie takes a critical first step toward confronting her whiteness and what this means for her as a teacher working with African American students.

Ellie's case demonstrates that the process of re-emplotment is a dialectic between events and interpretation. This non-linear process of revisiting her own story reveals the multi-voicedness of the Self (Bamburg, 1991; Grumet, 1991) and demonstrates that we are not just one story but many stories, often conflicting, sometimes in concert. Ellie is at once the naive, white teacher who chooses to be "color blind" and the more experienced teacher exploring what it means to be "color conscious." At the same time that Ellie asks numerous self-directed questions where she begins to explore the position and prejudices that she has perhaps internalized she positions her students and their community in references which mask her own "whiteness" by drawing attention to the "blackness" of the Other. The language Ellie uses and the resulting dissonance created by conflicting evaluations, resolutions, and positions, demonstrates how difficult it is to re-emplot a narrative.

Implied throughout the analysis of Ellie's narrative is the notion that individuals may sometimes fail in their efforts to re-emplot a narrative, that their attempts at recreating stories may not result in changes between events and interpretation or changes in positioning. It suggests that some narratives may reify previous positions and interpretations held by a narrator. Bamburg suggests that emplotments fail, in part due to the "communicative aspects [of

interaction] that are constituted by language and discourse in their specific cultural/institutional settings" (p. 157, Bamburg, 1991). In other words, as narrators we interpret life events in our primary discourse the specific set of "*saying (writing)--doing--being--valuing--believing* combinations" (emphasis in the original, p. 6, Gee, 1989) which are part of our primary "cultural/institutional settings." It is only when we learn to step outside this primary discourse to re-emplot events from another perspective with another discourse that we can begin to radically re-emplot our life events and counter the reifying effects of narrative. Thus re-emplotment involves seeing the self as both a process and an object, as Zuss observes: "Life-writings manifest an increasing, if at first an often tentative and delicate, engagement with the self as both a process and an object crisscrossed by the powers and play of multiple actors, discourses, and positioning influences" (1997, p. 174). As Ellie shows, this can involve reifying beliefs even as an individual begins to raise questions about them. However, in undertaking this "tentative and delicate engagement" of the self, Ellie carries out a complicated and courageous task. Her multiple renditions of narrative demonstrate the power of stories to change and grow over time if opportunity is provided to revisit and reinterpret events.

CHAPTER FOUR

CATHY'S STORY: WHITE TEACHER, BLACK CHILD PLACED IN CRISIS

Introduction

I arrive at Cathy's school--a charter school affiliated with the Edison Project--on a cold day in January, almost one year after Cathy was a participant in the Culture, Autobiography, and Literacy course that I taught the previous fall. Cathy, who has now moved into an administrative position, welcomes me into her office. As I set up tape recorders and microphones, we chat about Ellie and Cass, the other teachers in her school who had taken the same course and about challenges Cathy faces in her new job. When I have finished setting up all the equipment (and we have finished joking about how many tape recorders there are) I ask a few preliminary questions about the school and its students, and then we delve into the narrative. As I have explained on the phone, I want to talk with her about this story again--not to ask her what she remembers from before, but to find out what she is thinking now and also to check some of my analysis and interpretations with her. To start things off, I ask Cathy to read a narrative that she had written the previous year in my course--a narrative about a conference Cathy had attended called "Black Child Placed in Crisis." She comments that the racial situation surrounding the story is "painful," "upsetting to a degree", and "disappointing" to her because she did not find the tools she was looking for at the conference. As Cathy shares these feelings, my respect for her grows. In spite of the difficult issues, she has been willing to share this story with her peers and to share it once again with me. We listen to the tape. Cathy stops to add an occasional comment or explanation. When the tape ends, she says to me, "That wasn't worthless." She adds a quick explanation perhaps to

avoid offending me. " I mean, I thought of things that I hadn't thought of before, so isn't that the idea, right?"

As Cathy revisited her story, she reflected on it in new ways, extending her own understanding by using the narrative as a tool. In many ways revisiting her narrative was representative of interactions that Cathy and I shared during my class. Cathy was willing to use narrative as a tool--a mediational means (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991,1999) through which she could construct and reflect on her own cultural perspectives. Within this conversation and the course, as a "more knowledgeable other" I assisted Cathy in her use of narrative as a tool, by asking occasional questions, facilitating her telling or retelling of the narrative. As her teacher, I also provided opportunities for her to engage in that exploration by asking her to share her story, providing opportunity for her to revisit it, and allowing her to design course assignments directly related to the issues that she had raised in this one particular narrative, particularly the question: What can I as a white teacher do to assist learners who come from a different cultural or racial background?

At the time of this study, Cathy had been a teacher for thirteen years, and almost all of her experience had been teaching the primary grades. Both she and Ellie taught at a charter school, or public school academy, which was affiliated with the Edison Project. One of the "Ten Fundamentals" of the Edison Project is to have "Schools tailored to the community" (Edison Project, 1998, p. 7) and in keeping with this philosophy, teachers and children at Cathy's school participated in mini units called "intensives" where they explored topics related to their community. Because approximately 75% of the students were African American, the school devoted time across the school year to the exploration of African American culture and heritage. The

remaining 25% of students at Cathy's school were from Euro American and Lantino American backgrounds, and overall, the students were diverse in their social and economic backgrounds

Although Cathy had lived in the midwest for ten years, she still believed that "Missouri is home." Of books we read in our course, Cathy was most appreciative of Maya Angelou's I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings because it provided one perspective on what it was like to be an African American woman in the south. She also enjoyed Vivian Paley's text White Teacher. As a white teacher in a predominantly African American school, Cathy identified with the Paley and the issues she raised through her writing. At the beginning of the course Cathy wrote about her first experience teaching in a school where most of the students were African American. She wrote:

> At the small private school where I taught K-2 from 1989-1996, the majority of my students were black. I was proud that the students did not seem to notice that they were not all the same color. They never mentioned it and we never had racial problems. When someone would ask me how many black children and how many white children I had, I could proudly admit that I didn't know because it never mattered to me." (sketch book entry, 9/8/97)

Cathy commented that this "color blind" approach was advocated by the school administration. However, when Cathy enrolled in my course, she had completed one year of teaching in a new school where the administration encouraged teachers to consider the diversity, particularly racial diversity, of their students in their planning and teaching. Thus, before Cathy entered enrolled in my course, before she read autobiographies by Paley, Angelou, and others, and before she shared her own narratives and listened to narratives of her peers, Cathy had already recognized that she could not be color blind.

Unlike the "dysconsciousness" that King (1991) speaks of, Cathy was aware that color did matter. However, she still struggled with what it meant to be "color conscious" and with what it meant to be teaching children from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

The following chapter presents an analysis of a narrative shared by Cathy about a conference, "Black Child Placed in Crisis," which she attended. Throughout the chapter, I explore how these narratives functioned as opportunities for Cathy to make sense of her experiences and to share that sense-making with others. The narrative explorations pushed Cathy to reflect on her own cultural perspectives and to explore the questions: What can I as a white teacher do to help my students? What does it mean to be a white teacher who works with linguistically and racially diverse students? Her explorations of these questions through discussion, written reflection, and course projects are characterized by a newly emerging awareness of culture and its ties to literacy or what others would call "culturally relevant teaching."

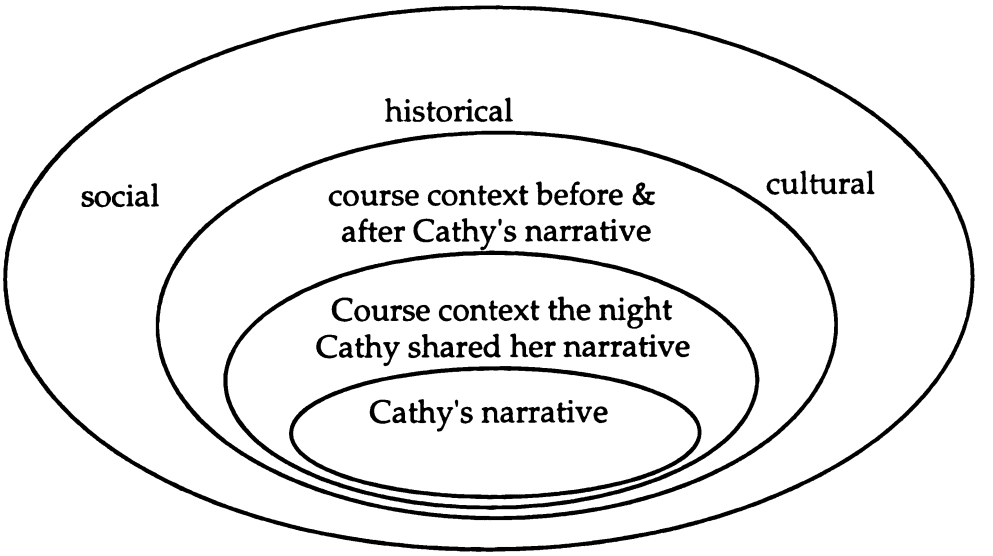
The two narratives that I will analyze were shared during the activities on one night of class during the fourth week of the semester. On this night I arranged readings and activities to support students' sharing and discussion around narratives they had written before class about a border-crossing experience (see Appendix B). The activities, discussion, and readings for this night formed an important context immediately surrounding Cathy's narratives. I begin my analysis with an overview of the discussion and activities in the course on this night to illustrate how Cathy's narrative is situated within this context. After describing and presenting examples of the context, I analyze the written and oral narratives according to Labov's (1967, 1972) definition of narrative (orientation, complicating action, evaluation,

resolution). I highlight how the narratives functioned as opportunities for Cathy to make sense of her experiences and to share that sense-making with others and also on how other participants interpreted Cathy's narrative. In concluding I explore how Cathy's narrative encouraged her to further explore her position as white teacher and what it means to be a white teacher working with predominantly African American students.

The Sociocultural Contexts of Narrative

To analyze Cathy's narrative from a sociocultural standpoint, it is essential to place the narrative in the larger contexts in which it occurs (see Figure 2). Cathy's narrative in both it's written and oral forms provides a fixed window into Cathy's learning. Only by situating her narrative and the ideas it reflects within the context of the talk and activities of the course on this night and those activities and discussion that occur before and after this night of talk can we construct a more complete portrait of Cathy's learning and situate it within the social, historical, and culture context within which it occurs. Not only is Cathy's learning situated within these multiple contexts, but the various contexts are dynamic and interactive.

Figure 2. **Cathy's Narrative in Context**



On this night of the course, we began class with a discussion about our upcoming mid-term assignment and followed this with a time where we shared our sketch books. (For a timeline of this night's class see Appendix J) During the sketch book sharing time students raised topics they had encountered in newspapers and other media. Topics covered included: the bilingual education debate, affirmative action, racial discrimination, and ethnic identity. Typically, as participants raised these issues, they used quotes or references to news clippings or news events. For example, as we discussed our sketch books on this night, Marsha began talking about racial tensions that surfaced between Hispanic groups and Black groups in Dallas in the case of a Black school superintendent. To provide an overview of the case, Regan read an excerpt from a newspaper article that she had brought in about the case. Talk during this sharing time followed a predictable pattern where one or sometimes two participants constructed a topic and where the topic was sustained on the floor as other participants asked questions or clarified factual information. While participants raised issues related to controversial topics,

these floors were not sustained for debate, exploration, or reflection about where participants stand in relation to the topics. For example, the final issue shared during this time revolved around questions of ethnic identity and cultural heritage for a Black American journalist who did not consider himself to be African American. In response, participants began telling narratives about cultural difference. However, rather than explore issues related to ethnic identity and cultural heritage, the stories told positioned culture as "exotic, " something to be experienced when one travels abroad. For example, Jaime told this story:

> I get daily email from my brother now that he's in England and um, the first day that he was there, he went with some of his flat mates to a pub or something to have a pint. It was like within the first how many hours, I don't know. He said I could barely understand them. That's how much different the culture and the language is....

In keeping with this theme, five stories were told about experiences in Europe and travel abroad and how this is different from life in the United States. As I recorded in my field notes, these stories do not tie in with topics (race, affirmative action, ethnic identity) that immediately preceded them. As the course instructor I wrote in my field notes that the stories did not seem very reflective but "paralleled a kind of curriculum that says 'Japanese people are this way: here's how they eat, holidays, etc.'" I also chose to cut off the sharing of these stories to segue into the next class activity which was to view Maya Angelou's dramatic reading of several poems. Angelou explained that she had written this poem in honor of a Black woman she had observed riding the bus:

> I have written a poem for a woman who rides a bus in New York City. She's a maid. She has two shopping bags. When the bus stops abruptly,

she laughs. If the bus stops slowly, she laughs. If the bus misses someone, she goes "ahahaha." So I watched her for about nine months. I thought, "hmmm, uh huh." Now if you don't know Black features, you may think she's laughing, but she wasn't laughing. She was simply extending her lips and making a sound "ahahaha." "Oh," I said, "I see." That's that survival apparatus. Now let me write about that to honor this woman who helps us to survive. By her very survival, Miss Rosy, through your destruction, I stand up. So I used the poem with Mr. Paul Laurence Dunbar's poem "Masks," written in 1892, and my own poem "For Old Black Men"

We Wear the Mask

We wear the mask that grins and lies,
It hides our cheeks and shades our eyes,--
This debt we pay to human gile;
With torn and bleeding hearts we smile,
And mouth with myriad subtleties.

Why should the world be overwise,
In counting all our tears and sighs?
Nay, let them only see us, while
  We wear the mask....

After reading Dunbar's poem, Angelou continued with her own:

When I Think About Myself

When I think about myself,
I almost laugh myself to death,
My life has been one great big joke,
A dance that's walked
A song that's spoke
I laugh so hard I almost choke
When I think about myself.

Seventy years in these folks' world
The child I works for calls me girl
I say "Yes, ma'am" for working's sake
Too proud to bend
Too proud to break,
I laugh until my stomach ache
When I think about myself....

Angelou continued this reading and followed it with yet another poem. (A complete transcript of the poems is available in Appendix K.) Although several students commented that this reading was "powerful," we had a

difficult time talking about it. Questions I posed about the poem were met with long pauses. When participants did respond to the poem with what they were thinking as they watched the video, there was no uptake on their comments and long pauses followed many student responses. After approximately seven minutes of discussion with more than seven long pauses, I chose to move the class toward discussion of one article we had read for class on this night as a means of preparing students to discuss narratives they had written.

In the course I asked students to write a narrative vignette of one or two paragraphs about a time when they or someone they know experienced a "border crossing"--an event that made them aware of being an insider or outsider, or of feeling uncomfortable about a situation related to a school setting. I chose to have students focus on events in a school setting because significant insights into literacy and culture often come from stories that are not about literate practices of reading, writing, listening, speaking. For example, a story about changing schools and going from rural to urban school may help students begin to understand how literate practices differed across these communities and to think about what literate practices govern the lives of students in the communities where they teach

To assist students in writing their vignettes, I gave the students two examples of vignettes written on a similar topic and a handout with questions adapted from Ferdman (e.g. What messages do language practices communicate to the individual about his or her culture and its value?) (1991, pp. 110-111) that we would use in analyzing the vignettes. I asked students to bring copies of their narrative to class to share with their classmates. I also told students that we would revisit these narratives later in the semester for further reflection and interpretation.

Culture, Literacy, and Reflection: Exploring Self and Other

On the night of the course where we were to discuss these narratives, we had read "A Good Place to Begin--Examining Our Personal Perspectives" (1993) by Abt-Perkins and Gomez. In this article, the authors explain how they began teaching their course by sharing their own teaching stories with their students. In the context of the course, the authors and their students--practicing teachers--used writing to explore their experiences, beliefs, and instructional practices of literacy and of multicultural education. I chose to discuss the article during the first part of class to scaffold students' explorations of their own narratives by providing examples of how several individuals reflected on and analyzed their own personal narratives.

On this particular night I introduced the article for discussion by noting how the narratives that we would be sharing later in the evening paralleled the process used by the authors. As this chapter will show, our narratives were a means of opening up conversation for us around issues of culture and literacy, and these narratives functioned in ways similar to those presented in the article. After this brief introduction, I invited students to comment on what they had read in the article, either narratives or the analysis and interpretations developed by the authors. Cathy was the first to speak. She began by commenting, "It is interesting to see the growth of some of these teachers" and the changes they remembered initially and what they had done a year later to make changes. The growth to which she referred involved the teachers' willingness to look at their own experiences and beliefs and a willingness to address difficult issues such as race. In one example from the article, a teacher shared how her only African American student told her that she treated him differently and that after first becoming defensive, she decided to listen. This ability to listen allowed her to recognize that her own

"well-meaning efforts" were contributing to pain and anger that the student felt over his isolation in the school because of his race. The student's confrontation with this teacher was a painful experience, but it enabled the teacher to realize that she had to make changes in her curriculum and teaching philosophy. As a result, she changed her writing curriculum to include more collaboration and adopted a stance where "students knew that race would be talked about" (Abt-Perkins & Gomez, p. 199).

Cathy stated that even though she worked with first graders, she could do more to help them think about multicultural issues, and in particular, she could do more to help them begin to explore their cultural and racial identities. The following excerpt illustrated Cathy's acknowledgment that although teachers need to be aware of cultural issues and their ties to literacy, their will also be differences between teachers.

Cathy: I'm not gonna be the same as the teacher next door who's Black. I'm not gonna respond to the kids the same way. Even if the teacher next door is not black, if the teacher next door is a man, so I'm not gonna respond, you know, the same way. And so that's, that's something to think about. I think, I think that all teachers, I think everybody oughta read this. You know, I think we should all be

Jaime: And reflect on it

Cathy: Pushed to think about that, yeah. That's a good word, reflect.

Ellie: Reflect. Where'd you get that word?

Implicit in Cathy's acknowledgment that she didn't teach like the teacher next door was an awareness of her cultural identity as white, female teacher. When she said, "I'm not gonna be the same as the teacher next door who's black. I'm not gonna respond to the kids in the same way," she was

not just saying that she is white and that the teacher next door is black; she was acknowledging a difference in teaching styles that may be culturally based. Her statement that "I'm not gonna respond to the kids in the same way" was a reflection of her role as a white teacher in a predominantly African American school. She added that if the teacher next door were a man (which was in fact is the situation in Cathy's school), by comparison, she would also teach differently. Cathy made the statement that all teachers should read the article by Abt-Perkins and Gomez and, with Jaime, she coconstructed the idea that all teachers should reflect on who they are and how this affects their instructional and literate practices. These comments were further sanctioned by Ellie's repetition of the word "reflect." Cathy's comments about culture and reflection and her willingness to engage in reflection on her position as a teacher opened up the floor so that others in the group could begin to explore how their personal perspectives affect their teaching.

As demonstrated by comments made by Cass and Ellie in the following paragraphs, Cathy's response to the article and the group's affirmation of Cathy's willingness to reflect served as a model for other participants to reflect on their own classrooms, students, and in some cases, teaching. Cass shared that as a teacher who works with predominantly African American children, she appreciated the story told about J. D., the first African American student in Abt-Perkin's classroom. As part of a writing unit, Abt-Perkins interviewed students about their lives and experiences. When she decided to interview J. D. , she instead of asking him the same kinds of questions she asked other students in her class, she used him to "raise issues about race and prejudice in our society." In this powerful and painful story, Abt-Perkins exposed the mistake she made in using her own power to objectify J. D. and

in asking him to "represent all African American people." Cass identified with Apt-Perkins' story and stated that she could see herself making the same mistake Abt-Perkins had made if there were only one minority student in her class. But Cass also wondered, what does it mean to be a teaching in a classroom where the majority of the students are black? She says, "I'm wondering if the students in my classroom feel as alone as J. D. did...because there are more black children in my classroom."

Culture, Literacy, and Reflection: Avoiding the Hot Lava of Race

At this point Jaime, who had stated that she had only one minority student and that she too could have made the same mistake as Abt-Perkins, asked a question that was suggested by the article and in Cass's comments about J. D. Jaime asked: "Maybe it's because I don't have that much experience yet, how do we discover the needs of our diverse students as not, and not coming from their culture, how do we, how do we do that?" This prompted a brief discussion where participants wonder aloud about how to communicate with children of diverse backgrounds if we "don't really understand all the cultural implications" of our actions and responses and those of our students. They also discussed the importance of understanding of what a student's participation or lack of participation might mean culturally, a reference to an article by Ogbu (1992) that they had read and discussed for their second week of class. In the article Ogbu posits, that "mere cultural and language differences cannot account for the relative school failure of some minorities and the success of others" (p. 8). He argues that some minorities, for example, African Americans, associate participation and success in school with the dominant hierarchy and white oppression, and therefore academic success is associated with "acting white." At this point the group discussion functioned a lot like a brainstorming session where

participants listed ideas about how they might discover the needs of culturally diverse students and make up for teachers' lack of knowledge. The group did not pause to analyze, evaluate or challenge the proposed ideas, and reflection stayed at a superficial level.

As the group addressed the issue of communication with diverse students and the teachers' lack of knowledge about other cultures, Ellie raised a challenge to their approach by reframing the discussion through reflection on her experience. She turned the conversation "on its head" by suggesting that it is not a lack of knowledge many times that keeps her from addressing issues, but the discomfort that comes in discussing issues which are related to race. Ellie said:

> But I also know that there have been times when the word "slavery" comes up, and I find myself wanting to change the subject, not because I don't know enough about it. But because I feel uncomfortable talking about it. You know, mostly it's because I don't know what the students' reaction is going to be, or in some cases, what the parents' reaction is going to be. Um, so you know, I feel like, as you do, about how do we, how do we find out what their needs are, especially if there are actually personal barriers to talking about certain things?

Ellie's comments redefined the question and shifted the topic under discussion on the conversational floor. She amended the original question: "How do we learn what the needs of minority students are when we don't share a common cultural background?" and instead asked, "How do we learn about the needs of minority students when we are uncomfortable talking about issues like race?" Her reframing of the question was not simply a rhetorical maneuver. As a teacher whose students are culturally and racially diverse, Ellie emphasized that we need to find out student needs, but raises

the problem of barriers. Ellie began her comments with an emphasis on herself: "I feel uncomfortable talking about it [slavery]," but at the end of her turn she moved toward the inclusive "we." This discourse move positions Ellie in a safer place--the question is directed at all participants and not just herself, and the question rather than being directed introspectively, is directed at the group. What is particularly intriguing about Ellie's reframing of the question is that it actually moves the group closer to the "hot lava" because she incriminates her colleagues by suggesting that they too are uncomfortable talking about race when she says: "how do we find out what their needs are, especially if there are actually personal barriers to talking about certain things?"

After Ellie brought this issue to the floor, there is little sustained discussion of the problem she has raised. Participants talked around the edges of Ellie's question without offering other personal accounts. Immediately after Ellie finished speaking, Jaime returned to the earlier discussion of having only one minority student in the classroom. Jaime noted that this student is the only black student in her class and in the 6th grade. She went on to talk about The Year of Boar and Jackie Robinson (Lord, 1987), which Jaime described as a story about a Chinese girl and her adjustment to the U.S., a place where everyone looks different. Embedded in her summary of the story and talk about her one African American student were several comments where Jaime said, "And we talked a little bit about it and I , you know I feel kinda the same way. Like how do I bring this up? How do I talk about it?" Her use of pronouns here is telling; she uses the word "it" to refer to the student's position as the only minority in her class , but she never uses the word race. Jaime did not pause to let others address these questions, nor does she herself reflect on them. She moved the

conversation further from the hot lava by talking again about her only minority student and challenges facing him in school.

This approach and then turning away from hot-lava is not limited to these teachers. In her work with white teachers (McIntyre, 1997) documented how even when participants are trying to talk specifically and strategically about race, they reframe conversations to safer ground or toward other topics. In analyzing literature-based conversations in a women's book club group Glazier, et al. (in press) found that even experienced teachers who had belonged to the same book discussion group for a two-year period developed an approach and avoidance technique whereby they would approach "hot-lava" in beginning a discussion, but would veer away as they approached the most difficult issues. Thus, the avoidance of topics raised by Ellie--slavery and race--is not unusual.

As the teachers continued to talk, Cass suggested that another way to help students talk about difference would be to write some narratives like we had done because "everyone has felt different or out of place." Ellie referred to the Abt-Perkins' article where students talked about prejudice that they felt because they were seen as "little kids" or told they could not do something because they were girls. Toni followed this up with a story about the only African American student in her class and how he has helped her learn about his culture by introducing her to the writing of Maya Angelou. For Toni, it was important to bring in different perspectives and she stated that "I have a problem with things getting just black and white" because there are lots of other perspectives and characteristics. Ellie and Jaime picked up on this topic and talked briefly about how it is important to for all students to feel valued. As Ellie said, "If you make it all black and white, then your little Chinese kids are feel like: It doesn't matter that I'm Chinese? It only matters if I was

black." This talk about how within our society, race is often defined as being black or white and how teachers we need to be mindful of other cultures and ethnic groups is an important point. This response allowed the teachers to engage in an argument made by other minority groups (e.g. Lantinos; Native Americans, Chinese) that too often race is seen as an issue of black and white and that other minority view points and voices are often excluded from the discussion (e.g., Rodriguez, 1992). However, in raising this point, the group was able to avoid responding to Ellie's earlier comments about barriers that prevent us from talking about issues like slavery because they are intertwined with race.

As illustrated the examples above, some individuals in the group follow the model provided by Cathy's original reflective comments about her teaching and begin to engage in exploration of their beliefs about teaching and learning and situations in their classroom. Although they do not engage in deep reflection, they are beginning to think about both their own perspectives as teachers from particular cultural and racial backgrounds and the backgrounds of their students and how the differences might impact their teaching. As participants discuss the problem at hand--how to teach diverse students when you do not share the same cultural background with them--they focus on their lack of knowledge about communication, culture, and other racial groups. Ellie challenges both their earlier question and response, by reframing the question in terms of race: "How do we learn about the needs of minority students when we are uncomfortable talking about issues like race?" However, rather than addressing this difficult question, the talk that follows serves to draw participants away from further discussion of race or of self and other.

Examining Our Personal Perspectives Through Narrative

On this particular night students began their discussion of their sketchbooks by referencing "hot lava" topics, e.g. affirmative action, racial prejudice, racial identity, that had been recent news items. These items were offered up as topics and briefly discussed at a factual level. In discussing the article "A Good Place to Begin--Examining Our Personal Perspectives," students began to approach and engage in exploration of their own teaching as it related to racial and cultural issues. Cathy's comments about her teaching and the comparison to the teacher next door who is both African American and a man is an example of this. Again like teachers in other studies (e.g. Florio-Ruane & deTar, 1995; Glazier, et al., in press), the participants approach hot lava topics, but fail to fully engage with them as exemplified by Jaime's question: "How do we learn what the needs of minority students are when we don't share a common cultural background?" and Ellie's reframing of the question to: "How do we learn about the needs of minority students when we are uncomfortable talking about issues like race?" Jaime's question, directed at what teachers don't know, is safer than Ellie's question, directed at the stance that she and others have adopted. Through her question, Ellie implicates herself and other teachers in actively adopting a stance which limits their knowledge because they are uncomfortable talking about issues of race, and therefore, avoid what could be learned about student's needs from parents or students. The teachers back away from the hot lava in Ellie's question by using the legitimate argument that discussions of race and the rights of minorities have too often focused on the tensions between blacks and whites to the exclusion of others. This argument allows the participants to remain on safe ground by avoiding examination of their

own discomfort around race and by remaining "politically correct" by revoicing an argument made by minorities themselves (Morrison, 1992).

It is critical to recognize the teachers' willingness to approach issues of hot lava--even if they do back off from its direct examination. Although it would be easy to dismiss these teachers efforts at exploring their own teaching and the needs of their diverse learners as at best superficial and at worst as perpetuating institutionalized racism, it is important to consider what these teachers are accomplishing in their talk. As they approach hot lava and back off, stating and reframing questions, the teachers begin to seek answers to a practical question: What do I do to help my students with diverse needs? In the excerpts of conversation above, the emphasis is placed on knowledge differences that exist between the teacher and student and what can be done about this. This particular theme is one that is powerfully demonstrated in a vignette that Cathy wrote for this night of class and which she shares in the following section. It is a powerful story about one teacher's search for answers to the question: What can I, as a teacher of Euro-American background, do to help my students who do not share this background? We will see that Cathy's story resonated in powerful ways within the group and once again raised the issues of race, culture, knowledge, and the role that white teachers can play in educating "other people's children" (Delpit, 1995).

Black Child Placed in Crisis: Cathy's Narrative

Through their discussion of the Abt-Perkins & Gomez article, students in the course had already begun to: reflect on their own literacy practices and cultural background, see how the article's authors used stories to share sense-making about culture and literacy, and talk about issues they felt were important for working with minority students. However, as we see above,

there were also topics that caused discomfort such as that of race, and students were less willing to engage these.

As we moved into the second phase of class on this night, I asked students to distribute copies of the narrative that they had written about a border-crossing experience. Writing and sharing these narratives provided opportunity for me as a teacher educator to have a widow into a student's thinking. When these narratives were retold, rewritten, and revisited across the semester, they provided me with several snapshots of a student's learning and thinking. Additionally, the narratives provided a work space where students could consider construct and reconstruct ideas related to self and other, and in particular, could consider what it means to teach in linguistically and culturally diverse settings, and ultimately, examine what it means to use students linguistic and cultural backgrounds as strengths to draw on rather than problems to be mitigated.

To prepare for discussion of student narratives, we took fifteen minutes to read the narratives and jot down questions, notes, or responses. After reading one another's narratives, I opened the discussion by identifying themes that connected some students' work (e.g. several students had written about experiences as first-time teachers). Students continued the discussion by commenting on their stories, sometimes offering further information or interpretation or positioning their story in relation to others in the class. After approximately fifteen minutes of discussion, I asked if the students would like to learn more about any particular student's story. Several students immediately asked to hear more from Cathy.

For her narrative vignette, Cathy had written a provocative account of a conference, "Black Child Placed in Crisis," which she had attended with several African American colleagues from her school. She had written:

> When given the opportunity to attend an out of town conference, I happily accepted. The subject of the conference intrigued me and I was certain that I could learn much that would help me with my at-risk, black students at the "Black Child Placed in Crisis" conference. Being in the obvious minority did not bother me as I looked around at the sea of black faces around me. However, what did bother me was the lack of solutions offered by the presenters. I wanted to learn about tools I could use to better assist the black children in my class. What I heard in session after session was that there is a problem with black children in schools and that something needs to be done about it. Every presenter said essentially the same thing, but with a different slant according to the title of the session. It seemed more like a pity party to me. The longer I sat in a session, the more uncomfortable I felt being there. I felt as though the speakers were saying white people were the reason for the problem. Maybe they were saying that and maybe they weren't. But the whole reason I went to the conference was to learn how I could make a difference in the life of a black child. I left, sorely disappointed. Later, I told a black colleague who also attended the conference how I felt. She told me about a part of the Malcolm X movie that seemed to sum it all up. A young, white coed attended a rally on campus where Malcolm X spoke and asked him what she could do to help the cause. His answer to her was, "Nothing."

The high degree of interest in Cathy's story is apparent in the number of students who wanted to hear more and in the rapid, overlapping speech that follows this request and comments like "That was... Wow!" "I wrote down a question [for Cathy]." "Talk to us Cathy!" Cathy's retelling of her narrative lasts almost nine minutes--an unusually long time for one participant to hold the conversational floor.

The text of Cathy's retelling is too long to include here in its entirety. Therefore, I quote segments of the retelling that are relevant to the analysis and begin by summarizing it briefly and by indicating key features of analysis of both oral and written versions in a table. Both Cathy's oral and written narratives meet Labov and Weletsky's (1967) and Labov's (1972) definition of narrative with statements used to <u>orient</u> the listener, <u>complicating actions</u> that build the drama, <u>evaluation</u> statements that show what Cathy is thinking

about the events, and a resolution which follows the evaluation and concludes the narrative. Both Cathy's narrative contains all these key elements. Thus, the content and form of Cathy's oral narrative are very similar the written version.

Table 17

Comparison of Cathy's Written and Oral Narratives

WRITTEN NARRATIVE	ORAL RETELLING
FORM • orientation statements at beginning • complicating actions in the middle • evaluation embedded throughout • resolution in the form of a "flash ahead" (Polyani 1985)	**FORM** • more orientation statements (e.g., reason few white teachers attended, who attended from her school, more description of sessions offered • more complicating actions (e.g. of attending events to build the drama) • more evaluation about the conference (e.g., Why aren't they [the presenters] giving me something? and herself (e.g., Why do I feel this way?) • resolution--Cathy begins to give her resolution but is interrupted mid-sentence by another participant. Participants offer their own alternative resolutions to her story.
CONTENT description of attending the Black Child Placed in Conference Crisis	**CONTENT** description of attending the Black Child Placed in Conference Crisis but more details are given (see "FORM" above)
IMMEDIATE PURPOSE/FUNCTION to fulfill a course assignment by writing about a "border-crossing experience"	**IMMEDIATE PURPOSE/FUNCTION** to fulfill a request from her peers to provide more information and details about the experience
LENGTH 285 words	**LENGTH** approximately 1300 words, nine minutes

Table 17, continued

Comparison of Cathy's Written and Oral Narratives

INTERPRETATION/RESOLUTION	INTERPRETATION/RESOLUTION
Primary: There is nothing that Cathy as a woman and white teacher can do to help black children. Secondary: Cathy does not accept that there is nothing she as a woman and white teacher can do to help black children.	Multiple Resolutions from participants: • shouldn't blame white people for the problem • maybe presenters went to the conference to vent frustrations • presenters don't know how to communicate practical advice to white teachers • black people want to teach black children in their own schools • African American educators are telling white teachers they just "don't get it" • as Delpit says, white teachers aren't listening to their black colleagues

In the oral version, Cathy provides more information about the conference: where it was held, who attended, why attendance was low, and summaries of some sessions she and her colleagues attended. In providing this additional information, Cathy repeats and adds more explanation to several statements that orient the listeners to important aspects of her story. She reiterates that she didn't feel uncomfortable being one of few white people and repeatedly emphasizes that she had hoped that the conference would provide "tools" that would help her teach the black children in her class. In the oral telling of the story, Cathy also has more opportunity to add evaluative commentary. She does this through direct statements and through discourse markers such as word stress (underlined and in bold in the following excerpt).

> You know, almost everybody there was black-- **99%** of the people there were black. And I **still** wasn't that uncomfortable until he [a presenter from a private all-male Muslim academy] got up there and started to speak. And basically all he was telling us was what he's doing at his school um, you know, educating them. But all he has is black boys. Well, I can't **do** that. I can't, **I can't create an all black boy school. Look at me**. I wanta know what to **do** with **my** boys, you know.... And um, and, but the, the two black women that I was with, they weren't so happy either. But they weren't uncomfortable, but they weren't happy with what he was saying.

Cathy reiterates that her discomfort was due as much to her being a minority as it was with the content of what speakers were saying. Throughout the retelling she emphasizes her own position as a white teacher, saying in the excerpt above "Look at me [I'm white and female]." These characteristics exclude her from establishing the kind of environment that the speaker has suggested. Cathy also emphasizes that she needs to know what to do with her boys. Although she got a few "tidbits" that she was already doing, she didn't feel that she learned new things to do. (Elsewhere in the oral retelling she shares how her school mandates "intensives" where the traditional school curriculum is set aside to teach about issues of culture and heritage. Since 75% of the school is African American, these units are often Afrocentric in theme.)

Cathy's frustration over not being told what to do was especially pronounced in her summary of a session that she went to on trying to reach out to families. (Again, stressed words have been underlined and bolded).

> [The presenter] was talking about reaching out to the families. And I'm, well that's what we need to do. We need to reach out to the families. But that one was worse than the other one because we kept hearing, you know, these families need to be reached out to.... And all I kept hearing was these are the bad things that are happening to black children. We need to **do** something about it. But they never said **what to do**. You know, go hug the crack addict whose child is in your class. Well, okay. Sure, I'll hug her but then what, you know? And then they still, they still didn't say go out and **do** this and **do** that. You

> know, and maybe I went with higher expectations than what I should have. Maybe, maybe the whole conference wasn't about what I expected it to be. But "Black Child Placed in Crisis," I thought I'm gonna get some tools. I'm gonna, I'm gonna learn some things that I can do with black kids in my class. And I was really disappointed.

Part of Cathy's frustration stems from her evaluation of the conference as a place where she hears about problems facing black children but not about their solution. As a teacher in a predominantly black school, she argues that she knows there are great problems facing black children. At one point she says, "I **know** there's a problem. They didn't have to **tell** me that." Throughout her narrative Cathy emphasizes that she was "disappointed" in the conference because as a "white teacher" she didn't feel like she received valuable tools. She asked her African American colleagues who had gone with her "Why do I feel this way? Why aren't they [the presenters] giving me something?" In response one of her colleagues said, "Maybe they just don't know.... maybe they just don't know what, what you can do." The colleague then shared the example of Malcolm X telling the white, female co-ed that she was excluded from the movement. This comment is vague as to whether the exclusion of the co-ed, and by extension Cathy's exclusion, is due to her race or gender or perhaps both race and gender. Interestingly, Cathy in noting retelling this comment from her friend who is Black and female, concludes that the exclusion is based on race.

Alternative Resolutions

Until this point in her retelling, Cathy had followed a the written form of her narrative very closely. She added further explanation and examples, but retold the narrative in a similar sequence and form. The written and oral narrative have assisted her in making sense of her experience and in sharing her sense making with the group as we see in her evaluative comments and in the resolution she presents in the written narrative. However, in the oral

retelling when she reaches the point where she is about to conclude with the same example of Malcolm X, the other participants in the group interrupt her. Rather than accepting the resolution that she suggests: White people can't do anything to help. They offer alternative interpretations, commentary, and questions on the story.

Toni begins this round of alternative resolutions by asking what teachers would do if two kids are "going back and forth." She suggests that she wouldn't let one kid blame the other, but both would have to participate in an agreement or solution. Although she uses an example from a school setting, her meaning is clear, and she finally states directly: "I have a problem if they're saying white people are doing it [causing the crisis for black children] and they [the black presenters] give no solution. Another resolution is suggested by Regan, Ellie, and Jaime. They suggest that maybe the presenters were "at a different sort of level of understanding. Like they went there to vent frustrations." Cathy's story and possible interpretations are hot lava for all of us, and as the course instructor, I participate directly in attempting to shift the conversation to safer ground when I say that "if you take the sort of obvious racial tensions out of it" a similar criticism is leveled at teacher educators and researchers--they often have difficulty in communicating practical suggestions for white teachers. This section of transcript again has the feel of a brainstorming session where participants toss suggestions out onto the conversational floor, but there is little or not examination of these suggestions. Along with this, there is a high incidence of repetition, false starts, and halting speech that indicates it is not easy for the participants to express their ideas. There is also evidence of the difficulty of this discussion as participants repeatedly end their turns with the phrase "I don't know."

It is Regan, the participant who has read all of Delpit's work and who

has worked in Alaska, who says, "Maybe they [the black presenters] think they've been telling them [white teachers] for a while and they're telling, you know, you just don't understand." I picked up on this comment by Regan and tied it to the work of Lisa Delpit and her article "The Silenced Dialogue" where she writes about the experience and expertise of black teachers and how important and helpful this knowledge could be for white educators, if the white educators would engage in a dialogue and listen to their black colleagues. Several course participants had read "The Silenced Dialogue" and other essays by Delpit. On this night of class the article that we read by Abt-Perkins and Gomez contained the following extended quote from Delpit:

> We do not really see through our eyes or hear through our ears, but through our beliefs. To put our beliefs on hold is to cease to exist ourselves for a moment--and that is not easy. It is painful as well because it means turning yourself inside out, giving up your own sense of who you are, and being willing to see yourself in the unflattering light of another's angry gaze. It is not easy, but it is the only way to start the dialogue...We must learn to be vulnerable enough to allow our world to turn upside down in order to allow the realties of others to edge themselves into our consciousness" (Delpit, 1988, quoted in Abt-Perkins & Gomez, 1993, p. 193).

Delpit's quote which we had looked at earlier in our discussion of the article indicates that it is difficult to "see yourself in the unflattering light of another's angry gaze" and to "allow our world to turn upside down." Mentioning Delpit and echoing the idea that maybe white teachers do not listen to their black colleagues steers the conversation even closer to the hot lava topic of racial conflict amongst teachers. This is not a topic that the participants are willing to engage with at this time. Ellie responds to my

statement by saying " It also kinda takes me back to one of the first articles we read, Ogbu's article... and the importance in the black community of the community [itself]." Ellie then begins to talk generally about home visits. Other participants chime in comparing which schools or programs (e.g. Even Start) require home visits, how home visits are organized, and who has conducted a home visit. Although home visits and fostering-home-school connections are important for teachers, Ellie's reframing of the discussion around home visits moves the talk to safer ground.

Discussion

In sharing her narrative, Cathy has opportunity to provide further information to orient the listeners and to more fully describe the events that occurred at the conference. The form of her oral narrative is similar to that of the written vignette with statements that orient the listener, complication actions that build the drama, evaluative statements that reflect Cathy's feelings about the conference. Both narratives also contain a resolution. In the written vignette, Cathy concludes with the example of Malcolm X which suggests that she as a white teacher can do nothing to help black children. It is clear that this is not a resolution that she accepts. She is still teaching in a predominantly African American school. She is still attempting to make sense out of her experience at the conference and to explore issues of self by asking: Why did I feel that the conference was not helpful? Why was I uncomfortable? Not only does Cathy reject the resolution written in the vignette, she is not satisfied with the resolutions proposed by her classmates. Over the course, she continues to explore the question: What can I do as a white teacher to help my black students become successful readers and writers and become successful in school?

Cathy's story opens up opportunities for participants to explore race and culture. However, as evidenced by false, starts, halting speech, and moves to reframe the conversation to safer ground, it is not easy for participants to explore these issues. Through narrative Cathy engages in the reflection on her own cultural perspective--a type of reflection that she herself advocates earlier in this night of talk when she stated, "Anybody who's going to work with people of a different race or culture have really...that's something that somebody needs to put in their head, you know, think about some of these things. We should all sit down and think about...where our initial experiences with literacy or education were."

Some readers or listeners will undoubtedly look at Cathy's story and be critical of the emphasis she places on what she can "do" to help her black students. Although it may be easy to criticize her, talking about racial issues is particularly challenging to white teachers who often see themselves as cultureless beings whose duty it is to be "color blind" (Frankenberg, 1993; King, 1991; Paley, 1979). Furthermore, is important to consider what Cathy does with the narrative she has constructed and how as a result of having and talking about this experience, she decided to continue exploring issues of race and racism in education.

For her class project Cathy interviewed three African American teachers one male, two females at her school and her school principal who is an African American man. In interviewing these educators, she developed a list of questions to guide her interviews adapted from Ferdman(1990) (see Appendix L). She asked about the teachers' experiences in school, their socioeconomic class, and family beliefs about education and how experiences and race affected these teachers and their teaching (e.g., What messages did school communicate to you about your culture and its value? What

relationship do you perceive between tasks assigned in school and cultural identity? How have your own educational experiences affected you as a teacher? What part does your race play in this or does it?) As she conducted these interviews, analyzed them, and wrote them up, she directly engaged in an exploration of topics related to race, literacy, and schooling. As Cathy talked with her African American colleagues and learned their stories, she began to share their stories in class discussions. In her final class presentation, she shared her analysis of these stories with the class and ended with a summary of what suggestions that these experienced African American educators had for teachers (see Appendix L).

When I interviewed Cathy and she revisited her story one year after the course, Cathy continued to analyze and interpret her experience and story. After listening to a tape recording of her retelling Cathy shared several insights and changes she had made in her teaching. For example, she shared how, based on advice she had received during an interview with her friend Robert she made a special effort to establish a relationship with one African American student, Siham, who was "giving me fits in class." Robert had shared with Cathy how important it was to him to "make a connection with every single one of his kids." Cathy took her student Siham to lunch and visited her several times at home, and she said, "I didn't necessarily use it because Siham was a black child but because Siham was a needy child."

Fostering these connections with children are critical aspects of relating to children and in developing a culturally relevant pedagogy. Cathy commented that maybe this was something that presenters had actually tried to share with her at the conference:

> It could be that in this other one [presentation during the conference] that I went to when they were talking about hugging the crack addict,

the mother and all that kinda thing, maybe that is, is kind of like what my friend Robert was recommending that we do by making that connection with that child. Making home visits, reaching out, you know. And so I that maybe, maybe there was value here [at the conference] and maybe I wasn't seeing it. I just, I was just having a hard time getting through and maybe that was, I don't know, maybe that was my own attitude. Maybe at that point, I was just miffed and I didn't wanta hear anything else and I wasn't gonna let anything else reach me" (interview 1/15/99).

Cathy also noted that maybe part of her resistance to the presenters was that "I didn't feel like they were talking to me" and "I didn't speak their language so to speak."

Conclusion

In Cathy's case, her written narrative acts as a starting point for discussing issues of race and success in schooling. However, it is critical to acknowledge that the previous conversation on this night of the course and readings in the course supported the inquiry and reflection in which Cathy and the group engaged. Furthermore, although the group's engagement around issues of race may appear superficial, it was a catalyst in Cathy's pursuit of further exploration of the issues. Cathy's interactions both with her classmates and with her African American colleagues scaffold her exploration of racial issues and enable her to go beyond where she has gone on her own. Through her interactions with her classmates, Cathy begins to analyze, interpret, and reinterpret her own narrative. In doing so, she constructs and reconstructs the self. The context in which Cathy shares her narrative and the opportunities provided to retell and revisit are critical in Cathy's developing awareness of her position as a white teacher. Cathy's

pursuit of the stories of African American educators in her mid-term and final project extend this exploration beyond the discussions and readings of the course to explore the question: What does it mean to be a white teacher working with students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds?"

In her final course reflection Cathy stated that she had "redefined literacy." Whereas she had once viewed literacy as activities of reading, writing, listening, speaking, she now includes culture. She wrote, "I now know that culture is not simply race." Cathy has begun to recognize that a culturally relevant pedagogy involves more than treating all children equally or as if they are one color. It involves understanding her own cultural and literate practices and those of her students. Cathy has taken a critical step toward developing a culturally relevant pedagogy. Ladson-Billings has noted that one barrier for teachers in developing such a stance is that "While it is realized that African Americans make up a distinct *racial* group, the acknowledgment that this racial group has a distinct *culture* is still not recognized. It is presumed that African American children are exactly like white children but just need a little extra help" (emphasis in the original, 1994, p. 9). Cathy stated in her final project that race was not the significant factor in determining a child's success in school. Rather, as Cathy wrote: "there is often no relationship between tasks assigned in school and a child's cultural identity." She has begun to take to heart what Cazden and Mehan (1989) admonished teachers to do when they wrote: Instead of blaming school failure on student characteristics that the school cannot change, teachers should reconsider aspects of the classroom environment that are within their control" (p. 50).

Narrative can be a powerful tool for teachers like Cathy to in explore

questions and concerns that they have about issues of diversity and literacy instruction. In the telling and hearing of stories, teachers are invited to encounter, consider, and transform their beliefs of self and other. However, as with any site of potential learning, the possibility exists that teachers' may not use narrative as a tool for transformation The tool may, in fact, be used to reify their existing beliefs and practices rather than encouraging transformation. Cathy made the choice to continue to explore issues that remain unresolved in her narrative. Thus Cathy's reflection on the narrative, and its function as a tool for exploring issues of culture and literacy, extends far beyond her construction and interaction around the narrative on this one night of class. Cathy's narrative, the conversation she has with her peers in class, the readings of multicultural literature and research on literacy and culture, and the narratives shared by the African American colleagues whom she interviews help Cathy create a text through which she explores difficult and controversial issues. This text is a construction zone where narrative functions as part of the scaffolding in Cathy's examination of beliefs about culture, self and other and beliefs about literacy instruction.

Narrative holds forth the potential for Cathy and other white teachers to create alternative texts which explore issues related to culture, self and other and literacy learning. Such alternative texts can push white teachers toward transformative literacy practices--literacy practices that "force us to confront worlds other than our own, to see ourselves and those we are close to in the stories of others, to address injustices, and to find ourselves changed (Witherell, 1995, p. 47). Cathy has not yet arrived at the place where she has envisioned or enacted the types of transformative pedagogy that Ladson-Billings (1994), Witherell (1995), or other multicultural theorists (e.g., Banks, 1996, 1997; Sleeter & Grant, 1999) have advocated. However, it is clear that

she has undertaken and continues to undertake a journey toward developing a pedagogy that will enable her to teach "other people's children" in ways that "capitalize on students individual, group and cultural differences" (Ladson-Billings, 1994. p. 11).

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CHAPTER FIVE

REGAN'S STORY:

"I WANT TO BE SOMEBODY WHO MOVES THE LINES"

Introduction

My interest in Regan was piqued first not as a researcher, but as a teacher. From the beginning , it was clear that Regan was different from other course participants. As we shared about our backgrounds on the first night of the class, Regan told us how just that morning she had arrived from Alaska. Her teaching experiences in Alaska were part of social-justice work arranged by the mid-western Jesuit university that she had attended, and while in Alaska she had worked on a family literacy project with indigenous peoples, predominantly Tlingit Indians. Of the seven participants in the course, she was the only one who was not a practicing teacher at the time of the study. Within several weeks of her return to the mid-west she had accepted a position with a local literacy coalition whose goal was to work with children and adults, particularly those from low-income backgrounds, who could not read or who struggled with literacy. Regan was also an active volunteer at a local shelter for abused women and children. Still in her early twenties, she was the youngest participant in our group and the most recent college graduate, having received her undergraduate degree only one year before enrolling in the course.

Not only did these experiences set her apart, but it was clear from my field notes and transcripts that Regan's discourse differed from other participants in its content and form, and ultimately, its function. As participant-observer in class discussions, there were multiple entries in my field notes where I indicated that Regan was "thinking and talking very differently from other students" (10-13-97, p. 4) and that were "long pauses or

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shifts in topics after she speaks" (10-20-97, p. 5). Again, my attention focused at first on Regan as a student. As the course instructor, I reflected on how "intriguing" Regan's comments were because they raised interesting issues that were "hot lava" (Glazier, et al., in press) and as such, had not been addressed by other students or in our previous conversations. Regan's comments exploring poverty and social class, gender, linguistic diversity, racial and cultural identity were closely aligned with my goals for students in the course to explore these difficult topics. As course instructor I was hesitant to openly address the issues of power implicit within all discussions of these topics because I was afraid to undermine the "safe" atmosphere where people began to drop their guard and share openly. However, for Regan consistently raised issues of power through her comments, examples, and narratives. She wrote about and shared examples in discussions that demonstrated how being literate, educated, and white gave her privilege that others did not have. She explored how acquisition of French, a second language by choice, empowered her. She contrasted her own second language acquisition with the experiences of autobiographers Eva Hoffman and Richard Rodriguez whose acquisition of fluency in another language was accompanied by self-doubt and a loss of identity, what Regan referred to as "violence to the self." In another powerful example, Regan challenged our positioning of American women and perception of domestic violence as we read The Kitchen God's Wife (Tan, 1991) and compared the situation of Chinese women in the 1940's to that of American women in the 1990's.

It was difficult to decide how to respond to Regan's comments. As a teacher, I wanted students to talk about topics that Regan raised because they are issues that teachers must think about if they are to meet the needs of students. Because I participated in book clubs with practicing teachers and

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had conducted prior research on those book club discussions (Florio-Ruane, Raphael, Glazier, McVee & Wallace, 1997; McVee, 1998), I knew that these were the kinds of topics that teachers had difficulty in bringing to the floor and difficulty in sustaining for discussion. Regan's attention to issues of power and privilege brought additional insight and benefit to discussions. I responded to Regan's comments and attempted to sanction them as appropriate for discussion and attempted to model responses, yet I also knew that I could not respond every time, and there are many instances where I noted in the field notes and transcripts that Regan's comments were followed by a long pause and a topic shift. In some cases, I chose not to respond to Regan's talk because I felt that others in the group must do so, and if they were not ready to engage in discussion of the topic, my forcing the conversation or my participating in a dialogue with Regan was unlikely to further the learning of others in the group.

What Types of Talk Did Regan Use?

Other students in the group were also aware that Regan's responses were different than their own, not only in terms of content, but also in the discourse Regan used. As a rapport grew among the group members, there were comments directed at Regan that indicated recognition of her unique position. This included one night where we reflected on the different forms of discourse we used in discussing the autobiographies and articles. On this night Regan talked about how she felt her responses sometimes placed her "on another planet" (11-3-97). As a researcher I was interested in how Regan's talk represented an interesting blend of "academic discourse" and narrative. By "academic discourse" I mean talk that analyzes and synthesizes themes or ideas in articles or autobiographies we read, talk that often relied upon intertextual references to explain or defend a point of view. This kind

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Non-Narrative	Acade
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of talk is like expository text in that it builds categories and connections. It has also been labeled "paradigmatic" talk (Bruner, 1990; Polkinghorne, 1995). Regan used this kind of talk with far greater frequency than did her peers in the course. As explained in the following sections and as summarized in Table 18, this talk was not the only way that Regan's talk differed. Regan also used narrative talk of different types and frequencies different from those of her peers. Table 18 defines both academic discourse and narrative talk. Narrative talk, as the table shows, can be categorized as conventional--the simplest narratives that most people think of as stories--or non-conventional which differ from the norm on the basis of form, function, or both form and function.

Table 18

Forms and Features of Regan's Discourse

	Type of Discourse	Features
Non-Narrative	Academic Discourse	talk that analyzes and synthesizes themes or ideas in articles or autobiographies; talk that often relies upon intertextual references to explain or defend a point of view; talk builds categories and connections and can also be labeled "paradigmatic"
Narrative	Conventional Narratives	narratives that reflect many or all of Labov's defining characteristics of narrative (abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, and resolution) or Burke's pentad (Actor, an Action, a Goal, a Scene, and an Instrument)

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Narra-tive	Unconventional Narratives	narratives that contain elements of Labov's or Burke's categories but which do not meet the criteria for a complete narrative or well-formed story
	(1) quasinarratives	(1)narrative embedded within or intertwined with academic discourse
	(2)multi-voiced narratives	(2)narrative that identifies both Self and Other as "I"; although a core identity is maintained, the self is dynamic and ever-changing, contingent
	(3) grand narratives (also called master narratives, metanarratives, and cultural narratives)	(3)narratives that shape other narratives, especially about our culture, selves, ways of seeing the world; whereas other speakers tell brief conventional narratives that represent the theme of the metanarratives, Regan identifies the master narrative thus allowing for opportunities to critique its overarching theme

As I took field notes and listened to audio tape and read through transcript, I was interested in my response to Regan's narratives, and it was, in fact, my analysis of Regan's narratives that led to my discovering the array of conventional and unconventional forms and functions narratives could take. Some of her speech had a conventional narrative feel, but on closer examination appeared not to be conventional narratives at all. They did not meet Labov & Waletzky's (1967) definition of a complete narrative as something that contains statements to orient the listener to the story (orientation), a description and relating of events that complicate the action of the story (complicating action), statements that reflect on the story and evaluate the events that took place or the teller's feelings or thoughts about

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them (evaluation) and statements that bring final conclusion or resolution to the story (resolution). Many of Regan's narratives took unconventional form or function stand in contrast to the narratives told by Ellie and Cathy (see Chapters 3 and 4) which follow the traditional orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution construction.

In attempting to confirm or disprove the preliminary analysis I had conducted using Labov's categories, I also examined the narratives using Burke's pentad--Actor, an Action, a Goal, a Scene, and an Instrument (Burke, 1945). I found that some of the five elements were present in Regan's "narratives," but that these pieces of talk with their narrative like feel would not be considered what Burke called a well-formed story. When I showed Regan's unconventional narratives to others; their reaction too was mixed. Some talked about the stories suggested by Regan's talk and referred to these as "her narratives" or "her stories." Others insisted that no narrative existed. I was also puzzled by my own mis-remembering of Regan's narratives. Several times I found myself searching transcript to find a story about a particular incident, for example, Regan's work in Alaska or at the women's shelter. However, instead of finding a segment containing "the story" I recalled, I found many smaller references, pieces of what had become, in my mind, one story. This led me to take a closer look at the types of narratives Regan shared. Some of Regan's narratives were what I will refer to as "conventional narratives." These were similar to those of other participants like Ellie and Cathy (see Chapters 3 and 4). Conventional narratives contain many or all of the elements that Labov used in defining a narrative--abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, and resolution. These narratives are also conventional narratives because they contain elements of Burke's pentad.

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However, most of Regan's stories were not conventional, and they do not necessarily break down into categories constructed by Labov or Burke. In many cases, the "narratives" are incomplete. For example, although there is almost always some type of evaluation included, a requirement for Labov's complete narrative, there may be scant details or images to orient the listener or to communicate the action or resolution. Only when I put all the pieces of discourse on a particular topic together can I create a conventional narrative that is similar in form to narratives told by Ellie or Cathy. In coding the unconventional narratives, I identified three categories (1) Quasinarratives, (2) Multi-voiced Narratives, and (3) Grand narratives .

Quasinarratives

In the first category narratives are so closely intertwined with academic discourse that it is difficult to tell where one type of discourse ends and where another begins. These quasinarratives blur the borders of paradigmatic and narrative ways of knowing by blending connections, themes, categories, and "rational thought" with images and details of story. The term "quasinarrative" is one I have adapted from Tannen (1989) who used the terms "quasinarrative" and "non-narrative" interchangeably while noting that both narrative and non-narrative talk use imagery and detail. This is true also in Regan's case where the imagery or detail present orients a listener toward non-narrative speech. However, Regan's quasinarratives are further distinguishable from non-narrative discourse because they trade on intertextuality both in the kinds of texts she references and the kinds of texts she creates (Raphael & Florio-Ruane, 1998). In the blurred genre of quasinarratives, information leaned from paradigmatic ways of knowing is juxtaposed with that present in narrative forms. The intertextuality created through this juxtaposition creates opportunities for what Tannen calls

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"internal evaluation." Events or actions are dramatized through "story-internal evidence," e.g., images or details provided by a teller, but listeners must provide their own interpretation. Although non-narrative may contain imagery or elements of story or intertextual references, it interweaves these elements in ways that lead speakers toward internal evaluation. In interesting ways Regan's talk actually represents what scholars are coming to find in their own work that they must weave scientific discourse with the multiplicities of literary works, thus blurring genres (see Clifford and Marcus, 1986).

Multi-voiced Narratives

The multiplicity and blurred genres often present in Regan's quasinarratives are key elements of her multi-voiced renditions of narrative. These narratives have many qualities of postmodern texts which "explicitly merge, and blur genre, in dialogic, performative texts that ventriloquize the often disparate voices and tension composing any subjective experience of identity and difference" (Zuss, 1997, p. 163). In these multi-voiced narratives although a core identity remains, the Self is not fixed. Rather there are multiple representations of self contingent upon "perspective and point of view on lived situation, on location in the world" (Greene, 1994, p. 12). These narratives demonstrate Regan's ability to narrate a story from both that of the Self--her own point of view--and the point of view of the Other. She shares several stories which begin with references to herself in first person. However, within the same story she also uses first person "I" to refer to the Other. This structure represents a double- or multi-voicedness (Bamburg, 1991; Lionnet, 1989; Zuss, 1997), often present in postmodern autobiography where authors create new "forms which correspond to their multi-layered identities and various experiences, as the linear master-narrative is

inappropriate as a tool to convey their concerns: often rather than resolve contradictions, it is necessary to keep them in suspension because it is exactly in this 'between-world' condition that the writers continue to exist" (Wogowitsch, 1995 p.157).

Grand Narratives

As Wogowitsch mentions above, master narratives or grand narratives are conventional in the sense that they follow a linear form. They are also conventional in the sense that they are a part of our cultural and societal norms, a part of our national psyche are also called "cultural narratives" (McLaren, 1993). We encounter these narratives everywhere in our daily life. In the same way that culture is often transparent to members of the white middle class (e.g. we ascribe culture as belonging to people of color, new immigrants, bilinguals), the grand narratives that shape our views and identities remain hidden and unquestioned. According to McLaren, it is uncommon for us to explicitly or openly tell or write these narratives unless we wish to identify them in order to write or speak against the grain. For example, in Women Writing Culture (Behar & Gordon, 1995) contributors write against the master narratives that have shaped the identity and treatment of women in many societies. In one example Janet Finn (1995) revisits the life and writings of Mourning Dove, a Salish Indian who "wrote against the dominant grain of Indian image making" (p. 141). As an educated, articulate, thoughtful writer, Mourning Dove's awareness of her own heritage and identity counters the metanarrative constructed about her people--as a uncivilized, lazy, ignorant, and incapable of feeling. Through Mourning Dove, Finn counters the master narrative constructed by European immigrants through both anthropological studies and popular culture. In identifying the master narrative, Finn creates a mirror image of

what is typically hidden from view, holding it up for examination and criticism. In a similar fashion and within the context of conversation, Regan identified and told master narratives holding them up for examination by herself and other participants.

In this chapter I use excerpts from Regan's talk and the talk of other participants to answer the following questions: What is the nature of Regan's talk? How can we describe its content? Its form? How does this talk function in the group? How does this talk position Regan (Davies & Harrè, 1990; Harrè & van Langenhove, 1999)? How do others position her? To explore these questions I begin by presenting an excerpt where Regan uses academic discourse to explore themes in Eva Hoffman's (1989) Lost in Translation. Analysis revealed that both the content and form of Regan's discourse led to her being perceived as an intellectual within the group. In this sense she becomes an outsider or Other even though she has a great deal in common with her classmates. In other examples, I show that the combination of academic discourse, unconventional narrative, and hot lava topics function together to derail conversation among Regan and her peers. The resistance of other participants to engage with these topics reveals opportunities where participants miss engaging with ideas. On the other hand, there were times when there was uptake on Regan's comments and when group members pushed themselves to explore difficult issues as when Regan challenged us to rethink our comparison of domestic abuse in China during the 1940's and the U. S. in the 1990's.

Positioning Regan as the Intellectual: Academic Discourse and the Quasinarrative

From the earliest stages of data collection and interpretation, I was intrigued by Regan. Many of her conversational moves were shared by other

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participants--they all referred to texts we had read, agreed of disagreed with authors, puzzled about an author's point or character's actions, and they all told stories. However, there were puzzling differences in Regan's talk. As mentioned above, there was often little uptake on topics she proposed, and her comments were met with silence. This response, or lack of response, from other participants was a result of both the forms of Regan's talk and the content contained within that talk. Her own talk and the responses of participants led to Regan being perceived by group members as intellectual or academic--in some ways she was an outsider even when she should have been an insider. As the group put it at one point, Regan was "five pages ahead" of everyone else. Although Regan positioned herself through her own talk, for example, by often responding to text with academic discourse, the others in the group supported and assisted in this positioning.

The following response occurred during the sixth week of class--about one third of the way through the semester. For this night of class, we had read Eva Hoffman's autobiography, Lost in Translation, in which Hoffman writes about her experiences growing up in Poland and then immigrating to Canada as an adolescent. Hoffman closely analyzes her use of language, both Polish and English, and the role that language played in constructing her identity. Our discussion of Hoffman's work began with Regan wishing that she had read Hoffman's book earlier when she had written her senior thesis on Simone de Beauvoir's autobiographical works and the works of Virginia Wolf. She ended by saying that she thought the book was "amazing." In an effort to get her to explain this statement I offered a prompt: What was so amazing about it? This leads to a lengthy reply from Regan. As the excerpt below illustrates, both the content and form of her reply led to her being perceived of as an intellectual, and as such, different from her peers. This

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Mary: What was, what was so amazing about it to you?

Regan: Um, well, her construction

(talking together, laughter)

Regan: It was her construction of um, first of all, I was absolutely awestruck at her use of the English language.

(?): Oh, yeah

Regan: Coming from Polish.

Ellie: Like I was um-struck going ,um, what is that?

Regan's responded to my prompt by stating that she was amazed by the "construction". She went on to say that she was "awestruck" by Hoffman's use of English, especially since English was not Hoffman's mother tongue. The response "Oh yeah" with its flat tone and lack of stress indicate agreement. Ellie, in one of her many humorous "asides" aimed at Regan said, "And I was um-struck, going um, what is that?" This repetition with its slight variation is both a means of conversational engagement and a means of creating humor (Tannen, 1989). Through the play on "awestruck," Ellie suggested that she did not understand Hoffman's writing since she was "um-struck." Her response, with it's play on the conversational marker "um," suggested that Ellie was not in awe of Hoffman since she did not understand the text. Paradoxically, we could also read into Ellie's comments that she *was* in awe of Hoffman (and Regan) precisely because she did not understand Hoffman's writing. Her humor and laughter and the laughter of other participants work together to mask the discomfort the group feels in addressing Regan's comments which are perceived as "academic" or "intellectual."

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Regan continued her analysis of Hoffman's writing after Ellie's comment and went on to explore text vs. context. She talked about Hoffman's obsession with language and how Hoffman had to "translate herself." Using words like "constructivist" and "deconstruction," Regan talked about Hoffman's struggle to understand the context saying " ...divorce the author and the history and everything, and it's only the text. The text, the text, the text. " Regan ended her exploration of Hoffman's work by talking about Hoffman's awakening to English where Hoffman finally grasped the "rhythm and the timbre of the language, she finally started to realize the beauty of it." In conclusion she added that Hoffman's text "just all sort of fell together.....It was a product of its time and the author's thoughts and intentions and how you could even hear how they were [sic] thinking and um, that was just amazing to me." Regan's close analysis of Hoffman's text, her choice of words (e. g., constructivist, deconstruction, rhythm and timbre) set her apart from her classmates who did not talk this way and who were generally not impressed with Hoffman's language

Regan's talk about Hoffman was not all that set her apart during this one episode. Although her initial and concluding responses can be classified as academic discourse because they explore themes and connections and analyze Hoffman's prose, Regan embedded within this discourse a story that parallels Hoffman's. In her analysis of language, Hoffman wrote passionately about her search for connections and between context and language. She described how in English words had no associations for her: "River in English is cold--a word without an aura. It has no accumulated associations for me, and it does not give off the radiating haze of connotation. It does not evoke" (p. 106). In the following excerpt Regan described her attempt to connect the context and language in her French studies. Although she was acquiring the

language, her experience parallels Hoffman because French is not what is evocative for Regan; it is the context-- the lives of the women who she was studying--which ultimately allowed her to connect:

> And I was a French lit major in college and I tried to write this sort of contextual piece for my comprehensive exercise which was like it was 30 pages and it was all about Simone [de Beauvoir] and her life and about, you know, the things that she went through as a woman and as a writer and as a feminist and like growing up in Paris in bourgeois society. Like I thought it was so cool. And my professors, I got to my comprehensive hearing, like they were just like well, that's really good but um, how about, you know, how do you feel about the first paragraph of her autobiography? Let's look at that. And they made me take apart the first paragraph and I did it fine. I was just like yeah, well, and this and this and this and you can see this. Yeah, and you can see this and this and this and I was like uh huh, and they were like wow, could you, could you write that down for us. And I said yeah, and then I wrote two pages on it. And then they passed me finally. But I had written this 30 page like thesis that was all about like who I was and who women were and all this stuff. But they were like no, we don't want the context. You know, the context isn't what is important. So I really identified with her, being able to succeed in writing in English lit....

Although this excerpt contained many elements of narrative, it was atypical of the narratives told by course participants, I have coded it as a quasinarrative for several reasons. First, it was unusual that the narrative was embedded within academic discourse. Additionally, the structure of the narrative does not follow a traditional Labovian form as do Ellie's and

Cathy's. For example, rather than following the sequence abstract, orientation, complicating action, and evaluation, Regan's narrative begins with the Action--she was trying to write a paper. There is no abstract and little orientation. Although the narrative contains evaluative statements (e.g., "Like I thought it was so cool"), the framing talk about Hoffman before and after the narrative is actually an evaluation and commentary on Regan's narrative. Without the comments about Hoffman's own understanding of language and search for context, it is difficult to understand what Regan's point is. This narrative is also unlike that of other participants because it is one example of how Regan identifies with the Other--in this case the immigrant struggling to learn the context of America and the language of English. Other participants (e.g., Ellie and Cathy, chapters 3 and 4) did share stories where "the tables were turned," where they were in the minority, where they could be seen as "the Other;" however, these were not intentionally developed positions. In the example above and in others described later in this chapter, Regan intentionally puts herself in the place of the other. In the example above she puts herself in the place of the language learner by sharing a story about her own struggle to combine context and text in her study and writing in French and by directly commenting that "I really identified with [Hoffman] being able to succeed in writing...."

In essence what Regan did in the quasinarrative above was exactly what she respected Hoffman for doing. She included in her talk a great deal of introspection and evaluation, with talk that analyzed and synthesized. In describing Hoffman's writing Regan noted how it " all sort of fell together" and how she as a reader could even hear how Hoffman was thinking. She also stated that the text "was a product of its time and the author's thoughts and intentions" In Regan's analysis of Hoffman's text and life, Regan

mirrored Hoffman's own postmodern narrative with its analysis, synthesis and unconventional narrative form and emphasis on multiple selves. Regan shared with Hoffman a love of language and a quest for self. Hoffman writes about her awakening to English: "I've become obsessed with words. I gather them, put them away like a squirrel saving nuts for winter, swallow them and hunger for more. If I take in enough, then maybe I can incorporate the language, make it a part of my psyche and my body" (p. 216). Regan commented on Hoffman's increasing awareness of the nuances of English rhythms and sounds, and ended her turn by stating that "And that she [Hoffman] could do that in another language just uh, amazing to me as well. I just was amazed by the language. I could read this over and over again. I could write a book on this book."

Regan's turn with its heavy emphasis on academic discourse and post-modern narrative precipitates the following reaction from the group:

Toni: Go for it.

Cathy: And here's a pen (handing Regan a pen)

Ellie: The rest of us are kinda like

Both Regan's own discourse and the response of the group positioned Regan as the intellectual. In responding with "Go for it" her classmates were essentially saying "You write the book." By adding "And here's a pen," they suggested that they do not wish to be involved with such an undertaking. The admission: "The rest of us are kinda like...." indicated that if Regan wanted to write a book, she should go ahead, but they do not feel the same about Hoffman. In fact, they are somewhat "um-struck" by both Hoffman and Regan. They indicated that they do not really relate to Hoffman's text, and in the same way they have difficulty in responding to Regan.

The group's response was not unlike other teacher discussions around this text. For example in discussions with preservice teachers, Florio-Ruane (1997) found that preservice teachers focused on discussions of *Paradise,* the section of the book where Hoffman writes about her early childhood in Poland. In previous research with inservice teachers using autobiographies (see Florio-Ruane, et al., 1997), participants commented that they enjoyed the first two sections of the book, *Paradise* and *Exile* because they depicted Hoffman's memories about Poland and about the difficulties she faced in coming to America. The group was critical of Hoffman's third section of the book, even referring to it as "whiny." *The New World,* with its postmodern structure is less linear than the earlier sections but more introspective with its exploration of multiple, changing views of language and self (field notes from Autobiography Project, 10-9-95).

In similar fashion to the two groups of women just described, Regan's classmates also had difficulty relating to the third section with its examination and attempt to construct, analyze and place the self in an ever changing context. For example, during an in-class reflection written before our discussion of Lost in Translation, Jaime wrote the she had mixed feelings about he book. She was fascinated by Hoffman's use of language and memories of Poland, but she found the book to be "very dense" She also felt that Hoffman "jump[ed] around a lot" and that the language was "almost overpowering" (10-6-97, in class writing). Regan was the only participant who wrote or talked positively about Hoffman's use of language. Other participants wrote about Hoffman's immigrant story, her struggles, and to express admiration for her or to wonder what it is like for students who emigrate to the US in the 1990's. Regan, on the other hand, reveled in the richness of Hoffman's three-part book. The following spoken paraphrase of

Hoffman's writing by Regan indicated how well Regan had internalized Hoffman's ideas about cultural change:

> But I thought, just the rich, her self um, examination as well. The whole, I mean, with the way she divides the book into *Paradise, Exile* and the *New World*. Um, and she can finally triangulate herself between the two cultures and the two languages to find like a true sense of who she is and she can get a sense of all the worlds around her and the richness from both of them.

In other words, Regan was able to make sense out of*Paradise, Exile,* and *The New World* and enjoyed reading all three sections.

This contrast between what interested Regan and what she felt comfortable with and what other course participants were interested in and felt comfortable with was apparent in other areas as well. Regan's interest in the "intellectual" is also revealed by her interrelationship between language, culture and the construction of self was also apparent the week following our discussion of Lost in Translation. The week after we read and discussed Hoffman, we were discussing our mid-term projects. During our discussion, students who had taken the Literacy Proseminar made references to Vygotsky and how confused they became when reading about his work and in listening to their instructors explain it. They were not comfortable talking about language at this theoretical level. Later on this same night Regan--who had not taken the Proseminar--talked about her mid-term essay and hypothesized outloud about what she was beginning to believe about language . This example was one I had cited in my field notes in support of how Regan talked and thought differently than other students. Examination of the relationship between language, culture and mind was something that Regan had raised before when she shared an article from Sierra magazine (Lord, 1996) about

how the geographic location reflects and shapes the language used by indigenous people. Although it was typical for participants to include outside readings, particularly newspapers or periodicals, particularly in discussions around their sketchbooks (see Chapter 4), Regan was the only student who brought in readings that addressed theories about language (Lord, 1996; Greene, 1991) or identity (Gilligan, 1993), from academic sources (e.g. Harvard Educational Review). On this night, she raised a question, essentially about sociocultural theories of language. As the quote below illustrates, she commented on how Hoffman and other sources have prompted her to think about the relationship between context, language, culture, and mind.

> The way your mind is constructed comes from the language that you speak....My main premise is that, that, and Eva, um, Hoffman doesn't specifically talk about that and I don't know anything about Polish but I sort of have this idea that, that her, the way she was constructed came from that language. And I don't know if that's, is that an accepted theory? I mean, like I think I've just gotten this from a bunch of different sources....I wasn't sure and I was writing and I was just like language is a vehicle for imparting meaning to people's lives. And I was like whoa, is that just sort of like this weird blanket statement and everybody's gonna go no, it's not. (10-13-97, p. 14).

After Regan presented this theory of language and mind, Cass and Ellie responded:

> Cass: It sounds really good.
>
> Ellie: None of us would have said "No, it's not" because none of us would have had the guts to open our mouths.

This example is yet another instance where other participants responded to Regan by choosing not to engage with the topic. While Cass's comment, "It

sounds really good" could be read as agreement, it also could be read as a hesitancy to engage with Regan's idea. Cass made no attempt to explain how Regan's ideas sounds good or what may in fact ring true in Regan's comments. In addition, Ellie's comment: "None of us would have said 'No, it's not' because none of us would have had the guts to open our mouths" reflected a certain level of intimidation derived from unwillingness to engage in discussion of the topic which can be perceived as abstract, theoretical, or "intellectual." Hargreaves (1984) has documented that teachers in general are often reluctant to draw on theory in discussing their curriculum and instruction. In addition white women in particular have difficulty engaging in talk they perceive of as intellectual because they have not been socialized into this discourse and do not identify themselves as intellectual (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Wallace-Cowell, 1999) and tend to avoid discussions of a theoretical or abstract nature. Within discussion groups researchers have noted how white middle- class women in particular shy away from conflict and disagreement (Florio-Ruane, 1995; Florio-Ruane & de Tar, 1996) choosing instead to create what McIntyre (1997) has called "a culture of niceness." Regan's question about theory is unlike the questions asked by other students not only in its content, but also in the intertextual references implied (e.g. the Sierra article) or directly stated (e.g. Hoffman). Other students, even those students who had already completed the Literacy Proseminar, seldom referred to theories of language or learning, nor did they reference specific texts that they had read in previous courses or other settings which dealt with language theory.

The content (theoretical concerns) and form (an intertextual weave of ideas, sources, thoughts) of Regan's question positioned Regan as the Other, as an intellectual within a group who did not see themselves as intellectuals.

Ellie's comment that no one in the group would challenge Regan's ideas reflects this perception of the group as nonintellectual and nonconfrontational. As the course instructor, I used Regan's comments as an opportunity to revisit the students' discomfort with Vygotsky's work. I summarized what Regan had said and related it to Vygotsky's theories. In attempting to affirm Regan's exploration of this theoretical perspective, I tried to assure Regan that her explorations did reflect a particular theoretical stance and indicated that this stance was a valid explanation for language learning and a theory under construction and debate by theorists, researchers, and educators. As Regan's teacher, I wanted to support her efforts to explore new ground, but my comments again positioned her as the "intellectual" because as the course instructor and full-time doctoral student, I was the only one willing to engage in a discussion of her theoretical ideas. After I commented on Regan's ideas, the group turned toward a general discussion of Hoffman's experience and the general experience of others coming to America and away from theories of language and the construction of mind.

Intellectual Discourse and the "Concept of Self"

I argued above that Regan's discourse was different in its form, content, and function and that this led to her being positioned differently within the group, that the other participants viewed her as an intellectual. My field notes and transcripts from the course reflected how Regan was positioned differently, and as the course continued, it became even more clear that course participants recognized both Regan's different position and discourse. In the following excerpt which took place eleven weeks into the fifteen-week course, I asked students to talk about the type of talk in their book club discussions and the type of talk in their discussion of the articles. Although we were nearing the end of class, a lively discussion ensued about the

differences between our book club discussions and our discussions of articles. In talking about our discussions several participants stated that they felt they could not question the authors of articles because the authors had "more power." They stated that the authors were "educational authorities" who had conducted the research they wrote up, and therefore, it was difficult to challenge them. They felt that their stories and personal experiences did not mesh well with the articles, and if they shared stories or personal experiences, it was "off topic." In contrast, they felt their book club discussions were more personal and more relevant, and if they told stories in that setting, it was acceptable. They also felt they told more stories in the book club setting.

The excerpt below began when Jaime, a participant who had been actively co-constructing the ideas that the discussion of the books were more personal and the articles more distant, shared that she felt inadequate about her responses to the articles.

Jaime: I know. Exactly. Exactly. I go home and I tell my friends and say, I think I sounded like a total idiot. I really honestly do.

Cass: Well, we wouldn't tell you if you did. (laughter)

Ellie: We'd just smile at you and go (inaudible, laughter, talking) Regan, what do you think?

Mary: Regan, what do you think?

Regan: Um, I was thinking about, the first thing I started writing down was about level of discourse, about the type of talk. Sometimes I think I'm on another planet entirely. Like I'm over here. Sometimes you guys all look at me and I'm just like ookkaayy.

Ellie: Part of it is you were the very first person who understood, used the phrase, the concept of self. And we all kinda went ooohhh. Boy, she's like five pages ahead.

(laughter, talking together)

Regan: No, I just um, which is, I don't know. I was just thinking about where like I'm coming from. Like I worked with small kids last year but I haven't been working with them for years. It's just sort of a different like, like you're playing with blocks. And I was, and I'm just so recent out of college where this huge paper on the discovery of self and this whole autobiographical series. That was what my big paper was on. So I mean, I'm coming from a different, like a different point of view. (11-3-97)

Although the responses given by Cass and Ellie were humorous (they were accompanied by a great deal of overlapping talk and laughter), they did describe the typical patterns of group interaction. Like other groups of white women (Belenky, et al., 1986; Florio-Ruane & deTar 1996, Wallace-Cowell, 1999), members of this group seldom challenged one another directly. This included overlooking the way something was said, for example, even if it was unclear. Throughout the semester, the group had also used other tactics (e.g. change of topic, evading questions, reframing) to avoid open disagreement and confrontation.

In the excerpt above Ellie, Jaime, and Cass had jointly constructed and sustained a discussion in which they aligned themselves in favor of personal story and experience. They positioned themselves and their responses in contrast to the articles--the more "academic" or paradigmatic ways of knowing and talking. Although neither Toni nor Regan had participated (Marsha and Cathy were absent on this night), Ellie turned to Regan to ask: "Regan what do you think?" One could read Ellie's question as concern that Regan had not joined in this conversation, especially since this was a concern I had when, as the teacher, I repeated Ellie's question, saying: "Regan what do

you think?" However, given the context and comments made immediately before Ellie's question--and at other times during the course (see Regan and Ellie's interaction in chapter 3 and excerpts below)-- Ellie's question positioned Regan as the person who *did* understand and relate to the articles read for class. Regan's status as the expert or at very least the person who "gets what it is all about" was sustained by Ellie's response to Regan: "You were the first person who understood [and] used the phrase--the concept of self." And she added in exaggerated tones: "And we all kinda went ooohhh. Boy, she's like five pages ahead. " The metaphor of reading a book and being ahead coupled with the exaggerated intonation evokes humor to which the group responded with laughter. This type of humorous aside is typical of the way the Ellie often positioned Regan throughout the course.

Regan's admission that she sometimes felt like she was on another planet indicated to the group that she knew she did not always connect with them or that they did not always connect with her. Her comment that "you guys all look at me and I'm just like ookkaayy" reflected that she was aware that others often did not respond to her comments and that an uncomfortable silence arose when people were looking at her but not responding. Regan acknowledged that while all other participants had been teaching "for years," she had only one year of experience. In this example above, Regan was positioned as expert while Ellie positioned herself and other members of the class as less willing to engage with the "academic" or "intellectual" discourse. This position was a result of Regan's comments and the groups responses throughout the course. As mentioned, Regan often used academic discourse, and she theorized, made connections, and synthesized texts--all of which it could be argued are more "intellectual" responses than telling a story about

one's experience. Regan "voices" issues and ideas that she is concerned about.

Ellie's response to Regan's talk also functioned as a form of resistance to the "discourse" that Regan offers to the group. In resisting and silencing their own use of critical academic discourse and multiply functioning narratives, the group members limit their potential for intellectual development or exploration of what Wallace-Cowell labels "intellectual identity" (Wallace-Cowell, 1999). Their self-silencing is representative of the ways in which women internalize norms which constitute such self-silencing in the name of niceness (McIntyre, 1997) and non-intellectual "femininity" (Belenky, et al., Gilligan, 1993; Wallace-Cowell, 1999). In contrast to such self-silencing, Regan voices ideas, beliefs, attitudes, and values which demonstrate that she has acquired or learned a "secondary Discourse" (Gee, 1989) which allows her to critique other discourses and the "way they constitute us as persons and situate us in society" (Gee, 1989, p. 9).

Conventional and Unconventional Narratives in Regan's Discourse

Thus far I have devoted most of this chapter to examination to talk that I have labeled "academic discourse" and to Regan's position within the course. As explained above Regan did tell and write narratives, and in preliminary analysis I coded Regan's narratives into two categories: conventional and unconventional. I broke down unconventional narratives into the following categories: (a) quasinarratives, (b) multi-voiced narratives, and (b) grand narratives. The forms of her stories influenced how Regan positioned herself in the course and how others responded to her. Her narratives differed not only in their form but also in their content. While the other course participants had been teaching for several years, Regan had finished her undergraduate degree one year before our course began. In the

interim year, she had not taught in a classroom setting but had worked with indigenous populations, primarily Tlingit Indians, in Alaska. Regan's stories often dealt with different topics than those of her classmates because her experiences were unlike others in the group. In addition, Regan was the only participant in the group who consistently raised issues of power through her narratives. In the following sections, I present examples of Regan's narratives, conventional and unconventional, and address the topics she brought into the group, particularly as these reflected the hot lava topics of power and privilege. Because I have already discussed the excerpt from Hoffman which demonstrates the intertwining of narrative and academic discourse a "quasinarrative," I will not revisit that form of narrative below.

Conventional Narratives

Out of all Regan's narratives cataloged during the analysis, very few follow a conventional narrative identified by Labov (1967, 1972) of abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution. Table 19 summarizes three examples of conventional narratives that Regan shared. Each was heavily influenced by contextual factors, which may explain why Regan constructed these stories in a conventional narrative form which differed from the multi-voiced and quasinarratives more often told by Regan. Although the form is conventional in all three narratives, much of the content described within the narratives reflect "border-crossing" experiences that set Regan apart from her classmates. In this way these first two narratives are more representative of Regan and her beliefs (see Appendix M for an example). The third narrative, which I present and analyze in its entirety below, is conventional both in its form and the theme that it communicates.

Table 19

Content and Context Surrounding Regan's Conventional Narratives

	CONTENT	CONTEXT
I	As an elementary student Regan decides to become a nurse. This upsets her mother because her mother has tried to show her that there are many options open to her aside from the traditional "female occupations" of nurse, teacher, and secretary.	This is a written narrative constructed for the vignette assignment where students wrote about a border-crossing experience or experience involving culture.
II	Regan had applied for a job with a Latino organization that served Latino students who had been expelled from school for violence or drugs. She described the interview with the director of the program.	This oral narrative is fairly long. (It lasts about three minutes, about 47 transcript lines). It follows Ellie's oral retelling of her narrative about the Black Jesus in a small group setting.
III	Regan talks about how when she was in Paris to get into the discos, the women had to look good and how men were not encouraged to go into the clubs unless they could spend a lot of money. Women could sometimes get in free.	This occurs as part of a "narrative cluster." It is a string of narratives, all approximately 10-12 lines long in the transcript. All these narratives are about traveling overseas as a tourist. They all position culture as "exotic" or as contained within the Other. I noted in my field notes that I felt Regan told this story to "fit in" with other participants. Although she told other stories of France elsewhere, I consider those narratives to be postmodern renditions of narrative.

Table 20 presents a conventional narrative shared by Regan in a large group setting. It was situated within a narrative cluster--a sequence where one speaker after another shared a brief narrative constructed in a very similar form with a short orientation, complicating action, and evaluation. Although Regan told other stories about her experiences in France and Alaska, this is the only story that portrayed "culture as exotic" and "culture as other." I wrote in my field notes that I felt Regan told this story to position

herself in a similar place to other speakers. Since they were all telling stories about culture as experienced by being a tourist in another country, Regan shared a similar story.

Table 20

An Example of a Conventional Narrative Told By Regan

Code	Regan's Narrative
O/A	Well, I lived in, when I studied in Paris, um, I mean, it was the same
O	way. You had to have, if you had a group of women, usually could, if
CA	you looked good, if you dressed up, you could usually convince them
CA	to let you in for free. And we could usually um, there's like a $20, $25
CA	cover charge for places. And we could usually get a couple guys from
CA	our program in with us. But the thing is that those bars, I guess, I
CA	don't know. In Paris at least, that's where all the men go to pick up
CA	women so the men, like the older men, business men kinda thing
E	will put up the money to get in. But they don't want men who are
E	just gonna go in there and have a good time. They want men who are
E	going to spend a lot of money and that kind of thing. So they let those
CA	men in and then they try to get the women in for the men. Well,
E	the theory. At least in Paris. And it was all a big negotiation. It was
CA	like, you know, how good do you look and how much money you
CA	had to pay. And if you were gonna stay and if you were a good dancer
R	and you know, it was all this big negotiation.

A = Abstract, O = Orientation, CA = Complicating Action, E= Evaluation, R = Resolution

Coming after her deep analysis of Hoffman's work, this story was a way to reconnect to other participants. By telling this story in within a narrative cluster where participants were "swapping stories" that portrayed culture as exotic--something experienced while vacationing in other countries--Regan attempted to position herself not as an "intellectual" but simply as a member of the group. This type of story was very different and much less frequent that the multi-voiced narratives that Regan shared and the grand narratives that Regan identified and helped the group to address.

Multi-voiced Narratives

There are several examples of narratives that Regan told or wrote where she demonstrated an amazing ability to put herself into the place of the other, where "multi-voicedness" is actually represented in how the pronoun "I" indexes more than Regan herself. For example, in the following excerpt Regan put herself into the place of the Tlingit children she worked with. In sharing the story with the group she described how their family literacy program was run in a community center and was divided up by movable partitions that allowed children and parents to be in separate spaces. The children were classified as "at-risk" because they came from homes with high poverty rates and high rates of substance abuse. Some of the children had been removed from their homes several times. Regan described how difficult it was to work with the children because they "were out of control" constantly looking under and around the partitions. Finally, the workers took the room dividers down and the kids stopped "acting up." Regan shared the child's perspective: "She's [Mom's] over there and she's doing her own thing right now, and yeah, I'm doing something over here with Regan and that's fine because I can still see mom and I can be sure that she's not leaving me. " Regan went on to say how important it was for the children to have the security of seeing their parents since there were times when they had been separated.

In other examples Regan also portrayed this "multi-voicedness." During one week, she had the opportunity to hear a speech by Sister Helen Prejean author of Dead Man Walking (1996). In her sketch book Regan wrote about that experience and quoted the following excerpt from Sister Helen's book:

> I keep thinking of the gifts of my own upbringing, which I once took for granted: I can read any book I choose and comprehend it. I can write a complete sentence and punctuate it correctly. If I need help, I can call on judges, attorneys, educators, ministers. I wonder what I would be like if I had grown up without such protections and supports. What cracks would have turned up in my character ? What makes me think that I wouldn't have been pregnant at seventeen? How law-abiding would I be?

In sharing this excerpt in her sketchbook and during our share time in class, Regan positioned herself, as did Sister Helen, in place of the other. Essentially she asked: If I had not the privilege of being white and well-educated, where would I be? Who would I be? Again Regan internalized the exploration of others by focusing it inwardly on the self.

Regan also explored this controversial topic of white privilege in the following discussion of Hunger of Memory and the experiences of Richard Rodriguez (1982). As the teachers talked about Rodriguez's experiences in school and also his work experiences, for example, when he worked digging ditches, Ellie wondered what Rodriguez was trying to say. What did he mean? Regan replied that the phrase "give up the privilege" is something that she has heard people say about white people; however, she thinks this is ridiculous. To illustrate her point, she read this quote from Rodriguez:

> If tomorrow I worked at some kind of a factory, it would go differently for me. My long education would favor me. I could act as a public person able to defend my interest to unionize, to petition, to challenge and demand. I will never know what real work is. I will never know what the Mexicans knew gathering their shovels and ladders and saws (p. 138).

Her reading of this passage was followed by a pause where again other participants failed to respond to her comments. With no uptake on the quote and immediately following the pause, Regan shared a story about living in Alaska.

> That was something I personally struggled with. Last year I was in this volunteer organization, got paid very little money, and it was living in solidarity with the people that we served. That was such a ridiculous thing for me. Like I had less money than most of my clients and I had so much more privilege than they did. And it was, it was ridiculous, you know, because I, I grew up in Plentywood (a predominantly white upper middle class suburb in the midwest). You know, I went to a private, four year college. Everything. They had, and they had a lot more, some of them had twice as much money as I did. And they, you know, still did not have the opportunities and the abilities that I had. Like the whole unionizing and just seeing yourself as going somewhere, able to change your sense of agency. Like I can change the world if I need to, change it, then I can make that happen.

Regan felt that the idea of her "living in solidarity" with the people she served was ridiculous because even though she had less money, she had a lot more cultural capital. She had an education, a middle class upbringing, and she was white. In sum, she had many more opportunities than the people she was trying to serve. This excerpt shows that although Regan is comfortable and capable of putting herself in the place of the other and exploring what that means, she remained aware that no matter how much she empathized or how she may have physically taken on the trappings of poverty, there were critical differences--power and privilege--between other people.

Grand narratives

As I explained at the beginning of this chapter when defining grand narratives, these narratives (also called metanarratives or master narratives) are "conventional" in the sense that they typically follow a linear structure and that they are an established part of our American culture. However, I categorize them as unconventional because they are told or identified by Regan for a range of purposes exceeding the conventions of ordinary story-telling. Grand narratives are deeply sedimented within culture and serve to sustain cultural understanding as tacit and shared. As such they are very powerful but the are also very limited in their form, scope, and evaluation and limiting in the ways that they construct and constrain an individual's cultural identity. To provide a critique of these narratives requires stepping outside the "primary Discourse" (Gee, 1989) which has been used to construct these narratives. As we will see, Regan's ability to identify and then critique these narratives is limited by her own experience and knowledge, by the extent to which she can step outside the primary Discourse. Her efforts at critiquing the grand narratives were more successful where her own knowledge was detailed, nuance, and critical, where she had internalized a "meta-language" that allowed her to explore the power that these narratives had to "constitute us as persons and situate us in society" (Gee, 1989, p. 9).

In the early stages of analysis grand narratives posed some of the same dilemmas as quasinarratives. For example, some days I would code these grand narratives as narratives, but on other days they appeared to be facts strung together. When I shared examples of these forms of discourse with others, reactions were mixed. Although the following excerpt has muted elements of a narrative--it has actors, action, and setting, it lacks distinctive statements of orientation, complicating action, and evaluation.

> There were a lot of articles sort of in Newsweek or U.S. News and World Report and magazines like that. I saw a few just in this past year about African Americans and sports and about um, like the kind of role models that we have as a society. And I thought this was really interesting because this pre-dates all of that. Kind of like, um, you know, African American boys and I don't know, I mean, I'm sort of making this up but it's the general ideas. You know, in 6th grade are 12 times more likely than white kids of the same age and everything to um, to think that they're gonna be a professional basketball player or something. Because just that prevalence of those kind of role models for African Americans, especially boys. And you know, your chances of making it to be NBA are one in, you know, a million. Even if you play high school sports and you're pretty good at it. And movies like Hoop Dreams and things like that. I was just thinking that, how sad it was that this, you know, this was sort of around before. Like I didn't, I mean, that was something I never had even thought about before I saw Hoop Dreams, I don't think. And um, and just that she [Angelou] wrote this book and it happened to her and, you know, in the 40s and early 50s. And look what, you know, look how little, you know, how little we've come from there.

Although the excerpt above lacks the linear form of Labov's narratives, I can extract an underlying story from the talk, and the result is one of the "grand narratives" of our culture. These grand narratives are the overarching stories that define our culture and in many cases, such as that above, construct and sustain stereotypes. Regan has identified one of the metanarratives that assists in the construction of racial stereotyping and prejudice. The metanarrative is one reflected in stories like Hoop Dreams. Using Burke's

pentad of Actor, an Action, a Goal, a Scene, and an Instrument, we can retell the story. The young African American male, the *actor*, sets out to achieve the *goal* of becoming successful of "making something" of himself in society. This drama is played out in the inner-city where the *scene* is dominated by images of poverty, drugs, and violence. In this grand narrative, a sport, particularly basketball, is both the *instrument* and the *action*.

This narrative with its depiction of African American success is a comfortable representation of race in American society. McIntyre (1997) refers to this type of narrative as an "exception story" because it allows whites to emphasize the exception rather than the rule. In this case, the metanarrative indicates that black males have a way out of poverty, especially as it is characterized in urban areas. This ignores the reality that poverty and race are correlated with black children experiencing poverty at a rate almost three times that of white children (Grant & Secada, 1996). The metanarrative also contributes to the stereotyping of black men by implying that they are suited for sports but not for other professional occupations. The narrative thus frames "choice" in ways that divert attention away from practices of institutionalized racism which limits the opportunities and chances for Black men who wish to succeed within a predominantly white society.

Regan identified the grand narrative described above during the group's discussion of Maya Angelou's I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings (Angelou, 1969). Several participants shared stories that demonstrated how our society is racist. For example, Cass and Ellie both shared stories about black male friends who were stopped by police. One man's car was subjected to an intensive search because police were certain a box of laundry detergent (a white powder) was drugs. Another group of men were stopped because they were traveling in the company of one white woman who was a friend of

theirs. Although these stories also reflect overarching stereotypes of black men, neither narrator identified the grand narratives which frame these stories.

Regan was the only student who directly identified master narratives. Rather then telling a story about a black man who made it as a sports hero, she questions the believability of the master narrative. The intertextual reference to Maya Angelou further strengthens Regan's criticism of the "success story" because the group had been discussing Angelou's description of her schooling and how when the white school received new textbooks, the black school received a basketball court. Regan's final comment: "Look how little we've come from there" indicates that the story of what Black Americans can be successful at and of what role they should play in our society is one that has been constructed and maintained across generations.

Although Regan uses reference to Angelou to imply criticism of the master narrative, her experience is limited to what Angelou has written as well as by her own position as a white middle class woman and by her own "primary Discourse." Her position is further limited by the course curriculum which did not include autobiographies written by African American male authors. However, there are other settings where Regan is able to use her own knowledge and experience and her willingness to critique the grand narratives and to push the group's understanding and insights into Others. This is particularly apparent in Regan's comments during the group's discussion of The Kitchen God's Wife (Tan, 1991).

Critiquing the Grand Narratives: A Discussion of The Kitchen God's Wife

Although I have indicated that Regan's discourse, her position as an "intellectual" and the lack of uptake on her ideas, often positioned her as an outsider, Regan also played a powerful role in helping others to rethink their

positions. In the following example, Regan used her experience and training a women's shelter to help other participants begin to identify and critique the master narratives that shape our understandings of domestic violence and battered women. The example below is excerpted from discussion of The Kitchen God's Wife where participants had been discussing the relationship between the character Winnie and her husband Wen Fu and Winnie and her daughter Pearl.

Ellie: I had a question about kinda comparing what was happening to her to Winnie in China with an abusive husband who abused the children and, you know, basically killed one of them.

Jaime: Did your heart wanta fall out when

Ellie: And how would that have, how would that have been different if they would have been in the United States at the same time? Because there's a lot more stuff going on now and it was kind of, what I mentioned a while ago. I think it was the last time we talked about this. Sometimes it's very hard to even understand, because this whole world is so foreign to me. I can't even begin to comprehend somebody doing this to a child or somebody not being prosecuted for some of what he was doing. But number one, we're looking at another foreign culture and at another time. And how would it have been, even if it had been in America in the 40s

Jamie: Probably it would have been overlooked. Especially if it was during the war. Here in America, people

Mary: They still have, I mean, the statistics on women being battered are what? One woman every three minutes or something like that.

Above Ellie and Jaime constructed the idea that abuse that was tolerated in the 1940's in China would have been tolerated in the 1940's in the U. S. too. They implied in the U. S. today things would be different. This prompted me to wonder if this is actually the case, and I tried to raise the issue of domestic violence in our contemporary society with my reference to current statistics on women being abused. The response below suggests that domestic violence was not considered to be a problem in contemporary society because, as participants pointed out, there are more laws, and there are safe places to go. The repetition of the word "law" and its juxtaposition with "repercussions" indicates what the participants believe about abuse--that women are protected in our contemporary society.

Ellie: But we're a lot more conscious of it now and there are more

Jaime: Laws.

Ellie: Laws and there are repercussions.

Cathy: There are safe places to go.

Regan: Well, I mean, but like the waiting list, at [the women's shelter] in Lakeridge is like two or three months.

(?): Really?

Regan: Yeah, most, most nights you can't get, I mean, you like can show up at their door and they'll be like sorry. You know, there's no room. So although people are more conscious of it, sometimes it's worse because you get a lot of women calling hotlines and stuff and there's not, there's not the resources to take care of them.

Jamie: How disheartening that would be, to say I'm trying to get out of this situation and you can't help me.

Toni: And now what do I do? Go back?

Regan: And even, now, well, I mean

(talking together)

Jaime: Forcing me to go back to the situation and try again.

Regan's comment that the shelter has a waiting list of two or three months and that women are actually turned away causes the group to rethink the grand narrative it has begun to construct about women. The group has begun spin story where women are sometimes abuse, but where they are provided for through shelters and hotlines and where abuse is not tolerated; there are laws and repercussions. The construction of this story which allows both individuals and society to turn a blind eye toward the problems of domestic violence is thwarted by Regan's insistence that the group think about the statistics. Not only does the group pause to reconsider the story they are creating but they begin to put themselves in the place of the battered women by making statements such as "I'm trying to get out of this situation and you can't help me." and "And now what do I do? Go back?"

Regan continued to push the group's thinking about their portrayal by pointing out that on average battered women leave their partners six times before they actually leave for good; leaving and returning is part of the cycle of domestic violence. The group did not engage this comment directly through their own experience, but returned to their analysis of the text. They looked closely at abuse of Winnie and her children by Wen Fu and ultimately the relationship and respect (or lack of respect) between men and women. The exploration of the text slightly reframed the conversation to safer ground; however, the participants sustained the general subject of abuse, a potential hot lava topic. While the group was discussing disrespect, Ellie reframed the conversation and moved it to even safer ground away from the topic of abuse and the rights of women. Using a visit to her sister in Japan as a starting

point, Ellie shared how everyone in Japan was so "gracious" but even when they were polite they could insult one another or send signals that say "get out of my business." Although this prompted a short exchange of several minutes around this topic and exploring the actions of several characters in the book, one of the participants returned again to the topic of abuse by telling a story about her sister who had an abusive boyfriend and who after nine years in an abusive relationship was still unable to leave. She also shared how her family and residents of her small community were afraid of this man. She ended her story by linking it with the text saying: "So I' mean, with Wen Fu, especially the time it was, I, I can understand....well, no, I can't understand but I've seen it." Although this participant did not directly evaluate her story, the context, details, and imagery created the opportunity for what Tannen has called "internal evaluation" (Tannen, 1989) where speakers are led to an interpretation or evaluation based on details in the story's internal structure. In this case, the speakers point was clear: Her sister and her sister's family and friends were unable to deal with the situation of domestic violence. In other words, the resources provided by the community were not enough to free her from the cycle of domestic violence.

This was actually a point that Regan had hoped to make to the group members through her sharing about her knowledge about domestic violence and how limited resources are. In her interview she talked about how she felt that during the discussion about battered women she had knowledge that others did not have. She felt that one of her roles within the group was to share this knowledge, and she also felt that others should do the same.

Regan: I was thinking about that shelter example. That was amazing to me, that people are like "Oh, we have such great resources."

Mary: Oh, yeah.

Regan: What? Like I have the total opposite impression. Like we have resources, what are you talking about?

Mary: Right

Regan: You know, but it was like, but I didn't go in with a standpoint like these people, you know, they don't know, to shake my finger at them, or they don't know what's going on. But it was like hey, well, you know, I have a little bit of experience in the domestic violence field and this has been my experience. And not that it's different or more valid than their experiences, but it's, I mean, it is different. But it isn't more valid, it's just different. And so maybe to, to kind of keep those, those ideas changing. I don't know. I mean, in terms of my role, maybe that's, that's how I would define it. Just trying to share as much information. And I hope that people who have more information about other things than I do will share with me and just kind of keep an open, an open mind or discussion about it. (Interview, 10-9-98)

During her interview Regan recalled what she tried to do during the discussion of domestic violence. She indicated that she was amazed that others believed we had "great resources" to address the issues of domestic violence since through her work with the shelter she was aware of how inadequate these resources were. Regan was careful to describe the tone with which she hoped to share information. Rather than "shaking a finger" at the rest of the group, she indicated that she knew her experience was "different," not "more valid." Regan talked about her role in the group as being one where she shared information. She also hoped that "that people who have

more information about other things than I do will share with me and just kind of keep an open, an open mind or discussion about it. "

Regan's comments were reflective of how she saw herself as a learner and as a participant within the group. In making contributions, she hoped to contribute to and open discussion about topics raised within the group. In the context of The Kitchen God's Wife, her comments had the desired effect; they pushed the group to consider the new information and to rethink their positioning of battered women. The group enters what Salvio (1995) has called a "common place" where participants are able to "dwell in ideas, to debate, to inquire," (Salvio in Reischl, 1999). Although participants enter this common ground during their discussion of The Kitchen God's Wife, in part due to Regan challenging their views, there were other opportunities, as explained throughout this chapter, where participants did not dwell, debate or inquire. Those "missed opportunities" demonstrate how difficult it is to raise and sustain conversational topics that challenge cultural narratives, particularly those that deal with issues of racism, sexism and classicism.

Conclusion

Regan heightened my awareness of the dilemma that teachers encounter in trying to promote conversation-based discussions of literature. In the opening comments of this chapter I stated that as the course instructor it was difficult to know how to respond to Regan's comments. During our discussion of Lost in Translation I had written in my field notes: "I got the feeling that people didn't get Regan's point here on deconstructionism (sic), etc. I think she has done an amazing job of analyzing the text. I know I would have responded differently had I not been the instructor. I want to reaffirm Regan's ideas but not isolate others" (field notes, 10-6-99). Had I only been a participant in the course, I would have felt free to engage Regan's

ideas. However, as the course instructor I was keenly aware that by responding to her ideas and engaging in a conversation about the topic, e.g. deconstructivism, I would again position her as "the intellectual" and could isolate others in the group who were not impressed with Hoffman's writing, did not understand deconstructivism, and who, like many white American women, did not perceive of themselves as intellectuals (Belenky et al., 1986).

The dilemma of being the teacher educator and thus wielding a great deal of power and discourse to position otherwise is particularly contentious when considering the objectives of the course and that Regan with her varied experiences and penchant for interpreting texts often embodied the very things I was hoping to accomplish within the course--exploration of self and other, consideration of the social and cultural contexts of literacy, use of autobiography to explore and understand cultural and linguistic diversity. In addition, Regan demonstrated throughout the course that knowledge is not static, but that the relationship between language, culture and self and other is a dialectic. Like Hoffman, whom Regan so much admired, Regan herself is a traveler, very much aware than in our postmodern world few things are fixed. For example, during her interview Regan talked about how she was less sure of her opinions than she used to be and how she "used to think of the world as a very solid place." She gave this illustration:

> Maps. I always take this back to an experience in 6th grade. We made these really big maps of Europe and we each had to think of a different way and I had not cardboard but that particle board stuff and I put like cereal and different like things for all the countries and it was Europe, of course. Europe. Euro-centric. So we had to do maps of Europe and that just being the way it was. Like you just drew the lines where they were and that's where the lines are. And not, like in France, you know,

> World War I, World War II, Germany, like the lines moved. And I just didn't really have a sense of that before. And I think that I may see one of my roles now, especially in terms of social, societal things that are going on as maybe somebody who moves those lines (Interview 10-9-98).

Although at times Regan's discourse positioned her as an "intellectual" and distanced her from her peers, at other times Regan's talk pushed the group to explore new territory, to reconsider our reading of the cultural narratives which contribute to the oppression of the Other through racism, classism, sexism. McLaren (1993) writes:

> It is one thing to seek continuity as part of one's communal, civic or national identity; it is quite another to fix identity in those narratives that will 'read' us in a distinctly totalizing way. Contained in all cultural narratives is a preferred way of reading them We don't only live particular narratives but we inhabit them (as they inhabit us). The degree to which we resist certain narratives depends upon how we are able to read them (p. 212).

McLaren emphasizes that the grand narratives which are found within our culture, can serve positive, unifying purposes. However, he cautions that those narratives can fix identity, for example, the hard working immigrant always achieves success, and those who fail do so because they do not work hard. Regan has learned to "read" these grand narratives to critique them. Her critique class distinctions, gender roles, monolingualism all demonstrate her resistance.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The Need to Examine Form, Function, Content, and Context of Narrative

Recently theorists, researchers, and teacher educators have argued for a return to narrative and a valuing of preservice and inservice teachers' experience and knowledge, particularly through autobiography or other forms of personal narratives as a resource for learning. In examining life experiences, advocates of narrative argue that individuals can be transformed by stories and that stories can be a means for teachers to express beliefs about theory, practice, and curriculum (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988, 1990; Grumet, 1988; Jackson, 1995; McEwan & Egan, 1995; Withrell & Noddings, 1991; for overviews see Carter & Doyle, 1996, Casey, 1995). Similarly, the study presented in this dissertation explores how narrative can be used by teachers.

In undertaking this intensive study of narrative in a masters course on "Culture, Literacy, and Autobiography," I found that stories of personal experience assisted teachers as they explored curriculum, instruction, and issues of culture and diversity. For example, revisiting narratives over time, as Ellie's case illustrated, created opportunities for transformation through re-emplotment. Changing the stories of self and other that we take forgranted within a discourse through re-emplotment can increase the likelihood that teachers will be more aware of and sensitive to their biases and thus more attentive the needs of all students. Additionally, narratives of personal experience are important to teacher education because both preservice and inservice teachers often downplay theory in discussions of instructional practice while at the same time relying heavily on experience to explain their

philosophical stance (Hargreaves, 1984). For this reason, narrative may actually provide teachers with ways to link theory to practice, as demonstrated, for example, by Cathy's attempt to explore culturally appropriate instruction through the narratives of her African American colleagues. However, in spite of the potential for narrative to assist teachers in exploring a multitude of issues and theoretical perspectives, and in spite of the potential transformative properties of narrative, I am troubled by the lack of criticism with which many narrative studies are presented in teacher education. Even though narratives that have the power to transform the individual are acknowledged to be rare (Jackson, 1995), the limitations and constraints of narrative as a tool for teachers' learning are often overshadowed by the strong positive claims that researchers and theorists make about narrative.

In general, researchers focus on the universal nature of narrative (Bruner, 1986; 1990a, 1990b; Polkinghorne, 1988), stressing the "commonplace" of stories--that people use stories to make meaning and construct identity (Casey, 1995). In addition, narrative studies in education are limited because they often rely on interviews rather than group discussion. Likewise narratives told in conversation are not typically analyzed in their entire context. Because contextualized narratives or even lengthy narratives are hard to handle in the long forms, the analyst typically fragments narratives and/or summarizes their content (Casey, 1995, Riessman, 1993). Many conclusions about narratives and its educational potential are drawn from these studies. Yet both the type of data (predominantly interviews) that have been analyzed in relation to narrative, and the methods of analysis (fragmenting narratives), limit those findings because they do not emphasize

narrative as a social process as well as a spoken text. For example, in her review of narrative research Casey (1995) writes:

> ...researchers are now discovering that they need to attend to its [a narrative's] internal patterns of priorities. Every narrative is a highly constructed text structured around a cultural framework of meaning and shaped by particular patterns of inclusion, omission, and disparity. The principal value of a narrative is that its information comes complete with evaluations, explanations, and theories and with selective silences, and slippage that are intrinsic to it's representation s of reality (p. 234).

In this passage, Casey draws our attention to several nuances of narrative that deserve researchers' critical attention. First, narrative structures follow cultural patterns; simply stated, narratives have particular forms or structures. Second, the content provided by these narrative forms is embedded in discourse that reveals a narrator's beliefs, attitudes, and positions. Third, narrative reflects Halliday's three interrelated functions of language as communicating: content, social relationships, and structure (Halliday, 1973).

In her summary of Halliday's language theory, Riessman (1993) adds a forth feature of narrative that must be considered--that of context. Interestingly, although Casey and Riessman identify the features above as integral to narrative analysis, few narrative researchers have studied the forms, function, and content of teachers' narratives in educational settings. In particular, few studies have examined narrative in the context of teachers' discussion groups in course settings. This seems odd given that teacher educators often use peer discussion groups in exploring dilemmas of teaching, examining course readings, and so forth that compose the

curriculum of many teacher education programs and that narratives told during discussion or written for course work are apt to be far more common in educational settings that formal interviews.

As stated above, a limitation of existing studies is that they tend to focus on excerpted fragments of narrative elicited through interviews or, in some cases, on excerpts from narratives written by teachers as educational autobiographies or life histories. Thus even though the theoretical work that many researchers draw from (e.g. Bruner 1986, 1990a, b) presents narrative as dynamic, much of the research on personal narrative--including work on teacher autobiography--implies a definition of narrative as both linear and static (Miller, 1998). This impression arises from the types of narratives elicited (e. g., teacher autobiographies or life-experiences in interview settings) and because advocates of narrative often fail to define what they mean by narrative or to explore how particular narratives are constructed, how they function, and how the context plays a part in narrative construction and interpretation. In other words, content of narratives is emphasized at the expense of consideration of its form, function, and context.

In thinking about narrative and its forms, functions, content, and context, it may be helpful to consider what we know about children's narratives in educational settings to illustrate how limited our knowledge of teacher narratives is. In contrast to teachers, we know a great deal about the stories that children tell in educational settings, including the forms, functions, and content of their oral and written narratives (e. g., Cazden, 1988; Dyson, 1993; Heath, 1983; Lensmire, 1994; McCabe & Peterson, 1991; Michaels, 1991). For example, Cazden's classic description of topic-centered vs. episodic narratives identified how content and sociolinguistic features of children's stories function in during sharing time. Euro American teachers were apt to

respond more positively to topical narratives because they were familiar with the sociolinguistic features of these narrative texts typical of white middle class speech. In contrast, teachers often interrupted African American students whose episodic narratives were interpreted by the teachers as lacking a coherent focus or including information that teachers considered unimportant to the story they believed the student was telling. Studies by Cazden and others have provided valuable insights into how narrative is constructed and how it functions for children and how teachers respond to it children in classrooms. This knowledge of narrative assists teachers in developing curriculum and instruction and responding to students in ways that value student contribution. It has been used by teacher educators to help teachers think about their work with children. Few parallel studies conducted in educational settings carefully identify the form, function, and content of stories that preservice and inservice teachers share when they are the students or learners in educational settings. Such studies are valuable because they allow teacher educators and teachers to look at their own learning with the same critical lens that has been applied to teacher-student relations around narrative in the classroom.

Recently a small but growing group of researchers have begun to look at the context surrounding teachers' stories (e. g., Swidler, 1995) and at response to multicultural literature in discussion groups for inservice teachers (Florio-Ruane, et al., 1997; Glazier, et al., in press) and between collaborating teachers and interns (e. g., Reischl, 1998). While this study is similar to those previously sited, it pushes further into the forms of teachers' stories and ways that these constructions of narrative function within teacher discussions. Rather than assume that these stories are educative or transformative, the work presented in this dissertation attempts to document

stories told or written by inservice teachers in the context of literature based discussion groups to examine how and if or when narrative assists learning. In so doing, I have attempted to begin to describe how a particular set of narratives is constructed in the context of teacher learning, in addition to considering the content and functions of narrative.

Research on narrative needs to be extended by further consideration of narrative structures, contexts, and functions in addition to content, and that in undertaking such an exploration we need to give careful consideration to the limitations of narrative. This requires raising and responding to many questions that are, as yet, unaddressed by narrative studies in education: How is narrative transformative? Do all stories promote growth and change? Are some narratives more "educative" than others? What do stories "look like" in preservice and inservice teacher discussions? How are these narratives constructed? How do they function in the context of teacher education? What contexts must we consider in exploring these narratives?

Significant Findings and Limitations of Narrative

Narrative As Dynamic

One of the most intriguing findings arising from the cases presented here is how varied and rich both written and oral narratives are in the context of teacher's engagement with multicultural literature and with theoretical and research readings. If we think of Ellie, Cathy, and Regan and the narratives presented in each case, narrative loses some of the static, linear, monolithic structure implied in many narrative studies; that is, we begin to see for adult learners, just as with children, there are multiple forms of narrative--each with distinct sociolinguistic features--and these narratives function in different ways. For example, in Ellie's multiple retellings, we see how even one narrative in subsequent iterations changes its form, adding

more evaluation, or a more fixed resolution, or how the narrative changes its content becoming more or less descriptive or introspective. Ellie's narratives, which essentially follow the same storyline, changes across contexts where the narrative is written, spoken or shared in a larger or smaller group settings. These changes provide different degrees of opportunity for Ellie to consider her own position and the positions of others. It is only after narrating multiple versions of her story that Ellie directly raises the possibility of own prejudice. Such change implies that all narratives are not the same, even when they are assumed to be "the same story," and clearly illustrates that narratives are dynamic.

The dynamic nature of narrative also reflects understandings of culture "under construction." As we see this in Ellie's' final narrative with its emphasis on possibilities, narrative holds forth the possibility of exploring alternatives, different ways of seeing things and doing things. For Ellie this means beginning to engage in exploration of her own position as a white teacher and thinking about whether race or prejudice could be problems that influence her work with children. The dynamic nature of culture reflected through narrative is also present in Cathy's reflections on the course and her final project where she comments that she had redefined literacy and also recognized that culture and race were not the same constructs. The multiple narratives told by her African American colleagues introduced Cathy to aspects of African American culture that Cathy had not considered before. In turn, she began to see her own role as a white teacher differently. Through her own narratives and the narratives of others she began to identify culturally appropriate strategies that she could use to assist all her students in becoming successful students. Regan also used narrative to reflect and examine issues of culture. For example, in her course project she wrote about

the "violence to self" that was experienced by Rodriguez and Hoffman in their autobiographies as they described their crossing of cultural and linguistic boundaries. Regan also indicated how much she learned from the other participants' stories about their classrooms in traditional school settings and how their stories provided valuable insights into classrooms and learning. However, not all narratives included course work or class discussions so clearly assisted us in the learning process. Some stories were clearly more significant for the light they shed on the difficulties inherent in learning through and about narratives.

Storytelling and Stereotyping: Essentializing the Other

As a teacher I realized that I felt some stories did not push our thinking; in fact it seemed likely that they would "reify" stereotypical beliefs about culture, and in this way, the purpose of these stories ran counter to the goals of the course. In reading through field notes, I began referring to these stories as "narrative clusters" because they often occurred as a chain, where one speaker immediately followed another. The stories were all similar in length with speakers relating brief, traditionally formed (abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution) stories. I wrote in my field notes that when we shared these stories it felt like we were "swapping stories" or in other cases, telling "'I-can-top-that' stories." I have used the plural form "we" here intentionally because there were times when I too participated in this type of storytelling. For example, there were times when I gave in to the impulse to share an experience even though I recognized that the story I was about to tell positioned culture as an objective construct that is embodied in the "Other."

These conversations were troubling because they often led us to "essentialize" the Other--one of story's most negative and disturbing effects.

Maxine Greene (1993) cautions us against viewing narratives about others as representations:

> My point has to do with openness and variety as well as with inclusion. It has to do with the avoidance of fixities, of stereotypes, even the stereotypes linked to multiculturalism. To view a person as in some sense "representative" of Asian culture... or Hispanic culture or Afro-American culture is to presume an objective reality called 'culture," a homogeneous and fixed presence that can be adequately represented by existing subjects. (Do Amy Tan's maternal characters embody the same reality as does Maxine Hong Kingston's 'woman warrior'? Does Richard Wright's Bigger Thomas stand for the same thing as Miss Celie stands for in Alice Walker's The Color Purple?) We do not know the person in the front row of our classroom, or the one sharing the raft, or the one drinking next to us at the bar by her/his cultural or ethnic affiliation" (p. 16).

Greene makes the point above, that we cannot "know" individuals based on their ethnicity or what we assume is their "culture." Yet many times the stories we write or share, particularly those attempting to describe culture, do essentialize others. This limitation of narrative is seldom acknowledged in research, or in multicultural curriculum for teachers, but it was a real problem I faced in attempting to foster discussions which explored the relationship between literacy and culture.

Fostering Multiplicity

The risk of essentializing others and the dilemma it poses confronted me as a teacher and also as a researcher presenting three "stories" through the cases of Ellie, Cathy, and Regan. Although their stories are "fixed" upon these pages, the stories continue. In this sense the autobiographical aspects are not

just a looking back or a presenting of self within a present context, but are teleographic, looking ahead, a projecting of possible future selves (Conway, 1998). In particular, I am reminded through Ellie's multiple narrations and re-emplotments and by the movement and repositioning we see in her story, in her self, that personal narrative and autobiography is not just about looking back, but also struggling into the future. However, to maintain a teleographic stance requires us to be wary of linear autobiographical narratives which portray only a single and unified self (Miller, 1998). The linear story with is singular self stands in opposition to the multiple selves revealed, for example, through re-emplotment of Ellie's narratives or through Regan's "multi-voiced" stories. In criticizing the linear form of autobiography as it is often used in teacher education, Miller goes on to write: "One difficulty that I see with such 'stories,' then, is that many do not explore and theorize social, historical, or cultural contexts and influences, including language an discourse, on constructions of the 'selves' who have those 'experiences.'" (p. 150).

As a teacher educator one thing I have learned in looking across the narratives written and told throughout the course is that we must provide opportunity for creating and valuing narratives based on personal experience, but we must also scaffold and provide opportunities for critical examination of narratives. We must reflect on "language and discourse" of narrative, the forms that these narratives take and how those forms function in the construction of selves and in constructing and positioning others. This includes consideration of how we and others are positioned through story relative to the social, historical, and cultural context. For both teachers and students this is a challenging undertaking. However, as we encounter a multiplicity of stories, of voices, of ways of being, we find "access to other

ways of looking at the world [which then] calls into question the absolute character of our own understanding of it" (Proefriedt, 1989/90, p. 86). Thus critical reflection on personal narrative can foster multiplicity as a means of resisting the fixed categories of race, ethnicity, and gender that we use to stereotype and simplify others and their experiences.

Unfortunately, critical examination of narrative discourse and forms is difficult. In many cases, teachers are resistant to examining issues such as race or gender which they perceive as "hot lava." Even when such topics are introduced, for example, in the many times Regan raised issues of interest to women and talked about how women are positioned in society, there are few examples of uptake on this controversial topic and when there is uptake the exploration of the topic is not sustained over long periods of discussion. This pattern of engagement is exemplified with participants exploration of domestic violence and women's shelters that surfaces in discussing The Kitchen God's Wife.

The Influence of Context on Narrative

Looking across speakers demonstrates additional variation in the structure of narrative. Cathy's extended narrative about the "Black Child Placed in Crisis Conference," situated in the context of a class discussion is shaped by both the discussion of readings and other narrative which frames it and by the interaction with other participants. What is important is not just the narration of her experience as a white teacher crossing cultural boundaries but what she does with her story and how she responds to the multiple resolutions (yet another variation on the structure of the narrative). The dissonance created by those resolutions and the experience provide the impetus for Cathy to pursue further exploration of her role as white teacher. Here again, narrative plays a part. Cathy asked her African American

colleagues to talk about their experience with education and about what they believed was important in educating black children. Again, these stories contain the possibility in their telling, in Cathy's hearing of them, they will provide opportunities for learning, even for transformation. In Cathy's case there is some evidence to this effect. She developed a set of recommendations for teachers who work with diverse students. The structure of Cathy's final project is narrative in much the same way as Gloria Ladson Billings' book The Dreamkeepers is narrative. Cathy and Ladson-Billings chronicle the lives of teachers and conclude with specific recommendations. Interestingly, some of the recommendations are the same. Cathy had not read Ladson-Billings' book before or while completing her study, so the final project becomes an even more striking example of how Cathy extracted themes and recommendations using her own experience as a teacher to analyze the narratives people shared and to help those narratives educate her about her role as teacher. The key to Cathy's growth is in what she chooses to do with the narratives, how she uses them in her learning and ultimately, in her teaching.

Uncovering Issues of Power In and Through Narrative

In order for teachers to transform their conceptualization of power and its reproduction in classroom practice, they must identify and challenge existing notions of literacy, culture and constructions of self and other within our society. If these factors are not identified, examined, and challenged, narrative alone will not lead to change in these areas. Acknowledging and fostering multiplicity is also a key in beginning to uncover issues of power that wend their way into our stories: "Pedagogical practices grounded in life-writings, including autobiographies, memoirs, and self-portraiture, can expedite narrative articulations of how systems of power and constraint, both

social and familiar, saturate and compose languages of self, positioning each of us" (Zuss, 1997, p. 163). It is clear from looking at how narratives are constructed and how they function, that identifying and critiquing systems of power does not always accompany autobiographical explorations. Regan is the only participant in this study who consistently referred to and explored issues of power, particularly power difference based on race, social and gender. When compared with other participants the ways she talked about power are quite striking especially when we look at power as it is used in students' final reflections on the course and their learning.

Whereas other participants either imply or state directly that stories are power, Regan comments that "A word after a word after a word is power." In other words, literacy is power. This is a theme Regan pointed out earlier in her sharing about Sister Helen Prejean. Power is also a key element that the authors address in recommendations that Regan makes for books/articles to read when the course is taught again. For example, for future offerings of the course she recommends reading Lisa Delpit's (1995) book, Other People's Children, Teaching to Transgress by bell hooks (1994), and Kohl's (1991) I Won't Learn from You. Regan typifies the kind of teacher that Cochran-Smith (1995) has in mind when she writes: "the system needs teachers who regard teaching as a political activity and embrace social change as part of the job."

Although we have seen that personal narratives and autobiographies can be used to essentialize, they can also be used to support explorations of power. "Contemporary ethnic autobiographies partake of the mood of meta-discourse, of drawing attention to their own linguistic and fictive nature, of using the narrator as an inscribed figure within the text whose manipulation calls attention to authority structures, of encouraging the reader to self-

consciously participate in the production of meaning" (Fischer, 1986,p. 232). Such devices draw the reader in as a participant in ways the reader was not invited in before in traditional autobiographies. Although authors attempt to describe their lives and ethnicities, the texts move beyond such description in "attempting to activate in the reader a desire for *communitas* with others, while preserving rather than effacing differences" (p. 232-233, italics in the original). Regan realized that she is not just "white girl from Plentywood," and this is reflected in both her meta-discourse and strategies she uses to describe her experiences (e.g. the open-endedness, the multiple presentation of self, the intense self-evaluation and introspection). Like the autobiographies Fischer writes about, Regan's narratives move beyond a caricature of her ethnicity to reflect on power and position, what Fischer refers to as "authority structures." Her insights reflect the need for community but also a desire to be part of the larger community, and to critique her place in it.

Regan more than any other student, demonstrated how complex and different narrative structure can be thorough her blending of academic discourse with story structure. The ways that Regan used narrative point to further limitations of narrative structures. Regan's identification and critique of the "grand narratives" that are prevalent within our culture indicate draw our attention to how sedimented these narratives are and how even our short anecdotes will often "pay tribute" to the grand narratives of culture. Regan's case also shows us that critique of the grand narratives are limited by one's own personal experience or knowledge and how difficult it can be to raise issues which challenge existing systems of oppression. Across the course discussions and narratives, we see that it is difficult for teachers to raise and sustain discussion of issues related to power and oppression. Even where

there is a shift in discourse and teachers appear to engage in more exploration of these topics, it is important to look the kind of engagement teachers participate in. For example, although all course participants made more references to power in their final course reflections, thus indicating some increased awareness of issues of power, when I looked more closely I realized that the types of power they referred to, for example, the power of story or power of personal experience, did not address social or language systems which create and maintain power relationships.

Teachers and Teacher Educators Learning Through Narrative

Narrative must be used with caution. Assigning literacy autobiographies or narrative descriptions of a student's personal background are not sufficient activities to push students to question and examine cultural issues in light of power, and such examination is a critical part of exploring topics such as racism, sexism, classism which reflect the need for individuals and groups who benefit from these "isms" to preserve their power. In part this means that teacher educators must question their own teaching practices and motives. With students teachers can model the complex forms and functions of narratives. In particular, all teacher educators, not just literacy educators, who are striving to instill cultural sensitivity in their students must recognize and help their students to recognize that the language which crafts narrative, the language we use to describe our experiences also shapes our thought about culture. As Gee (1989a) notes, for example, all discourses are infused with both explicit and implicit ideology which functions to strengthen their position. Thus, narratives reflect biases such as racism, classism, and so forth. Therefore, we cannot be content to see student narratives as simple constructions and reflections of themselves and their views. We must press beyond to help students critically engage their own

stories to examine how the students position themselves and others through their stories (Zuss, 1997).

As Miller (1998) writes, we must "theorize social, historical, or cultural contexts and influences, including language and discourse, on constructions of the 'selves' who have those 'experiences.'" (p. 150). Students and teacher educators must examine narratives in their social, cultural, and historical contexts in the same way, for example, that I presented Cathy's narrative within the context of discussion on one night of the course, within the larger course, within Cathy's own learning, and within broader societal concerns about white teachers working with ethnically and culturally diverse students. In assisting students, we must also help them to critically examine language and how it reflects and constructs both self and others. "Becoming a multicultural teacher entails becoming a multicultural person" writes Nieto (1992, in Zeichner & Hoeft, 1996, p. 529). Preservice and inservice teachers must learn to ask themselves difficult questions about what their discourse says about how they position others. Such inquiry should not result in proclamation that teachers are "racist" or "not racist" or other evaluations. As we saw in Ellie's case, discourse markers that may be perceived as racist, for example, depersonalization of African Americans, can exist side-by-side with discourse that explores prejudice or bias, for example, Ellie's question: What if I have a problem [with race]?

As teachers reflect on the discourse used to craft their narratives, we must also assist them in reflecting on how this discourse and the experiences it represents have constructed our identities and our perceptions of others. Obviously, this is a daunting task, particularly since we know that individuals avoid this sort of self-directed examination particularly around hot lava topics. For this reason, it is critical to foster engagement with published

narrative, or narrative written by individuals outside the teaching site. Critiquing discourse and experiences provided by others can be a constructive

Educative Narratives, Literacy, Learning, and Experience

Teacher and Ethnographer as Learner

As mentioned above teacher educators play a critical role in using narrative in their classrooms. How they carry out this role and interact with students can be enhanced through inquiry into their own teaching and learning. In Chapter 2 I wrote that being both the researcher and teacher on this project enabled me to "see with new eyes and hear with new ears." In exploring the intricacies of my role as a researcher, I suggested that the tension between being a teacher and a researcher helped framed the questions I originally raised about personal narratives and the analysis of those narratives. Researching my own practice has allowed me to participate in a close examination of my own beliefs. Cochran-Smith (1995) writes that this examination is something in which all teachers and teacher educators should participate:

> In order to learn to teach in a society that is increasingly culturally and linguistically diverse, prospective teachers, *as well as experienced teachers and teacher educators*, need opportunities to examine much of what is usually unexamined in the tightly braided relationships of language, culture, and power in schools and schooling. This kind of examination inevitably begins with our own histories as human beings and as educators; our own experiences as members of particular races, classes, and genders; and as children, parents, and teachers in the world (emphasis added, p. 500).

As a participant within the course and as course instructor, there were obviously many opportunities within the course through reading

autobiographies, articles, and student work and in orchestrating and participating in discussion to examine the relationships of "language, culture, and power in schools and schooling" and to share personal narratives. However, acting as a researcher magnified the lens with which I viewed my teaching. Analyzing our class discussions recorded on audio tapes and through field notes reminded me again and again of how difficult it is as a teacher to assist students in their exploration of "hot-lava" topics (Glazier, et al., in press). Many times in listening to audio tapes or reading through transcript I observed that my responses to students stalled conversations or moved us away from hot-lava topics toward safer ground. For example, during the discussion following Cathy's oral retelling of "Black Child Placed in Crisis" conference I commented that, "If we take race out of the picture..." The words reflect my attempt to re-position the conversation away from the hot lava of race, and yet, I made this statement with the intention of furthering the conversation. Researching my own practice and acting as a participant made me keenly aware of the challenges of using oral and written narrative as a pedagogical practice to scaffold students' explorations around issues of diversity.

Narrative, Continuity, and Experience

As I have revisited the findings of this study and discussed both positive benefits and limitations of narrative, I have suggested that not all narratives are educative. Attempting to address what teachers did learn through narrative, that is, how narrative is educative, was a difficult task. Discussing student learning is difficult because it involves judging students' stories, and in the need to comment on student learning, I encountered the tension between the role of researcher and teacher. This tension is, however, a useful one because it reflects yet another dilemma of using narrative as a

tool for teaching and learning in the classroom. How do we evaluate what students are learning? How do we assess the stories that others are writing or telling?

Although I have not solved this dilemma to my own satisfaction, I believe a partial answer lies with Dewey's notion of experience in education. Of this he writes:

> If an experience arouses curiosity, strengthens initiative, and sets up desires and purposes that are sufficiently intense to carry a person over dead places in the future, continuity works in a very different way. Every experience is a moving force. Its value can be judged only on the ground of what it moves toward and into....It is the business of the educator to see in what direction an experience is heading (Dewey, 1938, p. 38).

In saying this, Dewey is not dodging the pedagogical responsibility for assessing both student learning or the curriculum, but he is stressing that learning may not appear as discrete time bound "outcome." Thus, a teacher may be hard pressed to state definitively what students have learned or are learning through particular narratives read, told, and re-told in the context of a fifteen week course. The interplay between narrative construction of self, other, and culture is complex, as is the relationship between how narrative as a tool focuses on both the outward actions of experience and the inward manifestation of language as sign. However, as both teacher and researcher, I am responsible to identify the direction in which students are moving. Although course assignments, discussions, and writing provide an incomplete picture of what kind of knowledge is being internalized and to what extent knowledge is internalized, such artifacts do provide evidence of how students are beginning to change and the direction in which they appear

to be growing. Much of this dissertation has described with examples the trajectory of learning by such moves as re-emplotment as well as the resistance to learning as is evidenced in the perspectives of some deeply held master narratives. Narrative can be, in Dewey's terms, educative, but the work of such learning is difficult and requires thoughtful curriculum, teaching, and time.

Although as teachers we often hope that our students will arrive as some final destination which is explicitly described and document--for example, developing a insightful unit that demonstrates knowledge of culturally appropriate instruction, culture as dynamic, and includes literacy as a multifaceted tool--the chances that students will internalize and make public these various forms of knowledge in the context of a fifteen-week course is slim. However, what we as teacher educators can focus on is not just the content that is being learned (e. g. Ogbu's (1992) classification of minorities and his recommendations for teachers) but the development of a disposition toward learning about culture and literacy. This disposition, as Dewey (1938) noted, is often more important than the explicit content to which students are exposed.

Being cognizant of culture, aware of what Au refers to as "culturally appropriate instruction" (Au, 1980) does not require identifying a set of constructs and applying them to particular groups of students saying for example, "I'll use 'talk-story' with my Hawaiian children, episodic narratives with my African American students, and so on and then designing instruction differently for each child depending upon his or her ethnic and cultural background. Rather it requires an attendance to culture as a changing, evolving entity. "Viewed this way, culturally responsive instruction involves identifying features of both teachers' and students'

experiences that can be drawn upon and transformed to create educationally productive dialogue" (p. 12, Florio-Ruane & McVee, in press).

Narratives of personal experience need to be represented in teacher education courses in ways that demonstrate their dynamic, multiplicitous viewpoints. Narrative is not just "one form" but has the potential to be many constructions and therefore to perform many functions. Like the aspects of culture it reflects, narrative is dynamic. It embodies the possibilities of change even as it holds forth the possibility to reify beliefs and ideas. The greatest opportunities for transformation and learning through narrative occur where teacher educators consider narrative form, function, and content in relation to context. In the best of all possible worlds, narrative provides preservice and inservice teachers with educative experiences which teacher educators can point to in order to document a predicted trajectory of growth and learning for students.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

COURSE SYLLABUS

TE 891 Culture, Literacy and Autobiography
Fall Semester, 1997

Instructor: Mary McVee
Office hours: By appointment
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Fall, 1997 Mondays, 4-6:50 p.m. 107 Erickson Hall

TE 891, Culture, Literacy and Autobiography is a masters course with three objectives: (1) to examine the social and cultural dimensions of literacy in a multi-ethnic society; (2) to read and discuss ethnic autobiography and fiction as a source of insight into both the authors' and readers' diverse experiences of literacy; and (3)to learn about and practice peer dialogue in support of oral and written response to literature. Students will read and discuss ethnic autobiography or fiction, review selected research academic on topics including culture, personal narratives, and literacy development; and engage in inquiry and writing about language, culture, social identity and the process of schooling.

The course offers several different kinds of learning oriented discussions. On alternate weeks students will deliberate in seminars about key concepts including ethnicity, autobiography, the cultural aspects of literacy development, and the role of teacher and school in educating diverse youth. In the intervening weeks, students will participate in book clubs organized around one of five published ethnic autobiographies or one fictional work. Students will also complete the following written work: (1) a pre- and post-course questionnaire concerning literacy, autobiography, and culture (for course planning purposes only and not graded);
(2) a series of narrative vignettes reflecting culture, language, literacy (not graded); (3) a "sketch book" where students will include their works in progress (graded P/N) (4) a reflective essay (graded); and (5) a written and oral final project (graded) selected from one of the options listed below and supported in class by periodic discussions of student work-in-progress.

In addition to selected readings from educational research available in a student reading packet , the major reading of the course will be six narratives. One is written by white teachers working among culturally diverse students (Vivian Paley, White Teacher); two are written by American-born members of "involuntary immigrant groups" (Maya Angelou, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings; Richard Rodriguez, Hunger of Memory); and two are written by voluntary immigrants to the United States (Eva Hoffman, Lost in

Translation; Jill Ker Conway, The Road from Coorain). One work (Amy Tan, The Kitchen God's Wife) embodies the blurred border that exists between autobiography and fiction. All works have been selected to offer readers a chance to explore the concepts of culture, ethnicity, social identity, literacy, and schooling in depth.

This will be a graded course, and no "deferred" grades will be given. Grades will be based on a total of 100 points. Points will be assigned to activities as follows.

Assignments & Grading
(1) Oral participation in each of the course's six book clubs: 30 pts
(2) 6 entries in the Sketch Book: 30 pts
(3) One personal essay: 15 pts
(4) Ungraded: Series of Vignettes
(5) A final project presented orally and in writing at the end of the course: 25 pts

(Grades: 92-100 pts.= 4.0; 85-91 pts.=3.5; 78-84 pts.=3.0; 70-77 pts.=2.5;62-69 pts.=2.0)

Attendance policy: Students are expected to attend all classes. One absence per semester will be allowed. For each additional class missed, 8 points will be deducted.

Assignment Descriptions
Sketch Books: At the end of the semester we will take time through our final projects, reflection, and discussion to trace our thinking and explore how the autobiographies, book clubs, research articles, and discussions have affected our thinking. Each student should keep a sketch book with items they feel relate to the course. Students are encouraged to explore multiple formats and multiple entries for each week. Things to consider might be: personal responses to the readings, reflective or analytical responses, poetry, titles of books you wish to read in the future, thoughts on your final project, newspaper, magazine, teaching articles relevant to the course, your project, or interests.

We will take class time to do some in class writing in response to prompts. This too will become part of your Sketch Book.

This writing will be looked at by the instructor six times during the semester. At the end of the semester, we will take time to reflect on the Sketch Book through discussion and writing. Each entry is worth 5 points toward the total grade for the course. Evaluation of the Sketch Books is on a P/N basis.

Personal Essay: The personal essay is worth 15 points of the total course grade and will be due mid-semester. The purpose of the essay is to take time to reflect on major themes in the course and how these themes might affect one's views of culture, language, literacy, and/or teaching (suggested length approx. 5 typed pgs.)

Narrative Vignettes: Students will write a narrative about a time when they or someone they know attempted to enter a new social arena, had beliefs challenged by a new experience, or had a school expeience that underscored differences beteween family and school environment and relationships. We will revisit these narratives throughout the semester as time allows.

Final Project: Students may choose among the following options in developing their final project of the course. The project will be presented orally to the rest of the class and also in a written document (suggested length: 10-15 pages, typed, double-spaced) due on Tuesday of finals week. The project grade will reflect both written and oral work and totals 30 points of the final course grade. Options for the project include the following:

(1) Choose, read and write about two additional published ethnic autobiographies/autobiographical novels (.e.g. The Woman Warrior by Maxine Hong Kingston; How the Garcia Girls Lost Their Accents by Julia Alvarez; Rain of Gold by Victor Villasenor; Their Eyes Were Watching God by Zora Neale Hurston; Jasmine by Bharati Mukherjee; The Centaur by John Updike, The Color of Water, James McBride, The Year of Impossible Goodbyes by Sook Nyul Choi.)

You should write an extended report both summarizing the important content and themes of the books for someone who has not read them, and also analyzing the books' content in comparison and contrast with one another and in relation to the other autobiographies we have read and the course's key themes and topics as appropriate. You are also encouraged to read what other reviewers/critics have written about these books and incorporate them into your writing.

(2) Identify a "book set" and develop a Book Club plan for an Ethnic Autobiography Unit you might teach in your own class. The purposes of this unit should include fostering appreciation for the literature, teaching comprehension and writing by means of peer discussion and literature study and teaching about culture and cultural difference to your students. When presenting this unit to the class, be prepared to share the published autobiographies you chose, the rationale for choosing them, as well as your design for the unit and any materials you develop in support of it.

(3) Write your own extended personal narrative (or series of brief narrative vignettes) of cultural experiences and literacy development. These "literacy narratives" should stress the roles played by cultural/ethnic experience, gender, social class, and/or other social characteristics of your youth as they related to your experience of becoming literate in school. Also include some reflection upon these narratives and what you have taken away from them. (This can be dispersed throughout or done at the beginning or end). You may also include artifacts/performances reflective of those experience as well as expression in multiple modes and media (e.g. drama, dance, music, artwork, photography);

(4) Research peer dialogue and the role it plays in learning both about literature and culture. To complete this project, you will use audio tapes of one or more of the Book Club meetings in which you have participated as well as any "field notes" you take as an "observant participant" in the book discussions. This analysis can be presented in the form of a case study of a book club and its conversations over time or as a report of conversation within a single club meeting where important issues were deliberated. Completing this project would give you some tools for studying peer response to literature in your own classroom.

(5) View and analyze two of the following autobiographical films and write an analytic review of them: "Educating Rita," "Avalon," "Hoop Dreams," "Stand and Deliver," The Boyz in the Hood;" "The Joy Luck Club" (or others in the same genre and of your own choosing). Requirements same as in the autobiography project described in option #1 above.

(6) Propose an alternative project that ties into the themes and concerns of the course. Please meet with the instructor to discuss this, or discuss over email.

General Course Overview

AUGUST 25 **Class One: Introduction**

SEPTEMBER 1, LABOR DAY (University Holiday- No Class)

SEPTEMBER 8 **Class Two: Book Club I**
- Sketch Book Due

SEPTEMBER 15 **Class Three:** What is culture/ethnicity?: Implications for the work of teachers

sSEPTEMBER 22 **Class Four Book Club II**
- Sketch Book Due

SEPTEMBER 29 **Class Five:** Ethnic autobiography: A literature for personal and cultural exploration
Vignette assignment due

OCTOBER 6 **Class Six: Book Club III**
- Sketch Book Due

OCTOBER 6 **Class Seven:** Cultural perspectives on teaching and learning literacy
Personal Essay Due

OCTOBER 20 **Class Eight: Book Club IV**
- Sketch Book Due

OCTOBER 27 **Class Nine:** Teaching and teacher education in multicultural school settings

NOVEMBER 3 **Class Ten: Book Club V**
- Sketch Book Due

NOVEMBER 10 **Class Eleven:** The role of narrative and dialogue in literacy learning and cultural understanding

NOVEMBER 17 **Class Twelve: Book Club VI**
- Sketch Book Due

NOVEMBER 24 **Class Thirteen:** Film Club & Project Work (including reflections on the Sketch Book)

DECEMBER 1 **Class Fourteen:** Final Project Presentations I

DECEMBER 8 **Class Fifteen** Final Project Presentations II
(Final Exam Week)
All written final projects due Tuesday December 8

COURSE READINGS

AUGUST 25
Class One: Introduction
- description of course content and format
- introduction to book club
- introduction to ethnic autobiography and course readings
- research on narrative
- film clip: Avalon "mini book club discussion"
- reading due: none

SEPTEMBER 1, LABOR DAY (University Holiday- No Class)

SEPTEMBER 8
Class Two: Book Club I (see attachment for content and format of book club classes)
Paley, V.G. (1979/89). White teacher. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

SEPTEMBER 15
Class Three: What is culture/ethnicity?: Implications for the work of teachers

Read articles #1 & 2 and read either #3 or 4; other is optional

(1) Ogbu, J. U. (1992). Understanding cultural diversity and learning. Educational Researcher, 21(8), 5-14.

(2) Singer, A. Multiculturalism and identity. Democracy and Education, 6(3), 24-28.

(3) Eisenhart, M. (1995) The fax, the jazz player, and the self-story teller: How do people organize culture? Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 26(1): 3-26.

(4) Florio-Ruane, S. (1995). Crossing borders in education. In Florio-Ruane, S. and deTar, J. Conversation and personal narrative: Transforming teacher learning about culture and literacy. (Unpublished manuscript).

SEPTEMBER 22
Class Four Book Club II
reading due: Angelou, M. (1969). I know why the caged bird sings. New York: Bantam.

SEPTEMBER 29
Class Five: Ethnic autobiography: A literature for personal and cultural exploration

reading due: Read articles #1 & 2 and either #3 or 4; other is optional)

(1) Greene, Maxine (1994). Multiculturalism, community, and the arts. In Dyson, A.H. and Genishi, C. (Eds.) The need for story: Cultural diversity in classroom and community. Urbana: NCTE.
(11-27).

(2) Abt-Perkins, D. & Gomez, M. (1993). A good place to begin--Examining our personal perspectives. Language Arts, 70, 193-202.

(3) Edelsky, C. et al (1993). Lost and found. The Review of Education, 15, 307-315.

(4) Proefreidt, W.A. (1989/90). The immigrant or "outsider" experience as a metaphor for being an educated person in the modern world: Mary Antin, Richard Wright and Eva Hoffman, MELUS, 16(2),
77-89.

OCTOBER 6
Class Six: Book Club III

reading due: Hoffman, E. (1989). Lost in translation: A life in a new language. New York: Penguin.

OCTOBER 13
Class Seven: Cultural perspectives on teaching and learning literacy
reading due: Read all three

(1) Ferdman, B. (1990). Literacy and cultural identity. The Harvard Educational Review, 60(2), 181-204.

(2) Dasenbrock, R.W. (1992). Teaching multicultural literature. In Trimmer, J. and Warnock, T. Understanding others: Cultural and cross-cultural studies and the teaching of literature. Urbana: NCTE. (35-46).

(3) Trueba, H. T. (1989). Cultural embeddedness: The role of culture on minority students' acquisition of English literacy. In Competing visions of teacher knowledge: Proceedings from an NCRTE seminar for education policymakers (vol. 2).Conference Series 89-1. National Center for Research on Teacher Learning. East Lansing: Michigan State University.(77-90).

OCTOBER 20
Class Eight: Book Club IV

reading due: Rodriguez, R. (1982). Hunger of memory: The education of Richard Rodriguez. New York: Bantam.

OCTOBER 27
Class Nine: Teaching and teacher education in multicultural school settings
reading due: Read articles #1 & 2; #3 is optional)

(1) Paine, L. (1989). Orientation towards diversity: What do prospective teachers bring? Research Report 89-9. National Center for Research on Teacher Learning. East Lansing: Michigan State University.

(2) Grant, C.A. (1989). Culture and teaching: What do teachers need to know? In Competing visions of teacher knowledge: Proceedings from an NCRTE seminar for education policymakers (vol. 2). Conference Series 89-1. National Center for Research on Teacher Learning. East Lansing: Michigan State University (55-76).

(3) McDiarmid, G.W. (1990). What to do about differences? A study of multicultural education for teacher trainees in the Los Angeles Unified School District. Research Report 90-11. National Center for Research on Teacher Learning. East Lansing: Michigan State University.

NOVEMBER 3
Class Ten: Book Club V

reading due: Tan (1991) The Kitchen God's Wife. NY: Ivy Books

NOVEMBER 10
Class Eleven: The role of narrative and dialogue in literacy learning and cultural understanding

reading due: Read #1 and read either article #2 or 3, and either #4 or 5;
others are optional.

(1) Florio-Ruane (1997). To tell a new story: Reinventing narratives of culture, identity, and education. Education and Anthropology Quarterly 28 (2
NOTE: This article is at the end of the course pack.

(2) Soliday, M. (19914). Translating self and difference through literacy narratives. College English, 56(5), 511-526.

(3) Rosen, H. (1987). The nurture of narrative. In Stories and meanings. Sheffield, UK: National Association for the Teaching of English. (6-21).

(4) Burton, R.S. (1992) Talking across cultures. In Trimmer, J. and Warnock, T. Understanding others: Cultural and cross-cultural studies and the teaching of literature. Urbana: NCTE (115-123).

(5) Florio-Ruane, S. and deTar, J. (1995). Conflict and consensus in beginning teachers' discussion of ethnic autobiography. English Education, 27 (1), 11-39.

NOVEMBER 17
Class Twelve: Book Club VI

reading due: Conway, J. K. (1989). The Road from Coorain. New York: Vintage.

NOVEMBER 24
Class Thirteen: Film Club & Project Work (including reflections on sketch book)

DECEMBER 1
Class Fourteen: Final Project Presentations I

DECEMBER 8
Final Examination Week: Final Project Presentations II

written projects due on Tuesday, December 11 no later than 5 PM

Schedule of Book Club Activities Total time: 2 hrs. 50 min.
4:10-4:30 Projects/ Sketch Books/ Announcements

4:30-4:50 Community Share

4:50-5:00 Writing Response

5:00-5:20 BREAK

5:30-6:40 Book Club (1hour 10 minutes)

6:30-7:00 2nd Community Share

Announcements/Projects/Sketch Book: 20 minutes

Community Share I: 20 minutes
whole class time to review issues of content and process in previous Book Club meetings and focus talk and writing for the day

Response Log Writing: 10 minutes
sustained extemporaneous writing in response to prompt about today's book from the teacher; organizing response to the literature in preparation for Book Club discussion

BREAK: 20 minutes

Book Club Meeting: 1 hour 10 minutes
in peer groups of five students/group; dialogue about today's book)

Community Share II: 30 minutes
whole class sharing of Book Club discussions focusing both on issues of substance and process; looking back at previous meetings and looking ahead to the next book)

APPENDIX B

September 22, 1997 TE 891, section 03 McVee

Narrative Vignette Activity

Think about a time when you, a friend or family member tried to enter a new social arena, had beliefs challenged by a new experience or had a school experience that underscored differences between the private world of family and the public world of school. Record your vignette in "free writing" in you sketch book. Its length should be about half a page, though you can write more if you choose. You should write it relatively quickly and without excessive concern for editing, revising or polishing. Our aim is to take what otherwise might be an ordinary life event and shape in into a "story worth telling."

Please bring 8 copies of your vignette to class on September 29. You will share this vignette with other students in the course.

Working with the Vignettes

We will work with the vignettes in two ways:

1. We will share them in class and compare and contrast vignettes in relation to the following questions:

> How is literacy defined in the individual's group and what is its significance? What significance do particular texts have for an individual's cultural identity? How does school relate to the individual's motives or sense of identity? What messages do school languages practices communicate to the individual abut his or her culture and its value? What relationship does the individual perceive between the tasks assigned in school and his or her cultural identity? Must the learner change his or her self concept in order to do what is asked by school? (adapted from Ferdrnan, 1991, pp. 110-111)

2. We will reflect on the process of writing, sharing, analyzing the vignettes. This will be part of rewriting or revisiting vignettes on November 10.

For examples of vignettes, see the attached page.

Vignette activity adapted from Susan Florio-Ruane TE 882, 1995

Examples of narrative vignettes

Mary McVee
Vignette Oct. 2, 95

It was 1983, and I was seventeen, a freshman newiy arrived to the University of Montana campus . I had grown up in the eastern part of the state on a cattle ranch thirteen miles from the closest small town. For school we were bused one or one and a half hours to schooi. Twelve years after I began school I graduated with 90 students in my class, most of whom I had known for most of my life, some since I first began riding the bus. Thus, coming to a university of 7,000 students (tiny compared to MSU!) was intimidating to me. One of my first experiences was to take a written placement test for freshman composition in one room with several hundred undergraduates. Sitting on tiered platforms in odd shaped desks, we were given blue books, told to choose from two topics provided, and given a half hour to write. Looking around, I knew no one. No one knew me. And I had never taken a timed writing exam. Although I was a solid writer (I'd won several awards, received good grades, and hoped to be a "real author" someday), I failed this test quite miserably and was assigned to a remedial composition class.

I am cross-legged on the floor of my comfortable living room in a pleasant midwestern university town. I am hosting dinner for a small group of young women who are learning to be teachers. We gather here monthly to dine and discuss autobiographies dealing with culture, literacy and education. Tonight we are discussing the work of teacher and author. Vivian Paley, a selfproclaimed Wwhite teacher" who, when working with racially and culturaily diverse children in a Chicago pre-school, newly encountered her own ethnic identity and her biases about people different from herself. Talking about her story over dinner leads inevitably to telling stories of our own. Nell, one of the student teachers in our group, recalls a multicultural festival at her elementary school. Nell and her classmates were required to make oral reports about their ethnic backgrounds. She did not know much about hers so she asked her mother to describe where her family came from and what their customs were. Her mother seemed vague and not very interested saying, "Some mix of Irish and English, I think." She had no colorful details for Nell to include in her report. Nell recalls, "I dreaded having to give that report." To make things more interesting she says, "I faked being from Poland." (Florio-Ruane with deTar, in preparation).

APPENDIX C

Ellie's Narrative #1
Sketch book writing
Week 2 of Class, 9-8-97
Book Club of Vivian Paley's White Teacher

Note: I've tried to capture the way Ellie wrote this on the page since it conveys a particular emphasis. In Ellie's handwriting one typed line here extends across an entire handwritten page.

I walked in--
There it was--The picture--
Black & white of All students
Black only.
I always thought it would
never bother me. I hoped now
it wouldn't.

Then behind me was another
picture: Jesus & the 12 Apostles
dressed in African garb,
on the African plains.
<Jesus lived in the Middle East.
This bothered me until I talked
to my partner=
"If it makes the kids feel
better to see Jesus in a way they can
identify with--then so be it."

Life Magazine< Chinese
Russian
African
female--too far

APPENDIX D

Ellie's Narrative #2
Oral narrative told in First Community Share
Week 2 of Class, 9-8-97
Book Club of Vivian Paley's White Teacher

(1.00 minute)

Excerpted from talk about Vivian Paley and White Teacher. Students were talking about what they had included in their notebooks. This is the second course meeting.

Ellie: The first time I walked into the building I taught in in Flint. There's a big picture about 16 x 20 of the whole school. And I immediately notice of course how there is absolutedly no white faces in the whole thing except teachers. And my first thought was "Oh, I thought this would never bother me. What if it bothers me?" And I turned around and there's a picture of Jesus in African garb and all the Apostles are African and their all in their African huts and their all on the plains of Africa and that just bothered the heck out of me. 'Cause I'm like look, "It says right there he's in Jerusulem. He wasn't in Africa." That just drove me nuts and then um I was talking to my partner that I ended up teaching with and this is us right here and one of my classes (pointing to picture in note book).

Mary: That's when you were doing your]
Ellie: That's when I was wor.. in Flint]
Mary: In Flint, okay]
Ellie: Yeah, this is one of my classes in Flint and um she said you know it used to bother me too but if it makes them feel a closer connection to Christ because they see him like they look, how can that harm anything and then I just wrote down here Life magazine there was an article that came out right after that Life Magazine did on Jesus. There were like 15 different pictures of Jesus. The Russian Jesus, the Chinese Jesus, the this Jesus, the that Jesus and it kind of, um, just came out in my mind. So I kind of just jotted that down.I kind of threw some pictures in too.

APPENDIX E

Ellie's Narrative #3
Oral narrative told during small group book club discussion
Week 2 of Class, 9-8-97
Book Club of Vivian Paley's White Teacher

(1.00 minute)

Ellie: It was really interesting about the Jesus really bothered me. It really bothered me because it was, it was right on the, I, I went right on the footsteps of all those arguments you heard in the, in the media about, you know, the, the black leaders are trying to prove that Jesus is black and I'm like "Look, let's just take, if you believe the Bilbe is what it is, you believe what it says you have to believe that he was a Jewish boy. He probably had olive skin, a big nose, and, and dark hair, you know. But, but then to hear her, you know, her tlak about it and say, If it helps them to identify hwith Him just to see him like them, you that really kind of changed. The one that really got me though was looking at Time-Life Magazine and they had the female Jesus and I'm like, now that's too far. That, that one, jus..that one, that one went over the edge. I could even do the Chinese Jesus, I thought, "That's kind of cool" the Russion Jesus, I thought Okay, I can deal with this, but the female Jesus...

APPENDIX F

Ellie's Narrative #4
written narrative for vignette assignment
Week 4 of Class, 9-29-97

I entered the doors so excited at the possibility of a new teaching job--my first teaching job.

There on the wall was the 16 x 2, black and white photo of the entire student body and faculty; a sea of black faces only broken up every now and then by the adult white one.

At that moment, everything I had always prided myself on was challenged. I never thought I would ever have a problem with teaching a child of any race, but here I was standing in the hall just about to interview to teach at this school. What if I did have a problem with race? What would that mean I was?

I did get the job. I entered the school my first day still so excited, but now, not the least bit concerned about the kids' race.

I learned so much about the black culture working there and honestly never felt the difference between us was a problem. They were my kids. I was their teacher.

APPENDIX G

Ellie's Narrative #5
revised written narrative for vignette assignment
Week 11 of Class, 11-10-97

I walked [in] the doors so excited, at the possibility of a new teaching job-my *first* teaching job (emphasis in the original). After a year of substitute teaching, I longed for my own classroom. I dreamed about having my own class of students, how I'd be so happy to be their teacher and love every one of them!

When I entered the building, there it was, on the wall facing me, a portrait of Jesus Christ. A black Jesus Christ. I had heard so many talk radio discussions about 'Was Jesus Black' and I always found myself yelling at the radio "He was from Jerusalem! He was Middle Eastern! Why is that so hard to understand!" It would bother me that some black leaders felt the need to change my Savior to boost their image.

As I looked around the other walls, there was a black Mary and child, and a picture of the Last Supper taking place in an African grass hut, where black Jesus again, and his disciples were wearing African clothing. I was beginning to feel very uncomfortable. I would probably have a difficult time at this school if I was expected to accept a black Jesus. But then I saw it. The 16/20 photograph of the whole school population; a black and white photograph, mostly black. There were a few white faces; those of adults-teachers and administration-swimming in this sea of black children.

At that moment, everything I had always prided myself on was challenged. I never thought I would ever have any problem teaching any child of any race, but now, here I was faced with things I did not believe (black Jesus) and something I never thought I'd face-a class of all black children.

What if I did have a problem? What if I found I was uncomfortable here? What if the children did not want to listen to me? Would the principal see something in me I never thought was there; that I did have a problem with race? If so, what would that mean I was?

I don't ever recall race ever coming up in the interview. The interview went well. So well in fact, I got the job. When I got to the school my first day, I was again excited-excited to have my own class, children I can teach and love.

I learned quite a bit about the black culture working there, and honestly, I never felt the difference between the kids and me was ever a problem. I was their teacher, and they were my class.

APPENDIX H

Ellie's Narrative #6
final oral retelling in small group discussion around
re-vised written narrative for vignette assignment
Week 11 of Class, 11-10-97

(4:45 minutes)
Evaluative clauses are *italicized.*
FA = Flash Ahead Sequence
FB = Flash Back Sequence
SS = Side Sequence

1	Ellie: Uh, no, I took the same story but I elaborated more on it.	
2	I don't know if you guys remember my story but it was	
3	about when I went in for the job interview and I walked in	
4	and I saw the big picture of the whole student body on the	
5	wall. And they were all black and the only white faces on	
6	there were teachers. Yeah.	
7	???	
8	Ellie: And um, *I honestly did not know anything about*	
9	*northern Finley.* I mean, he [the principal] asked me on the	FB
10	phone you know "What do you know about northern	FB
11	Finley?" I'm like	FB
12	Regan: It's in northern Finley.]	FB
13	Ellie: It's in northern Finley] laughter	FB
14	*That's all I knew I didn't know anything about, you know,*	FB
15	*the socioeconomic area, I didn't know anything about the*	FB
16	*population, nothing.* Um, so it's pretty much the same	
17	thing, only I kind of, I elaborated more on it that it wasn't	
18	just that the, the big portrait of the student body, but when	
19	you walk in the door, right in front of you is a picture of a	
20	black Jesus. And then next to it is a black Madonna and	
21	child and then there's a picture of the last supper taking	
22	place in a grass hut in the, you know, Savannah out in	
23	Africa and Jesus is black and all the disciples are in African	
24	garb and everything. And it really challenged something	
25	that had always frustrated me like I, I, you commented	FB
26	hearing these radio talk shows about you know people	FB
27	going up saying things about saying "Jesus is black." And I	FB
28	keep going "He was born in Jerusalem; he was middle	FB
29	eastern. *What is so hard about this?"* You know. *And it*	FB
30	*really bothered me.* And I didn't put anything in here about	
31	when it stopped bothering me, *but mostly it was just that*	
32	*initial shock of being faced with my own feelings. And it*	

33	*wasn't like I all the sudden went "Oh my gosh I don't think*	
34	*I can work in this school, but it was just an overwhelming*	
35	*thing. I had actually never thought about a school that*	
36	*could be 100% black. It, you, to always to me it was there,*	
37	*there were some of them in your classroom. It was just*	
38	*really hard to think of it being, you know, a 100%* 'cause I	
39	didn't grow up in an area like that. I wasn't teaching in,	
40	even Lansing isn't like that, you know, its... So I had just	
41	honestly never thought about it and I was just facedwith:	
42	*What if everything I've always thought of myself is not*	
43	*true? What if I find that I'm in this interview and they see*	
44	*something in me that I've always said wasn't there? You*	
45	*know, what, what if it's there? And I didn't hones..., I didn't*	
46	*ever stand there and go "Oh my gosh there's no way I could*	
47	*do this, but I was afraid that there actually was something in*	
48	*me that was, that would be prejudiced or biased against this*	
49	*or something because my first initial reaction was about the*	SS
50	*black Jesus was like "Come on, no way" But, then I was*	SS
51	*faced with looking at this sea of people and it was almost*	SS
52	*like I'm gonna be outnumbered here. What if they make*	SS
53	*me teach this? What if they make me stand up there*	SS
54	*working here and I have to start teaching this things I don't*	SS
55	*believe in. You know, And the whole thing with the black*	SS
56	*Jesus was like "Well, if it makes them feel better to see him*	FA
57	*look like them, well, great, you know...*	FA
58	Regan: And they have white Jesuses everywhere too.	FA
59	Ellie: Oh, yeah,	FA
60	Regan: White Mary's.]	FA
61	Ellie: Yeah]	FA
62	Regan: When I went to Catholic school everybody was white]	FA
63	Ellie: Yeah it was, It was a Catholic school in Finley.]	FA
64	Marsha: All black. That's interesting.]	SS
65	Ellie: And I happened to see an article, I think I've mentioned	SS
66	it a couple of times, it was in Life magazine recently after	SS
67	this incident, that talked about Jesus and then it had like 12	
68	or 16 just pictures of all the different Jesuses, even the	
69	female Jesus and I went "Now wait a minute" *I can deal*	
70	*with Chinese Jesus, I can deal with the Russian Jesus, but*	
71	*the female. No, that I can't do. I'm sorry but a woman*	
72	*hanging on the cross just to me was a step too far.* No	
73	offense, Regan, I know you're into this whole female thing.	
74	Regan: No, that's okay. I'm, I'm pretty sure that Jesus was a	
75	man. It's okay	

Ellie's Narrative # 6, continued

76	Ellie: But that kind of helped me too work through you know	
77	dealing with that one issue *cause that was the one thing*	
78	*that really bothered me. But mostly my concern was what if*	
79	*I get this job and I'm in this room and all of the sudden it's a*	
80	*problem and it's something that I never thought would be a*	
81	*problem and it really is. And that's mostly what my*	
82	*narrative was, was kind of waking up to who I really, who I*	
83	*really was and what if there was a person in me I never*	
84	*knew was there--someone I didn't really like*	
85	Regan: Hmm, That's interesting	
86	Ellie: Do you know what I mean? Does that make sense? *That*	
87	*was mostly what the issue was, was just kind of being faced*	
88	*with: What if I am something I've always said I wasn't?*	
89	*And I've always*]	
90	Regan: Like if it just comes out one day when you're talking.]	
91	Ellie: *Yeah, or like, I mean, I was thinking about what if you're*	
92	*in this interview and this man is asking me all these*	
93	*questions I can't answer. You know, things I've never*	
94	*thought about or.*	

APPENDIX I

Complete List of Words Coded for Repetition in Ellie's Narratives

WORD	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6
Africa/ African	3	5	0	0	2	2
black	2	0	2	3	12	9
bother/s bothered bother-ing	1	4	2	0	1	3
challenge -ed	0	0	0	1	1	1
culture	0	0	0	1 (black c)	1 (black c)	0
face /s (n.)		1	0	1	1	1
face (v.) faced facing	0	0	0	0	2	4
feel (v) means identify		1 (s's)	0	0	1 (e: feel uncomfortabl e	1
feeling feelings	1	0	0	0	0	1
Flint	0	4	0	0	0	5
identify	1	0	1	0	0	0
Jesus/es Christ	3	7	6	0	6	12
picture/s photo-graph portrait	2	5	0	1	4	4
race	0	0	0	3	3	0
white	1	1	0	2	2	4

APPENDIX J

Timeline for Class on 9-29 and Cathy's Story: "Black Child Placed in Crisis"

Time in Minutes	Topics
10	Midterm assignments
15	Sketchbook sharing bilingual debate racial discrimination suit affirmative action Black Americans in Africa narrative cluster--culture as exotic, culture as other Jamie Ellie Jamie Cathy (Transition: Mary)
13.5 1.5 5.0 7.0	Angelou video & discussion Mary introducing video Video playing Discussion (Transition: Mary)
19	Discussion of Abts-Perkins & Gomez Cathy: everybody needs to reflect Cass: what if there are many diverse students? Jamie: how do we meet the needs of diverse students? Cass: aren't good at communicating, example of article's second student, don't understand all the cultural implications Ellie: reframes question: We're uncomfortable with race Jamie: returns to Cass's question, one black child Toni: also one African American child, bothered when discussions are only "black & white" (Transition: Mary)
3	Introducing Vignettes
15-20	Break & reading vignettes

Time in Minutes	Topics
62	Discussion of all narrative vignettes
7.5 [	Cass: first teaching job
[	Ellie: former teachers in her school
[	Jaime: going to university
	(Redirect to vignettes: Mary)
30.5[	Jaime's narrative
[	Toni: gender
[	Ellie: gender
[	Regan's narrative
[	Ellie: centers
[	Toni: gender
[	Jamie: changing schools
	(Redirect: Mary)
13.0	Cathy's story
7.0	Cathy tells her story
4.0	. various resolutions
7.0	home visits
	(Attempted redirect: Mary)
4.0	parent conferences
	(Transition: Mary)
20	Maxine Greene article discussion
8	Hoffman review discussion
	Class ends

APPENDIX K

Transcript of Maya Angelou's Poetry Reading[1]

Angelou:

I have written a poem for a woman who rides a bus in New York City. She's a maid. She has two shopping bags. When the bus stops abruptly, she laughs. If the bus stops slowly, she laughs. If the bus misses someone, she goes "ahahaha." So I watched her for about nine months. I thought, "hmmm, uh huh." Now if you don't know Black features, you may think she's laughing, but she wasn't laughing. She was simply extending her lips and making a sound "ahahaha."

"Oh," I said, "I see." That's that survival apparatus. Now let me write about that to honor this woman who helps us to survive. By her very survival, Miss Rosy, through your destruction, I stand up. So I used the poem with Mr. Paul Laurence Dunbar's poem "Masks," written in 1892, and my own poem "For Old Black Men"

We Wear the Mask

We wear the mask that grins and lies,
It hides our cheeks and shades our eyes,--
This debt we pay to human gile;
With torn and bleeding hearts we smile,
And mouth with myriad subtleties.

Why should the world be overwise,
In counting all our tears and sighs?
Nay, let them only see us, while
  We wear the mask.

We smile, but, oh my Christ, our cries
  To thee from tortured souls arrive.
And we sing, *[she sings, snapping fingers*
"Hey baby, bye, hmm we sing, hey"]
We sing, but oh the clay is vile
Beneath our feet, and long the mile;
But let the world think otherwise;
We wear the mask!

---

[1]From: "Facing Evil with Bill Moyers," a co-production of Public Affairs Television, Inc. and KERA/Dallas, March 28, 1988. Transcript by Journal Graphics, Inc., New York, 1988, p. 3.

When I Think About Myself

When I think about myself,
I almost laugh myself to death,
My life has been one great big joke,
A dance that's walked
A song that's spoke
I laugh so hard I almost choke
When I think about myself.

Seventy years in these folks' world
The child I works for calls me girl
I say "Yes, ma'am" for working's sake
Too proud to bend
Too proud to break,
I laugh until my stomach ache
When I think about myself.

My folks can make me split my side,
I laughed so hard I nearly died,
The tales they tell, sound just like lying,
They grow the fruit,
But eat the rind,
I laugh until I start to crying,
When I think about my folks.
And the little children.

Song For The Old Ones

My Fathers sit on benches
their flesh count every plank
the slats leave dents of darkness
deep in their withered flanks.

They nod like broken candles
all waxed and burnt profound
they say "But Sugar, it was our submission
that made your world go round."

There in those pleated faces
I see the auction block
the chains and slavery's coffles
the whip and lash and stock.

My Fathers speak in voices
that shred my fact and sound
they say "But Sugar, it was our submission
that made your world go round."

They've laughed to shield their crying
then shuffled through their dreams
and stepped 'n fetched a country
to write the blues with screams.

I understand their meaning
it could and did derive
from living on the edge of death
They kept my race alive.
. . . By wearing the Mask.
[Three tormented laughs and then a gasp.]

APPENDIX L

Questions Cathy Asked During Her Interviews With African American Educators

1. What was your socioeconomic status as a child?

2. What were your family's values as related to education? What type of support and/or encouragement did they give you?

3. Where did you go to school?

4. What type of school did you go to? (public, private, parochial, rural, inner city, suburbs)

5. Was your school situation one in which you were in the racial minority or majority?

6. Did you have many/ any black teachers?

7. Did you experience specific instances of racism in school?

8. Did school play a part in shaping your sense identity? In what way?

9. What messages did school communicate to you about your culture and its value?

10. What relationship do you perceive between tasks assigned in school and your cultural identity?

11. Did you ever change your self-concept in order to do what was asked by school?

12. What do you believe to be the more significant factor in determining success or failure in school; race, socioeconomic status, family values & support of education, gender, or what combination?

13. How have your own educational experiences affected you as a teacher? What part does your race play in this or does it?

14. Do you feel you are better able to identify with black students than white teachers can?

15. Do you "see color" in your classroom? Should teachers?

16. Do you treat black or other minority students differently than white students? Should they be & why?

17. What can white teachers do to better educate and relate to black or other minority students?

Suggestions for Teachers[2]

1. Respect children for who they are as individuals regardless of race or culture.

2. Challenge all students, keeping in mind that many black children are not accustomed to being challenged in school.

3. Learn more about the history of other cultures. Read From Slavery to Freedom by John Hope Franklin for accurate information on African Americans.

4. Get to know each student as an individual. Become interested in what they do, attend their games, recitals, performances.

5. "Connect" with every child daily. Some children get lost in the hustle and bustle of the day. Speak to each one every day.

6. Never give up on any student, no matter how strong the urge and regardless of how unsupportive the parent is.

7. Remember that each child is as precious to his/ her parent as your child is (or would be) to you. Remind yourself of this when you are at the height of frustration.

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[2]These suggestions are based on recommendations, suggestions, and comments made to Cathy by the African American educators whom she interviewed. She handed out copies of her questions and the suggestions at her final presentation based on the interviews she conducted.

APPENDIX M

Example of a Narrative Written by Regan in a Conventional Form (Abstract, Orientation, Complication, Evaluation, Resolution)

Regan the Nurse

When I was in kindergarten, we did a unit on different kinds of professions. It was a sort of "what do you want to be when you grow up" activity. We talked about different jobs over the course of a week or two, I think having a "profession of the day" or something like that. They were the typical professions covered in this kind of unit: doctor, nurse, fireman, policeman, teacher, etc. Looking back, I realize how sexist, classist and limiting the options were. There were no options like mother, father, writer, artist, carpenter, or truck driver. In any case, we were supposedly encouraged to look at all different kinds of options.

My mother was a second grade teacher who had stopped teaching when I was born. She was very involved in my school life and always had a good idea of what was going on in my classroom. During this career unit, she was talking to me about what I had learned at school and asked me what I thought I might want to be when I grew up. I told her I wanted to be a nurse. Being a strong, feminist woman who wanted to keep all the options open for her daughter, she asked me: "But Regan, why don't you want to be a doctor?" I responded: "Because boys are doctors and girls are nurses."

I don't remember this story, but my mom sure does. She attributes my response to the media to which I was exposed in school and in popular culture. I had learned my gender stereotypes early and well. She knew that she couldn't completely shelter me from outside influences that would limit my world view because I was a girl.

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