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Towards an Understanding of the Principal-Engaged-with-Policy Using Theories of Embodiment and the Senses

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TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE PRINCIPAL-ENGAGED-WITH-
POLICY USING THEORIES OF EMBODIMENT AND THE SENSES

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ABSTRACT

Federal education policy places increased pressure on the knowledge of today's educational leader. In particular, principals are scrutinized in their ability to implement policy. To aid in successful implementation practice, researchers have provided explanations of and strategies for principals as they engage with policy.

The purpose of this study was to explore the particularities of the sensorial dimension of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position. When the principal-engaged-with-policy is represented in research, policy, and leadership preparation literature, it is done with reference not to the lived experiences of the subject position of the individuals who inhabit it, but instead to desired traits and behaviors that have been extracted from their lived—embodied—particularities. This study asked: what does the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy look like for six South Carolina school principals?

To answer this and other subquestions, this study used four interlocking methods: critical policy analysis, photomethods, sensory research methods, and reconstructive horizon analysis. Each method provided me with different tools through which to picture, represent, engage, and study my unit of analysis: the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy.

One of the most salient features of this study was the idiosyncratic and dynamic nature of the subject positions of the six principals-engaged-with-policy. My theoretical framework helped me to highlight the undeniable fact that policy implementers have bodies and that these bodies serve as a medium through which principals engage with

policy. This embodied knowledge was represented in the form of the senses, the body, health (whether the body is working properly or not), and feelings during our conversations. Also salient was the difficulty that language posed for the expression of this embodied knowledge

Thinking about policy implementation by principals in terms of embodiment reminds us that we never leave our bodies. Living in the world means that there are mediums through which we come to understand the world. One of these mediums is our body. Thinking about policy in terms of the available discourses illustrates that it is possible to not "find" embodied engagements with policy, but that this is only because of a limited definition of not only what policy includes, but the words we have to talk about embodiment. The study concludes with implications for research, practice, and policy.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to explore the particularities of the sensorial dimension of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position. This project came to fruition as a result of my desire to study policy from the perspective of school principals. I wanted to highlight the sensorial depth of this subject position as it is situated amidst the complexity of education policy implementation, where allegedly powerful documents, full of ideas, rules and plans govern the intricate chaos of public schools in America. Policy is often studied from a framework that assumes that implementation (see glossary; Appendix A) and the policy process in which it is embedded is linear (Dunn, 1994; Laswell, 1951). Within this linear implementation picture, scholars often study the ways that principals mediate policy (Coburn, 2005, 2006; Spillane, Reiser & Reimer, 2002; Shipps & White, 2009) in ways that affect how principals are held accountable (Agnostopoulos & Rutledge, 2007; Marks & Nance, 2007; Shipps & White, 2009).

Throughout this study, I illustrate a picture of accountability policy and principals that reveals these assumptions and proposes a new lens through which to view the ways that principals engage with policy. Such a study helps me and others think about policy implementation as a fluid and never-ending process that impacts the multi-dimensionality of whom and how we are.

Purpose of Chapter

As research on education policy implementation hones in on the increasingly complex realities of American public schools, researchers cast their nets in myriad

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directions. In this chapter, I present the themes upon which I built my dissertation research: the process of education policy implementation in which the principal engages and the subject position of the principal. I argue that missing from policy implementation research is an exploration of the particularities of the sensorial dimension of being an active participant within implementation as a principal. Being an active participant shapes the way that principals understand policy, their role, and themselves. More importantly, the principal's engagement with policy impacts the lives of children. We cannot treat this engagement as an objectively strategic process. In order to make this point, I first explain how education policy researchers understand and explain the principal's position in policy implementation. Then, I argue that we must think about that position in terms of their subject position.

Structure of the Chapter

In order to explain that there is a problem with the way that the principal's engagement with policy is presented in research and policy, this chapter is set up in two major sections. First, I describe this problem: particular kinds of knowledge are privileged when we study principals engaged with policy, while the sensorial particularities of being engaged with policy are ignored. I do this in two parts. First, I explain what I mean by the principal-engaged-with-policy and how it fits into the picture of policy implementation. Then, I describe what I mean by the term subject position and why I believe that studying the subject position of the principal opens up new dimensions of the policy implementation situation (See glossary; Appendix A). In the final section, I explain the rationale for this project, limitations, and my plan for research.

Presentation of the Problem

Policy implementation has been a problem plaguing scholars since the 1930s (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; Saetren, 2005). Literature abounds that identifies different variables that affect this implementation situation (Elmore, 1985; Matland, 1995; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1989; McLaughlin, 1987; O'Toole, 1986, 2000). Education policy researchers and political scientists acknowledge that individual actors, like principals, play an important intermediary role in the ways that policy happens at the local level (Elmore, 1985; Fuhrman, Clune & Elmore, 1991; Hill, 2004; Lipsky, 1980; Spillane, Diamond, Burch, Hallett, Jita & Zoltners, 2002). These intermediary actors affect policy implementation through the knowledge that they bring with them into the policy situation (Coburn, 2005, 2006; Elmore, 1985; Matland, 1995; Mischen & Sinclair, 2007; Spillane, et al., 2002). In this section, I explain that research on the principal-engaged-with-policy privileges certain kinds of knowledge. I then describe the subject position as a term that uncovers additional kinds of knowledge to which the principal-engaged-with-policy has access. I argue that a detailed study of this ignored sensorial knowledge provides a richer picture of the ways that principals can be a benefit or detriment to the lives of children through policy.

Knowledge and the Principal-Engaged-with-Policy

Early in the history of studying implementation, it came as a surprise to policymakers and policy analysts that policy did not *look* the way that they had intended (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973). After recovering from this initial shock, the local actors and context of policy were widely recognized as significant factors affecting policy

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implementation (Cohen & Ball, 1990; Cohen & Spillane, 1992; ; Mazemanian & Sabatier, 1989; McLaughlin, 1987; Pressman & Wildavksy, 1973; Rogers & Bullock, 1976). In this section, I focus on the role of the *principal* as an intermediary engaged in the policy process. First, I explain the significance of my term "principal-engaged-with-policy" (see glossary; Appendix A). Then, I describe the different ways that principals perform, function, and participate as intermediaries in policy implementation using literature that focuses on the principal within the school context rather than the policy process. An in-depth synthesis of literature discussing the principal-engaged-with-policy follows in chapter two). Finally, I explain how these representations of principals' intermediary role privilege particular kinds of knowledge.

My term principal-engaged-with-policy acknowledges that principals act as intermediaries between the objectives and goals set out by policymakers through policy documents and the daily practices, experiences, and happenings of the school environment. Often this transmission of policy into practice is referred to as policy implementation (see glossary; Appendix A; Birkland, 2005, 2008; Dunn, 1994; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1989) because of its relationship to the policy process; however, policy does not always enter the school environment in a linear or organized manner (Elmore, 1979-80; Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009). I use the term principal-engaged-with-policy to acknowledge that principals are not situated within a stable policy process, but instead are confronted with and find themselves responding to policies in ways that exceed both top-down and bottom-up formulations of the policy process (Ball, 2006; Burch, 2007; Elmore, 1985; Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003; Sabatier, 1986).

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My definition of the principal-engaged-with-policy recognizes that principals are a *medium* (see glossary; Appendix A) through which policy is understood regardless of the directionality of the policy process. In particular, I focus on the ways in which when previous studies about principals and policy have pointed out that a principal acts as an intermediary in the policy process by filtering information for school staff, and consequently affecting school practices, they also point out that the principal is a particular kind of medium of policy (Baker & Cooper, 2005; Coburn, 2005, 2006; Rutledge, Harris, & Ingle, 2010; Spillane, et al., 2002). Authors like these studied the ways that principals use or apply cognitive frames to filter the often unclear objectives and goals of education policy. The best example of this cognitive framing occurred in Coburn's (2005) cross-case analysis of the implementation of a California reading policy. The two principals in the study presented information about the reading initiative based on what they understood about reading instruction (p. 490).

Not only do principals filter information for school staff, but that information also affects principal practice. For instance, Marks and Nance (2007) studied the effect of accountability contexts on principals' perceptions of their influence over instruction and supervision in their schools. This study illustrated the impact of accountability policy on perceived principal practice (e.g. their influence on instruction and supervision in their school).

These examples illustrate the ways that researchers have represented principals acting as a medium of policy. As will be described in greater detail in chapter two, past researchers have focused on the ways that principals filter information and resources as

well as the overall effect that policy has on their practice. This focus privileged certain kinds of knowledge, particularly cognitive, strategic, and personal knowledge. These kinds of knowledge are a formulation that came about as a result of my interactions with the literature reviewed in chapter two.

Cognitive knowledge (e.g. knowledge of cognition; see glossary; Appendix A) explains what an individual knows about the world, but has objective and/or linear features as opposed to subjective ones (for a definition of subjective, see glossary; Appendix A; Piaget, 2001). For instance, the principals in Coburn's (2005) study filtered information about reading to their teachers based on what they previously knew about reading instruction, which is different from what they liked or what they believed to be true about reading instruction. Hill (2003) pointed out that the ways that policy intermediaries learn about what policy means is an important part of the implementation picture. Examples of the principal-engaged-with-policy's cognitive knowledge are prevalent throughout this dissertation (e.g. Coburn, 2005, 2006; Datnow & Park, 2009; Spillane, et al., 2002).

Strategic knowledge (see glossary; Appendix A) is an extension of cognitive knowledge that is similar to situated knowledge (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Weick, 1995), where knowledge occurs as a process of relating to others and the situation at hand. Thus, this kind of knowledge explains what is important in the world, where we act based on what is important. In fact, how we act illustrates strategic knowledge. For instance, Theoharis (2007) explained that the ways that one of his participants, Principal Tracy, was committed to social justice changed the testing practices at her school based upon the

goal to see all children succeed. As Theoharis (2007) presented it, her *application* of social justice is strategic knowledge because of the way that it shaped the approach that she used when enacting a particular policy at her school. Social justice by itself would be considered personal knowledge, as I describe in the next paragraph, but the application of social justice to change the testing practices, here, illustrates strategic knowledge.

Finally, personal knowledge (see glossary; Appendix A) explains what we know about what has happened to us in the world, which is similar to my definition of cognitive knowledge, but has subjective features that are typically objectified. For instance, in their study of principals' experiences of implementing a dual enrollment initiative, White-Smith and White (2009) illustrated that principals believed the initiative to be "something extra … added to their plate" (p. 277). Another example of this kind of knowledge is the impact of an individual's perceptions of children's abilities (e.g. teachers who do not believe some minority students are smart enough to go to college).

All three of these types of knowledge assume a disembodied epistemology, whereby knowledge exists in pseudo-objective and finite ways. In our pilot study on two principals, it became clear that policy was not simply mediated by the thoughts and cognitive processing; instead, engaging with policy had a certain look and feel, to which one of the principals that we studied felt physically connected (Werts, Brewer, & Mathews, 2012). The principal-engaged-with-policy medium, as portrayed in education policy literature (Cohen, Moffitt & Goldin, 2007; Datnow & Park, 2009; Honig, 2009; Wong & Nicotera, 2007) is contingent upon particular kinds of knowledge that the individual brings with them. This knowledge is all a part of the individual's subject

position; however, the knowledge that I have presented in this study suggests that to be a principal-engaged-with-policy is to be a cognitive individual whose body and experiences are one-dimensional. Because principals are human beings, why is this not taken into account within implementation literature? As the next section will point out, cognitive, strategic, and personal knowledge do not cover all that encompasses the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy.

The Subject Position

The subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy is the unit of analysis for this study. The previous section explained the particular knowledge of the principal-engaged-with-policy that has been identified by researchers; however, as I have suggested, cognitive, strategic, and personal knowledge do not describe all of the dimensions of being a principal-engaged-with-policy. In order to understand the ontological elements omitted from this picture, I explain two dimensions of the subject position. First, I describe the difference between subjectivity (see glossary; Appendix A) and the subject position and provide examples of ways that the educator's subject position (see glossary; Appendix A) has been researched. I argue that a clear definition of the subject position helps us appreciate the importance of situated, discursive, and embodied knowledge (see glossary; Appendix A).

While both imply knowledge of the self, the term *subject position* is separate from the term *subjectivity*. Subjectivity describes the knowledge of an individual. While subjectivity implies knowledge of something, it can be abstract and vague. Subjectivity is not a stable and concrete entity, but is instead *fluid*. The subject position, on the other

hand, integrates the relationship that self-knowledge has with the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, 1968a, 1968ba, 1968b, 2002) with agreed upon societal meaning[1] or discursive formulations (e.g., "the interplay of rules that make possible the appearance of objects during a given period of time," where the object is the subject position; Foucault, 2010, p. 32-33). The subject position is something that one can inhabit, but also does not have to remain stable and can exist as a possibility rather than a given, which is a product of being a part of a world that comprises infinite possibilities (that are intertwined with historical contingencies). Thus there are three main characteristics of the subject position: subjectivity, or *having to do with the individual*, *having to do with the world*, and ways through which the world makes sense.

In this paper, subjectivity—that which concerns the individual and her fluid knowledge of the world—is part of the subject position. I rely on the importance that Merleau-Ponty (2002) placed on the *all at once* and fluid qualities of subjectivity and perception. He explained:

> subjectivity … is nothing but temporality, and that is what enables us to leave the subject of perception his opacity and historicity. I open my eyes on to my table; and my consciousness is flooded with colours and confused reflections; it is hardly distinguishable from what is offered to it; it spreads out, through its accompanying body, into the spectacle which so far is not a spectacle of anything. Suddenly, I start to focus my eyes on the table which is not yet there, I begin to

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[1] This is similar to the way that Habermas (1987) describes the system before it colonizes the lifeworld: agreed upon meaning that allows for efficient coordination of activities.

look into the distance while there is as yet no depth, my body centres itself on an

object which is still only potential … (p. 278).

One of the reasons for the long quote, above, to describe subjectivity is to ensure that the

complexity and connectedness to the world, the body and the senses be described. In this

quote, Merleau-Ponty (2002) showed that subjectivity is not a finite entity, but extends

and exists beyond some container of self. He defined subjectivity as temporality because

the subject would not exist if it were not in the world. The table and object to which

Merleau-Ponty (2002) referred are potentialities because saying that they already exist

would acknowledge that some objective quality "table" or "object" exists outside of

perception of them. This is not the case. The senses, particularly vision, play an important

role in this quote. Merleau-Ponty (2002) deliberately referred to the visual medium (e.g.,

"I open my eyes … I start to focus my eyes") because the all-at-once nature of

subjectivity through perception cannot exist without the senses. Thus, subjectivity is not a

disembodied entity, but is connected to the body. A more in-depth description of

embodiment (see glossary, Appendix A) can be found in chapter two. For now, it is

important to attach Merleau-Ponty's understanding of the connected-ness between the

world, the body, and subjectivity to the definitions of subjectivity and the subject position

for this project.

Before moving on to explain the positionality of the subject position (as opposed

to subjectivity, which is a part of the subject position), I first need to explain what I mean

by *having to do with the world*. This dimension of the subject position is important as the

history of phenomenology reminds us that our perceptions are perceptions of something

in the world (Merleau-Ponty, 2002). For Merleau-Ponty, this positing of the world is not some generalized abstract form of the world, but one that positions the individual doing the perceiving. He explained "the world is not what I think, but what I live through" (p. 4). Thus, *the world* includes the environment in which the subject sits, the body that is sitting, and the senses that they have of their surroundings through touch, taste, smell, sound, and sight. In other words, being in the world for Merleau-Ponty has to do with the situated-ness and embodiment of individuals.

Where the definition of subjectivity relies on the importance Merleau-Ponty (2002) placed on the situated, *all at once*, and embodied qualities, understanding the subject position relies on Foucault's (2010, 1971) explanation of the discursive relationship that the subject has with the world.[2] The subject position, he explained is "a position that may be filled in certain conditions by various individuals" (Foucault, 2010, p. 115). The "certain conditions" to which he referred describes discursive formulations of knowledge, as they come about in history in lieu of other formulations of knowledge. He explained in terms of madness and the discipline of psychiatry:

> the unity of discourses on madness would not be based upon the existence of the
> object 'madness', or the constitution of a single horizon of objectivity; it would be
> the interplay of the rules that make possible the appearance of objects during a
> given period of time (p. 32-33).

The subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy is like "madness" as Foucault (2010) described it. It is not just that individuals exist that have objective ontological

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[2] Crossley (1996) explained that while these two theorists have different approaches to thinking about the lived body of the individual, their theorizations are not discordant.

knowledge of principal-engaged-with-policy. Instead, the particular subject position came into being as a result of historical trajectories as they exist within society. These historical trajectories make up the knowledge that is conferred and inscribed upon the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy.

While this structuring of subject positions happens, it is not as a prescriptive totality that limits an individual's agency. Instead, Foucault (1971) explained that the subjection of subjects can be rethought through

> the destruction of the subject as pseudosovereign (that is, through an attack on 'culture': the suppression of taboos and the limitations and divisions imposed upon the sexes; the setting up of communes; … the breaking of all the prohibitions that form and guide the development of the normal individual). (p. 222)

In other words, the dispersion of power postulated by Foucault as governing subject positions is a contingent and mutable limitation. The lack of agency sometimes prescribed for Foucault's subject position are only such if we assume that that is all the subject is. This is why my definition of the subject position includes elements of subjectivity and the subject position.

Britzman (1991) and Kincheloe (2003) presented research on the impact of the teacher subject position. Kincheloe (2003) used the dynamic quality of action research to suggest that teachers could become aware of and change the discursive formulation of the role of teacher. Britzman (1991) researched the structure of experience for teachers as they learn how to *be teachers*. Throughout her book, she emphasized the lived nature of

actually teaching in contrast with the programmed or explained knowledge transmitted through teacher education programs. In both cases, Kincheloe (2003) and Britzman (1991) explained the particularities of the subject position inhabited by teachers. The term subject position refers to the ways in which knowledge is experienced within society to construct the teacher's subject position. It is important to note that the terms identity and subject position are not synonymous.

Now that I have defined the subject position, I turn our attention back to the principal-engaged-with-policy that I discussed in the previous section: what do we know about the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position? The cognitive, strategic, and personal knowledge of the principal-engaged-with-policy, as it is represented in educational policy research, does not touch upon the embodied, and sensorial dimensions of the subject position. Further, where knowledge is explained as being situated (Rutledge, 2010; Spillane et al., 2002), the situated-ness is described to be social as an extension of cognitive framing, again privileging a particular kind of knowledge. Thus, when the principal-engaged-with-policy is represented in research, policy, and leadership preparation, it is done with reference not to the lived experiences of the subject position of the individuals who inhabit it, but instead to desired traits and behaviors that have been extracted from their lived—embodied—particularities. These embodied particularities are what Anderson (2009) pointed out as authentic leadership, which is "about relationality and connecting in authentic ways with students" (p. 21). The goal of education is generally accepted to be to help kids succeed, but kids aren't widgets. Then, why should we use strategies to educate them that follow such rational and Taylorist logic?

Significance of the Study

The focus in recent Race to the Top applications on evaluation systems for leadership preparation programs illustrated the increased pressure scholars have noted in the past 10 years on the knowledge of today's educational leader (Kolbe & Rice, 2012; Levine, 2005; Petersen & Young, 2004; Vergari, 2012; Young & Brewer, 2008). This scrutiny of the ways that we prepare leaders illustrates that the knowledge of principals is of particular importance to policy and accountability in schools. Literature about the ways that principals affect the implementation process highlights ways to make school level implementation more effective (Marks & Nance, 2007; Spillane, et al., 2002; Tubin, 2011).

If these individuals are a linchpin in the policy process, however that process is structured, what is the purpose of scrutinizing the ways that we impart knowledge to them if we do not acknowledge a complete picture of the knowledge that they have and can gain? Isn't it more accurate to say that the thoughtful and creative educational leaders, who authentically engage with policy as one way to help children succeed, are the linchpin? Literal implementation leads to school devoid of laughter and creativity (Kozol, 2005). Thus, studying the principal-engaged-with-policy recognizes that being a principal, implementing policies (e.g., character education requirements, state and federal accountability mandates, etc.) is just as much about making children's lives better as it is about policy, but it is not always so.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the particularities of the sensorial dimension of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position. Specifically, I highlight the *extra* dimensions of embodiment in order to explain the possibilities that reside in this subject position. These possibilities help leaders and future leaders come to grips with the complexity of the *implementation situation.*

Research Questions

Given my focus on the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position, this study investigated the following research question and subquestions:

- What does the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy look like for six South Carolina principals?

    o What do the sensorial dimensions of this position look like?

    o How are principal's representations and understandings of the sensorial dimension affected by the research process?

    o How can one describe the process of representing the sensorial dimensions of the subject position?

Research Plan

In order to answer these questions, I used four interlocking methods: critical policy analysis, photomethods, sensory research methods and reconstructive horizon analysis. I engaged six principals in a participatory photography process about their engagement with policy. The collection and analysis of data took place over the course of

approximately four to five interviews. Principals were asked to take and discuss photographs in individual interviews as well as in a collective exhibition.

Limitations

As most qualitative researchers, I had to make a choice between the generalizability of this study and the depth which I am able to study my unit of analysis (Patton, 2002). I chose depth of study over generalizability. As I will explain in chapter three, the participants of my study were six principals. While studying six principals is a limitation, the small sample size allowed me to better understand the subject position of these six principals as they engaged in policy, the major research question for this project.

Conclusion

This chapter introduced that a problem exists when researchers and policymakers look at the knowledge researchers and policymakers believe to be important to the principal-engaged-with-policy. Certain kinds of knowledge are privileged, while others are ignored. I introduced the term of the subject position to illustrate the embodied and sensorial knowledge that is ignored. These kinds of knowledge are of great importance during a time when increased scrutiny is given to the kinds of knowledge used by principals for implementation. Chapter two presents a review of literature on what is already know about the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy as well as the theoretical framework that guided this study. Chapter three explains the interlocking methods that comprised the methodology for this study. To provide the reader with an rich and comprehensive depiction of the dense and complex unit of analysis—the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy, chapters four and five should be

understood in concert. Chapter four provides an overall picture of the subject position of six principals-engaged-with-policy. Chapter five, on the other hand, focuses in on the embodied and sensorial dimensions of those subject positions. Chapter six explores research and discursive issues that I encountered in my conversations with these principals. Finally, in chapter seven I discuss the implications that this study has for research, practice, and policy.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this study was to explore the particularities of the sensorial dimension of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position. I wanted to enrich the picture of policy in schools provided to practitioners, researchers, and policymakers, and provide insight into how these policies not only shape the principals' job, but also their self-knowledge. Bringing light to the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position reminds me that helping children succeed is not always the natural, obvious, strategic, or even usual result of being a principal-engaged-with-policy. It is my hope that this project can help policymakers and educational researchers begin to think about ways to participate in more responsive policymaking that focuses on helping children as well as prepare our future educational leaders for the particular nature of their job (Fischer, 2003).

Purpose of Chapter

Two major concerns drove the purpose of this chapter: a systematic review of the literature on the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy and an explanation of the theoretical framework that guides this study. In chapter one, I explained that particular kinds of knowledge have been privileged in research about principals as they engage with policy. Importantly, the principal's knowledge is most often situated within two different environments that do not often overlap: the school and the policy process. The length of this chapter is due to these separate frames employed to talk about principals and policy. Because this dissertation is about how policy happens in dynamic

and multiple ways that encompasses all of these frames at once, I included the appropriate scholarship in this chapter.

My theoretical framework presents an alternative way of looking at the knowledge and experience that principals bring with them *to* policy. The juxtaposition of the past research on principals-engaged-with-policy's cognitive, strategic, and personal knowledge within implementation and the policy process, with my theoretical framework will show you that according to research and policy, the principal-engaged-with-policy is a disembodied individual that uses cognitive logic to implement policy. I argue that this picture leaves out the sensorial dimensions of being a principal-engaged-with-policy.

Structure of the Chapter

This chapter is divided into two main sections: a systematic review of literature and a presentation of my theoretical framework. In my review of literature, first, I establish the contradictory nature of the context of the topic *principals and policy*: that principals work simultaneously in two worlds (that of policy and that of the school) which from the point of view of three approaches to studying the divide between policy and practice that are often separated from one another (McDonnell, 2009): education policy, policy process, and critical policy analysis scholarship. The second section pictures principals within the microcosm of the school environment. Then, I review literature that explains the intermediary position of the principal. Finally, in my theoretical framework, I explain the important connection between knowledge and the body as it supports studying the sensorial dimensions of being a principal-engaged-with-policy. For an explanation of my method for reviewing literature see Appendix B.

Understanding the Principal-Engaged-with-Policy Subject Position with Policy and

Practice: The Divide

The unit of analysis in this study is the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy. The subject position comprises subjectivity and the discursive formulation that situates that position (Foucault, 1971, 2010; Merleau-Ponty, 1964, 1968a, 1968ba, 1968b, 2002). In this section, I discuss the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy from two perspectives: the macro and the micro picture of implementation.

Federal education policy historians recounting education policy since Johnson's Great Society tell a story of policy corrections as a result of the separation between public policy and student success (Cross, 2003; McGuinn, 2006; Superfine, 2005). Myriad literature chronicles the various ways that policies, at the federal and state level, do not *look* the way that policymakers intended (e.g. Mazemanian & Sabatier, 1989; McDermott, 2003; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; Rogers & Bullock, 1976). The separation between policy and practice describes an important aspect of the context in which the principal-engaged-with-policy works.

In this section, I describe scholarship that explains the separation between policy intents, the policy process and the practice of public education from the research using the approaches of educational policy, policy process and critical policy analysis. It is important to note that this is not a comprehensive review of the long history of implementation literature writ large (e.g., Bardach, 1976). Instead, this section describes the macro policy context surrounding the work that principals do that puts increased pressures on them to solve problems and at the same time identifies their complicity with

the problem (Cohen & Ball, 1990; Cohen et al., 2007). I have distinguished between education policy and policy process scholarship to emphasize research that focuses on the process of education (e.g. what I am calling education policy) and that which focuses on education through the policy process of (e.g. what I am calling policy process). I have separated out critical policy analysis scholarship as literature that considers the divide between policy and practice to be a result of privileging certain ways of thinking about the world rather than a natural fact. This distinction is a result of the difference in their approaches as well as a general acknowledgement of the lack of communication between the two fields (Cohen-Vogel & McLendon, 2009; Hill, 2003; McDonnell, 2009; McLendon & Cohen-Vogel, 2008); however it is important to keep in mind that the distinction between policy process and educational policy research is not based as much on discipline as it is the ways that scholars approach the problem (e.g. the divide between policy and practice).

The Divide According to Education Policy Researchers: Educators as Implicated, but a Solution.

Education policy researchers approach the separation between policy and practice that privileges the practices of the micro process of implementation from the perspective of the school building. While the macro-policy process picture does not fall away, as will become apparent in the next section, it is less important or in focus than political scientists have made it seem. Instead, in this section, I show how education policy researchers have tried to explain how policy implementation is about education. Particularly, I describe how education policy researchers explain the effect that policy has

on educators in terms of the ways in which policies represent educators and particularly their knowledge, as the ones to be fixed, while at the same time provide them the tools to solve problems as they arise.

In this section, first I describe how education policy researchers approach policy as a function of cohering with the school context. Then, I focus on the concept of capacity building as a subject of education policy. Finally, I explain that impact that this perspective on the divide between policy and practice has for the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy.

A common question that education policy researchers address is *what policies work in education*. For this reason, the idea of coherence and alignment as strategies for educators and policymakers has been the subject of research. For instance, Fuhrman (1993) suggested thinking about policymaking through the lens of systemic reform that comprises "societal decisions about outcome goals and coordination of important policy instruments" (p. 3) Clune (1993) in the same volume set out a framework for systemic education policy. Each of these prescriptions for policy are examples of the way in which education policy scholars attempted to align policy (goals, outcomes, etc.) and the practices of education. An important caveat of these attempts at coherence is that they pay special attention to the substance of policy goals, outcomes, and instruments (e.g. student achievement as a policy goal that warranted research and assessment embedded within the policy itself; Clune, 1993).

A natural progression of overlaying an education research lens over policy research is that researchers hone in on the particularities of the school context. Honig

(2009) pointed out that successful policy outcomes "depend on the interactions between

… policy, people who matter to its implementation and conditions in the places in which

people operate" (p. 333). Because of this local variability, the traditional dichotomy of

policy and practice can fall away. For instance Honig and Hatch (2004) explained that

coherence, bringing together multiple external demands into one setting, is a process

about providing students learning opportunities.

In her article about implementation and education policy, McLaughlin (1987)

delineated between the first, second, and third generations of implementation analysts

(see also, Odden, 1991). She explained that it was during the second generation that

scholars began to scrutinize the effects that the individual actors had on the

implementation process. This scrutiny crystalized in the form of an attention to such

factors as will, motivation, and attitudes of individual actors. Both Honig (2009) and

McLaughlin (1987) recognized the importance of the local situation and individual actors

in the implementation of policy: that policy solutions and educational practice are

isolated entities that must be translated (Honig & Hatch, 2004; Ozga, 1987).

This act of policy translation is the focus of education policy researchers because

in studies of implementation, often it is identified that educator beliefs, will, capacity, or

motivation are not in line with the goals and desired outcomes of education policy. This

is because, as Cohen, Moffitt, and Goldin (2007) noted "most policies create a gap with

practice by moving at least a bit beyond it" (p. 73). This statement is similar to questions

like McDonnell (1994) and Wirt and Kirst (2005) have asked in terms of who controls

education the public or educators amidst its complex political web surrounding. Cohen, Moffitt, and Goldin (2007) seem to think it is not the educators.

For instance, Chrispeels (1997) presented the results of a longitudinal study of the implementation of California's education evaluation system over the course of ten years (1983 to 1995). Through the analysis of both policy and educator level data, she pointed out the importance of capacity building as a policy instrument (p. 477). The importance that these scholars placed on capacity building illustrates that policy and practice are separated by the fact that policy often purports to know better than practice. In her article about "assessment policy as persuasion" McDonnell (1994, p. 399) pointed out the two approaches to assessment policy: persuasion and regulation. Regulatory policy uses rules to create rewards, whereas persuasive policy uses information to motivate action on the basis of beliefs and values.

Similarly, in their case study of five teachers during the early stages of the 1985 education policy changes in California, Cohen and Ball (1990) identified teachers as one of the obstacles to educational reform: "students' encounters with mathematics in school will not change unless teachers change them" (p. 238). They explained that teachers were not prepared to implement curricular changes that the new policy required. While these results were preliminary and not reported with much attention to methodological transparency, they pointed to simultaneous culpability and promise of educators in the implementation of education policy. In particular, these results illustrated that educators impede the implementation process because policies go beyond the scope of their expertise.

Scholars like Wagner, Kegan, Lahey, et al. (2006) focus on this gap in expertise within the context of change leadership and school reform. Sometimes called *the soft side of change*, researchers recognize that for reform or change to happen within the school environment many social variables must be addressed (Louis, 2008). Fullan (2008) identified four problematic change forces as they impede the principal's practice. Some solutions to this *people* problem has been to focus on distributed leadership (Spillane, Halverson & Diamond, 2004) and building organizational capacity (Crow, Hausman, & Scribner, 2005).

Capacity is one way to think about the knowledge that educators bring to their practice. Policy according to education policy researchers determines the knowledge that educators should use (e.g. going beyond practice, Cohen, et al., 2007). At the same time, as I will discuss in the next section, policy is often created with an eye towards making the overall policy process work. This *policy world* as I've already illustrated, is separate from the world of educational practice. As Clune (1993), Furhman, (1993) and Boyd (1987) as well as others have pointed out, policy, traditional politics and the policy process are reified to the degree that change and innovation as needed to accord with the dynamic nature of schools are not possible. While researchers, policymakers, and practitioners strive to unite, translate or cohere the worlds of policy and practice, the fact remains that they are separate.

Living in two separate worlds at once is a difficult practice for principals. As the distinction between education policy and policy process research approaches to the policy and practice divide will illustrate, straddling these two worlds is difficult because

separately they send signals regarding what the principal should be doing. At the same time, as I've illustrated in this section, oftentimes policy seeks to target educators and the knowledge that they bring with them as being implicated in public education while at the same time giving them the responsibility to ensure its success (Boyd, 1987; Cohen & Ball, 1990; Cohen, et al., 2007; Datnow & Park, 2009). As I will address later in this section, education policy scholars acknowledged this paradox in hopes of directing educators towards strategies that will identify the beliefs, behaviors, and actions, none of which take into account the embodied experience of educators, that will lead to successful implementation of education policy, reported as student success (Black, 2008; Coburn, 2006; Theoharis, 2010).

The Divide According to Scholars of the Policy Process

Whereas the education policy research in the previous section focused on the strategies available to, and obstacles presented by educators *on the ground*, the researchers that I include below focus on the policy process and how individual actors happen to fit into this macro policy picture. This picture of the policy-practice divide is important because it is this picture that dominates the way we talk and understand implementation as it is one step in the larger policy process (Laswell, 1951). As I did in the previous section, I focus on individuals within a local setting or implementation picture as an illustration of the contextualization of practice within the separation between practice and policy. In other words, these individual actors represent practice.

In this section, I describe how the individual actor or implementer is situated between policy and practice. Within policy analysis and political science, *implementation*

refers to one stage of the policy stages model of the policy process, I call this the *implementation situation* because it takes into account that there are particularities associated with the local condition in which implementation takes place. First I explain the connection between implementation and the macro policy process that gives the policy and practice divide its significance within policy process literature. Then, I describe the way that the individual actor enters the implementation situation: as a variable for successful implementation. Then, I explain that top down and bottom up approaches of implementation exist, but that predominantly political scientists respect the power of the policy process and the reified political system when thinking about implementer practice. I conclude by explaining that this picture of the divide between practice and policy represents policy documents as being more important that any knowledge that any principal brings with her.

Largely, policy analysts view the practice resulting from policy to be nested within the macro policy process. Laswell (1951) is well known for breaking down the policy process into multiple stages, one of which he identified as implementation. Traditional policy analysis textbooks delineate the process needed to monitor implementation and align policies to be suitable for the implementation phase (Birkland, 2005; Dunn, 1994; Weimer & Vining, 1989). According to Weimer and Vining (1989) implementation depends on the following variables: a) logic of the policy; b) the required cooperation by local actors and agencies; and c) skillful and committed people managing implementation (p. 306). Equations such as this one presumes some form of perfect recipe for the successful implementation of particular policies. This perfect recipe

presumption is the product of two assumption that rest at the heart of the way that some policy analysts (Birkland, 2005; Dunn, 1994; Weimer & Vining, 1989) and various policy implementation scholars (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1989; O'Toole, 1986, 2004; Pressman & Wildavksy, 1973) think about policy: (1) the policy process follows a linear and hierarchical process and (2) that implementation or the application of policy to practice happens within this process.

There are scholars that see beyond the stages model of the policy process. As I will explain myriad variables have been cited as being important to the implementation process. One of these variables has begun to chip away at the stages model, abstract ideas and values (DeLeon, 1999; Kingdon, 2003; Sabatier, 1993; Stone, 2002). DeLeon (1999) acknowledged that Laswell's (1951) model is less of a practical model, but instead a theoretical one. Alternate models of the policy process exist (Elmore, 1985; Ostrom, 1999; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999); however, few scholars in policy analysis are willing to look beyond some form of a reified political process to see the value embedded within the practices implicated in the implementation picture. Exceptions do exist (Hill & Hupe, 2006; Mischen & Sinclair, 2007; Stewart, Hedge, & Lester, 2007).

Hill (2003) explained that thinking about implementation (and by extension practice) as embedded within the macro policy process is a natural result of the predominant unit of analysis that political scientists study, "implementation scholars are usually educated as political scientists, and as such they notice what they have been trained to see: legislatures, bureaucracies, implementers and policies" (p. 268). She goes on to explain that because the implementation picture is not one of linear transmission of

policy goals and intents "the revised version of the implementation story traces the development of implementers' understanding, practices, and skills, rather than focusing on the organizations and milieu in which they work" (p. 269). In other words, she points out that because policy is not transmitted, as Laswell (1951) postulated, a different unit of analysis is warranted when studying policy implementation. This is because implementation, as named within the stages model, is not as much about the policy as it is about the understanding that individuals have of it as they go about their practice.

The appearance of thinking about people as *one* of the variables of implementation changed the scope of implementation studies in policy analysis. Studies such as Rodgers and Bullock (1989), Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989), O'Toole (1986, 2004) and Meltsner (1972) all identified the variables of policy implementation. Meltsner (1972) explained that to bridge the divide between what is desirable and what is possible the following variables need to be considered: actors, motivations, beliefs, resources, sites, and exchanges. In his systematic review of literature, O'Toole (1986) attempted to illustrate the disjointed implementation research field by providing an exhaustive list of variables that had been identified as being significant in the implementation process. Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989) presented their tractability variables: a) clear and consistent policy objectives; b) adequate theory linking objectives and practices; c) legal structure of implementation enhance compliance; d) committed and skillful implementers; e) interest group support; and f) socio-economic conditions conducive to political support (Sabatier, 1986, p. 23-25). Rodgers and Bullock (1976) took a stab at Pressman and Wildavsky's (1973) dire picture of implementation and presented a more

nuanced picture where individuals weigh the cost and benefit of their actions and behaviors. All of these variables are interwoven by the nature that they place on the local situation and actors.

While individual actors (e.g., practitioners) are important to the policy process in general and the implementation situation more particularly, researchers explain these individuals to be embedded as rational actors, who will react in logical and linear ways to the policy goals and desired outcomes (Dunn, 1994; Weimer & Vining, 1989). If they do not react accordingly, Weimer and Vining (1989) explained, it is the policy that is at fault: "we should view a policy as illogical if we cannot specify a plausible chain of behaviors that leads to the desired outcomes" (p. 307). Thus, the policy is to blame when the process of implementation does not conform to standards of rationality.

Sometimes the importance placed on the micro and macro implementation process has been described with the distinction between top down and bottom up approaches (Matland, 1995; Sabatier, 1986) or forward and backward mapping (Elmore, 1979-80, 1985). Bottom up or backward mapping approaches recognize the skill and knowledge that practitioners bring into the implementation situation that may not be prescribed by the policy. In particular, Matland's (1995) ambiguity and conflict model presented a picture of policy implementation where policy goals, objectives and practices are not always clear or of value to local actors. Mischen and Sinclair (2009) used this framework to suggest research practices that have the potential to make "implementation more democratic" (p. 145).

All of this research presents a divide between the policy and the practices that takes place with and without implementation of particular policies. Individual actors are assumed to be important, but as Cohen, Moffit and Goldin (2007) pointed out and Ingram and Schneider (1990) explained "public policy almost always attempts to get people to do things that they might not otherwise do; or it enables people to do things that they might not have done otherwise." (p. 513). For this reason, education policy researchers have focused on the capacity (and often the lack of) of educators within the implementation situation. Hill (2003) focused on the ways that implementers learn about the policy that they are charged to implement to highlight the importance of "nonstate policy professions" in the dissemination of this information (p. 265). Thus, scholarship exists that acknowledges the necessity of processes within the local situation that address *fixing* the policy and practice problem; however, the predominant solution resides in policy solutions.

In this section, I explain how political scientists have presented the situation that principals-engaged-with-policy encounter in order to illustrate the impact this situation has on the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position. The predominant position available to implementers is one where their knowledge is less important than that which the policy brings with it. Elmore (1979-80) described this shift in terms of discretion: "when implementation consists essentially of controlling discretion, the effect is to reduce reliance on knowledge and skill at the delivery level and increase reliance on abstract, standardized solutions" (p. 610). Thus, by downplaying the role and importance of practice and emphasizing the role of policy within the implementation situation, the

knowledge that implementers intuit as being important has more to do with agreement, compliance and heeding authority than with the nature of what they do.

The Divide According to Critical Policy Analysts: The Governance Turn

So far I have painted a particular picture of the context in which principals engage with policy through descriptions of research on education policy and the policy process. This research explained how education policy researchers and scholars of the policy process understood individual actors to affect the overall policy process, with particular attention to implementation. This is because these researchers recognize a linear and objective policy process whereby the reified policy document undergoes stages of enactment (Dunn, 1994; Laswell, 1951). Within this model, policy remains a separate category that controls what people do. Critical policy analysis, on the other hand, acknowledges the untangle-able mishmash that makes up policy and the people and society that policy allegedly controls (Ball, 2005; Fischer, 2003; Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003; Yanow, 2000). In this section, first I explain how critical policy analysts understand the policy process. Then, I describe how they perceive individual actors entering into what I have called the implementation situation.

Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) explained a critical policy analysts' view of society with the term "network society," which "made up of *open or unstable structures* [emphasis added] that expand, readjust, shift and evaporate; that create new chances but new risks too, of practices that mobilize on some problems, leaving others aside" (p. 5). The network society recognizes the fluid and postmodern nature of knowledge and meaning. Thus, the policy process is less about how it is integrated into various levels of

the policy process, but more about how issues come into being and others do not. This privileging of ideas is explained by two concepts in critical policy analysis: history and intertextuality.

The importance of history within critical policy analysis is a result of the integration of Foucault's (2010) understanding of historical trajectories. These historical trajectories explain why some ideas prevail to create certain structures or disciples that have begun to be common sense. Thus, policies that affect us today are a result of particular decisions, ideologies and strategies (e.g., Psychiatry and the medical profession). Intertextuality (Barthes, 1977) expands upon this trajectory of history by explaining that any policy is the result of multiple documents and discourses (for a definition of discourse, see glossary; Appendix A; Anderson, 2001). Within our implementation situation, intertextuality is important because as authors like Shipps and White (2009) and Marks and Nance (2007) pointed out, principals are responding to more than one policy at once. Critical policy analysts point out that it is difficult to parcel out to which policy principals respond (Ball et al., 2011).

Critical policy analysis brought types of knowledge into the scope of policy analysis. By doing so they acknowledged that

> the manner in which we slice the nebula of surrounding meanings has to come from outside those meanings, for example from a particular background theory or grand narrative that serves as a frame of reference, or a set of behavioral dispositions that is anchored in a particular way of life or a particular way of doing things. (Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003, p. 17)

This quote from Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) explains that the way in which history and intertextuality play out within policy. For instance, No Child Left Behind was set up to address the issue that America's schools are failing to graduate students. This problem became such through a particular understanding of the overarching perspective that informs it. This example could be informed by the value placed upon quality and outputs by new mangerialism and "market-entrepreneurial regimes" (Ball, 2005, p. 10). In other words, the policies that participate in governing schools are not the *one*, *right,* or *only* solution, but instead, became the solution as a result of privileging certain kinds of knowledge. This is similar to Kingdon's (2003) understanding of policy soup;[3] however, critical policy analysts like Ball (2005), Hajer and Wagenaar (2003), and Fischer (2003) focused on the *soup* of policy common sense that circulates in everyday language, rather than simply the discourse of policy elites working in government.

Accountability culture and Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003) network society illustrate the "governance turn" (Ball, 2009, p. 537), where society is governed less by institutions of government and more by self-governance. Stoker (2004) called this constrained discretion (p. 166). According to constrained discretion, *good judgment* becomes a tool of policy rather than particular rules. Thus judgments, a determination based upon beliefs takes center stage in the implementation situation such that its up to individuals to determine what to do.

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[3] Kingdon (2003) uses the term "primeval policy soup" to describe the ways that ideas float around, some become prominent and fade and that the soup changes "through the appearance of wholly new elements … [and] the recombination of previously existing elements" (p. 117).

Because policy according to critical policy analysts does not follow Laswell's (1951) linear stages model, it functions in a more subtle manner described by the term governance as opposed to government. This shift has particular consequences for the individual engaged with policy. In his article about how policy affects teachers' identities, Ball (2005) explained that education reform "does not simply change what people, as educators, scholars, and researchers do, it changes who they are" (p. 215). In particular, he points out the ways that accountability culture, where measurement and evidence are viewed as being more important than beliefs and values, causes teachers to perform in order to look and seem committed to that culture.

The critical policy analysis perspective on the macro-implementation picture of the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy illustrates the complexity of the implementation situation that is lost when ascribing to a linear and stable perspective of the policy process. Ball, Hoskins, Maguire, and Braun (2011) explained "to reduce all of this [i.e. the creativity, energy and commitment that happens as policies are enacted] to a problem of *implementation* is a travesty of the policy process and a massive interpretational failure by researchers and policy-makers" (p. 12). The critical policy analysis lens shows that the principal-engaged-with-policy's knowledge exists in multiple ways that does not fit into a linear or rational box.

Conclusion. To understand the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy it is important to remember that all three of these approaches (e.g., educational policy, policy process, and critical policy analysis) illustrate the diversity of research on the subject, while at the same time acknowledging that strategic and cognitive ways of

knowledge are privileged without much mention of an alternative. I described research on the macro-picture of policy implementation to situate this study within it. I focused on the ways that three academic disciplines describe the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy as it fits within the policy process.

The Subject Position of the Principal as Policy Implementer

Because the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy is situated between policy and practice, it is a diverse and interesting position to inhabit. In this section, I explain the various ways that scholars have studied the ways that principals bridge this divide through the *implementer* role of this subject position. It is important to note that throughout this section, when bridging the divide between practice and policy (e.g., implementing policy), principals rarely are called upon to comment, critique, or provide input on policy.

This section is divided into three sections. First I provide a brief overview of how researchers studying education policy have arrived at studying principals engaged in policy through a brief timeline of implementation studies. Then, I outline studies that have presented the principal as mediators of policy in three ways as they (a) engage in sensemaking processes (Weick, 1995, 2007), (b) encounter accountability environments (Firestone & Shipp, 2005), and (c) participate in the micropolitics of schools (Lindle, 1994; Marshall & Scribner, 1993)

The Evolution of the Subject Position in Implementation Studies

There have been three generations or waves outlined within education policy implementation scholarship (Honig, 2006a; McLaughlin, 1987; Odden, 1991). The

progression of these different phases explains how researchers have come to be interested in the subject position of the principal, particularly as she engages with policy. Briefly, I describe these three generations.

During the first generation, as Johnson's Great Society was first being implemented, scholars (e.g., Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; Scribner & Englert, 1977) recognized that federal programs came up against barriers as a result of local implementation. Thus, this generation's contribution was that local matters. McLaughlin (1991) described one way to think about this impact that this generation as surprised by the fact that "implementation dominates outcomes" (p. 172).

The second generation of policy implementation scholarship picked up "after the initial start-up years" (Odden, 1991, p. 5) of federal education programs like the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). These scholars, knowing that local context matters, focused on the actions taken to adapt and comply at the local level (e.g. Sabatier & Mazemanian, 1989). Thus, scholars acknowledged that variation mattered (Honig, 2006a, p. 6-7).

Third generation scholars—recognizing the variation that implementation involves— focused their efforts on effective implementation practices. In other words, they were interested in "how to make …[policy implementation] work" (Odden, 1991, p. 8) rather than on the ways in which it might go wrong. Coupled with this focus is the acknowledgement that because "what works *depends*" (Honig, 2009, p. 333) studies of implementation encompassed a wide range of factors (Datnow & Park, 2009; Elmore, 1979-80, 1985; Malen & Cochran, 2008; O'Toole, 1986, 2004; Saetren, 2005). Thus, as

Honig (2006) explained, "a wider range of *people* [emphasis author] emerged in implementation studies as consequential to implementation" (p. 8).

Principals Make Sense of Policy

I have explained how different disciplines understand how individual actors to fit into theories of the macro policy process, often in terms of implementation. In this section, I discuss the individual actor's role or practice within the micro-implementation situation: the school environment. The purpose of this section is to describe research on the subject of the principal in her capacity to bridge the policy and practice divide as the intermediary between the school and policy. This research falls into three general frameworks. First, sensemaking or co-construction of meaning (Datnow & Park, 2009) describes research that studies the ways that the subjectivity of principals plays a role in the process of making meaning for policy within a school environment. Second, recognizing that multiple policies enter the school environment in a non-linear fashion, researchers studied the impact of these accountabilities on the principal's intermediary role. Third, through the study of micropolitics, researchers analyzed the jockeying for power and resources that takes place at the school level and the principals' role in mediating these conflicts. This section is divided according to these three approaches.

Researchers like Spillane (Spillane, et al., 2002) and Coburn (2005, 2006) identified a particular role of the school administrator or principal in the implementation situation. This role is important to understanding the principal-engaged-with-policy because it describes some of the features of the subject position that researchers believe to be available to practicing principals. Thus, in describing research on what principals do

and how they do them, I explain the knowledge that is attributed to the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy.

This first grouping of research uses Weick's conception of organizational sensemaking (1995, 2007) as a framework for their studies. Weick (1995) developed this theory to solve the problem of what to do when an individual is faced with new and unexplained information. Individuals' responses, he postulated, are based upon memory and mental frames. These cognitive frames are created as a result of previous experience and the social negotiation of meaning that occurs through communication. Of particular importance to research that focuses on the principal's intermediary role, Weick's theory focuses on the process of making sense (as opposed to nonsense) of new information. Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer (2002) provided a review of literature that expounded the value of thinking about school level implementation through the sensemaking/cognitive framing lens. Seven years later, Datnow and Park (2009) explained that the sensemaking approach to policy implementation research dominates contemporary approaches because it allows researchers to focus on the actions and perspectives of individual actors. Thus, they point out that it is important to research the impact individuals have via subjective elements like beliefs, motivation and capacity. Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer (2002) pointed out this approach was not meant to supplant traditional thinking about implementation, but rather to augment them. For this reason, they identified the following core elements of the implementation situation: "the individual implementing agent, the situation in which sensemaking occurs, and the policy signals" (p. 392). The former two augmented implementation studies' traditional focus on the latter.

Whereas Spillane, Reiser and Reimer (2002) and Datnow and Park (2009) provided theorizations of sensemaking and school level implementation, Spillane, Diamond, Burch, Hallett, Jita and Zoltners' (2002) and Coburn (2005, 2006) provided evidence of the usefulness of this lens in researching the implementation of policy through school administrators. Spillane et al.'s (2002) findings illustrated that both the context of sensemaking and the subjective approach and identity of the principal influences the school's "approach to accountability policy" (p. 752). In two articles about changes in reading instruction in elementary schools in California, Coburn (2005, 2006) focused on the ways that principals mediate the changes for their staff. Two case studies illustrated that the principals' understanding of reading instruction, unrelated to the changes, were a significant factor influencing how the changes were implemented (Coburn, 2005). In her later article, she took a more global approach to implementation looking at one case study and the framing of the *problem* of reading instruction by the principal and teachers in one school (Coburn, 2006).

These authors (Coburn, 2005, 2006; Datnow & Park, 2009; Spillane, et al., 2002; Spillane, Reiser & Reimer, 2002) all illustrated how principal (and teacher) mental frames or cognitive models affected the way that policy happened within schools. These cognitive models are abstract structures that individuals apply to make sense of something that might not immediately fit into previous experiences. For instance, in one of Coburn's (2005) case studies, one of the principals, Ms. Moore approach to reading instruction was heavily influenced by her exposure to traditional approaches that treated "reading as a skill to be mastered" (p. 485). This mental frame is just that, having

cognitive substance and structure, but as I have pointed out the subject position comprises extra-cognitive dimensions.

Authors like White-Smith and White (2009) and Anagnostopoulos and Rutledge (2007) did not explicitly use Weick's sensemaking framework, but studied the ways that principals' mental models or schemas affect implementation practice. White-Smith and White's (2009) analysis of four principals' perspectives centered on the ways in which they conceptualize (e.g., the ways that principals understood the purposes of the initiative) and consequently how those conceptions affected implementation. Anagnostopoulos and Rutledge (2007) investigated the schemas as well as the resources used by principals to enact policy. These studies illustrated that tasks and duties sometimes supersede cognitive allegiance. White-Smith and White (2009) reported that "although all four principals subscribed to the core values and beliefs of the HSCC model, they viewed its implementation programmatically and as such it felt like 'something extra' added to their preexisting and routine duties" (p. 277) While their cognitive frames, to some degree, aligned with the policy, their actions did not. The same goes for the two principals studied by Anagnostopoulos and Rutledge (2007): principals' understanding of students' failure (requiring school sanctioning) were not linked with instructional initiatives, but instead deficit theory.

These articles that use the sensemaking frame to explain the effect that principals have on implementation illustrate that there is a disconnection between the cognitive frames or schema that individuals apply as intermediaries and the tangible occurrences that result from policy. Coburn (2005, 2006) and Spillane et al. (2002) explained how

cognitive frames affect the ways that policies are understood. On the other hand, White-Smith and White (2009) and Anagnostopoulos and Rutledge (2007) demonstrated the ways in which those cognitive frames do not always match up with the actions resulting from policy.

Principals Encounter Accountability

Part of the disconnection between cognitive frames and principal practice could be explained by the fact that principals encounter multiple, often competing policies in the form of accountabilities. Normore (2004) provided a literature review on accountability and school administrators. His review chronicled the depth of effect that increasing accountability pressures have for the school administrator and leadership preparation practice. Thus, principals cannot make sense of or encounter one policy at a time. Firestone and Shipps (2005) developed a typology for thinking about the types of accountability pressures that school administrators face within the following categories: political, bureaucratic, market, professional and moral. They shift attention on the principal from what they bring to the intermediary situation to how they are expected to respond.

This attention to the multiple accountabilities that principals encounter refocuses researchers' attention from the center position that principals inhabit within the implementation situation to the surrounding factors that create accountability environments. For instance, Shipps and White (2009) adapted Firestone and Shipps' typology (2005) in their study of high school principals and "accountability-driven change" in New York City schools. They focused more on the ways in which external

factors have an effect on accountability rather than the cognitive, subjective, normative or internal locus of those pressures. Similarly, Black (2008) focused on the ways in which leadership actions and behavior are altered as a result of accountability pressures.

Rutledge (2010) and Marks and Nance (2007) examined the interactions between principal perceptions and accountability pressures. Rutledge (2010) studied the ways that accountability "redirected" the work of two urban high school principals in Chicago (p. 89). She used an ecological framework to illustrate the vulnerable and contested nature of control that teachers and principals have over instructional activities (p. 102). In a similar vein, Marks and Nance (2007) investigated the effect that principals have as a result of the contexts of accountability that principals face. They separated states into high- low- and moderate-control states to determine the impact that principals perceived them to have on their instructional and supervisory decisions. The influences of various actors, including but not limited to, states, school boards and teachers varied "according to administrator perceptions" (p. 23). Thus, Marks and Nance's (2007) research depicted a rendition of the complex accountability network that acknowledges the subjective nature of the multiple accountabilities that principals face. This illustrates that while Firestone and Shipps' (2005) typology is useful when thinking about the multiple nature of accountability, it is still the individuals' perception of the accountability, rather than some objective categorization, that affects how leaders respond.

Being Political: Principals and Micropolitics

So far it should be apparent that not all scholars believe the implementation situation to be a linear and/or hierarchical process within which the principal-engaged-

with-policy works. The field of study titled *micropolitics* is another example of scholarship that recognizes the messiness that is wrapped up within policies as they exist within the school environment (Lindle, 1994; Marshall & Scribner, 1993; Scribner, Aleman & Maxcy, 2003; Scribner & Englert, 1977). While studying micropolitics is not about policies separated out from other *political* activities, they are wrapped up within Scribner and Englert's (1977) definition of politics: "the set of interactions that influence and shape the authoritative allocation of values" (p. 22). In this section, I explain how micropolitics brings together the theoretical concerns of the scholarship I described in the policy and practice conflict section and the practical concerns of the scholarship I described in the implementer section.

Several scholars have described micropolitics as a way to open up the black box of school implementation or reform (Datnow, 2000; Scribner, Aleman & Maxcy, 2003). Thus, as a field of study, micropolitics has translated the study of the policy process into the study of political processes. These political processes have a particular substance within the school environment. Scribner, Aleman and Maxcy (2003) explain that micropolitical "scholarship [is] sensitive to a practitioner's uncertain, complex and often uncontrollable world of conflicting values" (p. 17-18). As Malen and Cochran (2008) have pointed out, the job of the principal is rife with conflict, not only ideological (e.g. what is important about education), but also personal (e.g., balancing alliances and relationships). Lindle (1994) pointed out that these conflicts arise as different stakeholders compete for power and resources. Because I have established the policy

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process as nonlinear and complex, being a policy implementer is wrapped up in Scribner et al.'s (2003) complex picture of micropolitics.

This particular picture of policy in schools is important as I describe research on the subject position of the principal because individual actors (as opposed to a stable process) lie at the heart of the micropolitical picture. Scribner et al.'s (2003) definition of the practitioner's "uncontrollable world off conflicting values" (p. 18) is not a generalized or abstract world, but that of the principal. Datnow (2000) explained that one of the principals' roles is that of the negotiator. Burns (1961) pointed out that individuals are resources or mediums through which micropolitics exist. Lindle (1999) provided evidence of the principals' role in and responsibility for "inevitable political nature of schools" (p. 172).

Thus, the study of micropolitics illustrates a picture of principals that recognizes the multiplicity of *policy* that they must translate and mediate. This picture, however, is not an objective portrayal of some rational process, but instead illustrates how elements of subjectivity and the subject position enter. Burns (1961) explained

> a man gets a job … because of his utility as a resource of physical strength … But he remains nevertheless a person with private interests, ambitions, goals, and values, most of which may be incompatible with those of other members of the firm and some of which may be incompatible with the interest of the concern itself (p. 263-264).

This quote points out several significant aspects of the micropolitical actor—the principal: the value she brings related to utility, the *extra* values that she brings with her

and finally, that these *extra* values may or may not be related to the task at hand. Kelchtermans (2007) described this last aspect by recognizing that interpretation has as much to do with the agenda, goals and interests of the individual as it does with any institutional or organizational ones. Datnow (2000) explained the importance of buy in, or the values that principals are able to transfer to their staff, when adopting particular school reform models. Finally, Schreshein and Hinkin (1990) provided an interesting critique of the Profile of Organizational Influence Strategies (POIS) instrument that was used to measure the interpersonal influence process. This instrument was an example of the ways that utility between individuals can be measured to document to political process. Schreshein and Hinkin (1990) established that the POIS instrument was not sufficient to document the complexity of politics within organizations.

Studying micropolitics is not always about policy documents, and neither is being a principal-engaged-with-policy. Through a micropolitical lens, Kelchtermans (2007) was able to point out that

> implementing policy measures is thus not to be reduced to the execution of
> technical prescriptions. One important reason for this is the intrinsic value-laden
> character of decisions in educational policy. Every measure inevitably reflects a
> particular idea about good education and how this is best to be implemented (p.
> 487).

This quote explains how policy is interwoven into the micropolitical situation that principals face. Not only are principals faced with implementing policy, but they also are held accountable to parents, school boards, students and teachers and what they believe to

be important about education. As I have explained before, being a principal-engaged-with-policy is not just about following rules. Kelchtermans (2007) highlighted that following policy has political dimensions that exceed policy prescriptions.

Summary

The principal-engaged-with-policy works in schools that are a complex intersection that involves education, policy, accountability and politics. This section illustrates three different ways that researchers understand how principals bring policy, encounter multiple layers of accountability and navigate the political context all within the school environment. Each of these situations positions the principal at the center of the relationship between policy and schools as a translator, negotiator or implementer. They are examples of the principal as a medium of policy. The principal as medium that I have illustrated attributes a particular direction of the medium, one that mediates for the school, but not for policy. In other words, this is not a picture where the principal mediates the school environment for policy.

This research remains rooted in the belief that principals' knowledge is strategic, cognitive and personal. In section one, I explained that the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy describes more than a mental application of thought and cognitive frames to policy implementation, but instead engages the sensorial realm of knowledge and experience. In the next section, I describe the theoretical framework that allows me to point out this sensorial realm.

Theoretical Framework: Understanding Through Embodiment

In this section, I theorize a way to understand how principals describe, explain and manifest the sensorial, embodied dimensions of engaging with policy. My theoretical approach helps make visible an object of study that articulates the ways that education policy participates as a technology through which subject positions are created and understood. This object of study helps me point out the ways in which the embodied and sensorial nature of engagement with policy affects the ways that policy is enacted in schools. The purpose of this study is to illustrate that embodied knowledge affects the way that policies are interpreted, enacted and exist within schools.

This framework is informed by my "interactions" (Scheurich, 1994, p. 297) with the work of several philosophers writing about the nature of experience and knowledge, Merleau-Ponty (1958), Carspecken's interpretation of Habermas (1995), and Hansen (2004). Examples are used from literature to illustrate the embodied, sensorial nature of perceptions; however, my interactions with these theorists parallels that of Scheurich's (1994) with Foucault in describing his "policy archeology:"

> the emphasis should be on 'my interactions' rather than on the … [theorist]. I do not pretend to have correctly 'interpreted' [these theorists], but it is from my repeated readings of these works that I developed this new way of thinking about … education policies … (p. 297)

As you will see no one author or perspective stands out as informing this theory over others. Further, the ways in which I evoke these scholars may not be in some hypothetical conformity to what they would say or believe, but rather I use these theorists as tools to explain the theory that frames my study.

Because my object of study is the subject position of the principal, and particularly the impact of the sensorial dimension of that subjectivity on interpretation, then my theoretical framework explains the relationship between subjectivity, embodiment (see glossary; Appendix A), the senses and interpretation. In order to explain these connections, I first describe what I mean by interpretation, since interpretation happens as a function of embodiment. Then, I explain how interpretation happens as a process that happens through another media or medium, where the medium impacts the act of interpretation. Finally, I will define embodiment for this paper.

Interpretation - Hermeneutics

In this section, I introduce the field of hermeneutics through Magritte's (1929) painting, *The Treachery of Images*. Then, I explain the evolution of the study of hermeneutics. After which, I focus particularly on the philosophy of Gadamer (2008) to explain the importance of language and the individual within the field of hermeneutics. Finally, I situate hermeneutics also within the field of information processing.

Studying interpretation recognizes a separation between meaning and text. This separation was visually represented by Magritte's (1929) painting *The Treachery of Images*, where the words "Ceci n'est pas une pipe" (this is not a pipe) are written below a painted image of a pipe. The image and text combination represents the separation between text and meaning on two levels. First, the painting resembles the diagrams presented by Saussure (1998) where images of a tree and a horse are caption with the words *tree* and *horse*, respectively. Whereas Saussure's (1998) diagrams were intended to illustrate the structure of language, Magritte's painting illustrates the arbitrary nature

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of language. On another level, the painting highlights the role of the individual, here the viewer, in the act of interpretation. By putting the image of a pipe next to the description that it is not a pipe, the viewer must question the contradictory representations of *pipe*.

Studying hermeneutics is about fundamentally about how we interpret and understand (Jasper, 2004). Originally, hermeneutic scholars focused on ways to read and interpret the Bible such that parts of a text are meant to help understand the overall thesis of the text and vice versa. Schleiermacher posited that hermeneutics was focused on both grammar (structure of language) and psychology (subjectivity of language: Crotty, 1998).

In Heidegger's exploration of our understanding of the world, he developed the concept of the hermeneutic circle, where interpretation happens "as a circular movement" (Crotty, 1998, p. 97). This circular movement explains the way in which to understand part of a text references our understanding of the whole and vice versa. This particular understanding of the circle positions the individual as entering the circle from a primordial understanding, where all meaning is void. The circle provides the revolutions of understanding through which we come to know the world.

This discussion of hermeneutics concludes with the work of Hans-Goerg Gadamer (2008). Gadamer's understanding of hermeneutics is significant for the particular importance that he places on language and history. He explained:

> the phenomenon of understanding, then, shows the universality of human
>
> linguisticality as a limitless medium that carries everything within it—not only
>
> the "culture" that has been handed down to us through language, but absolutely
>
> everything—because everything (in the world and out of it) is included in the

realm of "understandings" and understandability in which we move (Gadamer, 2008, p. 25).

Gadamer explained his understanding of history through his description of language as a *limitless medium*. The history of a text is related just as much to the context in which it and the reader are situated. He referenced culture in a more particular reference to history as the recounting of actions that have taken place in the past: a static entity for Gadamer. Thus, the study of interpretation is not just about accounting for the cultural accumulation of history within a given text, but also about the meaning that is brought about as a result of being a part of the world from which meaning comes into being.

Gadamer (2004, 2008) made the distinction between history as a fluid and not a static concept in order to highlight the importance of being in the world for interpretation. This being in the world that the interpreter brings with her into interpretation Gadamer (2004) referred to as prejudice. Prejudice, or situated-ness, according to Gadamer, made interpretation possible. Relying on the history of enlightenment, he distinguished between legitimate prejudices and those that are not. The legitimacy of prejudices is not significant for this paper, but instead that the "living out" (Gadamer, 2008, p. 32) of meaning that informs hermeneutics. This "living out" exists at the level of the individual, rather than culture and puts emphasis on the lived quality of experiences rather than their ordered or explained quality.

The work of N. Kathryn Hayles (1999) is not situated within the philosophy of hermeneutics, but instead within the work of literary theory. Hayles (1999) in her seminal book, *How we became posthuman*, rethought the way that we understand the subject of

humanism in what Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) called our "emergent network society" (p.13). She argued that humanism's understanding of the subject as stable and fixed has been redefined in our posthuman era to be "an amalgam, a collection of heterogeneous components, a material-informational entity whose boundaries undergo continuous construction and reconstruction" (Hayles, 1999, p. 3). Hayles' (1999) redefinition of the subject takes into account the predominance of technology in the processes by which information is processed. In particular, her book considered such concepts as the cyborg in literature. While considerations of the cyborg go beyond the scope of this paper, Hayles' (1999) thinking about the posthuman moves my discussion of hermeneutics from strictly the study of understanding to the ways *through* which we come to understand, particularly those that recognize that information is processed through the body and not separately from it.

The Importance of Medium/Media

Hayles' (1999, 2010) investigations in the subject within the network society, where the Cartesian subject is displaced with an abundance of information and materialities of technology bring us to the importance of mediation within the study of interpretation. Gadamer (2004, 2008) recognized the importance of the medium of interpretation through his explication of prejudice. In this section, I present the work of several new media theorists who emphasize the importance of the medium through which interpretation occurs. While Gadamer (2004) and other scholars (including Merleau-Ponty, 1964), used art as a foundation for their hermeneutics, new media scholars, writing about the artists who have found innovative ways to integrate film and alternate

forms of representation, Paul Viola, Lynn Hershman Leeson and Robert Lazzarini, who brought the discussion of interpretation to a new level as a result of the capabilities of new technologies.

New Media scholarship is related to education policy research and particularly my research on the principal-engaged-with-policy because it provides a language with which I can discuss the ultimately translated nature of interpretation through an entity with physical, representational and abstract dimensions. In order to make this connection, first I establish the relationship between medium, media and technology through the work of Marshall McLuhan (1994). Then, I explain Mark B. N. Hansen's (2004) phenomenology of the digital image. Hansen's (2004) phenomenology brings us from interpretation (the act of knowing) to the act of perception, where the senses play a role in making sense of the world.

In his book *Understanding Media*, Marshall McLuhan (1994) reminded us that "all media are active metaphors in their power to translate experience into new forms" (p. 56). In line with his famous, the media is the message phrase; this quote explains that through different media (e.g., radio, television, etc.) the content or meaning that it transfers is changed. For instance, think about books that have been made into a movie or television series and the differing experiences resulting from the different media, like watching Stephen Ball's *True Blood* and the Charlaine Harris novels on which the HBO series is based. According to McLuhan (1994), the cinematic medium changes the story from being about a Louisiana country girl who waits tables and is romantically involved with vampires to being about a sexy blond Louisiana country girl and all the fantastic

things that happen as a result of the supernatural beings that she encounters. While my

representations of the film and books are only slight indications, the experiences of the

different media diverge significantly in more ways than just screenplay v. novel written

mediums.

McLuhan (1994) recognized the ways in which media extend and, at times, act as

if they were part of the body: "with the arrival of electric technology, man extended, or

set outside himself, a live model of the central nervous system itself" (p. 43). Media

theorists, like Hayles (1999), often represented interpretation in terms of information

processing. McLuhan (1994) referred to it here through the central nervous system as the

primary processor for man.

Hansen (2004) addressed what it means to "view" a work of art, when that

artwork includes cinematic and virtual images. He argued that the image has become a

process: "the image can no longer be restricted to the level of surface appearance, but

must be extended to encompass the entire process by which information is made

perceivable through embodied experience" (p. 10). In this quote, he explained that

images are not transmitted bit for bit, pixel for pixel, where the viewer sees the mirror

image of what an artist rendered on a two dimensional surface. Instead, this process of

perception, which he called the digital image requires that the viewer rethink the ways in

which her body engages with the space around it.

The experience of viewing Robert Lazzarini's skulls (2000) provides an example

of Hansen's digital image. Hansen (2004) described this experience:

you enter a tiny, well-lit room. On the four walls, you see what look to be four

sculptures of a human skull, apparently cast from different points of view. Yet as

you concentrate on these objects, you immediately notice that something is

horribly amiss; not only is the play of light and shadow that defines their

sculptural relief somewhat odd, as if they were meant to be seen from the ceiling

or the floor, but the skulls themselves seem warped in a way that doesn't quite

feel right, that just doesn't mess with your ingrained perspectival sense (p. 197-

198).

Lazzarini used laser technology to three dimensionally scan a human brain. Then, he

distorted the resulting two dimensional representation of that scan. These distorted

images were then used to create three dimensional models of these distorted skulls from

which four sculptures were made in solid bone (Hansen, 2004). Representations of this

experience do not do justice to the sense of oddity that occurs when viewing the

sculptures hanging on the wall. I have not experienced them in person, but gained a better

understanding after viewing a video of the three dimensionality of one of the skulls

(found at http://youtu.be/4F6KrIUsigk).

It is the three-dimensionality of the sculptures that makes this experience what

Hansen (2004) called the digital image by calling upon the affective senses of the body.

In his description of the experience, he mentioned that the images seem as if "they were

meant to be seen from the ceiling or the floor" (p. 197). This experience might be one

that causes the viewer to tilt her head and shift her body, calling on "our bodily faculty of

proprioception" (Hansen, 2004, p. 203). Proprioception describes perception in terms of

the body, where the body is made up of "sensory receptors which respond … to stimuli arising within the body" (proprioceptor, 2011; see glossary; Appendix A). Thus, viewing becomes an active bodily experience.

Authors like Hansen (2004) and Jay (1994) recognized that vision has dominated Western cultures' (e.g. occularcentrism) perceptions into the 20th century. This focus on vision can also be correlated with the way in which hermeneutics and information processing have been set aside as primarily cognitive processes; however, arguments like Hansen's (2004) acknowledged that perception and information processing are not simply a product of a thinking mind, but of a mind and a body in the world. This acknowledgement comes as a result of thinking about the ways in which we perceive *through* mediums.

Embodiment

At its heart, this theoretical framework is about the epistemological foundation of knowledge and its relationship to the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy. So far, I have explained how hermeneutics, information processing and media theory (see glossary; Appendix A) link meaning and its representational form. This description of the interpretive process shows the ways that knowledge passes through and within a medium that fundamentally changes its meaning. In this section, the process through which meaning or knowledge is interpreted is outlined as residing in a sensing body. Thus, this section defines embodiment for this project. First, I explain the sensing body and embodiment through the philosophies of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1964, 1968a, 1968ba, 1968b, 2002). Then, I describe the relationship between embodiment, place and space.

According to Merleau-Ponty (2002) epistemology is inextricably tied up with the body. As I explained in chapter one, it is through the body that that the individual encounters the world. In his preface to *Phenomenology of Perception*, he explained "only in the world does …[the subject] know himself" (p. 5). Thus, it is important to remember that the body for Merleau-Ponty (2002) is not an abstract concept that refers to the idea of the body, but instead is the body that exits in the world, that hears my dog in the next room chewing on a stick and feels the keyboard under my fingers.

Returning to the quote from chapter one, Merleau-Ponty (2002) explained that perception results from the connection between the body and the world, but also that the body is comprised of the senses:

subjectivity … is nothing but temporality, and that is what enables us to leave the

subject of perception his opacity and historicity. I open my eyes on to my table;

and my consciousness is flooded with colours and confused reflections; it is

hardly distinguishable from what is offered to it; it spreads out, through its

accompanying body, into the spectacle which so far is not a spectacle of anything.

Suddenly, I start to focus my eyes on the table which is not yet there, I begin to

look into the distance while there is as yet no depth, my body centres itself on an

object which is still only potential … (p. 278).

As I pointed out in chapter one, Merleau-Ponty (2002) deliberately highlighted the role of

sight within this explication of subjectivity. The senses and the body are particularly

important to his conception of experience and perception because we use our senses as

we engage with the world and consequently create knowledge of that world. Without our

senses neither is possible.

So far I have explained the importance of the body and the senses to Merleau-

Ponty's (2002) theorization of embodiment. One last piece that needs to be explained is

the *all at once* characteristic of embodiment. First of all, Merleau-Ponty (1964, 1968a,

1968ba, 1968b, 2002) theorized about embodiment within the context of perception. He

argued that the body, the world and the sense are inextricably tied to our perceptions and

how these perceptions come to exist. Thus, he pointed out that the world opens up to us

for perception such that a horizon exists that contains "things and space between things"

(p. 18). By doing so, he separates the world from my perceptions of it, which emphasizes

the particularities of perception. For Merleau-Ponty (1964, 1968a, 1968b, 2002), as I've

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pointed out perceptions are wrapped up with the way that the body moves about the world.

Because the senses are so important to Merleau-Ponty (2002), they are at the center of my definition of the subject position. As I said in chapter one, the knowledge of the principal-engaged-with-policy is the knowledge of that subject position, and this includes that which the senses transmit. This sensorial dimension of the knowledge of the subject position is in contrast with the one-dimensional cerebral, cognitive dimension off strategic, cognitive and personal knowledge that research presents of the principal-engaged-with-policy.

Pink (2009) in her description of sensory ethnography, discusseed embodiment with the term emplacement (see glossary; Appendix A). Emplacement, she explained "attends to the question of experience by accounting for the relationship between bodies, minds and the materiality and sensoriality of the environment" (p. 25). She placed importance on the environment as it contains the "qualities which are the property of objects" that produce sensation (p. 26). To focus on emplacement, however, assumes that we can transmit or share sensorial experiences between individuals. While it is incommensurate to expect them to be exactly the same, sharing such knowledge brings us closer to studying the sensorial dimension.

Embodiment and emplacement are discourses that represent the body's place within the way that individuals understand the world. The subject position is implicated in these discourses because it locates the body as a medium through which the world makes sense. Figure 2.1 illustrates the components of the subject position. Subjectivity,
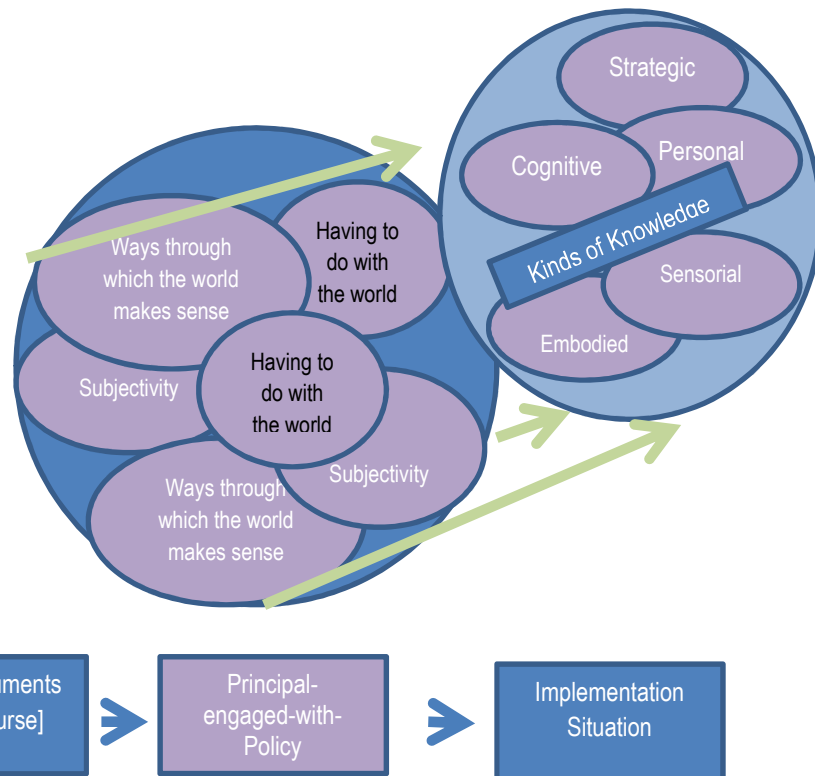
Figure 2.1. Conceptual diagram of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position.

having to do with the world and ways through which the world makes sense are

contained in the subject positions in multiple ways. The body is located within the subject

position as it is in the world and one of the ways through which the world makes sense.

The diagram also illustrates that policy and separate kinds of knowledge are also

intertwined within the subject position.

Throughout this theoretical framework, I have paid particular attention to the

means and mediums through which knowledge moves. Emplacement, on the other hand,

focuses on the origin of knowledge rather than its transmission. I have focused on the

transmission of knowledge because it is the frame through which I approach the subject

position principal-engaged-with-policy. The subject position is a medium through which

an individual comes to understand the world. I have shown that there are particular kinds of knowledge that travel to the principal-engaged-with-policy subject position not to reify those kinds of knowledge, but to highlight the process of knowing and the multi-dimensionality of that knowledge.

Conclusion

The subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy has been studied by education policy researchers, political scientists and critical policy analysts. Researchers have illustrated the ways that principals acts as a medium of policy in the multiple ways that policy *enters* the school environment; however, when we apply an embodied hermeneutics lens to the research on the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy, I argue that a large portion of that subject position has been unexamined: the sensorial. In this chapter, I have shown that researchers are particularly attuned to *how* principals bring policy into the school environment. If this research is not using the full picture of the subject position, how can they demonstrate the ways that they are able to mediate policy? In the next chapter, I explain the various methods that will allow me to not only study the sensorial dimension of the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy, but also a more complete picture of the ways that principals are able to engage with policy.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

The purpose of this study was to explore the particularities of the sensorial dimension of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position. This exploration enriches the picture presented in chapter two that scrutinizes the role of the principal as she engages with policy. In this chapter, I explain the interlocking relationship between the research methods that I use: critical policy analysis, photomethods, sensorial research methods, and reconstructive horizon analysis. This compilation of methods is the result of the theoretical and methodological commitments embedded within the goals of this project.

Purpose of the Chapter

In this chapter, I argue that in order to study the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy I must use an interlocking combination of several methods. Each method provides me with different tools with which I can picture, represent, engage, and study my unit of analysis. Critical policy analysis allows me to study the ways that policy affects these principals' lives. Photomethods and sensory research methods provides a means of collecting data that "evoke[s] deeper elements of human consciousness" (Harper, 2002, p. 13). Finally, reconstructive horizon analysis is a way of analyzing transcripts that recognizes the different layers of meaning and integrates this multi-dimensionality into the analysis process. Using these interlocking methods will allow me to participate with principals to better understand the fullness of the subject position that they inhabit.

Structure of the Chapter

I begin the chapter with my positionality statement as I am an integral part of this research. After this, I describe the theoretical and methodological concerns of critical policy analysis. Then, I provide examples of the ways that discourse is studied through the lens of critical policy analysis. Next, I explain photomethods with a brief history of how photographs have been used in social research. Then, I explain how Photomethods provide a medium for investigating alternative dimensions of lived experience. This is followed by a description of sensory research methods as an extension of photomethods. Next, I explain how I bring together sensory research methods, critical policy analysis and photomethods in this research project. Finally, I explain the research design of the study by outlining the methods of data collection, analysis procedures and ethical considerations.

Positionality Statement: My Reflexivity

Throughout this project, I use the "I" pronoun because I recognize my position within the research that I collect and analyze. In this section I provide a statement of my position within this research not in an attempt to manage my subjectivity (see glossary; Appendix A; Heshusius, 1994, p. 14) in an attempt to separate it from the research project, but to give the reader a better understanding of the epistemologies that underlie this study. Thus, this section explains that this project is not the work of an autonomous consciousness, but engaged and intertwined with my fluid and ever-changing subjectivity (Lather, 1991).

I am a white female who grew up in an upper-middle class family in Jacksonville, Florida. While I have spent some time out of academia, accusations of my over intellectualism are supported by my successful attempts at remaining within the world of academia and education. As an undergraduate student, I was enthralled with the work of surrealist artists like René Magritte and André Breton and the multi-dimensionality of the world that they represented in their artwork and writing. My epistemology is heavily influenced by the fluidity and simulacral nature of postmodernism. Studying at the University of Chicago, I encountered the work of W.J.T. Mitchell (2006) and Mark N. Hansen (2004) that described the postmodern ontology as an obsession with representations, possessing artistic, semiotic, and surface qualities. I encounter this fluidity and simulacra in my life. I am not the person that I was in college, obsessed with theory, without a plan for my life, nor the person in graduate school, devoted to studying art history, nor the person, who fed up with the diversity policies of the university where I taught was inspired to get a degree in educational leadership. The knowledge and truth that I knew at those times has changed and been replaced by new knowledge and truth of this moment.

Critical Policy Analysis

Critical policy analysis provides the overarching frame for this study. Policy implementation according to critical policy analysis is about the intertextual and overlapping nature of policy as it meshes with the particularities of the localized situation (Ball et al., 2011). In this context, the linear policy process set forth by scholars like Laswell (1951) and Dunn (1994) does not exist. Instead, policy is about the ideas and

actors that bring meaning to it and the dialectical revolution of this meaning as it passes

into different contexts (Yanow, 2000). This interpretation of the policy process and the

actors who *implement* it allows me to research the ways that this implementation situation

is tangled up with the sensorial dimension of the subject position of the principal-

engaged-with-policy. In this section, I will explain how using a critical policy analysis

frame requires particular attention to the lived experience of the discourse of

accountability policy.

In contrast with traditional policy analysis research methods (Birkland, 2005),

critical policy analysis allows researchers to see the ways that policy exists in forms not

encapsulated by a policy document. This understanding of policy discourse in addition to

policy texts (Ball, 2006) requires changing the way that one does research. In her article

about the impact of multiple theoretical frames on the practice of research, Young (1999)

explained that

> the research frame one uses dictates, to a large extent, the way one identifies and
>
> describes policy problems, the way one researches these problems, the policy
>
> options one considers, the approach one takes to policy implementation, and the
>
> approach taken for policy evaluation. (p. 681)

This quote outlined the way in which rethinking the scope of policy requires a change in

the way one goes about research. This shift in research method affects the ways in which

the policy progress evolves. Thus, critical policy analysis requires that scholars think

about policy differently. Young (1999) emphasized that thinking about policy differently

requires that we research, implement and evaluate policy differently.

The unit of analysis for this study is the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy. Critical policy analysis provides the opportunity to focus on particularities of the subject position and how they are related and important within an individual's engagement with policy. Subjectivity, as I explained in chapter one, is a dimension of the subject position. Fischer (2003) explained the role of subjectivity within critical policy analysis research:

> Critical policy inquiry, then, emphasizing the social construction of reality and the indeterminacy of knowledge, represents a thoroughgoing critique of mainstream neopositivist methods. Most basic to the critique is the idea that the effort to eliminate subjectivity is futile. Using methods of critique and deconstruction to demonstrate this pervasiveness of subjectivity, such scholars show that the rational-analytic techniques of mainstream policy analysis tend more to serve an unwitting ideological function than as a method for assembling empirical truths. (p. 37)

The neopositivist methods that Fischer (2003) critiques here rely on the idea that truth can be obtained from objective observation and social variables are either eliminated or reduced to objectivities. Thus, Fischer (2003) pointed out that not only does critical policy analysis include subjectivity within its frame, but also recognizes the historicity of the discourse of these methods. As Fischer explained, these methods are embedded within the belief and hope that people are predictable and rational. Critical policy analysis, on the other hand, recognizes that eliminating the variable elements associated with studying people reports a particular picture of the policy studied.

Critical policy analysis research focuses on the ways in which people and their knowledge pervade and thus affect the policy process. (Ball, et al., 2011; Yanow, 2000). Further, using a critical policy analysis frame allows the researcher to unpack the layers of meaning that encompass different interpretations as they make up policy enacted in particular situations. One way to access these meanings is through local knowledge, which in this dissertation are the "more abstract and organizational meanings" that principals attach to policy (Yanow, 2000, p. 14). In the following section, I describe two different approaches to studying these policy discourses: embedded within history and enacted in lived situations.

Critical Policy Research Methods

Before explaining how I will use critical policy analysis within my research design, I first describe ways that it has been used. In particular, I trace the development of critical policy analysis as a tool for widening the scope of making sense of policy. I pay special attention to the ways that data is collected and analyzed. I separate critical policy analysis studies into two sections: those that use history as the lens through which to study policy and those that privilege the lived situation of policy within the research method.

History and critical policy analysis: Historical approaches to critical policy analysis come in various forms. Gale (2001) outlined three approaches, policy historiography, policy archeology (Scheurich, 1994), and policy genealogy (Fraser & Gordon, 1994; Pillow,2003). Each recognizes the importance of particular trajectories of history and the power they have to influence which knowledge becomes significant. For

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instance, Fraser and Gordon (1994) used historical analysis to illustrate the development and consequential framing of the term *dependency* to be an "individual problem as much moral or psychological or economic [one]" (p. 311). While their argument is a semantic one, it does not lie in language in the abstract. Instead, they explained how the term dependency is embedded within the American welfare system. By looking at the role and function of dependents in society from the preindustrial era until present times, Fraser and Gordon (1994) illustrated the ways in which the identity of dependents came to mean subordinate within society. These different historical approaches focus on different parts of the "policy settlements" (Gale, 2001, p. 386) as they are intertwined with the subjective ways that policies develop.

In what Gale (2001) might categorize as policy genealogy, Hodgson (2011) studied the context and resultant consequences of changing the age of compulsory education in Western Australia. His article presented preliminary findings from a larger study, but focuses on the ways in which thinking about policy problems in terms of Foucault's concept of governmentality situates young people in Western Australia. In particular, Hodgson pointed out that "the discourse about young people in the context of compulsory education constructs the problem as residing in the young people" (p. 127).

Such literature does not represent a comprehensive or systematic review of literature on research using critical policy analysis methods. Instead, they provide a snapshot into the ways in which subjects and subjectivity are at the heart of critical policy research that use history as a frame for analyzing data. The articles are not grouped together because they illustrate historical research and critical policy analysis. It is

important to note, however, that they do analyze interview and observation data and historical documents as opposed to purely document-related sources. Thus, focusing on history does not preclude an interest in the lived experiences of individuals. In each of these articles, the methods are in some way or another engaged in revealing the Foucaultian (1977, 2010) subject, created discursively and enmeshed within power relations.

Lived experience and critical policy analysis. Critical policy analysis is also a tool with which researchers have studied the lived experiences of individuals. For instance, Welton (2011) explained how Project FUERTE (Future Urban Educators) is an example of applying participatory forms of data collection to critical policy analysis. As I have explained, critical policy analysts are interested in the possibilities of local action and participation in democracy (Fischer, 2003); however, as Mischen and Sinclair (2007) pointed out sometimes doing research on policy often precludes this kind of participatory democratic practice. For this reason Mischen and Sinclair (2007) suggested way to bring individuals impacted by policy into the research process to make implementation "more democratic" (p. 145). Thus, bringing local actors into contact with the possibility of influencing policy is one way that researchers have used critical policy analysis to research the lived experiences of individuals.

Welton (2011) used this principle to explain how a youth participatory action research (YPAR) project could be described as using a critical policy analysis frame. The YPAR project allowed youth to critique policies. This article took the methodological

attention of critical policy analysis typically focused on history to the lived experiences of individuals living out Gale's (2001) "policy settlements" (p. 386).

As I explained, Fischer (2003) and other critical policy analysts recognized the value of local knowledge and grassroots organizations. Because critical policy analysis focuses on the discursive formation of subject positions, however, it is important to not lose sight of the historical situation in which the local knowledge is situated. One critique of Welton's (2011) article is that she loses sight of the situated-ness of the local knowledge that the youth bring to the project. Thus, the lived nature of the subject position has a particular focus within a critical policy analysis frame.

Conclusion. Critical policy analysis allows me to study not only the lived experiences of policy of the principal-engaged-with policy, but also the ways in which discursive formations of history are wrapped up with the subject position of that individual. Focusing on the ways that policy influences the subject position and the embedded subjectivity of the principal-engaged-with-policy must align with the epistemological assumptions of this process. Critical policy analysis allows me to research my unit of analysis that takes the multiple layers of meaning that circulate through different discourses

Photomethods

This study focuses not only on the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy, but the lived nature of this subject position. Given this emphasis, I sought out to more closely align my research methods with that lived experience. Using photographs for research purposes is a technique that has been employed frequently in anthropology

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(Pink, 2007), health research (Wang & Burris, 1997) and sociology (Harper, 2002). Photographs provide researchers not only with alternative forms of recording, but also they can invoke "deeper elements of human consciousness than text alone" (Harper, 2002, p. 13). In this section, I briefly describe how photographs have been used in research.

Photomethods, Anthropology and Photovoice

Photomethods is a term that I use to designate any research that uses photographs as a means of collecting data through participant-driven photography. Anthropologists have been using photographs in their research as an additional means of observing cultures (Collier & Collier, 1986). Because this project uses photographs as a means of engaging, eliciting and bringing the participant into the research project, this section focuses on participant driven photography through visual anthropology (Collier & Collier, 1986; Pink, 2007) and photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1997).

Visual anthropology. Collier and Collier (1986) illustrated in their text on visual anthropology the ways that photography and film provide additional means of collecting data about other cultures. They also explained that photographs can bring emotional elements into the data collection picture: "photographs are charged with psychological and highly emotional elements and symbols … *Ultimately, the only way we can use the full record of the camera is through the projective interpretation of the native*" (p. 108). Thus, while anthropologists have relied on photographs as a means of documentation, Collier and Collier (1986) pointed out that they are significant for their interpretational value.

As literary theorist Roland Barthes (1981) pointed out, photography can hold two separate meanings for the viewer, which he calls the punctum and the studium. The studium— "an *average* affect, almost from a certain training" (p. 7)— has to do with general interest and can be associated with a more societal or objective response. The punctum, on the other hand, describes that thing that draws us to the photograph. Barthes describes it as that thing that pierces me about the photograph, but here, we can think about it as the personalized interpretation that inevitably results from viewing a photograph. This personalized interpretation, illustrated through the punctum, is what Collier and Collier (1986) identified as being valuable when having natives explain what they see in a given photograph. Visual anthropology provides an introduction to thinking about using photographs in research. In the next section, I explain how using photovoice allows for participatory means of conducting research that has the possibility of community building and policy action.

Photovoice. Photovoice is a research method that draws upon this personalized interpretation of photography. Wang and Burris (1997) are attributed as being the progenitors of this particular method (Catalini & Minkler, 2010; Cook & Buck, 2010). Wang and Burris (1997) explained that

> photovoice is a process by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique. It entrusts cameras to the hands of people to enable them to act as recorders, and potential catalysts for change, in their own communities. It uses the immediacy of the visual image to

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furnish evidence and to promote an effective, participatory means of sharing

expertise and knowledge (p. 369).

This quote identifies the particular elements that separate photovoice from traditional

anthropological photographic practice. One of these elements is building, developing

and/or supporting community through research. Catalini and Minkler (2010), in their

review of literature, identified that there are varying degrees of community participation

in photovoice research. Another element connected to this community element is the

participatory nature of photovoice. Finally, communities are asked to participate in the

photovoice process to bring about change, often linked to policymaking (Catalini &

Minkler, 2010).

As the quote above points out, the photovoice process involves asking

individuals, who are part of a particular community to take pictures that represent a

theme or topic within that community. These photographs have multiple uses. They are

often used in interviews. One of the definitional steps of photovoice is that the

photographs are displayed and/or shared in a community setting such that dialogue

ensues about the photographs and the topic that they address (Guillemin & Drew, 2010;

Wang & Burris, 1997). Using photographs in such a community setting helps me answer

my second and third subquestions as it relates to the process of representation: how can

one describe the process of representing the sensorial dimensions of the subject position

and how are principal's representations and understandings of the sensorial dimension

affected by the research process?

Photomethods Research

Means of using photographs in data collection other than photovoice and visual anthropology exist (i.e. photo-narrative, photo-essay, photo-elicitation; Guillemin & Drew, 2010; Woodly-Baker, 2009), but I have focused on the former two because of their use of participant-driven phtography. Studying my unit of analysis—the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy—requires a participatory means of collecting data that highlights an individual's perspective. Using a participant-driven photographic process and photo-interviews (Pink, 2007) provides that opportunity. Photo-interviews is a term that I use to describe an interview in which photographs are used as elicitation of description or conversation. In this section, I briefly explain some ways that participant-driven photography and photo-interviews have been used. Particularly, I focus on the ways that these methods have been used to research oppressed community, and to document emotive dimensions of lived experiences.

Because of its attention to physical issues of individuals and cultures, photovoice has been used more frequently for health research (Skovdal, 2011; Wang & Burris, 1997). This research often focuses on oppressed populations in third world settings (e.g., caregiving children in Kenya, Skovdal, 2011 and rural villagers in Guatemala (Cooper & Yarbrough, 2010). As photovoice gains popularity in the field of education research, this focus on oppressed populations remains. For instance, authors like Sensoy (2011), Strack, Magill and McDonagh (2004), and Zenkov and Harmon (2009) emphasize the lack of voice given to children. In their *Through Students Eyes* project, Zenkov and Harmon (2009) had approximately 100 students middle or high school age take pictures about the purpose of school and the pathways and obstacles to success in school. Sensoy (2001)

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asked a class of seventh graders to take pictures related to the themes of gender, race and classism. In both cases, students came from "economically depressed" areas or were of an economic, linguistic or ethnic minority.

Giving voice to individuals that often do not have one is a theme of both photomethods and critical policy analysis. As I have explained throughout this proposal, principals are positioned in a place where they have authority within the school environment, but are often not given a voice in the overall policy process. Using photomethods in this project allows me to give voice to a population that is often torn between being the problem and the solution of the policy implementation problem (Cohen, et al., 2007) and not often given a voice regarding this conflict (Boyd, 1987). Further, it allows me to highlight the sensorial dimension of this subject position.

Sensory Research Methods

Sensory research methods are an extension of visual research practices that have been developed by British anthropologist Sarah Pink (Pink, 2009). In her text *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, Pink (2009) argued for "an emplaced ethnography that attends to the question of experience by accounting for the relationship between bodies, minds and the materiality and sensoriality of the environment" (p. 25). As I explained in chapter two, the concept of emplacement is an extension of Merleau-Ponty (1964, 1968a, 1968b, 2002) and others identification as perception being wrapped up both with the body and the sensorial particularities of perception. Pink (2009) rearticulated these particularities by locating them in space and within specific places. This location makes sense as Pink

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(2009) has operationalized embodied phenomenology and anthropological concerns as a research method.

Pink (2009) provided several ways of doing sensory research: through a sensory apprenticeship, commensality (e.g., eating together) and walking with others. These methods of data collection focus on sensorial dimensions of experiences within traditional ethnographic fieldwork. She also suggested several ways of accessing sensory knowledge through interviews. Because of her focus on emplacement over embodiment, she suggests "place-making as a metaphor through which to understand the interview process" where "the place created by an interview involves a process of movement, through a narrative" (Pink, 2009, p. 86). Thus, an interview does not function simply as a rote transmission of knowledge, but a sharing and engagement for both research and participant.

Participant-driven photography can also be a means of collecting sensory data (Pink, 2009). Pink reminded her reader that "it would be erroneous to associate [participant-driven photography] with merely the production of visual knowledge" (p. 112). Overall, Pink's sensory method provided reminders to researchers that researching sensorial dimensions of experience requires a particular focus on sensory ways of knowing throughout the data collection phase; however, this sensorial data collection does not require significantly altering traditional data collection practices.

Reconstructive Horizon Analysis

Reconstructive horizon analysis is one stage of the critical ethnographic method that Carspecken (1995) described in his book *Critical Ethnography in Educational Research*.[4] This method of analysis takes into account the theoretical concerns that I explained in chapter two: that experience happens *all at once* according to Merleau-Ponty (2002) and through various mediums, one of which is the body. These two concerns are aligned with the pragmatic horizon (see glossary; Appendix A) that locates meaning and thus provides the foundation for Carspecken's (1995) reconstructive horizon analysis.

In this section, I explain the pragmatic horizon. Then, I locate the four validity claims within horizon. I conclude by explaining how this method of analysis allows me to research the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy.

Pragmatic horizon is a term that Carspecken (1995) created by combining the horizon of meaning of phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, 1968a, 1968b, 2002) that I discussed in chapter two and Harbermas' (1987) focus on the pragmatism of communicative action (e.g., that we need to communicate with one another; p. 103).[5] Through the horizon, the research can locate different levels (e.g., foreground and background) and ontological categories of meaning (Table 3.1). Thus, meaning according to Carspecken is either foregrounded or backgrounded and fits within four ontological categories. The horizon locates these dimensions of meaning within a structure.

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[4] While the stages of this research process resemble some of the other stages of the critical ethnographic process, I distinguish my process from his because as I will explain later in this chapter, my interests are not focused on culture as it can be researched via ethnography.

[5] I have translated Carspecken's appropriation of Habermas' (1987) theory of communicative action as a way to acknowledge the ways that the individual is embodied (in the world).

The four ontological categories located within the pragmatic horizon are subjective, objective, normative-evaluative and identity (Table 3.1). Carspecken (1995) identified these categories as validity claims, where a participant's statement is "an assertion, which is to say that each makes a claim about reality" (p. 62). It is important to remember that the *reality* to which Carspecken (1995) referred exists at these four different levels. Interlaced within this theory of being is Habermas' (1987) understanding of communicative action, whereby an object has objective truth as a result of it an accepted identification that multiple individuals or a group of people would acknowledge to be true, rather than the object possessing certain qualities on its own.

Table 3.1

Carspecken's (1995) Explanation of Four Validity Claims

Validity Claim	Explanation
Objective	Other people could observe in the same way as the observer to arrive at an agreement with the statement; about the world.
Subjective	Characterized by privileged access on the part of the speaker; concern emotions, desires, intentions and levels of awareness; about my world.
Normative-Evaluative	Involve position taking; include ideas about what is proper, appropriate or conventional; should-claims; about our world.
Identity	A mix of normative and subjective claims; reference that identifies a person as such and such kind of person; how I fit into the world.

Note. Created from P. F. Carspecken, 1996, *Critical Ethnography in Educational Research*, p. 64-84.

The table above explains the four different types of validity claims: objective, subjective, normative-evaluative and identity. All of them are adapted from Habermas' theory of communicative action except for the last one, which is Carspecken's (1995) creation. Each type of claim describes ontological states: the world, my world, etc. These ontological categories are important to the process of data analysis because it allows me,

as the researcher, to analyze not only the spoken words of others, but also the ways in which they are spoken.

As I explained in chapters one and two, the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy concerns that person's all at once and embodied and sensorial perceptions of the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, 1968a, 1968b, 2002) as well as the historicity or discursive formulations of knowledge that converge upon it. Reconstructive horizon analysis is a means by which I can systematically address these different layers of meaning. I can do this because the pragmatic horizon locates these layers of meaning so that I can look at them more closely. While subjective claims could be the most fruitful place to look for the sensorial, in the pilot study (Werts, Brewer & Mathews, 2012) we found sensorial references within each category.

Photomethods, Sensory Research, and Critical Policy Analysis as Complementary

My explanations of sensory research methods, photomethods and critical policy analysis described the ways that each is important to the methodology of this study. Critical policy analysis recognizes that studying policy means studying the people engaged and affected by policy, their lived experiences and the discursive ways that they are affected. Photomethods provide a means for populations that do not have a voice to join in on research by engaging in alternative forms of sharing lived experiences. Finally, sensory research methods acknowledged that doing research on the sensorial dimensions of experience requires a particular attention to the particular role that the senses play within experience.

I bring these three methods together because of my object of study—the principal-engaged-with-policy. She is engaged with policy, implicated within political situations, but not often given a voice within them. These experiences are influenced and a part of her sensorial engagement with the world.

Ethnography and Complementary Methods

Some of the methods of collecting (Pink, 2007, 2009) and analyzing (Carspecken, 1995) data that I propose are grounded in the ethnographic tradition. I define ethnography to be an approach to social research that is interested in the social structure and/or culture in and about which people live (Anderson-Levitt, 2006; Bernard, 2006; Wolcott, 2003). In this section, I explain why this study does not fall within that tradition although I choose to use some ethnographic methods for analysis and data collection.

As I have explained throughout this dissertation, my object of study is the principal-engaged-with-policy. In the next section of the paper, I will explain the particular ways that I will go about studying this subject position. The subject position describes the relationship that self-knowledge has with the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, 1968a, 1968b, 2002) as well as agreed upon societal meaning or discursive formulations (e.g. "the interplay of rules that make possible the appearance of objects during a given period of time," where objects here is the subject position; Foucault, 2010, p. 32-33). Thus, the object of study includes both cultural and individual dimensions. The cultural dimensions are important to this study because of their relationship to the individual and not the other way around. Thus, to use the analogy of a photograph and this study, where the individual and her culture were within the frame, the individual would be in focus

while her culture would be within the frame but out of focus. The culture in this photograph provides the context or background upon which the individual comes into focus. For this reason, my object of study is not the cultural subject of ethnography.

Research Design and Methods

Research Questions

In order to address the paucity of research on the particularities of the sensorial dimension of the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy, I ask the following questions.

- How can we describe the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position of six South Carolina middle school principals?
  - What do the sensorial dimensions of this position look like?
  - How are principal's representations and understandings of the sensorial dimension affected by the research process
  - How can we describe the representations of the sensorial dimensions of this subject position?

I have chosen the methods for this study because of the ways that they help me answer these questions. Critical policy analysis and photomethods help answer the first question. Critical policy analysis provides a framework for researching the ways that individuals are constituted and have influence on policy and also that policy exists within lived contexts in the form of local knowledge and intertextually multiple discourses. Photomethods make the voices of the principal-engaged-with-policy available through participatory research, making my possible descriptions more rich and illustrative of their

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lived experiences. Finally, sensory research methods allow me to research my

subquestions, by bringing the sensory into the field of research.

Collecting and Analyzing Data Using Critical Policy Analysis, Photomethods, and Sensory Research

The purpose of this project is to research the ways that principals-engaged-with-policy describe the sensorial particularities associated within being engaged with policy and all that their subject position entails. To do so, I will engage six principals in a participatory photography process that will include a gallery exhibition. In this section, I will describe the necessary steps and processes that will take place.

Participants

Six principals were recruited through personal connections at the district office at various districts in South Carolina. Because of the difficulty that I experienced in purposefully sampling participants from the Midlands region of South Carolina, the participants in this study are a convenience sample. Of the six principals, one works in a high school, one in a middle school, one in a primary school and three at an elementary school. All of the principals worked in the upstate region of South Carolina.

Above, I have explained factors that impacted my participant sampling. Here, I explain how these choices are related to my unit of study, the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy. In chapter one, I explained that the subject position draws on Merleau-Ponty's (1964, 1968a, 1968b, 2002) conception of subjectivity and Foucault's (1971, 2010) conception of historical contingency. The criteria that I established for choosing principals focuses on the fact, that Kozol (2005) pointed out as

he addresses the restoration of segregation in America's schools that "the principals of many inner-city schools are making choices that few principals in schools that serve suburban children ever need to contemplate" (p. 63). This particular context is important, as I pointed out in chapter two, because of the increased governance and accountability focused on the unit of the individual through "constrained discretion" (Stoker, 2004, p. 166-167).

While many researchers would not consider the principal an oppressed individual, the literature on the practice and policy divide illustrated them either as positioned within a larger process, to which they often have little access (Boyd, 1987; Dunn, 1994; Weimer & Vining, 1989). Literature on principals and policy implementation (Anagnostopoulos & Rutledge, 2007; Coburn, 2005, 2006; Spillane, et al., 2002) discussed implementation without reference to how it might figure into policy feedback processes (Pierson, 1993). While the principal holds a position of authority and power within the context of the school, all of this literature on the various contexts within which the principal works illustrate that they are burdened not only by the restraints of being the local actor in a federal system, but also by the requirements to be a cognitive actor in lived experiences.

Because I am interested in the sensorial dimensions of the subject position, the criteria for choosing participants aligned with my theoretical and practical concerns. As I explained in my theoretical framework, the sensorial dimension exists through and as a medium.

Methods for Collecting Data

Data was collected in three iterative phases. Please note because of the iterative nature of this process, this description provides a guideline for the particularities of how data was collected during that process. First, I explain processes that took place across all phases. Then, I explain what took place in each phase of data collection.

Ongoing data collection. Throughout the data collection process, interviews took place and photographs were collected. After an interview, I transcribed the audio recording. After the transcript was complete, I analyzed it in three stages: general impressions, meaningfields, and paradigmatic horizon reconstruction. This transcription and analysis process took place in concert with the three stages of data collection. Photographs were stored electronically on my computer and secured via the password protection on my computer. Photographs were shared during interviews on a computer tablet.

At the same time that I interviewed participants and transcribed their interviews, I maintained a journal of my experience of conducting this research. This research journal contains reflections on the substance of interviews with participant as well as the research process. Merriam (2009) described some features of the research journal, "you write your reflections, your questions, and the decisions you make with regard to … collecting data. [It can also contain] a running record of your interaction with data as you engage in analysis and interpretation" (p. 223). Because my primary interaction with participants was through interviews, I reflected on our interviews in this journal by writing and audio recording. This journaling provided me with data about the process and helped me

answer the third subquestion of this research: how can we describe representations of the sensorial dimensions of this subject position?

Throughout the process of collecting data, I checked in with each principal about the process, got their reflections on the process and asked for input. This process helped me answer my second subquestion. In our final interview, I shared a summary that I had written about each participant with them to engage in member checking (Marshall & Rossman, 2010; Merriam, 2009); however, while Marshall and Rossman (2010) and Schwandt (2007) explained that member checking is a way to determine whether the researcher *got it right*, member checking took place in this project in an effort to engage participants in research and attempt to make meaning together (Freire, 2000; Kemmis & McTaggert, 2005). These summaries provided a medium for us to share our reflections on our prior conversations.

Phase one of data collection. The first phase of data collection attempted to establish rapport (Carspecken, 1995) and a common vocabulary between myself and each participant. It involved two individual interviews between myself and each principal (Appendix B). This phase was important particularly because, as I illustrated in chapter two, my approach to policy differs from the traditional model of implementation and the policy process. Establishing a common vocabulary helped some principals understand the framework of this study and allowed them to think creatively about policy and the research process. Also, this common vocabulary provided me with better language with which the principal makes sense of the policy situation, rather than me using my language as an outsider (Kemmis & McTaggert, 2005).

Phase two of data collection. The second phase of data collection began when I

gave each principal the photograph prompts as instructions for picture taking. These

prompts were based upon our initial conversations. This way the photograph prompts

mirrored their experiences and perceptions about what it means to be engaged with policy

(Pink, 2007). Table 3.2 illustrates the prompts I provided the participants in the pilot

study.

Table 3.2
Example of Photograph Prompts from Pilot study

Jamie: Take pictures of …
Your experience of the ways in which students and/or teachers feel the effects of the budget cuts that you described to us.
The tensions and successes that arise as you implement the rigorous curriculum that your school upholds.
Your experience of the tensions that arise when trying to maintain a safe environment and mitigate or respond to policies that come from the outside.
Roger: Take pictures of …
Your experiences where you feel as though you are representing the district and your school.
Your experiences where you are asked questions that might lead to the need for additional explanation.
Your experiences when you have to think twice about hugging a child.

Next, during phase two, principals either uploaded photographs to a secured

Picasa account or emailed photographs to me. I asked them to send me photographs when

they had taken approximately 20. Of these 20 photographs, I chose approximately four

photographs to discuss in our first photo-interview (Interview protocols can be found in

Appendix C). The first photo-interview, however, consisted more of a conversation about

the process of taking pictures as well as a narrative overview of the photographs taken.

The term photo-interview describes an interview in which photographs are used as

elicitation of description or conversation (Pink, 2007). In this way, the photographs

served as the central focus of the photo-interview process (Harper, 2002; Luttrell &

Chalfen, 2010).

Before the second photo-interview, I reviewed the transcript from the first photo-

interview to determine photographs, concepts, events and phrases that I wanted to follow

up on. During the first or second photo-interview, depending on the timeline of that

particular principal, I shared with them one to three examples of their photographs paired

with captions. The captions were excerpted quotes from conversations or narration where

the principal described that picture. I asked each principal what they thought about the

choices and if they had a preference of which combination I use.

During the second phase of data collection, I found myself waiting for an

extended period of time in the reception area of the school. Following Pink's (2009)

suggestion to "walk with others" (p. 76), this provided me with an additional

observational and sensorial layer of data. Notes from my observations were stored in the

same manner as the research journal explained earlier in this section. Finally, throughout

this process, I paid particular attention to the sensorial dimension of the principals'

representations of their experiences. For instance, if necessary, I explained my

observation of principal practice in terms of sensorial apprenticeship (Pink, 2009).

Contextualizing data collection in terms of the sensorial provided me with an additional

layer of data that acknowledged my role as the means through which data is collected.

Phase three of data collection. The third phase of data collection consisted of a

presentation of the study and one photograph with caption from each principal to the

Education Policy Fellows Program that took place in Columbia, SC. The presentation

lasted approximately 20 minutes. To collect data during this event, Fellows were asked to fill out a two question survey.

Data Analysis

As is common in qualitative research, for this study, data analysis was an iterative process; occurring at all stages research (Corbin & Strauss, 2007; Grbich, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1994). In this section, I explain how different types of data were analyzed. First, I explain that interview transcripts were analyzed in a three stage approach: general impressions (Corbin & Strauss, 2007; Grbich, 2007), meaningfields, paradigmatic horizon reconstruction (Carspecken, 1996). Then, I describe how my writing in the form of my research journal and field notes was a form of analysis (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005; St. Pierre, 1997). Next, I illustrate that the photographs taken by participants are a representation of their analysis (Guillemin & Drew, 2010). Then, I explain that I brought these analyses together through a combination of "validation" (Koro-Ljungberg, 2008) approaches that include crystallization (Janesick, 2000) and rhizomatic validity (Lather, 1993).

Transcripts. Transcripts were analyzed in three stages: general impressions (Corbin & Strauss, 2007; Grbich, 2007), meaningfields, reconstructive horizon analysis (Carspecken, 1995). In this section, I explain the step-by-step process of following these stages of analysis. Also, my description of the third phase of transcript analysis includes an explanation of the theoretical foundations for Carspecken's reconstructive horizon analysis.

The first stage of transcript analysis consisted of me reading each transcript, noting my initial impressions and choosing excerpts for analysis in phases two and three of transcript analysis. I noted my impressions of the transcripts as they relate to, describe, represent or interact with the sensorial dimensions of the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy and/or the ontological dimensions of reconstructive horizon analysis (Carspecken, 1995). Thus, I read for an overall impression of the conversation while keeping my theoretical framework in mind.

This approach is similar to the macro-analysis that Corbin and Strauss (2007) suggested for the general approach to data analysis. They explained "general analysis steps back and looks at data from a broader perspective" (p. 59). Grbich (2007) identified several analysis techniques for the preliminary stage of data analysis, which she calls "interactive reading of data segments" (p. 29). The one that best describes phase one of transcript analysis is "free association, that is writing freely regarding words, phrases and topics" (p. 29). This entailed me writing notes to myself. My initial impressions of the data provided me with a better understanding of my conversations with principals and guided me in later stages of data collection.

In the second stage of transcript analysis, I created meaningfields (Carspecken, 1995) from the excerpts that I identified in the first stage. *Meaningfields* is a term that I borrow from Carspecken's (1995) reconstructive horizon analysis. He explained that

> you cannot know for certain what an actor intended with her [speech] act, you
>
> cannot know for certain what impression of meaning were received by those

witnessing the act or directly addressed by the act, but you can specify the possibilities (p. 96). [6]

Thus, meaningfields allowed me to infer what was meant by participants when they made particular statements (or speech acts). Practically speaking, meaningfields are semi-stream of consciousness narratives written by the researcher about the statements that a participant has made. In the meaningfield, I described as many possible meanings that can be interpreted from a participant's statement. This description was done on a sentence by sentence basis over the course of multiple revisions.

In the third stage of transcript analysis, using my meaningfields, I reconstructed the tacit and inferred meaning that are located within what Carspecken (1995) called the pragmatic horizon. This process is referred to as *reconstructive horizon analysis* (Carspecken, 1995). As I explained earlier in this chapter, reconstructive horizon analysis is a method of analysis that locates meaning as it fits (i.e. foreground and background, and ontological categories) within a pragmatic horizon.

To perform reconstructive horizon analysis, I used the meaningfields that I created in stage two. I separated statements according to their ontological category (i.e. subjective, objective, normative-evaluative and identity: Table 3.1). This way each subjective claim was grouped with other subjective claims and so on for each type of validity claim (Appendix E). At times, the statements of the meaningfield were adapted before being placed in the word table containing validity claims.

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[6] Carspecken (1995) refers to spoken statements as speech acts because his method is based on Habermas' theory of communicative action.

Research journal and field notes. Writing my research journal and field notes was both a means of collecting and analyzing data. I have explained how I went about collecting this data, and in this section, I explained how they are also forms of analysis. Because I am the primary instrument of data collection, earlier in this chapter, I acknowledged how I positioned myself in relationship to this project. My writing takes on the quality of analysis through its connection to me. Richardson (2005) in the chapter that she co-wrote with St. Pierre explains this as "writing as a method of discovery" (p. 483). St. Pierre (2005) pointed out in this same chapter that writing as inquiry is both a method of data collection and a method of data analysis and that these two methods are not discrete. Thus, by writing and recognizing that I am located within the words that I write and the meaning that they hold, my writing is also a form of analysis (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005; St. Pierre, 1997).

Photographs. In their article about the process of participant-generated visual methodologies, Guillemin and Drew (2010) point out that taking pictures requires that participants be reflective. They provide examples of how taking photographs often took from two to four weeks and sometimes even longer and how participants often needed encouragement to take more somber and *bad days* photographs. These examples illustrate the potential analytical work of participants by taking photographs. Our experience with Jamie, the high school principal in the pilot study (Werts, Brewer, & Mathews, 2012) supports this postulation of analysis on the part of the participant through their picture taking. Jamie, after taking all 48 photographs in one week, created a powerpoint presentation of 17 of her photographs. She placed a photograph and caption on each slide.

As she described each slide and she would say things like "when I looked at that, I thought …" which illustrated the layer of interpretation that she brought to that image, setting or person.

For these reasons, photographs were primarily be analyzed by myself and the participant in our conversations and interviews as well as throughout the gallery presentation. The purpose of the photographs was to provide a means by which we can talk about potential topics that might not arise had photographs not been taken and presented in the interview setting (Harper, 2002). Finally, photographs were also be taken into consideration when I bring all of the data together via the validation processes explained below.

Validity and Trustworthiness

Validation (Koro-Ljungberg, 2008) describes the process that I used to bring together my data and analysis. In this section I explain how this process reflects my postmodern epistemology. Then, I describe the particular approach that I will use through crystallization (Janesick, 2000), the rhizome (Lather, 1993) and communication (Koro-Ljungberg, 2008). Finally, I provide a picture of what validation will look like in this project.

The postmodern epistemology embedded within this study makes it important for the ways that I engage in validation to incorporate the postmodern simulacra of knowledge and truth (Derrida, 1998). Scholars like Lincoln and Guba (1985) provided criteria for judging validity or that "the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to" (p. 290). Because validity is wrapped up in conceptions of truth, my explanation of

validity and trustworthiness must acknowledge the messiness of truth (Lather, 1993) that

escapes a priori criteria for well- established and well conducted research (Koro-

Ljungberg, 2008, p. 988).

Koro-Ljungberg (2008), Lather (1993), and Janesick (2000) provide several

examples of approaches to validity that recognize the simulacral and fluid nature of truth

in research. Janesick (2000) suggested an approach to trustworthiness that she calls

crystallization (Marshall & Rossman, 2010; Richardson, 1997). Thus, rather than looking

at the convergence of multiple sources of data as a stable and simple geometric figure

(i.e. the triangle), Janescik (2000) urged her reader to think of data convergence in terms

of a crystal, which "recognizes the many facets of any given approach to the social world

as a fact of life" (p. 393). Literally, looking through a crystal to view something depends

on the angle and lighting of our view. Thus, things can look different depending on how

you look at it. In this way, artifacts like my journal, and conversations with principals

provided different viewpoints from which to understand the data that I collected.

Lather (1993) made the distinction between the process of validation and the

criteria of validity. This process over structure or checklist highlights the active role and

agency of the researcher and the diverse ways of *doing research*. One way *of doing*

validity that accounts for validation over validity is rhizomatic validation, which provides

some loose criteria for thinking about validation within this study:

> unsettles from within …; generates new locally determined norms of
>
> understanding …; works against reinscription of some new regime; …
>
> supplements and exceeds the stable and the permanent …; works against

constraints of authority via relay, multiple openings, networks, complexities of

problematics; [and] puts conventional discursive procedures under erasure

(Lather, 1993, p. 686).

Conceptually, the rhizome, Lather explained (1993) is a tangled mass of ideas, with no

main trunk and arbitrary branches. Thus, rhizomatic validity focuses on the intersections,

relay or network—the interconnectedness—of truth or knowledge. For this reason,

validation in this study is illustrated through communication, both with myself and

participants, acknowledging that there is a limit to the "negotiation, change and modified

meaning" (Koro-Ljungberg, 2008, p. 986) resulting from this communication. This focus

on communication for validation aligns with Carspecken's (1995) basis for truth claims:

"for all kinds of truth claims it is the consent given by a group of people … that validates

the claim" (p. 21).

Throughout my explanation of data collection and analysis, I pointed out the ways

that I communicated (Koro-Ljungberg, 2008) both with my participants (e.g., member

checks) and myself (e.g., reflection in the form of my research journal). These methods of

communication rhizomatically (Lather, 1993) connect the data that I collected and

analyzed. The various ways that I went about collecting data—interviews, field notes and

research journal—all provided a different viewpoint from which to view the subject

position of the principal-engaged-with-policy. Thus, I perform validation in this study

through a web of communication and reflection that will result in a greater understanding

of the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy rather than an accurate

representation of a generalized picture of the principal-engaged-with-policy.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explained the interlocking methods that I used to study the six principals-engaged-with-policy and their subject positions. I also provided step-by-step descriptions of the ways that I collected and analyzed data. This particular combination of methods is important to study my unit of analysis because, as I explained in chapter two, the full picture of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position has yet to be studied. Thus, by creating a new combination of methods, I was better suited for this endeavor.

CHAPTER FOUR

EXPLANATION OF PARTICIPANT SUMMARIES AND SUBJECT POSITIONS

Purpose of Chapter

The purpose of this study was to explore the particularities of the sensorial dimension of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position. As I explained in earlier chapters, the unit of analysis of this study is the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy. This unit has multiple dimensions through which engagement with policy happens: a) the way through which the world makes sense, b) subjectivity, and c) the world in which it is situated. Because all these dimensions are intertwined, I present the findings in a similarly multi-dimensional fashion.

The purpose of this chapter is to answer the first research question of this study: what do the subject positions of the principal-engaged-with-policy look like for six South Carolina principals? As I explained in chapter one, the subject position includes the dimensions listed above, where the sensorial and embodied ways of knowing typically fall into the ways through which the world makes sense. In order to provide the reader with an overall picture of this dense and complex unit of analysis, this chapter depicts an overall picture of the subject position. In this way, the three dimensions of the subject position are described in detail. Subsequent chapters present findings related to *particular* dimensions (e.g. the sensorial and embodied) of the subject position in greater detail. Thus, the separate-ness of these dimensions is deconstructed in chapters five and six. It is important to note that chapters four and five should be understood in concert, where chapter four provides an overview of the subject position and chapter five describes the

embodied dimension in greater detail. In this chapter, I present the reader with a representation of each participant through three different lenses: member checked summary, engagement with policy and subject position.

Structure of Chapter

What follows in this chapter is the representation of each participant through three different lenses. The chapter is structured so that I describe each participant a) in a summary that was member checked (Marshall & Rossman, 2010; Merriam, 2009; Lincoln & Guba, 1985), b) their engagement with policy, and c) their subject position. Each lens that I employ is intended to probe into different dimensions of the unit of analysis. Thus, the first representation, the participant summary, is a brief overview of my understanding of the participant based upon our interactions and their input via member check. These summaries are meant to provide more context, as well as thicker and richer representation of each unit of analysis. The second representation focuses on the individual's engagement with policy as it spans across the different elements of their subject position. The final representation focuses on the three elements of their subject position such that each is described separately (for examples of meaningfields and pragmatic horizon reconstructions see appendices D). Each participant's section includes photographs where applicable. The inclusion of photographs was difficult because it required me to balance ethical considerations with my desire to represent and show how principals-engaged-with-policy illustrated their worlds and understanding of policy.

The chapter is divided by participant rather than by lens because of the unit of analysis that I chose for this study: the subject position of each principal-engaged-with-

policy. In particular, theoretically, theses different dimensions of the unit of analysis, the three lenses that I have employed—influence each other and are intertwined together such that they need to be considered in concert with each other when thinking about each unit of analysis, each principal-engaged-with-policy. The presentation of the six principals-engaged-with-policy in concert serves to illustrate the dynamic, idiosyncratic, multiple and simultaneous quality that make up the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position. Merleau-Ponty reminded us "the world is not what I think, but what I live through" (p. 4). Thus, this chapter helps illustrate not just what the principals cognitively know about policy, but to represent the unique ways that they engage with policy. In order to present the all-at-once, idiosyncratic and dynamic nature of these subject positions, I present them in one chapter. Thus, the length of the chapter contributes to the representation of a range of possible engagements with policy.

Participant Summary

Each participant section is structured as much alike as possible. Given the variability associated with studying individuals and that each subject position served as a unit of analysis (e.g., I have six units of analysis), some deviation occurred in the writing process. Where I have deviated, I indicate my rationale and explain the change in structure in a footnote.

In each participant summary, my goal was to provide the reader with an introduction to each individual. I briefly describe my relationship to the participant, the school and district where they work, the way that they described accountability pressures and their understanding of the photo-taking processes. It is important to note that these

are not objective representations of individuals. Instead, these are descriptions of my understanding of the participant based upon our interactions. Therefore, I used transcripts, field notes, and my own impressions from our interactions, which include email conversations as well as in person interviews. I modeled the style of this section after biographical summary that could be found in conference programs or book jackets, for example. When I presented these summaries to participants, I made sure to accentuate that these are not objective accounts, but my impressions based on our interactions.

Engagement with Policy

I begin each participant's subject position description with an account of their engagement with policy because it is important to keep in mind that I have framed the subject position in terms of engagement with policy. Thus, I provide a table accounting for the different types of policies that we discussed in our conversations. I also describe each individual's perspective on the relationship that they have with policy (often this was the response to the question, if you could change any policy, what would it be). I use the engagement with policy to introduce the individual's subject position because of the way in which an individual's engagement with policy (Figure 4.1) is intermingled with and filtered through the different elements of the subject position.
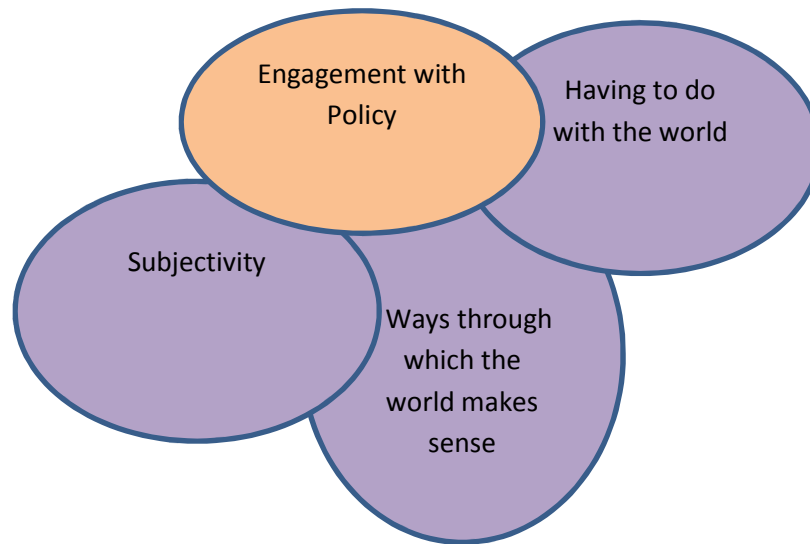
Figure 4.1. Interactions between the different dimensions of the subject position

Subject Position

The section that follows describes the three dimensions of each participant's subject position: a) subjectivity, b) ways through which the world makes sense, and c) the world in which they are situated. The subject position describes the unit of analysis for this study that integrates elements of the philosophies of Merleau-Ponty (1964, 1968a, 1968b, 2002) and Foucault (2010, 1980) in order to think about the embodied and situated elements of the individual. I briefly remind the reader of the three dimensions of the subject position.

The first element, subjectivity, or having to do with the individual, describes the fluid and all at once quality of the origin of the individual's perceptions. It is important to note that because I cannot experience this element directly, I can only infer subjectivity from statements made by each participant. Examples of meaningfield reconstructions and the analysis of meaningfields can be found in Appendices D. Examples in the section

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about those things having to do with the individual should illustrate things that might come into focus over others as they appear on that individuals horizon of possibilities.

Because the individual is not disconnected from either the world or her body, the two other dimensions of the subject position are of paramount importance to this study: having to do with the world and ways through which the world makes sense. As the reader will recall from chapter two, the latter dimension, ways through which the world makes sense describes the medial nature of perceptions (e.g., that they occur *through* something, in particular our senses and our body). Having to do with the world describes the way in which our perceptions are not ethereal or disembodied, but of the world that is in front of us. This dimension also touches upon the historical contingencies that intertwine, pass by and intersect each other (Foucault, 2010, 1980).

Each description in this section was influenced by the level of disclosure with which participants were comfortable. For instance, Principal Blake talked regularly about his personal perspective on particular policies or procedures, whereas Principal McCalister referred to the process of taking pictures as done from the perspective of the school rather than him. For this reason, little overt interview data exists in which Principal McCalister speaks from the subjective point of view. In what follows, I describe each participant through the lens of the subject position, pointing out elements of each dimension, where possible for all six participants.

Benjamin Forester, PhD

Arthur Moore Primary School

Spring Hill School District

Participant Summary

Principal Forester was recommended to me by his superintendent. I learned that

he had graduated from a PhD program in NW South Carolina several years ago.

Throughout our conversations, he would reflect upon how my questions and responses fit

into his memory of doctoral studies.

This is Principal Forester's sixth year as principal at Arthur Moore Primary

School, a Title I school that houses children from 4K to 2nd grade. Prior to his tenure at

Arthur Moore, he was the Principal at a middle school in his district. He started his career

as a science teacher at a high school in another district. Like many principals, he misses

the classroom. He explained, "Science was my thing, I miss it."

Unfortunately, I met with Principal Forester over the course of some difficult

budget cuts in the district. The district, Spring Hill, is one of the smaller districts in the

state with a student population of approximately 3,000, and the only primary school,

Arthur Moore, a total of 414 children. On several occasions, we talked about how South

Carolina's public school tax provisions were making it hard for smaller districts like

Spring Hill to fund education. He explained:

Act 388 was a one cent sales tax, supposed to be the greatest thing in the world

…. You go to certain areas where, there is a thriving business community and the

malls and you're getting that one cent sales tax. …. You go to the rural areas, they

don't have it. There are some areas where there's no money. [Now, rural] school

districts are just out there in the wind. So we're out there in the wind. Currently,

we're … in the hole. To make up that hole, they've got to figure out … budget

cuts. So they've made two rounds of budget cuts. First was furloughs. Second is

personnel.

We touched on these looming budget cuts in several interviews. For instance, the

afternoon I arrived for our third conversation, I learned that he had to tell a teacher that

her job would no longer exist next year.

The most salient pressure for Principal Forester, outside of budgetary cuts, was

the pressure to be successful. He explained it wasn't just being successful, but the

pressure to be the best:

Every school wants to be rated as excellent; you and your children to perform. We

live in a society where everybody wants to be number one. Children want to be

first in line, on the best baseball team. ... I would say … I feel it as pressure as a

person because of my personality.

This quote expressed the pressure to perform that many school leaders experience as a

result of the way that school performance is reported. Principal Forester later explained

that not all children can be first, or on the best baseball team, but at the same time, it was

his job to make sure that they perform well academically. While the pressure to perform

is important to him, he also acknowledged that he felt pressure "to pay attention to

everything."

Based upon our initial conversation about external pressures and accountability, I

created the following prompts to provide Principal Forester with some direction when

taking photographs:

Table 4.1
Photograph prompts provided to Principal Forester based upon our initial conversation

Take pictures of those moments:
a) times when you are involved in issues related to implementing the K4 program (or remind you of them)
b) Take pictures of times when you feel the pressure related to student performance (we talked some about teaching training and data rooms in relation to this policy/topic)
c) Take pictures where you feel like you need to pay attention to everything (in terms of pressures and challenges at the school)

When I asked Principal Forester to describe how he conceptualized his role as

picture taker, he explained:

> as directed to me by the student who is pursuing her PhD. That's how I looked at
>
> it: to get you the information that you needed. I mean I didn't look at it for, which
>
> picture did I like the best, which did I think was the neatest. I was looking at it
>
> more along the lines of, well this shows this type of policy.

In this way, Principal Forester was helping me gather data regarding what its like to be a

principal who implements policy. As his pictures attest, he brought together images

illustrating a range of policies. When I asked him to describe how he went about taking

pictures, he explained that he, like other participants, had an idea of which pictures he

wanted to take.

Table 4.2

Overview of Principal Forester's photographs organized by theme and policy type

Photo theme/category	Corresponding policy type	Number of photos
Physical Activity/ Physical Education	State	3
Title I	Federal	2
Character Education	Federal/State	6
Diversity/ Multiculturalism	Federal	3
Budget Cuts	District	3
Community Involvement	Federal	3
Technology	District	2
Student Achievement	Federal/State	2

Engagement with Policy

I just I may not agree with it. There are a lot of things that I may not agree with, if you show it to me in black and white—this is the way it's supposed to be. I'm ok with that. I may try to change it down the road, but I can deal with that.

-Principal Forester

In the quote above, Principal Forester was responding to my question of whether there was a policy that he would like to change. It is important to keep in mind the phrase "the way it's supposed to be" throughout my discussion of Principal Forester's subject position and engagement with policy. As I indicated in my footnotes to Principal Forester's participant summary and will follow up on in chapter six, he proved to be a reluctant participant. This was mostly due to the fact that I believe our epistemologies (e.g. his being post-positivist and mine being postmodern) were so different that he had trouble "providing data for the study" and I had trouble engaging him in our conversations.

Table 4.3

Policies Mentioned by Principal Forester

Title I

Act 388

4K - PDEP

Student Achievement / Accountability

Because of the objective way that he portrayed his engagement with policy, Principal Foresters often would "digress" (his word, not mine) into talking about things that were "not quite policy" (again, his words, not mine). When I showed him the photographs (Figure 4.2) and captions that I chose as potentials for display in the gallery, he responded:

> one of the things I will tell you, just as, like how can I word this for you, in other words, we are required to do it, but it is making a difference [in reference to a photograph depicting character education policy]. It's not a policy that all the lights must be turned off in the building. A couple of years ago there was a big energy crunch and your Coca-Cola machine lights, the principals were having to take the bulbs out. That's not going to make a difference in a child's life, but these policies that you see down here, like character ed, is making a difference. It is a policy yes, but if it wasn't a policy, we'd still do it, 'cause it's making a difference. Would I be as concerned about making sure the light was turned off, or those kinds of things, or we're required to get certain paperwork in and we do it because we're told. We're not doing it because it's making a difference. …The testing that we do makes a difference, the data that we put up makes a difference, so but anyways.

Figure 4.2. Photograph of character education policy by Principal Forester.

I included the words that he used to trail off his sentence, "so but anyways," because this is how he often concluded a statement, where he felt like he was digressing. I inferred that this meant that he was uncomfortable. In this quote, Principal Forester points to the fact that a policy makes a difference as to why they would do it even if a policy wasn't telling them to. This is an example of how Principal Forester's engagement with policy spanned normative and objective dimensions. Where subjective elements do occur, they are dismissed as digressions.

Subject Position

In the previous section, I provided examples of Principal Forester's engagement with policy to illustrate the overlapping nature of policy at Arthur Moore Primary School and the three dimensions of Principal Forester's subject position; however, because of the difference in our epistemologies, I was not able to gather data that demonstrated the three dimensions of his subject position as clearly as other participants in this study. What

follows is an explanation of how two of the three dimensions appeared during our interactions and my commentary regarding these experiences.

Having to do with the individual. As I have indicated, Principal Forester was a reluctant participant and for this reason, I was not able to glean much "data" (here I speak as he would speak) from our conversations in terms of overt documentations of his subjectivity. For instance, I told Principal Forester that my study was looking at the "affective dimensions … caring aspects and … extra dimensions of policy itself" and asked what he thought about that, he responded:

> yea yea, exactly. One of the newer things that we just got an email [about] last night. Not newer been out there, but it's getting more and more attention [to] … cyber bullying, twitter and the things [like] that. We're having to educate children on those things. … [in reference to email] this bill will require middle school and high school teachers to receive two hours of suicide prevention training.

I inferred that his response "yea, yea exactly" is in agreement that affective dimensions of policy exist. Because he follows that comment with a description of cyber bulling and suicide prevention training, I inferred that he considers these issues to represent affective and caring dimensions of policy. Thus, overall, Principal Forester's engagement with policy, his perception of his engagement with policy or that which is talked with me about, rests on an objective and normative dimension. In the same way, the subjective dimension of his subject position was not something that I could identify from our interactions, except that it was something that he did not feel pertained to our

conversations. For instance, at one point in time he told me "I don't want to get political on you."

Having to do with the world. Principal Foresters world, as reflected in our conversations, reflects the black and white distinction that he made in the quote opening the engagement with policy section. Whenever I would ask him a question about his perceptions about achievement policies, for example, he would give me an objective tour of the procedures that were associated with that policy. For example, he described his role in MAP testing that was taking place that day:

> like today we're testing. We're doing what's called MAP testing, measure of
> academic progress. We do that 4 times a year. The children come in … it's
> computer generated. They take the test, and see how they're performing as they
> progress through the school year. …My job is to make sure that it's [the
> computers are] set up and ready for when the teachers come in there. We run two
> computer labs; I have a computer lab proctor that sets up one. I set up the other
> one.

This instructive description of MAP testing at Arthur Moore Primary School is illustrative of Principal Forester's world, orderly in such a way that follows a linear path where one thing follows another.

Another feature of Principal Forester's world is that "everyone wants to be first." He explained:

> Odds are somebody will be pulling up in just a minute because they want to be in
> front of the line so they'll sit there an hour and a half to be front, to be first. And

that's not what life's about. Granted, you probably want to graduate in the top of

your class, be number one, but that's just how society is.

Thus, having to do with the world, for Principal Forester involves a normative dimension

where it is best to be first and the best, but also the objective dimension that everyone

being first is physically not possible. In other participant representation, I will explain

examples of principal-engaged-with-policy's normative comment as illustrative of the

subjective dimension of their subject position. Because of Principal Forester's objective

approach to our conversations, and also because I inferred that here he is speaking more

about "our" world, than "his" world, this normative comment is illustrative of the world

in which he lives. I inferred from this comment that he often experiences parents and

students who exhibit this desire to be first: the parents in the dismissal car line, for

example.

      Ways through which the world makes sense. As I've explained, Principal

McCalister's objective approach to our conversation precluded me from finding many

examples of the subjective dimension of his subject position. This also meant that there

were few examples off the ways through which the world made sense to him with the

exception that he presented policy and external authority as ways that he made sense of

the world. In this way, he presented policy as the logical frame through which certain

initiatives appeared within his school. For instance, he explained that he had Title I

family night because you had to have Title I family night.

      When I asked him if his senses played a role in the ways that he implemented

policy, he told me:

I can tell you, number one is smell. When you step out in the hall way, if you

smell something that's just out of [place]: number one it could be the bathrooms

aren't being cleaned; number two, it could be that the cooling unit is broken

down, and your servers starting to overheat; number three somebody could've left

on the laminator down the hallway … When you walk down the hallways in the

afternoons, if you feel a cool breeze, it means someone's left a door propped

open. So there's those different kinds of things and you're always looking to see

what needs to be fixed.

In this quote, Principal Forester described several different ways that he uses his senses to

triage the problems that could possibly occur at Arthur Moore Primary School.

Conclusion

In this section, I represented Benjamin Forester as a principal for whom policy

guides his action in a seemingly purely normative fashion. This does not mean that there

are not mediums through which he understands his jobs, rather the opposite, that policy is

the medium through which is engages with policy. In chapter six, I will discuss the ways

that Principal Forester's disposition in our interviews affected my representations of his

subject position.

Franklin Blake

Robert E. Lee Elementary School

Electra 91 School District

Participant Summary

As the mentor of Roger Daily, one of my pilot study participants, Principal Blake was aware of this project through informal conversations between Roger and Franklin on their drive to class. Both Roger and Franklin are enrolled in an Ed.S. program at a Private University in the Southeast. From my understanding, when Superintendent Bravely presented the possibility of participating in my dissertation, Franklin eagerly agreed.

Franklin has been a principal at Robert E. Lee Elementary School (RLES) for five years. He also taught there for three years in the beginning of his teaching career. In our interviews, he mentioned several times the surreal nature of leaving the school as a teacher and returning ten years later as the principal—the boss. In between his separate tenures at RLES, working at an elementary and a middle school in the Electra 91 School district, he climbed the ranks from Administrative Assistant to Assistant Principal to Principal. The district itself holds special meaning for Franklin as his brother is the Mayor of the town and, his father and mother worked at the high school for over 40 years.

The Electra 91 district is the second largest district in this study with approximately 12,500 students. This urban district is centered on the town of Electra City, which has a population of approximately 26,686. Within the past year, the district

has decided to become a district of choice, which established magnet schools throughout the area.

Throughout our conversations, Principal Blake referred to RLES's history of success. In 2011, RLES met all AYP objectives and received an Excellent Absolute rating and a Good Growth rating. A successful school in terms of academic achievement, they also received the Palmetto Gold award for general performance and a Silver award in in Closing the Achievement gap. The school houses 650 students, 67% white and 55% receiving subsidized meals.

A seasoned leader,[7] Principal Blake often reflected on how things have changed throughout his career as an educator. He also described how his perspective on his job had shifted throughout the years:

> So [now] I understand regardless [of what's going to happen] I set my alarm at night, the next morning the sun's going to come up and I've got to get up… I used to, as a young principal, wonder 'what's going to happen today?' But now I'm like, something's going to happen today. I work in a school, something's going to happen. It's how I react to it [that matters].

In this quote, Principal Blake described not only the shift in the way that he approached his job, but also the responsibility that he feels for the students, teachers and staff in his building.[8] Partly because of his exposure to the education profession through his parents

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[7] I inferred from Principal Blake's frequent references to the way that the world has changed coupled with the fact that Superintendent Bravely had moved him from school to school several times that he was a "seasoned leader."

[8] I inferred from the way that Principal Blake referred to his job as a marathon and not a sprint that he understands his job to be all encompassing.

and partly as a result of his 20 plus years of experience, Principal Blake understands the unpredictable nature and long hours that a principal encounters.

Principal Blake often cited expectations—both from himself and of others—as one of the main sources of accountability or external pressure for him.

> I think just the expectation that we ought to be very successful, regardless ...
> Nobody is looking in the background to say your poverty index has increased this
> much, nobody wants to talk about those things. Just get it done. So … those
> pressures, from the community …I feel like they're looking but … since I have
> been here nobody has ever asked me what our test scores are. Never. Never.

Interestingly, this pressure has more to do with generalized perceptions of success and the direct affect that it has on children than any particular test score or AYP rating. Recognizing the link between them, Principal Blake paid special attention to managing both test scores and community perceptions. With regards to managing community perceptions, Franklin explained:

> you really have to watch how you talk to people, you have to watch how you talk
> to your faculty and staff, your students … I think you can get anything
> accomplished by … choos[ing] your words carefully and not just jump[ing] on
> top of people.

Based upon our initial conversation about external pressures and accountability, I created the following prompts to provide Principal Blake with some direction when taking photographs:

Table 4.4

Photograph prompts provided to Principal Blake based upon our initial conversation

Take pictures of those moments:

a) when you are faced with an issue where 9 out of 10, nothing is going to happen, but what about those 1% (you mentioned this in relation to a bus issue, "can I bring my child back" from a field trip)

b) when using particular language was important (you mentioned sending out an email to teachers thanking them for working hard, sporadically, but not every week).

c) where you find yourself considering the expectations that your school should be very successful.

d) when you're confronted with something that might be "out of the box."

For Principal Blake, the process of taking pictures, as were much of our interactions, a time for reflection. When I asked him how it felt to take the pictures, he responded:

it felt good to the point of, I think I need to take more pictures. As I was taking the pictures I'm thinking it was amazing how, when I said I need to take your picture …and I'm taking pictures of things that are important to me. So, when I'm saying that to a class or I'm saying that to teachers, everybody's just like "wow, you think that" and I'm thinking ok, I didn't necessarily know I would get this response.

This comment illustrates the way that Principal Blake took every opportunity to use this project as a way to reflect on everything to the proper classroom signage for peanut allergies to the various tools that he used to show his teachers and staff that he cared. Like other participants in this study, he mentally drafted a list of possible pictures before taking pictures and then amended that list as he walked around the school snapping photos.

Table 4.5

Overview of Principal Blake's photographs organized by theme

Photo theme/category	Corresponding policy type	Number of photos
Important People	District	7
Important Places	??	5
Classrooms	School	6
Personal Milestone	??	1

Engagement with Policy

A lot of time I don't necessarily have a dog in the fight, I have a dog in every fight. I'll fight for this right here, I'll fight for this. I'll fight for this. And probably my style of fighting for anything is probably for the most part in a calm way.

-Principal Blake

In the above quote, Principal Blake told me about how he was responsible for the "big picture" at RLES and as a result his engagement with policy has a feeling of ebbs and flows. This is because Principal Blake recognizes that following policy—the big notebook that sits on his bookshelf—is of paramount important, but at the same time, what was happening at RLES was more important. While policy did not fall out of the picture for Principal Blake, it could be found in the ebbs and flows of his day at RLES.

One example of how Principal Blake has "got the big picture" was illustrated in our conversation after I asked him if there was a policy that he would like to change. He thought for a minute and said,

I don't know I guess I would have to think about [the] policies [that]… I have a problem with, but most of the time it's when it pops up, that's the policy, and I think things, like for instance, if say like, use of facilities, ok, if someone from

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church, somebody local in the community, somebody wants to come in and use

the gym, media center computer lab, really they can't do it unless they pay a fee.

… On one end, why do we got to charge the people? We're pretty much here. I

can come by, stay and do some work. Why do we have to charge? But I know it's

policy, we have to do it. But I think as people get older, people are living longer

now, so when you start looking at like this older generation, they're going to have

a definite impact about what we [are we going to] do in public schools because

we're going to [need] money... We're going to need [older people] to be on the

side of education and if they don't have a vested interest in what we're doing, …

If we were smart in education we would be trying to do things to get grandparents

in here into our schools whenever they want to use them.

The policy that Principal Blake wanted to change was a district policy that required any

outside group to pay to use the building, whether it was to use the computer or the gym.

Changing this particular policy for Principal Blake was about the big picture as much as

it was about the fact that he wanted to make "grandparents" happy. In this way, Principal

Blake focused on the big picture that extended beyond even the school walls.

Throughout our conversations Principal Blake told me stories about how he was

an inquisitive and thoughtful individual. For instance, in the following example, he tole

me about a student that he had taught when he was first at RLES:

By the time we had him in 5th grade, we were testing him for [a gifted program].

[So I] ask[ed] his dad [what happened], his mother died [during this time. The dad

said] "really the thing I think happened that helped when his mother was sick,

[was that] I had to come into the room and sleep with the boys." He said "I'm an avid reader and I would tell [the child] you can stay up with daddy as long as you're reading a book." Well [the dad] said this was about every night because and [the child would ask] "daddy can I stay" [and the dad would respond] as long as you read you can stay up. Well he started reading and reading and reading and reading. I said that's what it was.

In this quote, Principal Blake explained that if the child wanted to stay up past his bedtime, he had to read and that this was something that he did often. Because the child was reading so regularly, Principal Blake and the dad attributed the child's success to his reading. As a result of this experience, Principal Blake explained how he started paying attention to the times in which students at RLES were able to "just read."

Subject Position

In the previous section, I provided examples of Principal Blake's engagement with policy to illustrate the overlapping nature of policy and the dimensions of Principal Blake's subject position. In this section, I will describe the three dimensions of his subject position in greater detail: having to do with the individual, having to do with the world and the ways through which the world makes sense

Having to do with the individual. In the following statement, Principal Blake explained that he is "careful" about what he says and shares with his stakeholders. This example illustrates that Principal Blake approaches meetings, conversations, situations and/or meetings in a particular way. He told me:

I'm pretty careful about what I do and what I say, you know. Because a lot of

times, I have a rhyme or reason to why I did it. …Now you might not like the

reason, but I have a rhyme or reason to why I feel this way about it or why I think

maybe that's what we should have done.

This quote illustrates that when faced with a horizon of possibilities, Principal Blake

recognizes that his choice is directly related to him, not necessarily a particular policy,

procedure or external authority. Thus, in this quote, Principal Blake tells me that it was

about him as an individual rather than necessarily what the rhyme of reason for his

decision was.

When I asked Principal Blake what it was that he brought with him to the role of

the principal. He responded that

I think people don't know what I bring to it every day. Again I'm a sports guy so I

speak in terms of [sports metaphors]. I do a lot of stuff that doesn't show up in the

box score and it's not anything the box score is going to say in the basketball

game how many times [did the principal talk with that parent].

Principal Blake sees himself doing a lot of things behind the scenes of the school.

Throughout our conversation, he mentioned several times that it was important to him to

talk with concerned parents or teachers for as long as it took so that they felt like their

voice was heard. Thus, in this quote, Principal Blake explains that not only does he do

these sorts of behind the scenes things, but also that he does not care if he receives the

credit for the success. He explained that as long as they win, he is happy.

Having to do with the world. Principal Blake's world was represented in our conversations as gendered and impacted by the passage of time. Being a man in a more feminized profession (education), Principal Blake reflected on a picture that he took of one of the few male teachers at RLES and how the world in which he lived relied on masculinity. Before this quote, he explained that before being principal at RLES, he was principal of another elementary school in the district that had several male teachers. He told me that

> I didn't realize until I got [to RLES] that those men [at his previous school] did a lot of other things that I didn't know about because they probably took care a lot of discipline helping the female teachers [that said] "I'm go send you to Mr. Johnson, I'm go send you to Mr. Fish, I'm go send you to Mr. Shoe, I'm going to send you to Mr. Smith," or most of the time the men, they took care of those boys [and] the[ir] problems. So I didn't realize until I got here that aw, man, those guys, wow they did a great job for me and they were good classroom teachers'. So it wasn't a situation where they was just men, no, they were good classroom teachers at the elementary level.

This quote illustrates that the world that Principal Blake inhabits is gendered, but also that masculinity held a particular value in the elementary school setting. Principal Blake explained that teachers and parents would bring students to him so that he could act as a male discipline figure.

The world that Principal Blake also inhabits was marked by the passage of time. Several times in our conversations, he would remark about how things have changed. At the beginning of our first photo-interview he told me

when I was a kid, 30 years ago, I don't remember anybody really being allergic to things. I was allergic to poison ivy, ok I knew that, don't go over there in the bushes, or in event you go, ok, I already know why I got it. I was in the woods playing or whatever. I don't remember the severe-ness off asthma. These allergies. Things that really send kids to the hospital. As opposed to, now I was coming through I just don't remember my brother, you didn't go to the, you almost didn't go to the doctor. Let alone a hospital. I mean if you went to the doctor, it was just something severe.

This conversation took place around Valentine's Day and we were talking about parents bringing in food and candy for their child and the different things that Principal Blake needed to pay attention to during that time. One of those things was student allergies, particularly peanut allergies. So in this quote, not only does Principal Blake tell me about the heightened degree of anxiety on the part of parents and their children's illnesses, as opposed to when he was a child, but also that there were children in his school with severe allergies and asthma.

Ways through which the world makes sense. On several occasions, Principal Blake would talk about his family. His brother is the mayor of Electra City, both of his parents were teachers in Electra 91 and his wife teaches in Electa 19. He also mentioned on several occasions that he could not do the work that he does without the support of his

family (he has two school-aged children as well. Given the prevalence of his family throughout our conversations, I inferred that his family was a lens through which he makes sense of the world. The following quote is taken from a story that Principal Blake told about how he received teacher of the year within the first couple of years of teaching. At the time he was not working in the Electra 91 district.

> when I first started teaching … I was so excited they nominated me for teacher of the year. You imagine being 21-22 years old man you're feeling pretty good. [I called my mom and said] "Hey ma, you know what, they nominated me for teacher of the year." She said, "what kind of school are they running down there boy, you don't know nothing about teaching. This is your first year." I asked, "Is daddy at home, I mean there has to be somebody else there [that is excited for me]." But I understand what she is saying. There have got to be more teachers in the school. You just started in this business. So I've always been, I just think from my background experience, you don't have a choice, but to have a humble spirit and humility. Because [of] what the people in my family have done, it's that spirit they put in me or that's what you pick up fast, that they've done some wonderful things.

In this quote, Principal Blake explained how his parents' perceptions of education affected the way that he understood his job as an educator. Also, he acknowledged that he has "pick[ed] up fast" the "wonderful things" that his family members have done. I inferred that this meant that he uses his family's achievements and humble spirit to make sense of the events in his life.

On several occasions, Principal Blake shared with me that he enjoyed our conversations because he could talk freely since I wasn't a district person, or a parent and was sworn to confidentiality. The manner in which he talked with me was one of the ways that I inferred that he made sense of the world. As he talked, I could tell that he was making sense of things verbally. For instance, while we were talking about allergies and Valentine's Day, he finished one sentence about peanut allergy signage in the school and then looked up and me and said "I'm going to put that on my list." On another occasion, he made the remark that he "hadn't thought about it that way." These sorts of comments were one indication that he was making sense as he talked to me. Reading through the transcripts from and sitting through our conversations, I sometimes had trouble following Principal Blake from one topic to the next. Often, he would jump from one topic to another seemingly dissimilar topic. For instance, I asked him what he meant by the phrase "the human connection" and he responded by telling me about a situation where he was working with his instructional coordinators. The coordinators needed to create a report for him, but only brought him "12 sheets of paper" that had seemingly useless information on them. After spending some time thinking about this exchange between myself and Principal Blake, I inferred that he was telling me that it was important to have these conversations with his coordinators despite the frustration that they caused him; however, the connections seem to be much cleared to Principal Blake. In this way, Principal Blake made sense of the world as he talked.

Conclusion

In this section, I represented Franklin Blake as a principal who is a thoughtful and experienced leader who recognizes the value of the policy that sits in a notebook on his shelf. At the same time, Principal Blake's engagement with policy has as much to do with who he is as it does with any particular policy document.

Forest City Senior High School

Bluefield 5 School District

Participant Summary

Principal McCalister was recommended by his district's Director of Curriculum and Instruction. He was kind enough to respond to my email requesting participants by agreeing to meet with me. During our first meeting, after I explained the study, he responded "I'll do whatever we need to do. … we will make every effort."

This is Principal McCalister's third year at Forest City Senior High School (FCSHS), the district's only school for grades seven through twelve. A local boy, he grew up in Forest City and attended FCSHS, mentioning that he once "got a whipping right where you are sitting." Before returning home to Forest City, he worked for 27 years in different districts in South Carolina. He started his career coaching football and teaching freshman P.E. at a Southeastern University. After finishing a master's program in Physical Education, he taught P.E. and general science while serving as the football coach at the high school level in several districts. He finished his Masters in Educational Administration Program by commuting two hours both ways while he was the principal of a small Elementary school. When I asked him if he missed coaching football he told me "I miss Friday nights. I don't miss Monday through Thursday … but I do miss being with the kids."

Given the size of the town (approximately 2,000; Census, 2010)and consequently the school (476, which includes 7th through 12th grades) and the fact that Forest City is

his hometown, it didn't come as a surprise that Principal McCalister lived "right across the street" from the school. Forest City was once a mill town, before it closed. Now, there are few businesses within the town limits causing most parents to drive at least 30 minutes in one direction to get to work. The school district, Bluefield 5, has a student population of approximately 1,000, sits at the corner of 4 counties, which presents many attendance issues for Principal McCalister.

As could be imagined, the school's rural setting came up frequently in our conversations, not just because of Principal McCalister's local roots, but also because a town of 2,000 people faces many issues related to government and governmental entities. For instance, he explained that he could no longer pick up the phone and "hit speed dial …[to] call the Chief [of Police]." Instead, he has to either call 911 or the nonemergency line and they have to call the Forest City police department to dispatch an officer.

Accountability pressures, for Principal McCalister have to do with local issues. For instance, due to the small size of the town, there is nowhere for students to go between school and sports games, so they go to the town library, which just happens to be within 10 feet of the high school building. For this reason, Principal McCalister talked about how areas "become public" because he doesn't want to take responsibility for kids getting into trouble at 5:15pm in the library. He explained: "my question is would you expect me to do something if they were fighting in the Piggly Wiggly parking lot? O, no? Well that's [the library] not mine either. At 3:30 pm it [the school] becomes public."

Like many high school principals, he felt pressure to encourage his students to go to college, but also to get folks to "look past the stereotypes [that someone from Forest City can't get into a good college]." He explained

I want our kids to know that there are ways out … The vision of our little community is of the school standing on the hill up here … but I don't want that to be the end of it.

The pressure that he described here is not just about helping children succeed and go on to college, but also managing the town's expectations of the high school. Because the district is so small, some of this pressure manifested as making sure that he kept "our place open and providing a [community] service."

Based upon our initial conversation about external pressures and accountability, I created the following prompts to provide Principal McCalister with some direction when taking photographs:

Table 4.6
Photograph prompts provided to Principal McCalister based upon our initial conversation

Take pictures of those moments where you feel pressure associated with:

a) Transfers from other schools
b) Advanced Ed criteria
c) Dropout Rates
d) Accreditation
e) Small Town Policies

Several of Principal McCalister's pictures had him in them, sitting at his desk meeting with teachers, parents and students. His secretary helped take pictures. He explained "we came up with a list of 27 things, and she [the secretary] tried to get them

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within the last two weeks … Didn't really know how they would look til we got them up

here." So like other participants in the study, he came up with a physical list of possible

pictures before beginning the picture-taking process.

Table 4.7

Overview of Principal McCalister's photographs organized by theme and policy

Photo theme/category	Corresponding policy type	Number of photos
Meeting in the Principal's Office	District, State & Federal	9
Spaces and Places	District	5
Accreditation	State/Federal	4
Safety	State/Federal	3

Engagement with Policy

"We go through a lot of things to keep them in the classroom, or in a classroom."

-Principal McCalister

The above quote is taken from a conversation that I had with Principal McCalister

about how most of his pictures were not about student achievement or academic policies.

Therefore, the quote illustrates that Principal McCalister's engagement with policy is

connected to his understanding that students cannot learn if they are not in school. Most

of my conversations with Principal McCalister were about the various discipline issues

that consume his day.

Principal McCalister talked about several policies that he changed. Given that

FCSHS is the only secondary institution in the Bluefield 5 district, any policy that

Principal McCalister changes at FCSHS becomes district secondary school policy, after

board approval, of course. He explained how he changed the discipline policy for tobacco

use from one day of in-school suspension to three days of out-of-school suspension: "I felt it wasn't a stern enough punishment. It would almost be saying, wink wink nod nod, go stay in ISS if you had a mouthful of tobacco." Ironically, this perspective—to make a punishment stricter by sending them out of school—runs contrary to the quote that opened this section.

Table 4.8
Policies Mentioned by Principal McCalister

Student Achievement / Accountability
District created policies (e.g. cell phones)
School created policies (e.g. tobacco use)

Principal McCalister acknowledged that a lot of what we had talked about could be categorized as "putting out fires." He described one example in terms of parent conferences. He explained

> I get here about 7 [am]. Open the front door at 7:15. I can go outside on the front steps and a lot of folks work, nothing around here to work at, so they work somewhere else. So they leave here early and if it's a form, like a discipline form, like this. It comes to me and I'll write on the bottom of it, this young lady she's got three quick-outs, which is having to be asked to leave the class, it might not be the same class, might be three different classes, after the third one, I don't even know what it is, until I get three from our ISS lady … She sends me this referral that says so-and-so has had their third quick-out as of today, well I'll call them up and I'll say, I put a little code on there, overnight suspension, parent conference to be held the next morning. I have a little list I carry in my front pocket [that] I carry out to the front steps. If it's just that, if it's from three different teachers,

which is not good, but not terrible, then I say look, all you['ve] got to do is drive

right by the steps there, roll your window down, I'll come down, but I've got to

see you, and I've got to have your signature.

In this quote, Principal McCalister recounted the steps that occur so that he can meet with

parents in such a way that makes it easy on the parent and still gets the required signature.

This procedural and what's-next-on-the-list approach was common in Principal

McCalister's descriptions of his interactions with policy.

Subject Position

In the previous section, I provided examples of Principal McCalister's

engagement with policy to illustrate the overlapping nature of policy at FCSHS and the

three dimensions of Principal McCalister's subject position. Partly due to the approach

that Principal McCalister took to the picture-taking process, my accounts of him focus

more on the effect of the policy (i.e. having to do with the world) than of his engagement

with policy. In this section, I will describe the three dimensions of Principal McCalister's

subject position to the degree that I believe he revealed them in our conversations.

Having to do with the individual. Principal McCalister's participant summary

explained that he is a local boy, born and raised in Forest City. He told me a lot about

himself, where he had worked, where his wife had worked and demographic things of

this nature, but he did not tell me much in terms of the level of awareness that he has in

terms of the privileged access of his subjective perspective.

Often Principal McCalister would refer to the school as *his* school where he

enforces *his* policies. For instance, he told me about how when FCSHS accepts transfer

students, the athletic league needs documentation of why the student had to move, which often results in a student being ineligible to play sports for a year. He told me "the worst thing is when you're forced to follow somebody else's policy, that's not yours." I inferred that the level of ownership "not yours" is partly a result of being a local boy, and also working in a small rural district. For this reason, in some ways, Principal McCalister's subjectivity was a filter through which policy happened at FCSHS. This applies to the rationale that the tobacco policy "wasn't strict enough."

Having to do with the world. When I arrived for one of our meetings, Principal McCalister was busy, so I waited in the front office for approximately 30 minutes. During this time, an administrative assistant and the assistant principal entered and exited his office at separate times. While I waited I could also smell French fries that were sitting just outside of his office. I got the impression that there were several things going on at once in Principal McCalister's office and that he had missed lunch (it was 2:30 by the time I left his office and he still hadn't eaten lunch). This impression points to the relatively frenetic nature of Principal McCalister's world. He explained this phenomenon:

> you come in with one completely totally different agenda and you know the day …I had a Saturday, I worked Saturday four to five hours. I had … this much to do … and at the end of that day none of these were checked off. There's a whole list of this stuff [on Saturday so that] I could come in Monday the 13th to do [the rest] and the first thing on this wasn't even the first thing I did that day. I never got to these things until a couple days later. I'm still working today off of Monday's list that I didn't do.

While principal McCalister described these lists to me, he showed me one on his yellow legal pad. In many ways, these lists and the events that occurred that kept him from crossing things off that list make up his world. For instance, on the same day that I noticed Principal McCalister's lunch sitting outside his office, he told me when I sat down that their custodian had died that day. The custodian had come into work, went home shortly after because he did not feel well and died before walking into his home that morning. Principal McCalister explained that he did not make a school-wide announcement about the death, but went by and individually informed each teacher in the building. These sorts of unplanned events kept him from crossing things off of his list.

Ways through which the world makes sense. As I indicated in the previous section describing Principal McCalister's subjectivity, his perspective often served as a filter through which the world made sense for him. This particular perspective has an element of *common sense* to it in that the more strict tobacco policy required no further explanation other than that Principal McCalister did not think it was strict enough. In many ways, my overall impression of the medium through which Principal McCalister's world made sense, other than his subjectivity, was the way things are in Forest City. For instance, he explained issues with scheduling when either attending the career center in a nearby district or transferring in to the Bluefield 5 district. In this particular example, he is describing transfers from outside districts:

> we try to be as flexible as we can … we're not on block schedules so we're seven
>
> blocks all year long. We have a few, a couple computer classes, a health class, of
>
> course, government and econ that are semester-based, but we don't have enough

classes [for someone] that transfers from Bluefield 4 or another district … They

come here, they have the four units, I can't give them four more units in a

semester. So I have to also tell them you are going to lose, you, we have one the

other day transferring in from Bluefield 4, it will take them another year to get

out.

In this quote, the scheduling procedures of Bluefield 5 serve as the filter through which

Principal McCalister understands the possibilities available to students that transfer to

FCSHS—the way that the world makes sense.

Conclusion

In this section, I represented John McCalister as a principal for whom the policies

look and feel like the policy manual to which he referred throughout our interviews. At

the same time, he would sometimes give the following rationale for a particular policy or

change in policy because "I thought it needed to be tougher." These rationales point to a

less objective and surface dimension of engaging with policy than is represented in this

description of his subject position. However, because of his reluctant disposition in our

conversations which I will discuss in chapter six, often it was difficult to infer the

different dimensions of his subject position.

Grant Arbre

Stanton School of the Arts

Electra 91 School District

Participant Summary

Werts: Do you feel like you're becoming you're becoming accountable to the kids?

Principal Arbre: I feel like I'm doing more of what I've wanted to do for a long time, than I had been.

-Principal Arbre

Grant Arbre was recommended to me by his superintendent. In our first meeting, as we talked about the study and how he and his school might fit in, Princpal Arbre quickly seemed to 'get it.' He told me a mantra that the superintendent repeats to her principals "what did you know, what did you do about it, when did you know it" and related it to his understanding of the study "what's the policy say, what's happening, what do I need to do…that's what this job is all about. … I think you've really touched on something that's important."

Principal Arbre has been an educator for over 29 years, but you wouldn't know that from looking at him. This is his first year at Stanton Academy of the Arts because this is the first year that it existed. The district, Electra 91, decided to open an arts magnet school that would serve 6th-12th grades. Each year the school will grow a grade level. So in its first year, Principal Arbre is responsible for approximately 120 6th graders.

The Electra 91 district is the second largest district in this study with approximately 12,500 students. This urban district is centered on the town of Electra

City, which has a population of approximately 26,686. Within the past year, the district

has decided to become a district of choice, which established magnet schools throughout

the area.

Prior to working at Stanton, Principal Arbre was the first and until this year, only,

principal to work at the district's engineering and science elementary school, Ben

Franklin Elementary School (BFES). He worked there for eight years. Before working in

Electra 91, he was principal of an elementary school and worked in the district office of a

nearby district, Electra 85. Before going into administration, he worked ten years as an

elementary school teacher. Working in the Electra 85 district office, he explained to his

superintendent that it was time for him to get back to the classroom "I said I really love

what I'm doing, but I miss being in the classroom, or being in the school with the kids

and he [the superintendent] said 'really, but you're at the district office' … and I said, I'd

really like to get back to the school."

Principal Arbre has a lot to be proud of, not only having worked at a nationally

recognized science and engineering elementary school, but also having the unique

experience of setting the culture there as well. He is a positive leader that really wants

what's best for children.[9] He expects the best from his students and teachers as well,

where the best is about "looking at the effort that [students are] putting forth and making

sure that [students] know where they are and what you need to do to improve." His

positive attitude stems from what he called "an elementary frame of mind" that "even

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[9] Principal Arbre's positive attitude was apparent in each of the interviews that I had with him over the
course of two months. Throughout these conversations, he made reference to doing "what's best for
children."

though [students] are going through all those things in adolescence that they are still children inside and they're not hardened."

In our first meeting, when I asked him about external pressures or accountability, he listed a couple of pressures related transitioning from being an elementary principal to a middle school one. For instance, he explained

some of the things that a kindergartener would do, were a lesson learned and you talked with the kindergartener, you don't do that. Not if a 6th grader is doing that, you may be suspended. It's a whole different interpretation of what the policy says.

Most importantly, however, is the internal pressure that he feels to make sure that things are right. He told me, "I stay up late nights and wake up in the middle of the night, but it's not necessarily pressure people are putting on me. It's my passion, I guess for what I do, and wanting things to be right."

Table 4.9

Photograph prompts provided to Principal Arbre based upon our initial conversation

Take pictures of those moments:

   a) where you find yourself dealing with building/facilities related procedures. (you gave the example of changing the location of dismissal). Or procedure/curriculum related things (you mentioned using the music composition course as students' technology requirement, but realizing that they might have needed music theory first).
   b) when you react on the spur of the moment, while keeping policies in mind. (you gave an example of having attendance meetings and not knowing parents' reactions)
   c) where you find yourself learning policies as they apply to middle school children.
   d) when you feel self-imposed pressure (you mentioned this when we were talking about external pressures).

Based upon our initial conversation about external pressures and accountability, I created the prompts above to provide Principal Arbre with some direction when taking photographs.

Given the small size of his school, taking pictures was a way for Principal Arbre to not only show policy in his school, but also the children that mean so much to him. He explained, "when you're taking pictures or you're thinking about more than just the picture, you're really thinking about who that is and what that represents or what it means for that child [points to particular picture] to be engaged." Taking pictures was a way for Principal Arbre to capture the stories behind the pictures, the relationships that he has with the students and teachers at Stanton Academy of the Arts.

Table 4.10
Overview of Principal Arbre's photographs organized by theme and policy type

Photo theme/category	Corresponding Policy Type	Number of photos
Instructional leader	District	4
Testing	Federal/State	2
Parents	Federal	2
Procedure/Administrative	District	3
Because it's an art school	District	5

Engagement with Policy

Werts: *How might the smiles have an impact or be related to the student achievement?*

Principal Arbre: *The policies are there to protect us and to help us reach our goals. So, when you're successful, you're happy.*

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The above quote illustrated Principal Arbre's engagement with policy in the way that policy is a natural fact (i.e. "there to protect us"), but also that it is not an objective entity that exists outside of the subject position which Principal Arbre brings with him. In other words, *policy* for Principal Arbre is just as much a natural fact as it is about successful and happy children and the way in which his subject position served as a filter for policy at Stanton.

Table 4.11
Policies Mentioned by Principal Arbre

District School Choice
Student Achievement / Accountability

In our last interview, Principal Arbre explained that he had a student who was passionate about an online video that had *gone viral* in the previous week. This student wanted to show the video to the entire 6th grade class. Principal Arbre explained his deliberation about supporting the student:

the whole time I'm watching this video thinking: "I really want [the student] to share it, but I don't want [the student] to share it." I can see; I start picturing parents, certain parents that might take offense to some of it. So you've got this policy, but it really doesn't. There's gray there. You've got a child that wants to learn and expand their learning and so there's a lot of conflict going on inside [me] and those are the kinds of things that I struggle with sometimes too is trying to interpret some of it. …So I mean I think I've come to the conclusion, I'm not going to show the video, I will let [the student] talk about the situation and what's happening. If they want to write letters to senators I'd be glad to meet with the

group after school and we can write letters. So I think I can still give him an opportunity but not necessarily show the video. ... Those are difficult decisions when that kind of thing happens because you just don't know where you, where you stand sometimes. … I tend to be more liberal and I have to be I have to watch that I really do. I have to watch that in myself. I don't want to stir up any sort of political … I'm not willing to go there. So I kind of have to watch myself.

The video to which he refers is Kony 2012 youtube video about the warlord Joseph Kony. In this particular situation, Principal Arbre told me that if it "were just up to him," and he did not have to worry about repercussions from stakeholders, he would have allowed the student to show the video. As this quote explains, he did not let the student show the video, but still allowed him to talk to the class about the video. As other principals in this study expressed, Principal Arbre pointed out that there is not a particular policy for this kind of situation, but given that he is accountable to his stakeholder population and district office, he felt constraints that were *policy-like*.

This example illustrated the way in which engaging with policy for Principal Arbre is as much about *following the rules* as it was about recognizing the role that your personal "moral compass" plays into these decisions. While the ultimate decision might be more in line with *the rules*, it does not mean that personal considerations were not part of the deliberation.

Throughout our conversations, Principal Arbre and I talked about the pressure that he felt to "get things right," which I will discuss later in this section. When I asked him

how he dealt with that pressure in the first years of his career as an educator, he responded:

> 16 years ago, I was at a school in Electra 85. Honestly, there was not a lot of stress because we didn't have any of the accountability that we have today. We were given an old test called the BSAP test and you look at it now and it's so easy. … That was the big stress, we did give some nationally-normed-referenced tests in 4th and 5th grades but no one looked at it. …There was no accountability for it. You didn't have to account for it in any way. So, it really wasn't until we started getting report cards and … people started looking at the test scores and the community started looking at the test scores that really a lot of that stress came from that. …So, a lot of the stress is through accountability but that's not, I'm not saying I think that's a good thing because obviously it's raised the bar and we're doing a much better job than we did when I first started.

This quote illustrates the memory that Principal Arbre has of education before accountability policies "that we have today." It also illustrates the way in which although things have become more stressful because of accountability, according to Principal Arbre, he still believes in the accountability system that has "raised the bar." In this way, never during our conversations did Principal Arbre pine for the *good ole days* when you put the paperclip in your lesson plans at the end of the day.

Subject Position

In the previous section, I provided examples of Principal Abre's engagement with policy to illustrate the overlapping nature of policy and the dimensions of Principal

Arbre's subject position. In this section, I will describe the three dimensions of his subject position in greater detail: having to do with the individual, having to do with the world and the ways through which the world makes sense.

Having to do with the individual. The brief participant summary explained biographical information about Principal Arbre. In this section, I represent concepts that I inferred as they had to do with Principal Abre subjectivity. This means that in this section I explain particular elements about Principal Abre that are encompassed in the ways in which he approaches the world or are pertaining to his self-knowledge.

In the following statement, Principal Arbre made several identity claims that he is a particular type of person. Coupled with these identity claims were also subjective elements that suggest a particular level of awareness on the part of Principal Arbre as a result of being a particular type of person. In my final interview with Principal Arbre, I asked him about how being from out of town (he is originally from the NW United States) affected his job. He told me a story about showing President Obama's inaugural speech to schools and how the district office was involved because parents had a problem with their children seeing the speech on television. He explained:

> You know that's where I have a hard time. But that's where I see things
> differently than someone here because I do not get my news from [a particular
> television network]. I see things differently. I think it's good. I mean I am very
> much. I am a Christian. I go to church. I'm a part of the community. … I bring
> that to the school, but I do have to be careful.

In this quote, Principal Arbre makes the claim that he is a certain type of person: a Christian. He made this claim to illustrate the he is still a part of the community in which he lives, but also that he has different political views from that community. In the case of watching President Obama's speech, Principal Arbre believed that students should watch the speech because "he's the president." As a diligent follower of policy, of course, he followed the district instructions, which was to send home permissions slips to parents and give them the opportunity to say that they did not want their child to watch.

These identity claims are illustrative of the ways in which particular possibilities on Principal Arbre's horizon would be more in focus than others. In this case, they would be those things having to do with "more liberal" views as they might relate to issues of race.

As I discussed in my representation of Principal Portsmouth's subject position, given the positionality of principal, I consider normative statements that they make to also be at times, subjective statements. Principal Arbre and I had several conversations about how he wanted to make sure that things were "right." In his participant summary, I pointed out the way in which it was Principal Arbre's passion "to want things to be right." During our final interview, he told me a story that happened the previous week, where rain was forecasted on the day that they were to take the first picture of all of the staff, faculty, administrators and students at Stanton. Given that it was the first picture of the school and "100 years from now people are going to look at this picture," Principal Arbre wanted to "get it right." This meant having the picture outdoors despite the

forecasted rain. It turned out that the clouds and rain subsided long enough for the picture. He also explained that

> there was a male employee in the building who held the hand of one of the little girls [who] said "oh, we're friends" and then when the photographer was going to take the picture let go and said "oh, no we better let go of hands. I don't want to be arrested"

Having the picture outdoors and then filing the appropriate paperwork to report this incident were two things that Principal Arbre said he "wanted right that day." Wanting to get the picture "right" illustrates the subjective claim that such details about Stanton Academy of the Arts are important to Principal Arbre. In other words, they are about him.

Self-knowledge about Principal Arbre and information about Stanton seemed at times to blur. For instance, in our first photointerview, Principal Arbre would often point to a picture and explain the meaning that the picture had for him. He explained the way that he approached the picture taking process:

> Some of them I just included because I really liked her smile [Figure 4.3]. …. The other thing that I found really difficult about this assignment is knowing the kids and knowing this one right here, is maybe doesn't even fit into the assignment, but you just have to know her to know that the joy that she has in that picture is really meaningful to me.

Figure 4.3. Photograph of smiling girl by Principal Arbre. Edited by author.

Principal Arbre's reference to these pictures as having meaning "to me" suggests self-knowledge on his part. He goes on to explain that this particular child's arm is not fully functional and that she walks to school and plays the cello. These are all objective facts, but at the same time they were meaningful to Principal Arbre. In this way, I infer the subjective claim that this child is important to Principal Arbe and that within his horizon of possibilities this child and the children at his school come into focus over other things.

Having to do with the world. Like the other principals in this study, having to do with Principal Arbre's world was represented through the context in which he works as well as the variable nature of being a principal. For Principal Arbre, his school context was highlighted in the ways that he described the differences between middle school and elementary school. As I explained in his participant summary, being a middle school principal meant learning middle school-related policies because it might be more severe when a 6th grader did something for which a kindergartener might get a slap on the wrist.

He also talked about differences between middle and elementary school when I asked him if there was a policy that he would like to change. He explained that the distinction between elementary and secondary level teaching certification was an obstacle that he encountered as he goes about hiring 7th grade teachers for next year:

> They can teach 6th grade but they can't teach 7th grade. To me that's just one of those barriers that you think, now why, why if you're an instructor and you've gone through a program to learn how to teach … If you can do it, you can do it … I want teachers who have more of an elementary frame of mind; who like to interact more with children; realize that they're children; understand that even though they're going through all those things in adolescence that they're still children inside and they're not hardened. I'm just finding that there are so many middle school teachers that feel like you've got to be tough and negative and sarcastic and that's how you deal with middle school. Whereas elementary people are a little bit more nurturing and have a little bit more of a different frame of mind in terms of how you deal with children

This quote illustrates that the world that Principal Abre inhabits is one in which he needs to hire a whole grade level of teachers, but also one in which perceptions of elementary children and middle school children are affecting who he hires to fill those positions.

The world that Principal Arbre inhabits was also related to the shift in positions from being a principal at an elementary school with over 700 students to a middle school with 120 students. He explained the difference between these two roles:

This was more my job. [points to Figure 4.4] at the other school. Meetings and

adults. Then this has become more of my life. [points to Figure 4.5]. This is what

I wanted to do, but I couldn't because of the adults. I was anchored. To that.

Because you can't overlook it. You've got angry parents you've got to deal with

that. You've got personnel issues. In a larger school, you're dealing with more

adult drama. Now I'm dealing with student drama and spending my time with

children.

The contrast that Principal Arbre points out in terms of administrative activities as

opposed to activities having to do directly with children points to the unpredictability of

being a principal that were associated with the world of several other principals. In a later

Figure 4.4. Photographs of administrative activities by Principal Arbre..

conversation, Principal Arbre worried as Stanton adds a new grade every year, would his world involve more of the administrative issues as time goes on. For now, however, his world is more about directly interacting with children rather than sitting in his office in meetings.

Ways through which the world makes sense. Throughout my conversations with Principal Arbre, I encountered examples where he was engaging with policy in ways that were particular to Principal Arbre and not necessarily generalizable across principals in general. Principal Arbre acknowledged that often he does not always have the chance to deliberately implement policies and programs throughout the day, but that

We will get all types of data and we can take time to analyze that interpret that...

Those are decisions that you have to be thoughtful about and you have to put in a

lot, but there is a lot of, this is the situation, you need to react to the situation.

You've got to be a quick thinker, you've got to, but you've also got to be level

Figure 4.5. Photograph of smiling children by Principal Arbre

headed and do that in the spur of the moment. [Research that I've encountered considers] why did you implement this program based on the data that you've collected and analyzed and that's all good and fine, but it is not day-to-day. Those are the, those are things, quite honestly, that you do on the evenings or the weekends when you have a chance to sit and really reflect and think about the types of things that you can do to improve your school. But the day-to-day operations, boy, it's spur of the moment. I mean you hit the ground running and it's all day. I don't know when we have attendance meetings today. I don't know what a parent might say. So I can't plan for that. I don't know what they're going to tell me. I don't know their reaction. …So that's a lot of the job, [it] is that day-to-day.

In this example, Principal Arbre acknowledged that there are situations where a linear sensemaking process affects the implementation of a particular program or policy. At the same time, he points out that most of his job "is that day-to-day," where he has to react "in the spur of the moment." From this example, I infer that he acknowledged the way in which his subject position affects the way that he engages with policy.

Another example of the ways through which the world makes sense—the medium—for Principal Arbre can be seen in the two stories that he told me about (1) President Obama's speech and (2) his student's desire to play the video. In the story with the video, he explained that he "really wanted [the student] to share it," but recognized that some parents might not be ok with their child seeing the video. Within this context he told me that

those are the things I struggle with, it's kind of an internal [struggle], it's kind of

an external [struggle], but basically [it] is sort of a social moral [struggle]. I don't

want to be the moral compass for the community, but yet I've got to gauge what

the moral compass is.

During this particular interview, Principal Arbre returned to the idea of the "social moral

compass" of the community on several occasions. He was pointing out that as a whole the

stakeholder community of Stanton Academy of the Arts has particular political, moral,

and religious beliefs to which he has to adhere. He was also was pointing out that his

political, moral and religious beliefs may not always align with those of his stakeholders,

but that all of these factor into the decisions that he makes. They are both mediums

through which the world makes sense.

Conclusion

In this section, I represented Grant Arbre as a principal for whom policy is

important because of the ways in which it provides a guide through which he can help

children succeed. At the same time, Principal Arbre's engagement with policy has as

much to do with his subject position as it does with any policy document. In this way, I

have shown that there are many elements that make up the medium through which policy

happens at Stanton Academy of the Arts. In the next chapter, I will illustrate how such

mediums can also involve embodiment and the senses.

Allan Portsmouth

Shircliff Elementary School

Rockwell County School District

Participant Summary

Allan Portsmouth is in the final stages of a PhD program in NW South Carolina. I asked Allan to participate in the study based on prior conversations that he and I have had related to our respective PhD coursework. When I asked Allan if he would participate, he agreed saying that he wanted to put out some good participant karma, knowing that he would be in my position in the near future.

Principal Portsmouth has been an elementary school principal for going on 5 years, prior to which he taught 3rd grade for five years, after which he was an assistant principal for two years. This is his first year as principal at Shircliff Elementary School. Shircliff is in all respects a new school that was created to accommodate increasing elementary enrollments in the Rockwell School District. As he explained, construction on the Shircliff Elementary School building finished so close to the beginning of the school year, the teachers and staff were only allowed into the building 8 days before the first day of school and three days before the schools inaugural event—meet the teacher night.

The Rockwell School District is the largest in this study with an enrollment of 16,285. Spanning a rural county, the district encompasses Rockwell County, which comprises approximately 496 acres and has a population of approximately 119,224. Within recent years, the district has had several district leadership changes.

It is important to note that in the four years that he was principal of Hand

Elementary School, Principal Portsmouth had made somewhat of a name for himself

through the school's successes. For the 2010-11 academic year, the school was awarded

the South Carolina Title I Distinguished School Award for Closing the Achievement

Gap. Additionally, around the time we first began the interview process, he attended a

national conference on Title I schools.

A motivated leader[10] who is not afraid to work hard, he told me one of the reasons

that he is drawn to working at Title I schools is that "we owe it to these kids to work

harder for them." Given the newness of his school, working hard on facilities related

issues is one of the things that consumes his time. Throughout our conversations, he

would bring up issues from the school building's lack of signage to mysteriously

cracking windows. It was always important to him that these issues were handled in the

best interests of the Shircliff Elementary. While he could not ignore the numerous

facilities issues at Shircliff, he mentioned throughout our interviews that being an

instructional leader to his teachers is "his main priority."

When I asked him about a critical moment related to external pressures or

accountability, he explained:

> one of my goals is to handle everything in-house. Parent issues. Everything. I
>
> want it handled here [at the school] … So, that to me, is when accountability hits
>
> home. It's not formal. It's not accountability that comes with the state report

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[10] I inferred from our conversations about how he thought it was part of an educator's job to work harder
for children that he was motivated.

cards, or meeting AYP, but it's the accountability to your people, to your

community members.

Being accountable to your community members and handling everything in house, for

Principal Portsmouth, means not accepting the rationale of "that's is how it is."

Throughout our conversations, he expressed frustrations associated with being in a new

building, with new teachers, many of whom he did not hire. This frustration was not an

expression of resignation, but rationale for working harder and being deliberate.

Based upon our initial conversation about external pressures and accountability, I

created the following prompts to provide Principal Portsmouth with some direction when

taking photographs:

Table 4.12
Photograph prompts provided to Principal Portsmouth based upon our initial conversation

Take pictures of those moments:
a) where you find yourself dealing with building/facilities related issues. (you mentioned setting routines, procedures and protocols for this school to meet the needs of this community). In relation to protecting instructional time, for instance.
b) when you find yourself trying to educate stakeholders (parents, community members) regarding what their tax dollars pay. (you told a story about handing someone 35 cents)
c) when you are the law enforcer (you gave examples related to custody issues).
d) of PBIS being implemented
e) when you are reminded of how you want to "handle everything in house."

Principal Portsmouth conceptualized the task of taking pictures for the study as a

way to express his frustration about new building issues, but also to show policy as it

happened in his school. He told me:

I put a big sticky note on my desk that just said 'take pictures.' It caused me to be

just maybe more aware of what was going on, or just more reflective on what was

happening to look for opportunities to take pictures.

I could tell by the composition and the way that he described the pictures that he was

very deliberate in both the selection of which pictures to include and the composition of

what to include in each picture.

Table 4.13

Overview of Principal Portsmouth's photographs organized by theme and policy type

Photo theme/category	Corresponding policy type	Number of photos
Title I	State/Federal	4
New Building Issues	District	6
PBIS	District	3
Student Coping with Death of Sister	??	3

Engagement with Policy

For me, policy is an afterthought. I refer to policy when there is an issue. ... Otherwise

you operate using best practices and just trust that it falls within the realm of policy, but

then there are other folks that the policy drives their decisions and I don't think I'm one

of those administrators.

-Principal Portsmouth

In the above quote, Principal Portsmouth was explaining the relationship between

policy and his school in terms of his leadership practices. He followed up this comment

up by explaining that he expects people to do "what they're supposed to be doing," but

recognizes that "in a perfect world, policy is in place and everybody abides by it and

that's not always the case." In this way, Principal Portsmouth's engagement with policy can be represented as the matter-of-fact disposition about policy (e.g. it exists, I refer to it when there is an issue), but also that this engagement centers on the understanding that people, to whom the policies often refer, are capricious and sensing entities.

Table 4.14
Policies Mentioned by Principal Portsmouth

Title I
Act 388
District character education
Student Achievement / Accountability
DSS related policies
FDA related policies

One example of how engaging with policy was about *referring to the policy* when needed, but also about people occurred while we were discussing whether he would want to change any particular policy and why. He explained:

We have an alternative meal policy. I think we may have touched on this. I've been told that every district in the state has one, but if they do, very few districts enact it. It's a policy we have that if a student owes $10 or more than we are not able to serve them a full lunch. And I understand why we have the policy; so we don't continue to lose money through our food service program. But it also, at the elementary level, it puts such burden on us as administrators and the teachers and the food service staff for having to tell five, six, seven, eight year old kids, "you can't have lunch today because your mom and dad didn't pay for it." That's not their fault. So I agree, and I understand why we have the policy, but boy, I'd change it. Having to tell kids that they can't have a hamburger because mom and

dad didn't put money in their [account, but] you get a grilled cheese and a milk

and that's all you get. I would change that.

In this scenario, Principal Portsmouth explained that he understands why they need to

have this policy— "it is to save money"—but also that because people are capricious and

uncontrollable, that the policy is something that he would change. Underlying this desire

to change the policy was the fact that children were being punished for their parents'

inability to pay. I inferred from this statement that in some cases, it was not that parents

could not pay for the meal, but that sometimes they were just careless and forgot to put

money in the child's meal account.

Throughout our conversations, Principal Portsmouth portrayed his engagement

with policy from the perspective of a dutiful implementer. At the same time, the picture

of policy acting upon him without his input was recurring. This is not to say that he was a

helpless victim, but that there were many policies that were out of his control, that he was

making the best out of the situation that he was given. For example, during our second

photointerview,[11] I asked him about the implementation of Positive Behavioral

Interventions and Supports Program (hereafter, PBIS) in his school and if he had brought

elements of the Hand Elementary PBIS program with him to Shircliff. He had explained

in an earlier interview that PBIS was a district-wide initiative, but he "would do it

anyways." Additionally, I inferred from our conversation that he was proud of the PBIS

program at Hand Elementary. The PBIS program at Shircliff, however, was mirrored

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[11] Unfortunately during this interview my digital recorder malfunctioned and I have no transcript for this conversation, but I tried to recount as much as possible after the interview and then followed up about this particular issue in our subsequent conversation.

after Freely Elementary's program, the school from which many of Principal

Portsmouth's students and teachers attended the year prior. When I asked him why that

was, he told me that his leadership team designed Shircliff's PBIS program (i.e. Assistant

Principal, Guidance Counselor and Curriculum Specialist) and that he got his leadership

team as a result of the district's reduction-in-force policy.

So as not to paint a picture of Principal Portsmouth as only being acted upon by

policy, the following example illustrates that he was also an informed client of policy as

well. Because it was a salient topic at the time, I asked Principal Portsmouth if he had

talked with anyone in his district about South Carolina's Elementary and Secondary

Education Act (ESEA) Flexibility waiver. He explained that he had gone to at least one

public session about the waiver and had been paying attention to the differences between

the waiver and SC's current accountability system. His assessment was that "it doesn't

seem that different." He told me

> I feel guilty for saying this, but I'm not against it. Because [the state
>
> superintendent of education] was the one who did this waiver, we as public
>
> educators are supposed to be against it just because and it's not that bad.

This example illustrates that Principal Portsmouth is not a helpless victim of policy, but

that he understands the policy process, seeks out information about that process and then

makes a determination of his position based upon that information. Furthermore, this

admission on the part of Principal Portsmouth also illustrates that he engages with policy

in scenarios outside of the daily routine of principal.

Subject Position

In the previous section, I provided examples of Principal Portsmouth's engagement with policy to illustrate the overlapping nature of policy at Shircliff Elementary and the dimensions of Principal Portsmouth's subject position. In this section I will describe the three dimensions of his subject position in greater detail: (a) having to do with the individual, (b) having to do with the world, and (c) the ways through which the world makes sense.

Having to do with the individual. The brief participant summary explained biographical information about Principal Portsmouth. In this section, I represent concepts that I inferred as they had to do with Principal Portsmouth subjectivity. This means that in this section I explain particular elements about Principal Portsmouth that are encompassed in the ways in which he approaches the world or are pertaining to his self-knowledge.

In the following statement, Principal Portsmouth makes several identity claims that he is a particular type of person. Coupled with these identity claims are also subjective elements that suggest a particular level of awareness on the part of Principal Portsmouth as a result of being a particular type of person. In my final interview with participants, I asked them to describe what it was that they bring to the job that might differ from other principals with the intention that this would provide them with the opportunity of explaining the subjectivity dimension of their subject position. Principal Portsmouth replied:

I feel like I'm more of a people-oriented leader and that's what I start with first, whether it's the students or the teachers or the parents. That for me drives the decisions more than, more than policy. Certainly you try to take care of your people within the realm of the policy and scope of the policy, but that I think that's where, that's maybe how I differ. I don't think that makes me any better or worse than other administrators, but that's my motto is to take care of people first.

Thus, Principal Portsmouth is a "people oriented" type of person. This identity claim aligns with the subjective claim that he cares about people and that he wants to help people. In this quote, Principal Portsmouth also contrasts these subjective and identity claims related to people with an objective claim about the boundaries of policy. This example helps illustrate the when faced with a horizon of possibilities as principals, those things having to do with caring about people will come into clearer focus, possibly than more objective policy related things.

As I will explain in the next chapter, given the positionality of the principal, I often inferred that normative statements made by these principals were also subjective statements. In this way, statements about the right thing to do, were just as much about the particular self-knowledge of that individual as it was about a group of people. This is because the principal, as the head of the school, often assumes the voice of the school. In the following example, Principal Portsmouth makes a normative claim about the right thing to do:

With these facilities issues, I think other principals possibly would just say, "This is how it is. Let's learn to live with it." My thing is, the tax payer money in

Rockwell county paid for this [signage in the building; Fig. 4.6], and we [at

Shircliff Elementary] have paid for this. I want it to be as right as possible and it's

not. So you fight until the one year warranty is up and then you live with it.

As I explained in Principal Portsmouth's participant summary, the construction on

Shircliff Elementary was being finished up to eight days before the first day of school

Figure 4.6. Photograph representing facilities issues by Principal Portsmouth.

and as a result, many facilities related issues became a fixture of Principal Portsmouth's

daily life at Shircliff. When he stated "I want it to be as right as possible," I inferred that

"right" meant according to plan, but also in the best interests of children. This inference

is based on a story that Principal Portsmouth told me about cracking windows at Shircliff

Elementary (Fig. 4.7). He explained a moment where district officials, the builders and he

were standing around trying to figure out what to do about these windows and what had

caused them to crack. Finally, Principal Portsmouth had to point out that regardless of why they cracked; they posed a safety hazard for children.

Figure 4.7. Photograph of cracking windows by Principal Portsmouth.

Having to do with the world. As with many of the principals in this study, the dimension of Principal Portsmouth's subject position that has to do with the world involved the context in which he works as well as the uncontrollable, unpredictable nature of his job. In particular, for Principal Portsmouth, his school context was characterized by issues pertaining to the new building, but also the perceptions of the stakeholders of the school.

In our first conversation about external pressures, Principal Portsmouth explained:

this school, especially with it being a brand new school. … 70% of my time is still

spent on facilities-related issues. This morning we had a volunteer training session

and I went to go set up. We have this very fancy presentation in the cafeteria and some contractors had come to work on it over break. So it took about 30 minutes to get the projector to work. So that that's 70% of what I do is dealing with facility issues, the buildings, punch lists, those kinds of things.

Thus, the world that Principal Portsmouth inhabits is one in which 70% of his job is to make sure that projectors are working, the lights do not turn off during a Title I family night and other such facilities issues.

The above quote illustrates some objective factors of the world that Principal Portsmouth inhabits. He also described more perceptual aspects of his world in terms of to whom and for what he is accountable. I asked him about a critical moment related to external pressures and accountability and he responded by telling me how he likes to "handle everything in-house," which I talked about in Principal Portsmouth's participant summary. He continued:

With all due respect to our state accountability system, if a school doesn't score where they want to score on their report card. I don't answer to anybody. I don't explain it to anybody. The community [couldn't] care less. But when I discipline a child and a parent disagrees with that, I'm having to defend myself left and right.

The world that Principal Portsmouth inhabits is one that is also inhabited by parents and stakeholders who are concerned about issues that are directly related to kids. Whereas accountability ratings and school report cards are at least once removed from these more immediate issues.

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Ways through which the world makes sense. As I've alluded throughout my representation of Principal Portsmouth's subject position, being a "people-oriented leader" figures into his self-knowledge and the world that he inhabits, but also serves as a medium through which the world makes sense. Principal Portsmouth explained the capricious nature of this medium while we were talking about the reactive nature of his role. He attributed the reactive nature to the fact that he works "an industry or business or whatever, where its people- related and you can never predict or consistently predict what people are going to do." Thus, the unpredictable nature of people is integrated into the medium through which the world makes sense to Principal Portsmouth.

This medium is not one dimensional, but instead integrates the wholeness of people to which the subject position refers. The following is an example of the effect of this medium on Principal Portsmouth's understanding of his role:

> I think whenever a teacher comes to me with a concern, whether its construction related or just, I will do what I can whether I have time or not to at least look into it. Whether they're complaining about a light switch in their bathroom or complaining about a technology issue or a parent or student. I feel like if they feel like it's a concern, and so much so to share it with me then I at least need to look into it before I decide whether or not to address it. … I think it creates extra work for me but that's what I do.

In this way, the issues that teachers raise become a filter through which Principal Portsmouth addresses issues at his school. Further, this also means that he finds himself

addressing issues on a day-to-day basis that may not have been on a list of things to accomplish during a given day. He cannot always plan for these sorts of things.

Another way in which capricious people-related issues figure as a medium through which the world makes sense to Principal Portsmouth is that how people feel affects their world. He explained how opening the school to teachers and administrators eight days before the start of school affected his staff:

> So three days before we're supposed to have our inaugural event at the school, Meet the Teacher Night, is when my teachers got to walk in the building for the very first time. And so, you're uphill for the rest of the year, because you're trying to catch up and that's been reflected. We're only half way through the year, but people feel like we've been going a lot longer than that because they've been working so hard. People are reaching breaking points a lot sooner. Usually you don't reach your breaking point until about spring break. We've got a lot of folks who are already there. We've hit that wall.

As result of hitting "that wall," Principal Portsmouth has been encouraging staff that need to take personal days to take them, getting them bagels and giving them as many *spirit* days, where they can wear jeans, as possible. In this way, *how it feels* is part of the medium through which Principal Portsmouth makes sense of the world.

Conclusion

In this section, I represented Allan Portsmouth as a principal who acknowledges policy to be an afterthought, yet central consideration to his principal practice. At the same time, the ways in which policy figures into his work is inextricably intertwined with his people-oriented practice. In this way, being engaged with policy, for Principal Portsmouth is just as much about the humanness of people as it is about the black and white quality of policy.

Janet Firestone

Ben Franklin Elementary School

Electra 91 School District

Participant Summary

Janet Firestone is one of three principals in this study from the Electra 91 district. Superintendent Bravely explained that during her district's principals' meeting she asked if any of her principals would be interested and, immediately, Principal Firestone's hand shot up to volunteer. She was kind enough to take the time out of her busy schedule to meet with me and take pictures for the study.

In her eighth year at Ben Franklin Elementary School, Principal Firestone started the school year for the first time as the principal (she officially took over in March of 2011). She explained that when the school was built eight years ago, her oldest son was in kindergarten. Four years later, with all three of her children at Ben Franklin Elementary, she became the school's assistant principal. Considering her tenure as assistant principal and 3rd grade teacher throughout the history of Ben Franklin Elementary, coming in as the principal four years later, she explained: "I knew the families. I knew the dogs, the cats, the siblings, the cousins. I knew these families inside and out."

The Electra 91 district is the second largest district in this study with approximately 12,500 students. This urban district is centered on the town of Electra City, which has a population of approximately 26,686. Within the past year, the district

has decided to become a district of choice, which established magnet schools throughout the area.

Ben Franklin Elementary is the district's Engineering and Science magnet school. It is also one of the only elementary schools to implement a rigorous STEM curricular program, Engineering for a Better Tomorrow, in the nation. The school is known throughout the district for its success and supports a very active stakeholder population. Throughout our conversations, Principal Firestone explained that the school's theme this year is "Stand. Because when you stand for something, you stand for whatever may come, the good, the negative, you stand."

A team player, Principal Firestone explained the various ways that she and her leadership team collaborate and share ideas. She approaches these conversations in a kind manner[12] where "we're truthful and honest and we don't get our feelings hurt … I just tell everybody up front, this is who I am, I just say what I mean." It is important to her to show the teachers and staff in the building that "I'm never going to ask you to do something that I'm not willing to do."

After spending some time in the building, it became apparent that the first external pressure that Principal Firestone mentioned in our first conversation –community involvement—was a very palpable issue. Arriving early for one of our meetings, I sat in the front office and was able to watch the constant stream of parents that passed through the office. Not a minute would pass without another parent and/or student entering the front door. Having this kind of community involvement, is both a blessing and a curse.

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[12] As a result of our conversation about this summary, I omitted the phrase "and no-nonsense manner" to emphasize the kind way that Principal Firestone approaches her team.

She explained "we welcome [community involvement], but we welcome that with guards … even though you feel sure, great intentions [are in play], you always have to be on guard."

Based upon our initial conversation about external pressures and accountability, I created the following prompts to provide Principal Firestone with some direction when taking photographs:

Table 4.15
Photograph prompts provided to Principal Firestone based upon our initial conversation
Take pictures of those moments:

a) when you have people wanting to be involved with the school (you mentioned, that even though there are most likely good intentions, you always have to be on guard). Potentially about issues related to your hands-on community
b) where you might have to pull the school's PASS scores (you mentioned, if somebody comes in and says, now you're not following this and you should be doing this, you might reference your PASS scores)
c) pertaining to student safety (we talked about how one persons' conception of safety might be totally different from another)
d) where you find yourself standing for something.
e) related to student achievement or implementing programs meant to help students problem solve.

At first Principal Firestone described the process of taking photographs as "a little stressful." The stress came as a result of being unsure of what policies to capture in photographs. She explained, "I think I was going about it backwards … instead of taking my natural day and putting it into categories, I was trying to take the categories [policies] and find something to put into it." Therefore, taking pictures for Principal Firestone was a process of showing how at various times in the day she was engaging with different policies.

Table 4.16
Overview of Principal Firestone's photographs organized by theme and policy type

Photo theme/category	Corresponding Policy Type	Number of photos
Safety	State/Federal	3
Stories about children	??	7
After School Programs	District	7
Parent Involvement/Relationships	Federal	3
Family	??	3
What we stand for	School	27
Instructional Leader	District/State/Federal	6

Engagement with Policy

I don't [want to change any particular policy] because I am the type of person, there's a policy for a reason. So I always try to look at the positive of everything. I might not like it, but it's there for a reason.

-Principal Firestone

In the above quote, Principal Firestone explained that there are not any policies off hand that she wants to change, but that is because she recognizes that the policy exists for a reason. The justification that she often gave for her reactions to and representations of policy were student achievement and "standing for something." For example, later in the same conversation she explained that she and her leadership team do not find themselves tailoring every policy and procedure for their active stakeholder community. She gives the following rationale for doing so: "it has to be about student achievement and student safety and everything else will fall into place."

Table 4.17

Policies Mentioned by Principal Firestone

District School Choice

McKinney Vento

IDEA

Student Achievement / Accountability

One example of how engaging with policy was about student achievement for

Principal Firestone was illustrated in the picture that she took of a toy bus (Fig. 4.8). To

describe the bus picture, she started by telling me about a personality test that she had

taken at a recent principal induction program:

[you] had to describe yourself using three animals, one was a Fox, one was a

Tiger and one was a St. Bernard. You had to categorize yourself how you are

most of the time. Most of the time I'm a fox … but … when pushed in a corner,

Figure 4.8.. Photograph of school bus by Principal Firestone.

or when I feel like people aren't being treated fairly, or if a child is being done

wrong, the Tiger comes out. I'm not a St. Bernard where I'm peaceful with

everybody and just playing around having a good time, that's not me ever and

that's sad. I'm either Fox or I'm Tiger. Well the Tiger had to come out on this

one. And I don't like the feeling of the Tiger because I have to confront someone.

I would rather not confront someone. I would rather use psychology and get what

I want in the end.

The incident pertaining to the school bus picture involved two special education children

that had transferred in from other districts: one from Florida that was homeless and

another from a local district that had an IEP that needed to be served in one of BFES'

classrooms. These two children from separate families needed transportation to BFES,

but district personnel informed Principal Firestone that it would take "approximately six

to seven days" for the paperwork to be processed so that the child could be transported to

school. She explained that she "asked nicely" that the paperwork be processed so that the

children could be at school to learn, but that that did not work. This is why "the Tiger had

to come out." She explained to me that she told this district person "my problem is, I

need that child in this classroom because that child cannot learn unless they're here and

student achievement is impeded when you're not in school. I was put in this job to make

student achievement happen, so if I get on your nerves, I'm sorry."

This particular example of Principal Firestone's engagement with policy

illustrates not only the way in which student achievement provided the justification for

her actions and perceptions, but also how those actions and perceptions were driven by

the three elements of the subject position: (1) subjectivity in terms of the Tiger approach that Principal Firestone described as not only her approach "when pushed into a corner," but also that she does not like being the Tiger; (2) having to do with the world in terms of situation that existed in front of her, two children needing transportation; and(3) ways through which the world makes sense in terms of the intermediary position of the district office in providing the student transportation, but also in terms of the way in which Principal Firestone had to engage the Tiger, which had a certain feel for her, but at the same time made sense.

Student achievement and standing for something were two filters through which Principal Firestone engaged with policy. She described her *Stand* platform: "I want our kids to have that edge. So everything I do, that standing position, is to make them the best. That's what I do and it is never …ending." The edge to which she refers in this quote is having cutting edge technology in the classroom, something that they do not currently have at BFES. She explained:

> I am very competitive, but I'm not a bashing competitive … but I do want my children to be number one, I want them to be first, everybody else can be second or third, I just try to give them every opportunity. One of the opportunities that we're lacking here is technology.

This particular example of Principal Firestone's engagement with policy could be aligned with the way in which Coburn (2005, 2006) uses Weick's sensemaking approach to understand the implementation of a particular reading policy and how it was influenced by the principal's cognitive understanding of reading instruction. In this example,

technology at BFES is being filtered through Principal Firestone's understanding of technology (e.g. "new Ipads are useless unless we know what we can do with them ... the children know how to play games on them, that's not something we need to teach") as well as her competitive disposition. As I will illustrate in later chapters, Principal Firestone's engagement with policy goes beyond a cognitive dimension.

Subject Position

In the previous section, I provided examples of Principal Firestone's engagement with policy to illustrate the overlapping nature of policy at BFES and the three dimensions of Principal Firestone's subject position. In this section, I will describe the three dimensions in greater detail: having to do with the individual, having to do with the world and ways through which the world makes sense.

Having to do with the individual. On several occasions, Principal Firestone would reference her background. She explained, "I was poor and we lived in a trailer and my mom and dad were blue collar folk that just tried to make ends meet." Often times, she uses her background as the rationale for her thoughts or actions. For instance, she explained that she did not judge a parent based on the fact that his arms were covered in tattoos because of how she was raised. Thus, her upbringing gives her a particular level of awareness when she perceived this particular parent (Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9. Photograph of parent by Principal Firestone. Cropped by author.

When talking about the students at BFES, Principal Firestone often referred to them as "my children." For instance, because the Electra 91 school district has become a district of choice, she and the other principals in Electra 91 talked about having to market their school. She explained

> I always said I'm not a saleswoman, but I'm getting really good at it. I'm working
>
> on those skills, and … that's not my personality, like I could never sell you a car
>
> … but when I'm talking about my children, these children here. I can sell you on
>
> them because I'm only going to do for them what I want for my own kids.

This particular quote contains several identity claims on the part of Principal Firestone (e.g. I am not a saleswoman; I am not the kind of person that likes selling things). I infer that she is also telling me that she loves her biological children and therefore loves the children at her school. The level of caring that she attributes to her children, biological and otherwise, suggests a particular awareness on her part of issues pertaining to these

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children that are subjective in nature as opposed to objective. In other words, I interpret the above statement to say that while Principal Firestone is not a natural saleswoman, she is able to sell things that she believes to be important to her. The fact that these children are *important to her* tells me that when faced with a horizon of possibilities, these children would be more in focus than other things on that horizon just as a result of the self-knowledge that Principal Firestone has of herself.

Figure 4.10. Photograph of grade level meeting by Principal Firestone.

Another example having to do with the subjective state of the individual, Principal Firestone, involved her "taking the blame" for her teachers. While describing the photograph of a grade level planning meeting (Figure 4.10), she explained that she had to confront her teachers about being third in the district for their math scores. I inferred that it was an uncomfortable meeting because she told me, "at first they were very defensive which we all get, because we take ownership, and if you aren't defensive something's wrong because then you don't care and you're lackadaisical." There are

several normative claims within this statement: it is best to take ownership, to initially be defensive, yet being lackadaisical is bad.

Because all of these expectations were looming within this conversation, Principal Firestone explained

> I could've easily gone in there and said "how dare you, we've never been third what're you doing to do to fix it?" but student achievement would've gone downhill. So give it to me. I will take all of the blame, as long as those kids achieve.

In this quote, Principal Firestone described what she was thinking when she was in this meeting rather than what she actually said to her third grade teachers. By telling me what she was thinking rather than what is in the photograph, Principal Firestone represented her self-knowledge to me, and thereby giving me a representation of her self-knowledge that requires a little less inference than other examples. The fact that she knew that she could accuse her teachers demonstrates the way that there were other possibilities on her horizon, but she chose to take the blame instead. In this way, taking the blame illustrate the level of awareness that she brought to this scenario that had to do with her self-knowledge.

Having to do with the world. The unpredictable nature of her job was a common topic throughout our conversations. She told me a story about a picture that she didn't take:

We had a car one morning… that came out here in the car loop and it had broken

down and it had its flashers on, but no one was there. So my first response, my gut

… was there's a bomb in the car.

This quote illustrates the way that the having to do with the world dimension of the

subject position can have normative elements associated with Foucault's idea of

historical contingencies. As I explained in chapter one, having to do with the world is

about where the individual is positioned in the world—her situated-ness. In this case, the

abandoned car and Principal Firestone's reaction to it illustrates situated-ness of living in

a world where that image conjures up the idea that not only could a bomb be present, but

also there's no objective or accurate way of immediately knowing exactly what is going

on.

Quotes related to the school, the district and the stakeholder community

represented more objective accounts of the having to do with the world dimension of the

subject position of Principal Firestone. For instance, she explained the open door policy

of her district

They [the district office] never want you to say, "well, I think the policy says this,

so let's try this." They don't put a shadow on you if you keep calling … they

appreciate letting them know what is going on in the building.

This quote illustrates the way that the district and its approach to *problem issues* exist

within Principal Firestone's subject position. I infer from this quote that the district office

assists with many policy-related instances: that principals report that the district office is

helpful and that principals do not report that the district office is a hindrance to resolving

problem issues. Principal Firestone contrasts this helpful quality of the district office with the idea of putting "a shadow on you." From our conversation, I inferred that this "shadow" was perceptual normative aspect of Principal Firestone's world, where doing something wrong would result in punishment.

As I have already explained, the stakeholder population at BFES is particularly hands-on. Statements to this effect throughout our conversations attest to this being an element of the having to do with the world portion of Principal Firestone's subject position. For instance, she explained how she has to be deliberate about setting boundaries for stakeholder involvement during the school day: "I'm sure this policy is not something that if you don't live in a community that is really hands on, that's probably one you never even have to think about." In this quote, Principal Firestone refers to the "hands on" nature of her stakeholder community as an objective fact.

Ways through which the world makes sense. Outside authority, as in the district office, for example, showed up several times in our conversations. In the following quote, Principal Firestone explains how a consultant came to evaluate BFES' special education program:

> We've had Ms. Pickens come in who is a consultant from around the country to look at our special ed classrooms to make sure we are right on track with instructing them, making sure that we are using what we need [in] the curriculum.

Thus, *through* the direction of Ms. Pickens, Principal Firestone knows that the special education program at BFES is using the appropriate curriculum.

Given the team-based leadership approach of Principal Firestone, one of the ways that she made sense of the world was through group process sessions. She describes these sessions:

I might have an idea , but you switched something else and it becomes better and you add something and its ten times better and it's a group, it's a team, … everything we do is going to be a team, it's not going to be this is what I said now do it. That's not the way we work, … I'm not afraid to say this is what I'm thinking if they go, "no I don't think that will work," I don't take offense to that, I'm, like, well let's compromise.

Principal Firestone explained that she relies on her leadership team to have ideas about the particular policy, program or child that they were talking about. She also expected them to add to and change the ideas that she brings to these meetings. In this way, the quote above describes one of the ways through which Principal Firestone makes sense of the world, through conversations with her leadership team.

There were also aspects of Principal Firestone's *subjectivity* that served as a medium through which her world made sense. For instance, when I asked her if there was a policy that she wanted to change, she responded:

I don't know. I don't think so yet … right off hand, I don't because I am the type of person, there's a policy for a reason. So I always try to look at the positive of everything. I might not like it, but it's there for a reason … now do I like it, no, but do I value it, yeah.

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This quote illustrates how the value that she places on policies affects the ways that she approaches policy decisions.

On several occasions, how a particular decision, conversation or event felt, affected the way that Principal Firestone understood that situation. Thus, how it felt served as a medium through which the world made sense. She told me the story behind a picture of her daughter, where her daughter was accused of bullying someone in her class. She explained

> It was awful. It was uncomfortable. It was one that, it was awful. When I got that email I literally just wanted to kill her and then it would just be over with … it was bad. But after the fact, it was good. It was a good event to happen for our school. Because now that parent when talking with other parents can say look I know she's fair.

While talking about this particular photo and her experience dealing with this bullying issue, I inferred from Principal Firestone's body position and hand motions that feeling "awful" and "uncomfortable" had a particular feeling to it. We talked about how she called the parent of the bullied child and how dealing with this issue head-on required her to disregard the uncomfortable feeling of the fact that her daughter was involved in bullying (it turned out that it was a group that she was a part of). This is an example of how being embodied and having senses affected Principal Firestone's understanding of a particular policy implementation event. I will describe more of these instances in the next chapter.

Conclusion

In this section, I have represented Janet Firestone as a principal that understands that "policies are there, but they are the underscore." This underscore quality of policy is illustrated in the ways that engaging with policy, for Principal Firestone was as much about her, being a Tiger for example as it was about the policy. In this way, Principal Firestone, who she is and how she is, was a filter through which policy happened at BFES.

Conclusion

This chapter represents the subject positions of six principals-engaged-with-policy. These subject positions are very different from one another, but the idiosyncrasies among them paint a picture of policy implementation that complicates the linear, cognitive picture of implementing policy that I presented in chapter two. I have intentionally segmented portions of each individuals' subject position so as to help the reader understand them better; however, in the next chapter, I complicate and problematize these divisions.

CHAPTER FIVE

A REPRESENTATION OF THE SENSORIAL, EMBODIED DIMENSION OF BEING A PRINCIPAL-ENGAGED-WITH-POLICY

Purpose of Chapter

The purpose of this study was to explore the particularities of the sensorial dimension of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position. In the previous chapter, I answered the first research question in this study: what do the subject positions of the principal-engaged-with-policy look like for six South Carolina principals? I answered this question by representing the different dimensions of the principals' subject positions and illustrating the ways in which engaging with policy was threaded throughout these representations.

In this chapter, I answer the first sub-question of this study, what do the sensorial dimensions of this position look like? In chapter two, I discussed the concept of embodiment and the role of the senses within the world according to Merleau-Ponty's conception of perception. In this chapter, I illustrate the ways in which these two ideas (i.e. the senses and embodiment) of the body were represented within my conversations with the six principals-engaged-in-policy. The reader will recall that chapters four and five are meant to be understood in concert with one another in that they represent the unit of analysis—the subject position of the principals-engaged-with-policy—from two separate perspectives: (1) an overview comprising the three dimensions and (2) a more in depth picture of the particular embodied and sensorial features.

In particular, each section of this chapter will address the medial nature of aspects having to do with embodiment and the senses—that is the ways that the body mediates the ways in which principals-engaged-in-policy understand their work with regards to policy. Thus, rather than situated within a linear picture of implementation, principals-engaged-with-policy are confronted with and find themselves responding to policies that exceed both top-down and bottom-up formulations of the policy process. This excess is evident in the ways that the body figures into their engagement. The chapter advances from one representation of the body and embodiment to the next such that I begin with a more objective account of the body and progressively move away from objectivity into embodied knowledge. Each section is meant to demonstrate the progressively subjective ways that the senses and embodiment exist for principals-engaged-with-policy and concludes with a discussion of examples of embodied knowledge.

Structure of Chapter

As I will discuss in chapter six, the process of representing the body, embodiment and/or the senses is not a common occurrence within education practice. Because of this lack of discourse regarding the body and the senses, participants represented the dimension in a range of different forms. This chapter progresses by delineating different elements of the body and embodiment in order to demonstrate how they are all implicated as embodied knowledge. The chapter begins by explaining the more objective elements of embodiment the senses—vision, hearing, touch, smell and taste—and how they were represented in my conversation with these principals.

Next, focusing on the importance that Pink (2009) gave to the concept of emplacement, I talk about the ways that participants discussed the value of being physically present in particular situations. Then, I discuss the ways in which the participants discussed their health and how that affected their engagement with policy. Finally, I highlight examples where participants and I talked about how it feels to be a principal-engaged-with-policy. These examples recognize the relationship between feelings and the body in that our body often gives us signals related to being happy or angry (e.g. anxiety or adrenaline). Throughout these sections, I provide the reader with examples of the ways in which these different dimensions of embodiment are explained by the philosophies of embodiment that I employed in chapter two. It is important to keep in mind the intertwined nature of policy and the subject position that I represented in chapter four. It is not separate from the senses and embodiment that I represent in this chapter, but implicated and intertwined as well.

The Senses

In this section, I describe instances where the senses—smell, hearing, vision, in particular—figured into my conversations with the principals-engaged-in-policy in this study. As I explained in chapter two, the senses figure prominently in Merleau-Ponty's (1968, 2000) philosophy of perception: these senses are the medium through which individuals perceive the world. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the senses are not objective components of perception, but part of a conglomeration of elements that make up the sensing, knowing body. Merleau-Ponty (1968a) explained:

We know: hands do not suffice for touch—but to decide for this reason alone that our hands do not touch, and to relegate them to the world of objects or of instruments, would be, in acquiescing to the bifurcation of the subject and object, to forego in advance the understanding of the sensible and to deprive ourselves of its lights. … We say therefore that our body is a being of two leaves, from one side a thing among things and otherwise what sees them and touches them; we say, because it is evident, that it unites these two properties within itself, and its double belongingness to the order of the "object" and to the order of the "subject" (p. 137).

In the above quote, Merleau-Ponty (1968a) delineated between the body as an objective entity, but also the self-knowledge that is a product of the body that does not possesses the same objective quality. He makes this distinction between objective and subjective elements of the body and particularly the senses because of the way that these two qualities are at once intermingled together through the existence of the body within the world.

In the previous chapter, I did not go so far as to describe the medial element— ways through which the world makes sense—as distinctly the senses because of this intermingled nature of subjective and objective within embodiment; however, but because there are elements of both, I begin this chapter by describing the senses in a more objective fashion.

When I asked him how his senses might have affected his job, Principal Portsmouth paused and told me about how one day a teacher reported that a room in the

building was emanating a bad smell. Unfortunately, Principal Portsmouth explained that he doesn't have a great sense of smell, so he had a hard time determining what the smell "smelled like." Because he could not figure out what it "smelled like" he had trouble describing the smell to the district office. The district personnel, tasked with solving the smell issue, could not get to the school until the smell had subsided. For this reason, the smell issue could not be resolved until it came back.

In my conversations with Principal Blake, he often told me stories that centered on the importance of using his vision or hearing. For instance, he reflected

you really have to be an observer of people. … if we go to a meeting, … ok, for the most part, if I'm the person doing the talking, I need you to watch the room. I need you to watch, when I said this, did somebody [Principal Blake moves in seat] ok. If you're talking, I'm the one watching the room, I'm looking. When we get to a situation where everybody wants to talk that means nobody is watching the room. Nobody's getting a feel of ok, hmm, you know what, when you said we wanted to try this approach, I could tell. How could you tell, I could tell by the body language. I could tell by, what was writing down. She didn't write anything down until you said such-and-such.

In this example, Principal Blake explains how in a meeting (in this example he is talking about meetings at the district office) it is important for at least one person to be attune to their senses, rather than to be caught up in the conversation. This distinction delineates between two different kinds of experiences that of paying attention to the senses and that

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of being caught up in conversation. It also demonstrates that Principal Blake understands the importance of paying attention to the senses.

In our first meeting, Principal Firestone told me about her last experience at a board meeting, where she and other staff members from Ben Franklin Elementary presented this years "stand" theme. She explained

> we had teachers come in, and as teachers this is what we stand for and we talked to our community and we brought our community in … and as a community this is what we stand for. And [we had] the music [playing] behind it because I think music speaks to everybody. I just really do, I think music and the lyrics, if people listen to them, they'll speak. So the music behind our presentation was *Stand By You*.

In this quote, Principal Firestone acknowledged the affect that sound can have on people. I inferred from this statement that she is referring to the way that overlaying sound to a particular image or, in this case, presentation, can elicit an emotional response.

Finally, each of the principals in this study at one point in time during our conversations mentioned that observations of teachers figured into the work that they do. For example, when we were discussing the various types of data that Principal Portsmouth used to support student success at Shircliff Elementary, he mentioned that

> I do observations just so I get a feel for what they are teaching. And how they're teaching and teaching styles and learning them … everything's kept online. I don't use data from that. The only data I use from that [observation] is did I visit them this month … there are not certain things I check that I'm looking for.

Given that principals are required by policy to observe teachers in order to evaluate them, such a quote should come as no surprise. In the quote above, Principal Portsmouth differentiates between observations that he does for his own professional use and those that he does for evaluative purposes as mandated by the state.

In this section, I have described the various ways that participants represented their senses in our conversations. In the previous chapter, I illustrated the overlapping and intertwined nature of the principal and his or her engagement with policy within their subject position. Thus, these representations are meant to be understood within this context

Being Physically Present

This chapter considers the sensorial dimension of the principal-engaged-with-policy, which I have explained can be represented in several different ways. One of these representations is described by Pink's (2009) concept of "emplacement." She describes emplacement in terms of "our multisensorial embodied engagements with others … and with their social, material, discursive and sensory environments" (p. 25-26). Thus, emplacement recognizes the importance of the environment in which the engagement takes places just as much as the engagement itself.

Where I identified the senses as an aspect of embodiment that was represented in my conversations with principals-engaged-with-policy, in this section, being physically present is a relatively objective factor that involved the participants' bodies. Pink's (2009) concept of emplacement points to the importance of the physical environment in which being present takes place. Rather than focusing solely on location in the physical

environment, examples that follow illustrate the importance of being physically within that environment.

Throughout my conversations with Principal McCalister, he told me about the various discipline issues that he encountered at Forest City Senior High School. Given the rural, isolated location of Forest City, place played an important role in his job. In the following example, Principal McCalister explained how he tried to modify parent conferences to accommodate parents who had to drive long distances to work every morning. He told me that when a child gets In-School Suspension, he needs a parent's signature,

> and they [parents] are kind of mad at me when they get here, but I say ma'am, they got this form in their bookbag, all you have to do is sign it and hand it to me as you drive by. Oh, then they kind of get mad at their [child]. I've always liked doing parent conferences outside of here, if I can. If they get out of the car mad, usually you can watch them. They're thinking of what they're going to say when they get to the office. Catch them on the front steps, say "I'll save you some steps. Just hand me the form. I appreciate it. It was this, this and this. Oh I don't need to come in, no ma'am that's all I needed, thank you."

Earlier in this conversation as I discussed in chapter four, Principal McCalister explained how he stood out in front of the school in the mornings as parents drove by to get to work so that he could get parents' signatures and no one has to get out of their car.

In the quote above, Principal McCalister also explained how he liked to have parent conferences outside of his office as much as possible. I inferred from this quote

that one of the reasons that he wanted to have these conferences outside of his office is

the fact that many parents do not think very positively about spending time in the

principal's office whether because of their childhood experiences or cultural assumptions.

Additionally, in the example above, Principal McCalister was able to partially mitigate

any anger or hostility parents might direct at him.

Another example of the importance of being physically present in particular

spaces was represented by Principal Portsmouth when I asked him how his senses might

have figured into the story about the windows cracking and district personnel debating

with the construction staff about why they cracked. He responded:

> I guess just the dialogue back and forth between these other guys and the topic of
>
> what they're talking about has nothing to do with the solution. I understand
>
> wanting to figure out why, but then also thinking that's not more important than
>
> replacing it.

I inferred from Principal Portsmouth's answer to my question that this quote is telling me

what it was like to be there listening to several men debate the reason why the windows

were cracking in Shircliff Elementary classrooms. Thus, he is telling me about the sounds

that he is hearing, but also the experience of being physically present in these meetings.

Later on in this conversation, I asked him what might have happened had he not been

present at these meetings because he had explained that it was his prerogative to be

present. He laughed and told me that they would probably still be there debating why the

windows cracked or trying to determine how they could simulate a lab setting so as to

recreate the conditions for the cracking scenario. For this reason, the above quote gets at

the importance that Principal Portsmouth placed on the fact that he was physically

present.

In my conversations with Principal Blake, there were several places of which he

took photographs in order to tell me about the personal and professional significance that

they had for him. One of these places was the data room that was next to his office

Figure 5.1. Photograph of Principal Blake's data wall.

(Figure 5.1). He verbally narrated the photograph:

That's my little room right there [points]. That's … not necessarily my war room,

but that's [where we] look at data. It's a small room. [Points to picture] they know

these are red and green boxes. They know I need to see green boxes. And they see

everybody else's boxes and they're green. I don't have to say as much about, "you

need to get on the ball." I might have to say, "Amanda you have a lot of red right here. You know when we talk again these are going to need to turn green and you ought to be able to do it because out of seven of your boxes, five of them were two points or less. So, your kid was a minus one, we can turn that one around." But now also you see how important one point is sometimes. When we get in there and meet and I do them by myself... I want to be one-on-one and I want the teacher to feel comfortable enough to tell me [what is going on]. … I want the teachers to feel comfortable coming directly to me to tell me if the kids are not achieving because of something that is not the kids' fault. I want to know that.

The combination of the narrated caption and the photograph is important because just seen alone, the photograph could be understood to represent the practice of reducing students and teachers to numbers and data. This explanation seemed to be a common interpretation of the Education Policy Fellows Program participants. However, through the narration, Principal Blake explained how being in the data room, inhabiting that space, was about giving depth to these numbers. Not only did he ask his teachers about what was going on with different students, but he went so far as to explain that being in that room was about "feel[ing] comfortable" about taking about things that are "not the kids fault."

In this section, I have described several examples where participants represented in photographs or through our conversations scenarios where it was important for the principal to be physically present. Being physically present, in these examples, had as much to do with the space that the principals inhabited as their senses and bodies.

Health

In Chapters Two and Four, I discussed the different mediums through which principals engage with policy. Given that mediums are the connective tissue between two separate places, sometimes it is hard to delineate the particular qualities of the medium. Take for instance, a window. It is the medium through which I am able to see the tree that is flowering outside of my house. Because of the transparent quality of windows, if it weren't for the screen on the outside of the window, it would be hard for me to describe the window outside of the transparent quality. For this reason, while the body and the senses often act as a medium through which principals engage with policy for example, it is sometimes hard to grasp the qualities of this medium unless it is not working properly.

In the next chapter, I will discuss issues related to representing the sensorial dimension such that it is easier to do when it is not working properly. For now, in this section, I share some examples of the ways that principals' health factored into their work. These examples serve to illustrate the ways that bodies function as a medium through which principals interpret their work (e.g., their engagement with policy) because it is easier to see a medium when it is not functioning properly (e.g., like a crack on the window through which I see the tree blooming).

While explaining what he meant by the word "tough" Principal Portsmouth also mentioned that when he first started as a principal, "I was highly medicated on all kinds of different medicines. I wasn't sure how to handle the stress and how to balance that stress with my home life and just normal stuff." I inferred from this quote that he explained that the stress of his job was a feeling that prohibited him from balancing work

and home life. But also, this quote illustrates the way that mental health—feeling anxious, angry or scared, for example—factors into the work that principals do.

Mental health was not the only way that health factored into my conversations with principals-engaged-with-policy. Principal Firestone she often talked about how she hoped that next year she would know better how to handle the stress of her new job. She explained one way that the job was taking a toll on her physically:

> I try to stay aware of my body and what it's saying. Like this right here, is just tired, this is tired, not that I talk all day, but my body physically is wearing out [points to her throat] because this week, we have something every night. … so it's something every day. So that's all this is [her throat]. This is your body saying need to stop, you need to stop.

I inferred from the fact that she did not point to her throat until later on in this quote that she assumed that her voice was broken and cracking, but I had not noticed. In this example, Principal Firestone explained how her throat was sore as a result of having to be at work until at least eight o'clock for several nights in a row. Her statement of "I try to stay aware of my body" illustrates the way that her body served as a medium through which she could gauge not only her health, but also the level of engagement that she has with her work.

Later on in this conversation, she told me that

they had to put a heart monitor on me because I woke up one day and I was like shortness of breath, arm going numb and all it was was stress and I thought, this is

not happening, I'm not doing this, so I literally have to just take it one event at a time.

This example show the way that Principal Firestone's body served as a filter through which she does her job. Because of the anxiety that she felt, she amended the approach that she took to her work. Instead of trying to think of how to do everything at once, she began to organize her work so that she could deal with one thing at a time.

These examples illustrate the ways that mental and physical health served as a filter through which principals-engaged-with-policy understand their work. It is important to consider these examples; however, in light of the representation that I shared in the previous chapter of these individuals' subject position so as not to overshadow the work that they do with the few moments or experience in which their health was not optimal.

How It Feels: Embodied Knowledge

In this section, I describe examples where participants share with me *how it feels* to be a principal-engaged-with-policy. These examples are illustrative of the ways that the body serves as a medium, but is also implicated and wrapped up in mediation. For this reason, within these examples, it is more difficult to delineate between objective and subjective elements (e.g. the senses and the perception resulting from the senses as with Principal Portsmouth and smell). Additionally, because of the ways that how it feels are wrapped up with the body as well as more traditional forms of cognitive knowledge, I refer to these examples as embodied knowledge.

In the first section of this chapter, I shared the following quote from Merleau-Ponty (1968a): "we say therefore that our body is a being of two leaves, from one side a

thing among things and otherwise what sees them and touches them" (p. 137). The two

leaves to which he referred illustrate the objective and subjective ends of the medial

quality of the body. At the same time, there is an intermingling of these qualities. He

warned his reader not to conflate these two leaves:

> to speak of leaves or of layers is still to flatten and to juxtapose, under the
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> reflective gaze, what coexists in the living and upright body … If the body is one
>
> sole body in its two …[leaves], it incorporates into itself the whole of the sensible
>
> and with the same movement incorporates itself into a "Sensible in itself." We
>
> have to reject the age-old assumptions that put the body in the world and the seer
>
> in the body, or, conversely, the world and the body in the seer as in a box" (p.
>
> 138).

In this quote, Merleau-Ponty (1968a) explained that the senses, one of the leaves to which

he referred here as "the sensible," are intermingled and inextricably tied up with that

which does the sensing ("the seer in the body"), which is often associated with the

cognitive aspect of perception. In chapter one, I wrote about this as cognitive knowledge.

In this way, embodied knowledge adds to the picture of the principal-engaged-with-

policy by blurring the distinction between the world, the body and the knowledge that an

individual has of the world.

In chapter four, to describe the subject positions of six principals-engaged-with-

policy, I separated out the world, subjectivity and the medium through which the world

makes sense as though I could put each one "in a box" as Merleau-Ponty (1968a)

described the seer and the body. In this section, however I illustrate that they actually

happen together and at-once. For this reason, this section is about how it feels to be a principal-engaged with policy, where I cannot delineate the senses from the world nor the subjective from either.

When I asked Principal Arbre to explain what he brings to the job at Stanton Academy of the Arts that other principals might not in hopes of learning more about the subjective dimension of his subject position, one of the things that he talked about was "being level-headed, although I'm passionate." During this conversation, he told me that "being level-headed" meant that he was "good in a crisis." We talked about how being "good in a crisis" was important because adrenaline was contagious. Principal Arbre confirmed "and people don't like to be around that [adrenaline] for very long, it's exhausting." From this conversation, I inferred that "being-level headed" had a subjective and bodily quality that went beyond cognitive knowledge. Instead, "being level-headed" is an example of embodied knowledge of the principal-engaged-with-policy.

In my first photo-interview with Principal Portsmouth, he kept using the word "tough" to describe what it was like to be a principal-engaged-with-policy. To better understand what he meant, I asked him to clarify. He responded:

> I think for me what makes it tough, is the stress that comes with it, from so many
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> different places, and it never seems to stop. I think that's part of the nature of a
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> position like this, is my job is to take care of all of the problems; so that my
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> teachers can teach and my students can learn. The problems don't stop, they
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> continue, and the severity of the problem, and from which direction the problem
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> is coming, those things change, but there is a constant cycle and so. There is

constant stress and for me, the hardest part when I started as a principal was handling that stress. … I do better with that now …but it is tough because it never stops. It's tough enough, or the job's difficult enough without curve balls. Like this morning, we had four teachers whose kids or grandkids all go to the same daycare. Stomach bug going around the day care, so all 4 of the kids are sick. So as a result all 4 of my teachers [are out today] … it all took place late last night and early this morning, so securing substitutes on a limited basis is tough. We have nine out today, nine teachers out. Last Friday, I had 18 folks out … between professional development, conference, family situations, genuine sicknesses and so. All those little things that are part of life and part of the everyday things, they get in the way at handling the other problems that come up, with angry parents or teachers making poor decisions or things like that. So I think all those things together is what makes it tough. The fact that it never ends.

The idea that *being a principal is tough* was a somewhat regular refrain in my conversation with principals in this study and in the pilot study (Werts, Brewer, & Mathews, 2012). I often inferred that participants were referring to the difficult and complex nature of being a principal. For instance Principal McCalister told me "to modify a schedule, with limited resources at a school this size, is tough." Principal Blake explained that he needed "one day to kinda let your brain and your body rest, and I think that's tough for me." In each of these short examples, the word tough denotes the first definition listed in the Oxford English Dictionary, "of close tenacious substance or texture," in the way that red meat can be "tough."

The above quote from Principal Portsmouth, however, seems to give a more nuanced picture of "tough." In the examples from Principals McCalister and Blake, they explain the way in which it is hard to break themselves away from school in the case of Principal Blake, or the schedule apart to accommodate transfers from other districts for Principal McCalister. These two examples allude to pieces that are hard to break apart, but present them as a cohesive whole.

Principal Portsmouth's example of "tough," on the other hand, demonstrates the frenetic nature of the parts within the "tough" big picture. The following is a depiction of the "tough" big picture—the cohesive reality which is difficult to break apart:

the stress that comes … from so many different places and … never seems to stop … the problems don't stop, they continue, … the severity of the problem … from which the direction is coming, those things change, but there is a constant cycle.

At the same time, Principal Portsmouth explained that the nature of being "tough" goes beyond that cohesive big picture, that there are also curve balls. Thus, in this example Principal Portsmouth explains both the parts—curve balls— and the whole—it never ends— that make his job "tough."

Being tough also affects the principal-engaged-with-policy in both cognitive and embodied ways. Being tough has an objective quality, having a rather impenetrable texture or surface, for instance. At the same time, when I refer to the quality of being tough, it incites an emotional or bodily response. When Principal Portsmouth talked about "the stress that comes with it, from so many different places, and it never seems to

stop" he is referring to the way it feels as much as describing a particular event or objective entity.

Talking about how it feels to be a principal can be difficult because in pure semiotic terms, there referent is intangible and thus often relegated into the realm of the subjective. Thinking about how it feels instead as a product of embodied knowledge, brings the referent into the realm of the world, the body and the subject who feels. In the previous quote, I asked Principal Portsmouth to refine what he meant by the word "tough" and thus he provided me with a potentially more objective reference to "tough." In the following quote, Principal Firestone and I shared with each other what it means for something to feel "uncomfortable." She was explaining the photograph of her daughter to which I referred in chapter four, which she used to talk about her daughter being accused of bullying a kid in her class. She told me:

> It was awful. It was uncomfortable. It was awful. When I got that email I literally just wanted to kill her and then it would just be over with … if only. It was bad. But after the fact, it was good. It was a good event to happen for our school. Because now that parent when talking with other parents can say look I know she's fair. This is what happened, this is what she did. This is what was implemented … But while going through it, it was bad. It wasn't bad like a scenario of [the superintendent being] involved bad. It was uncomfortable feeling bad.

I followed up by remarking "It's like your gut just doesn't feel right. If you could, you would just avoid it." Principal Firestone responded, "But if you avoid it, it makes it worse

so you just have to tackle it head on with just kindness and fairness." In this quote, Principal Firestone was telling me how it felt to learn that her daughter might be a bully and to confront the parent of the child that she was bullying. There were objective elements to this admission, now the parent can tell other parents "I know she is fair" because Principal Firestone handled the situation with her daughter as she would have if any other child at her school was involved. This element serves to illustrate why it felt good "after the fact" as much as it did to tell me what happened.

In the quote, Principal Firestone contrasted an objective kind of "bad" with her feeling that it was bad—the "uncomfortable feeling bad." I suggested that having that kind of feelings could be a factor that would cause someone to avoid feeling that way, but Principal Firestone acknowledged that avoidance only heighted the feeling. While how it feels did not affect the overall outcome of this scenario, the exchange between myself and Principal Firestone illustrated that it is still an element of being a principal-engaged-with-policy.

So while "being uncomfortable" was a feeling that Principal Firestone and I mutually acknowledged, there was no objective referent, not was this discussion just about a cognitive subjective element. Instead, talking about "being uncomfortable" had a bodily referent, a feeling that you feel in your gut. Thus, "being uncomfortable" served as an example of embodied knowledge of the principal-engaged-with-policy.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided examples of different representations of embodied knowledge as occurred in my conversation with six principals-engaged-with-policy. In

the previous chapter, I represented the subject position of these principals in order to lay the foundation through which embodied knowledge exists. Embodied knowledge describes what an individual knowledge about the world through a combination of body, mind and the world.

The senses, the body, health (whether the body is working properly or not) and feelings are different forms through which embodied knowledge can be represented; however, this chapter also touched on the difficulty that language poses for the expression of embodied knowledge. The referent of embodied knowledge encompasses some element of the body and not some abstract ethereal idea. For this reason, embodied knowledge is different from cognitive knowledge, which takes on more definitive subjective and objective forms. In the same way that, the semiotic referent of embodied knowledge is not always clear, thinking about embodied knowledge in terms of engagement with policy conjures up a less linear picture of policy implementation. In this picture, policy implementation and engagement is more about the particular world in which we live rather than that which we think. In the next chapter, I will discuss the ways in which a lack of discourse about embodiment and the body posed a challenge for studying principals-engaged-with-policy.

CHAPTER SIX

DOING RESEARCH *WITH* PRINCIPALS-ENGAGED-WITH-POLICY: PARTICIPATION, DISCOURSE AND RESEARCHING THE SENSORIAL AND EMBODIED

Purpose of Chapter

The purpose of this study was to explore the particularities of the sensorial dimension of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position. In this chapter, I address the process-related research questions: how are principal's representations and understandings of the sensorial dimension affected by the research process, and how can one describe the process of representing the sensorial dimensions of the subject position? To answer these questions, I consider what it means to do research *with* principals by reflecting on the ways that we engaged in the research process and the ways by which these principals chose to make use of the research experience and tell me about their experiences with policy. I draw upon the data collected in our conversations and my research journal.

My original intention was to study principals-engaged-with-policy in a participatory way, focusing on community-building through the use of portions of the photo-voice method; however, the engagement from principals as co-researchers did not happen. In this section, I will describe what it was like to do research *with* principals-engaged-with-policy. I focus on the various mediums that we used to communicate about engagement with policy: the research process itself, photographs and particular

discourses about policy and embodiment. In particular, I describe the ways that these different mediums helped us communicate and at times talk past each other.

Structure of Chapter

As I represented in chapter four, each principal engaged in this study in different and dynamic ways. This chapter begins by describing the enthusiastic, dynamic and at times frustrating ways that principals *participated* in the research process. First, I describe the ways that I attempted to create a *participatory* research process. Participants engaged with the study in significantly different ways such that at times they modified and adapted what I had originally intended for the research process. Then, I illustrate these differences in the ways that they went about taking pictures, what they took pictures of and finally how they used the project as a means for reflection.

In the next section, I reflect upon the affect that differences in the discourses employed by me and different participants had on the research process. As I explained in chapter two, policy is represented often through discourse rather than any particular policy document (Ball, 2005). Thus, critical policy analysis research highlights the ways that people and their knowledge pervade and thus affect the policy process (Ball et al., 2011; Yanow, 2000). I also explain how the discourse of *being a principal* in terms of their organizational position affected the research process. Finally, I reflect and describe the lack of possible language and discourse about embodiment and the senses within the realm of the principal-engaged-with-policy.

Participatory Process

Participatory research is meant to engage participants such that they are able to co-construct meaning with the original researcher through the research process, but also that they take on the mantle of *researcher* (Kincheloe, 2003). Thus, in participatory research, co-researchers have the opportunity to shape and alter the direction of the research and research process. In this section, I discuss the opportunities that I provided participants to co-research with me by taking pictures and reflect about their engagement with policy. It is important to keep in mind, however, that these are examples of my attempts to provide participatory opportunities, because what resulted was not a participatory study.

In chapter four, I shared the photograph prompts that I provided to each principal. I created these prompts using the conversations that I had had with the principal about accountability and external pressures as a guide. As much as possible I included the principals' language in the prompts. With one exception (e.g.,. Principal McCalister's prompts), none of these prompts told principals which policies to take pictures of, but rather evoked particular situations that they had previously encountered first-hand. In this way, I wanted them to take pictures of policy as they happened in their daily lives such that it would be an opportunity to be reflective and make the research process about them. As I will explain in later sections, this level of ownership over the research process did not happen.

Sharing Data

One of the ways that I tried to extend participation to principals beyond the interviewer-interviewee relationship was to share written and visual products that I created with them. For instance, in our last meeting, I shared the participant summaries included in the chapter four. I met with four out of the six principals to talk about the summaries. The other two (Principals McCalister and Forester) and I communicated via email about the summary. On the whole, participants did not amend or comment on the participant summaries. All of the principals with the exception of Principal Forester told me in one form or another that the summary "looked good." Two out of the four with whom I met face-to-face acknowledged that when first reading the summary, they believed that I had sent them the wrong summary because they did not recognize their name (pseudonym).

In our conversation about the summary, Principal Arbre pointed out the photograph category "because its an art school" as his "favorite thing … you have these five pictures you didn't know what to do with and you just said, well it's because it's an art school." I explained to him that I used that particular category because that was the language that he used to describe those particular pictures. I inferred from our conversation that he liked the freedom of the method in that I was able to involve those pictures without forcing them into a policy category.

Principal Firestone had the most remarkable reaction to the summary. She explained her reaction:

Oh, there was one piece right here … the fifth paragraph when it said: "A team

player … [reads paragraph aloud]. When I heard that it came across, I was like

you are a little [derogatory term]. Oh gah, you know, but I have really worked on

that. Because I'm not, I'm not that way at all, but I am very much, like a lot on

my plate. 'OK' and 'this is what we need to do' and 'this what we need to do,' but

I have and I will say I have I knew that about me, and I knew that's what I knew

that people could take that the wrong way, so I have really tried to lengthen my

conversations because I don't like to talk.

Because of this reaction, I went back and amended the summary to try to soften the "no

nonsense" manner of Principal Firestone; however, as I will discuss later in this chapter,

rather than being an example of where we became co-researchers, this reflection by

Principal Firestone is an example of how I served as an outside confident with whom

participants were able to talk freely and reflect, similar to a therapist role.

I printed out one photograph taken by each principal and framed it with a quote of

the principal narrating or describing the photograph. Before printing and framing, I

showed each principal one to three examples of a photograph and caption. In all but one

case, the response I received, was "looks good." Principal McCalister was the only

participant that wanted to add to the caption provided. He did not comment directly on

the photo or caption, but said

one of the things I will tell you, how can I word this for you, that looks good

[referring to photos and captions], in other words we're required to do it, but it is

making a difference, it's not a policy that in other words, it not a policy that all

the lights must be turned off in the building.

I inferred from this comment that he was adding to the original caption of this photograph

(Figure 3.1):

You see where it says student of the month. We're required to have a Character

Ed program. The question is: how do we do it? It's not in the policy on what to

do, but you have to do it and you're evaluated on it.

The subtle amendment that Principal Forester made to the caption suggested to me that he

believed character education policies to be different from facilities-related policies like

turning out the light in the Coca-Cola machine or turning in paperwork to Department of

Social Services. Similar to the example with Principal Firestone commenting on her

participant summary, this is not an example of where Principal McCalister and I became

co-researchers who were co-creating meaning. Instead, it is an example of the way in

which Principal McCalister was making sure that *I get the information that I need* as is

more typical in post-positivistic interviewer-interviewee relationships.

These two examples are salient examples of the ways that this project was not

participatory in nature despite my attempts. It is important to note that I approached these

interviews as much as a co-researcher as possible. I did not withhold information from

my participants in order to get *better* data from them. Instead, I made as many efforts as I

could to self-disclose about my role in the process of collecting and analyzing data. For

instance, in several of my final interviews with principal, I explained that I was nervous

about sending out the participant summary for fear that I would get something wrong.

Throughout our interviews, I would try to find ways to tell participants a little about myself so that they were not the only ones sharing. Additionally, as I explained in chapter three, in our first interview, I asked questions such that I could better understand how each individual conceived of their relationship with policy. I also maintained the open-ended nature of our conversations, such that I only interjected questions from time to time, but overall allowed the participant do determine the topics of conversation.

Taking Pictures

The process of taking photographs was the element of the process of doing research with principals that we discussed the most. This was partly because, as Principal Arbre reminded me, "You know principals don't carry around a camera with them." In other words, the logistics of taking photographs was not something that they regularly did throughout the day. Additionally, this was one the ways that the project could have been considered participatory because it allowed participants to select the data for the research project as opposed to me controlling their choices.

As I explained in their participant summaries, each principal approached the task of taking pictures differently. From what I can tell, all participants, with one exception, physically took most if not all of the pictures that they shared with me. The one major exception was Principal McCalister. This was partly because about half of his photographs featured him sitting at his desk talking to various different people (Figure 6.1). When I asked who took these posed photographs, he told me,

Figure 6.1. Photograph of Principal McCalister at his desk.

> Yeah my secretary, she'll come in and what I did the day after you left. We came
>
> up with a list of 27 things and she tried to get them within the last 2 weeks, we
>
> tried to. We just started uploading them yesterday or the day before whenever I
>
> told them. Didn't really know how they would look until we got them up here.

I inferred from this statement that Principal McCalister came up with the ideas for the

photographs and then asked his secretary to go through the process of taking them all. At

one point in our conversations, he showed me his yellow ledger to indicate where he had

written the 27 ideas for photographs. I assumed that the secretary took the list of ideas

and checked them off as she took photographs. Given that Principal McCalister had not

seen the photographs until after his yearbook supervisor had uploaded them to the

computer, I assumed that he did not take the photographs.

For the most part (with Principals McCalister and Forester being exceptions),

principals took pictures as they went about their regular day. In some cases, they went to

particular rooms to take particular pictures. For instance, Principal Portsmouth took a picture of a student because he was visited by a local celebrity to cheer him up after his sister was killed. Using photographs that were taken before I initially talked with participants was one exception to the practice of picture taking. For instance, Principal Arbre included a photograph of high school students that he had taken earlier in the year (Figure 6.2). He explained,

> So I wanted to include, it's just like a last minute, gah there's high school kids here. And … it was odd because when I … started thinking, do I even have any pictures of high school kids, so it really kind of made me think.

In the quote above, Principal Arbre explained that "last minute" he included a photograph

Figure 6.2. Photograph of high school students by Principal Arbre

of high school students playing guitar because they were also students at his school and he had not yet taken any pictures of high school students. In this way, including a previously taken photograph was part of Principal Arbre's reflective process.

In some cases, participants told me about pictures that they thought about did not take. Principal Portsmouth told me that he intentionally did not include a particular picture. I asked him if he could tell me why. He explained:

the only reason why is simply because it had to do with a very sensitive situation with the student. … I felt odd about including it and if I felt odd than I didn't need to do it. I didn't need to talk myself into why. I think the whole reason for the picture, with having a DSS referral I think that event is maybe what you were looking for in terms of what to talk about, so then I was trying to think of, what can I take a picture of to help capture that experience or that incident without crossing that line of appropriate and inappropriate and it never came up with anything.

The incident to which he referred in this quote was a student who upon her arrival to school showed the bruises that her step-father gave her to an Assistant Superintendent who happened to be helping in the morning car line. Thus, Principal Portsmouth talked about taking a picture of just the student's bruises, which he did anyways for DSS purposes. As the quote indicates, he was not comfortable including that particular photograph. Given the delicate nature of the incident, it is understandable that Principal Portsmouth felt uncomfortable sharing the picture; however, this example illustrates how one picture was actually two different pictures; one meant for research purposes, the

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other for DSS. Thus, there were limits to the scope of taking pictures for this particular study. The participants were very willing to separate the research process from their normal work.

Taking Pictures of Policy Versus Taking Pictures of Engagement with Policy

Because this project was about principals and policy, many of the participants in the study found themselves wanting to take *pictures of policy*. The relationship between principals and policy is not as linear, nor as clear as the distinction *policy pictures* makes it seem. Several principals understood that dynamic relationship. Princpal Arbre explained that he "wanted to capture something, but it wasn't like it was happening in the moment, but it was something that to me it was important." I inferred that the fact that "it was important" given the context of the conversation had something to do with the relationship between Principal Arbre and his work with policy that was important. In other words, Principal Arbre was not going about taking pictures based off of a list of policy, but rather a more nuanced illustration of policy in his daily life.

Principal Firestone explained this shift in thinking about taking pictures of policy in terms of thinking about it "backwards." She told me that at first she had trouble thinking of pictures to take because

> you have to understand the policy in order to make decisions .. and so … I was having a hard time with [taking pictures] because I don't deal directly with the policy in front of me. At first, I was trying to look at the policy, … but that's not the way, because there could be several policies at play at any situation and so when I figured out, no, what happened today and where would it [policy] fit.

Then, it was much easier for me. Because I think I was trying to isolate policies

and that's not an option, all of the policies interrelate so that's where I think the

pictures started coming into play.

In this quote, Principal Firestone problematizes the idea of taking pictures of policy

because as she explained "isolating policies ... is not an option" for her. I tried my best in

our conversations before I asked participants to take photographs to emphasize that I was

not studying a particular policy, but rather how they individually interact with policy.

This is why the photo-prompts were mostly in first person (e.g. take photos of those

moments where you …). As Principal Firestone's quote attests, thinking about policy in

this "backwards" way did not come naturally to participants.

The fact that taking pictures of engagement with policy was not on-average a

natural or obvious activity for participants, sometimes participants expressed frustration

or confusion about the process of taking pictures. For instance, I asked Principal Forester

to describe his experience taking photographs, he responded:

Difficult. It really is because, you're wanting that abstract process, and I'm more

of the concrete. You know, here it is. Here's the rules. Here's the procedures. You

want policy. Well, this is the policy we have to follow. So I took pictures of

policy.

Principal Forester explained what I was asking—take picture of engagement with

policy—to be "abstract." Because he was not an abstract thinker, he resisted taking

pictures of his engagement with policy. Instead, he "took pictures of policy." As I will

explain later in this chapter, the approach that Principal Forester took in particular caused

me to have to modify my interviewing approach and also affected the type of data that I am able to represent for Principal Forester.

Looking at the tables that describe the different types of pictures and corresponding policies for each principal (Tables 4.1, 4.4, 4.6, 4.9, 4.12, & 4.15), it is obvious that some photographs were not overtly about engagement with policy. When I asked Principal Arbre to explain what the relationship might be between a photograph (Figure 6.3) of children dancing and policy. He explained

> I could probably go through each of these and pick out a policy. So I don't know, exactly how to answer that question other than to say there's a lot here that has to be done. It just may not just pop out at you when you're looking at a particular picture and then there are some things here that may not be policies, but they're

Figure 6.3. Photograph of children dancing by Principal Arbre.

unwritten expectations.

In this quote, Principal Arbre explained that there was *policy* in many of the pictures that he had taken, particularly because often several policies happen at once. Principal Firestone explained this phenomenon with a story about a special education student who told a teacher that he had "smoked a blunt [a marijuana cigarette]." While dealing with this situation, she told me that dress code policy was happening at the same time as she was dealing with drug policies, but the drug policy took precedence. Princpal Arbre's quote above points to this multiple policies at once phenomenon, but also that thinking about policies is also about "unwritten expectations."

Reflection

With the exceptions of Principals McCaliser and Forester, participants all remarked on at least one occasion that being a part of this research project had allowed them to reflect in a way that was meaningful to them. Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the picture that Principal Arbre shared with me of the high school boys playing guitar (Figure 6.2) because it was an example of a photograph that was not taken explicitly for this project, but was important for Principal Arbre to include. During this conversation, he reflected:

> I really kind of thought, I'm not doing a lot with high school. I need to go and observe them more and really get a little bit more involved. … See you had a good impact because it really did. It made me realize I'm just not as involved as I need to be with those kids.

I inferred from our dialogue that there was a moment when Principal Arbre was looking at the photographs that he had taken for this project and he realized that he had not taken a photo of all that his work entails. The quote above illustrates that he recognized that he did not spend much time observing and interacting with the high school children that come to his campus for arts related courses. Given that Principal Arbre reported that he is able to interact with the students at his school more than other principals in this study, I inferred that he believed that he should be doing the same for all the children that visit his learn in the building.

  While Principal Arbre's reflection on participating in this study was not explicitly about policy, Principal Portsmouth recognized that although

> for me policy is an afterthought…. Going through this over the last two months or however long I've been taking the pictures, I guess it's given me a different perspective on policy. Whether I thought about it any more or less I don't know, but it has reminded me that there is policy and that [it] is very prevalent.

In this quote, Principal Portsmouth pointed out that being in this project caused him to think differently about policy. I inferred from his reference to the prevalence of policy that the difference between his prior perspective and resultant perspective had something to do with the numerous amount of policies that affect his daily life.

  Each of the principals in the Electra 91 district made at least one comment about how they enjoyed our conversations because they knew that our conversations were confidential. Principal Blake explained:

It's been a real good exercise for me because I think it really allows me to say what I want to say. … I think it's two-fold, that you're not a district person, you're not a school-based person, you're really from the outside. I think that's good for somebody like me because every now and then I need to say some things [where] I'm not … guarded and you don't have to deal with, "you know Franklin he said," because in this business everybody's a professional in the sense of qualification and degrees but in a lot of ways professionalism doesn't have to do with that. In a lot of ways if I say something to you in confidence it ought to be in confidence, if we're talking professionally, [but that's not always the case] so I think it's been a good opportunity for me and you probably always come at a good time … it gives me an opportunity to clearly articulate what's on my mind. Now if I'm talking to … another audience, ok now I might feel a little more guarded in what I'm saying because I don't know did somebody come back and said, "well, Franklin said."

This quote illustrates a theme that Principal Blake and I talked about frequently. For Principal Blake, talking to me was an opportunity to reflect on situations, thoughts and policies in such a way that he was not afraid of getting into trouble. I inferred from these conversations that Principal Blake was not worried that I was going to make judgments about him or take any harmful action against him. On at least one occasion, he paused while talking to me to write down something that he had just said in order to follow up on it later as though he had just processed through an idea.

As these examples illustrate, the conversations that I had with participants in this study were just as much about me gathering information as they were a time for individuals to talk about what was on their mind. Given that the unit of analysis for this study was the subject position for each of these principals-engaged-with-policy and that unit encompassed the policies and issues that they were facing in the moment, this kind of reflective conversation was appropriate. Additionally, it is important to point out that participants enjoyed this aspect of the project and found it helpful.

Summary

In this section, I described the different ways that participant's perceptions affected the research process. While these modifications and engagements did not make this a participatory study, at the same time, they are examples of the ways that they enriched the process in ways that were of mutual interest to us both. At the same time, as this section attests, this process was not always comfortable or natural for me or the participants. Rather than building community through participatory research, participatory in this study meant sharing and reflecting for both me and the participants.

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Discourse and the Research Process

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After each interview, I verbally reflected as I drove from school to school by talking into a digital recorder. Often these conversations with myself were about ways to follow up and clarify something that I may not have explained well or think through what it was that participants had intended by particular phrases or comments. For instance, during my second photo-interview with Principal Portsmouth, I explained the term embodiment in my own words and how I framed the relationship between embodiment

and policy in this study. He remarked something to the effect of "wow, that's out there."

As I drove, I recognized that to some degree I had taken that comment personally that something was wrong with my study. After some rumination, I realized that his comment was more illustrative of the impact of available discourses about embodiment and the senses and how they affected the research process. His comment was also a reminder of the particularity of the discourses employed by principals who work in public schools.

In this section, I discuss several ways that divergent discourses were represented in my conversations with participants. Discourse refers to the conglomeration of words and understanding that influences the way that a certain topic is understood and talked about. A given word or topic can have several associated discourses, some of them divergent from others. For instance, Fraser and Gordon (1994) traced the genealogy of the word "dependency" to mean different things at different points in history. Thus, the principals in this study had available to them many and multiple discourses to talk about *policy* and *research*. However, often times some discourses were privileged over others.

In this section, I explain how Principals McCalister and Forester are what I've been calling reluctant participants. Then, I unpack some of the discursive issues that I encountered with reluctant participants as I experienced them with other participants in the study that were a result of doing this kind of research with principals. Finally, I consider the impact of language on the ways that I could talk about embodiment and policy with participants.

Reluctant Principals

Originally, my plan for sampling was to talk with district personnel in districts near the state capital about principals who might be open-minded and interested in a reflective research project. Unfortunately, I was not able to gain the attention of district personnel long enough to explain the reflective intentions of the study. For that reason, the participants in this study are a result of convenience sampling and were not ideal candidates.

In my first conversation with Principals McCalister and Forester, they both consented to participate in the study. We discussed what I meant by taking pictures but both of them wanted to clarify which policies they were supposed to take pictures of. I explained that I am less concerned about the type of policy as I was about how they were engaging with it and tried to identify types of policies so as to provide them what they had asked. However, this hyper-focus on policy—and really a particular definition of policy that intersected with a particular discourse about policy—affected the research project such these participants were not able to see beyond it. This discourse is one in which policy has an objective and obvious quality associated a post-positivistic epistemology. It is often associated with policy documents.

For instance, in our first conversation, Principal McCalister explained the different kinds of policies that he had encountered recently. He continued, saying

> things like that, are those the type of things that you're asking about? … how to
>
> deep do want to go with policy? Those are the everyday things that take 90% of
>
> what we do. That would be kind of hard to document stuff like that.

This quote illustrates a common phenomenon in the initial interview of this study: participants recognized that what I was asking them to take pictures of was not immediate or obvious. I share this example from Principal McCalister rather than other principals in this study, because in many ways, Principal McCalister never was able to see beyond the post-positivistic policy discourse. It was unfortunate that I was unable to provide him, in particular, with nuanced prompts that explained in the first person things that he might take pictures of. This was compounded by the fact that he had his secretary take photographs for him because taking photographs might have given him the opportunity to reflect on what he was taking pictures of and the ways that policy did not always fall so objectively in the camera's viewfinder.

All of this is not to say that Principal McCalister's photographs were less appropriate for this study. For example, one of his photographs was of the no tobacco

Figure 6.4. Photograph of tobacco policy by Principal McCalister.

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sign that you see upon entering school premises (Figure 6.4). I inferred from this photograph and the story that he told me about how he changed the penalty for chewing tobacco from one day of in-school suspension to three days of out of school suspension that his engagements with policy were in some ways obvious and common sense. This attitude was evident from my conversations with every participant in this study. Thus, the discourse that *policy in schools is obvious* existed in some form or another for each participant. They pointed out ways that policy comes from the manual that the district issues or the laws written in Columbia. At the same time, the ways that we were able to talk about how different policies happen at once and that implementing policy had a particular look or feel for different principals implied that there were different policy discourses that existed outside of the manual. This discourse, however, is not one that is obvious and as a result took effort and time from participants.

Both Principals McCalister and Forester approached being a participant in this study from the perspective that it was their job to *get me what I needed* in terms of data. This statement implies that I know what I needed, but because my unit of study had more to do with them than me, I relied on participants to tell me. One way that I went about doing that was by asking participants which picture was their favorite. When I asked Principal Forester if he had a favorite photo, the following dialogue ensued:

Amanda: Do you have a favorite [photograph]?

Principal Forester: No, I do not.

Amanda: Why do you say it like that?

Principal Forester: [laughs] Actually, I have [pauses]. No, I haven't looked at it that way.

Amanda: How did you look at it?

Principal Forester: As directed to me by the student whose pursuing her PhD. That's how I looked at it: to get you the information that you needed. I mean … I didn't look at it for any, you know, which picture did I like the best, which did I think was the neatest. I was looking at it more along the lines of: well this shows this type of policy, this shows this, so.

After this dialogue, I shifted my interview technique from asking about what he thought about pictures to asking him to tell me which policy he was thinking about when he took this picture. As we were talking about a photograph that he had taken on Veterans Day, I came to realize that he had not taken all of the photographs recently given that Veterans Day had happened at least three months prior to our first meeting. The above quote illustrates that Principal Forester approached his participation in this study as though there was a finite number of data that I needed for him to collect or share with me. The way in which he typically ended a statement such as this one with "so" and laughed at some point during, I inferred that asking about the "abstract process" or how it feels to sit in a meeting where a staff member is let go was an uncomfortable experience for Principal Forester.

There are many different reasons for Principal Forester's reluctance to tell me

about the more reflective aspects of his engagement with policy. One of them could be

related to the fact that his superintendent recommended him to me as a potential

participant. Although this was the procedure by which I identified most of the

participants in this study, perhaps this particular individual had a different relationship

with his superintendent than the others. The most significant reason for this reluctance is

the divergent discourses that he and I used to talk about policy and his engagement with

policy. From Principal Forester's perspective, policies looked like the documents in the

folder that sat on his desk (Figure 6.5) and he engaged with them by following them. As

the subject positions from chapter four represented, participants also talked about policy

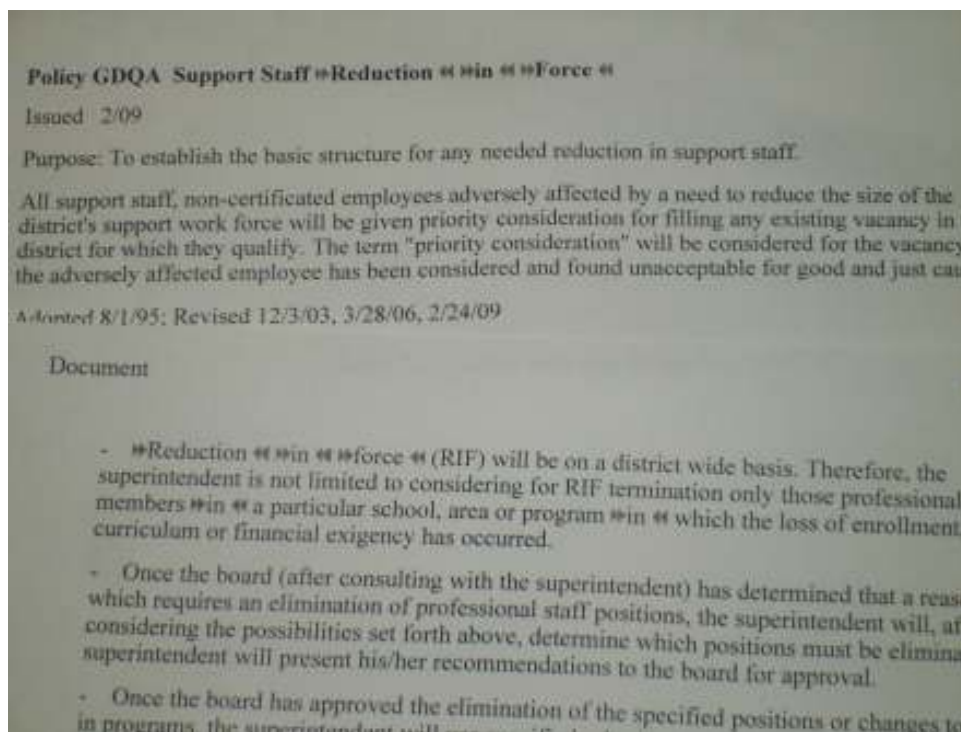such that they happen idiosyncratically throughout a principal's day in dynamic ways. In

Figure 6.5. Photograph of staff reduction policy by Principal Forester.

order to think about policy in such a way, participants acknowledged that it meant that they had to think about policy differently because the most dominant discourse about policy was that of post-positivism, where policy is obvious and objective.

Principals and Competition Discourse

As I explained, most of the principals in this study expressed the idea that they are not able to often talk freely about their job. I originally inferred that this lack of communication for principals had to do with their position as head of the school as well as the political nature of the position. In my conversation with several participants, I learned that there was also discourse of competition among principals that kept them from openly sharing with each other. For instance, Principal Arbre mentioned that the principal of the school that he had just left was

> over there right now trying to beat my scores. But I love that. I mean I love that about her. I mean that because I know she's as competitive as I am. That's, those are the kinds of people that need to be in these positions. I mean, I'm not I'm going to be happy when she beats those scores. I want her to be successful, obviously. I want her to also feel like she needs to. She needs to. I want her to feel that way. We're always, there [are] certain principals in this district that are always competing, but it's a real healthy platform rather than I'm not going to tell you what I'm doing and I'm going to throw you under the bus every opportunity that I get. …There's a group of principals in this district that are that way [healthily competitive]. And then there are some, there are a few that are not. They either don't compete, which that's not good. Or they do it a in a negative

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way. It becomes a personal. I'm going to keep this to myself. I'm not going to tell

you what I'm doing. Or it's just not a healthy competition. … I still am going to

try to beat them. They can throw me under the bus all they want, but I'm still

going to beat you.

In this quote, Principal Arbre talked about two kinds of principals in his district, the ones

that participate in healthy competition and then ones that don't. The idea of competition

suggested that one school or principal has to be better than the others. Coupled with other

conversations that I had with Principal Arbre, I inferred that despite the fact that he

enjoys healthy competition, he also enjoys having a leg up on his competition. In this

way, I understood there to be an air of modified collegiality amongst principals in the

Electra 91 district, such that those in healthy competition were friends, but were always

on edge about what will keep them on top. This was the discourse of competition that

appeared throughout my conversations with participants.

One of the reasons for the inferences regarding Principal Arbre's comments about

competition was that in my conversation with Principal Firestone, she shared that

when you get to this level it's all competition. There's no, you might want to try

this, [and] this worked, because then, your school might outdo their school.

There's no. That trust is not there. Now as assistant principal it was there, but we,

our names weren't on the line. When you get to this level, now there's one person

… at a different level, …so [we're] not direct [in competition] and even him … he

did some activity at his school and he said it was great and I said what is it and he

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said I'm not telling you because you might do it at yours … So there is that

competition piece that makes it hard to learn.

The comments from Principal Firestone and Arbre taken together implied that there is an

edge of competition that might keep principals from being able to trust or confide in each

other. This particular quote from Principal Firestone also illustrated one of the additional

divergent discourses that affected doing research with principals: they communicate from

a particular position, as the one in charge. Their names are "on the line." Being reflective

can often mean admitting that you don't know something or that there are things that you

need to better understand. According to the discourse of competition expressed by

Principals Arbre and Firestone, the rationale for reflection could be perceived as a

weakness.

Talking About Embodiment and the Senses

One of the main discursive issues that I faced while doing this research was

finding a way to talk about embodiment, the senses *and* policy. As I discussed earlier,

when the world policy is used, often participants explained that they typically thought of

the policies as they were written down in district manuals or in laws, but as some later

reflected, that was not what I was trying to study. Earlier in this chapter I explained how

thinking about "engagement-with-policy" was not a common or obvious way to discuss

policy. A similar phenomenon happened when talking about embodiment and the senses.

Often participants seemed to employ a policy discourse of bodily erasure, as though

bodies did not matter. I was trying to elicit an embodied policy discourse.

In several cases, when I asked participants how they felt their body and or senses affected their work, they would tell me how smelling something bad in the hallway told them that a bathroom needed to be cleaned, for example, and that conversation would end quickly. I didn't have the language outside of "how did that make you feel" or "how did that feel" to ask them to further refine what they meant. I also found that when I asked someone how it felt, they would respond, with comments like "it was tough" "difficult" or "uncomfortable." While I believed that I understood what they were talking about I kept wishing for better words to represent what I believed us to be talking about.

Because of the lack of referent for terms like uncomfortable and even the senses, it was possible that we could talk past each other: talk about the same word, but mean separate things. This is why in many instances, I would ask participants to explain to me what they meant. In other cases, as with Principal Forester when I asked him about the senses and policy, it seemed as though he was telling me what he thought I wanted to hear, rather than the question that I had asked. This latter example is one of talking past each other.

In Pink's (2009) book about sensory ethnography, she talks about different ways of going about studying the sensory: sensory apprenticeship, sharing embodied activities, for example. While I spent time in the schools observing, I got the sense that given that I could not live in the position of the principal, where your "name is on the line," I could not know what it felt like. This is why I relied on the perceptions and representations of these principals. They feel what it is like to "have their name on the line."

The other difficulty with talking about embodiment and the senses is that in many ways we talk about what we believe to be important. These principals took pictures of what they believed to be important, whether it was representations of policy or the room in which you taught. When principals did mention how it felt to be a principal-engaged-with-policy often these mentions were quick and cursory, an aside during a larger story or conversation. I didn't get the sense that these principals thought that the discourse about how it feels to be a principal was important.

Similarly, when I asked Education Policy Fellows Program participants to tell me how they believed the senses affected the policy pictures that I shared with them, I received many responses that did not answer the question, but instead told me that I needed to reword the question. While it is possible that the wording of the question was an obstacle for the Fellows, it is remains an example of the way that talking about the senses and the way that we affect policy are difficult and troublesome. It was more important to Fellows to advocate that education policies were reducing people into data and margins (Figure 5.1), than it was to consider the way that the caption provided for that particular photo enriched the picture such that that data, for that principal-engaged-with-policy, was about whole, living and breathing people. Thinking about this rich and embodied kind of engagement-with-policy was not the first or natural way for fellows to engage with policy themselves.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided examples of the ways that the discourses that principals-engaged-with-policy employed to talk about policy and embodiment affected

the research process. This answered the first research question that I addressed in this chapter, how are principal's representations and understandings of the sensorial dimension affected by the research process. These examples demonstrate that because at times, we can have a narrow definition of policy, the sensorial does not enter the picture of policy engagement; however, the reflection and feedback from participants also illustrates that the research process gave principals the opportunities the consider other discourse and rethink the post-positivistic policy discourse by appropriating data collection tools and reflecting on this process..

The second question that I addressed in this chapter—how can one describe the process of representing the sensorial dimension of the subject position—was answered by considering my experience researching the sensorial. Not only did I find it difficult to find the words to talk with principals, but I also found it to be an uncomfortable experience.

When I presented the pilot study of my dissertation at the Clark Seminar at the American Educational Research Association in 2011,[13] I received the feedback that I was "not talking about policy" and what would I do when I talked to principals and did not find embodied engagement with policy. Thinking about policy implementation by principals in terms of embodiment reminds us that we never leave our bodies and that "the world is not what I think, but what I live through" (Merleau-Ponty, 2002, p. 4). Living in the world means that there are mediums through which we come to understand

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[13] The Clark Seminar is dissertation workshop hosted by the University Council of Educational Administrators, and Divisions A and L of the American Educational Research Association in which graduate students have a chance to share their dissertation plan with well-known scholars in the field of educational administration and policy research.

the world. One of these mediums is our body. Thinking about policy in terms of the discourse available illustrates that it is possible to not "find" embodied engagements with policy, but is only because of a limited definition of not only what policy includes, but words we have to talk about embodiment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WHICH POLICY? PRINCIPALS-ENGAGED-WITH-POLICY, POLICY

IMPLEMENTATION AND TALKING PAST EACH OTHER

The purpose of this study was to explore the particularities of the sensorial dimension of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position. In chapter two, I reviewed research that showed that thinking about principals and policy happens in a range of discourses (e.g. policy process, education policy and critical policy analysis) in a range of ways: about public schools (Cohen, et al., 2007; Honig, 2009; Ozga, 1987; Wong & Nicotera, 2007), educational policy (Clune, 1993; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; McDonnell, 1994; McLaughlin, 1987), leadership practices (Kegan, Lahey, et al., 2006; Fullan, 2008; Louis, 2008), and the policy process (Birkland, 2005; Cohen-Vogel & McLendon, 2009; Hill & Hupe, 2009; McDonnell, 2009). There is no denying that education policy is a pervasive influence on the lives of children and educators (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Kozol, 2005; Rutledge, 2010) and that principals can make a difference through policy (Anagnostopoulos & Rutledge, 2007; Coburn, 2005, 2006; Marks & Nance, 2007).

Throughout chapters one through six, I have used an overlooked unit of analysis—the subject position— to illustrate the particular, idiosyncratic and sensorial ways that principals engage with policy. Thinking about policy—expanding our definition to include the ways that it *feels*—in this more global manner allowed me to represent the ways in which policy is not something that we think, but what we live through. When I was thinking and reading about principals and policy implementation, I

was struck by the way that literature was devoid of reasoned reports of *what we live through* and the lack of legitimacy given to nuanced accounts of *how it feels*.

Purpose of Chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss how embodied knowledge and doing *participatory* research with principals-engaged-with-policy contribute to the field of education policy studies by providing insight into how a post-positivistic policy discourse pervades these principals' understanding of policy, but at the same time does not describe the way that they live it out in their engagements with policy. In particular, using the subject position as my unit of analysis allowed me to see the idiosyncratic way that policy exists for each of the principals in this study. The subject position also allowed me to highlight the ways that the body of policy implementers does not fall away during the implementation process. Finally, this approach to studying principals-engaged-with-policy showed that multiple ways exist to think and talk about the ways that principals engage with policy, but that alternative discourses are sometimes less obvious. In this chapter, I discuss the implication of these findings for education policy, research and practitioners.

Summary

Before discussing the implications of this study, I provide a brief summary of key points from chapters one through six. This summary will provide readers with a concise reminder of the study's unit of analysis, theoretical framework, review of literature, and methods.
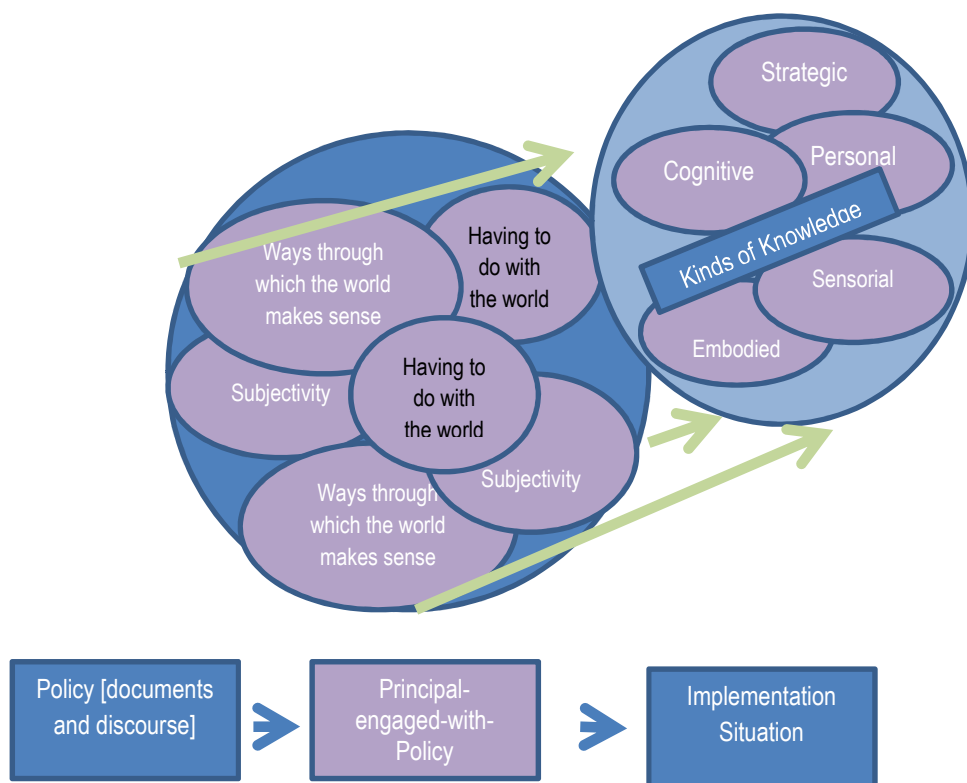
Figure 7.1. Conceptual diagram of the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position.

Unit of Analysis. The subject position of six principals-engaged-with-policy served as the unit of analysis for this study. The diagram I introduced in chapter two (Figure 7.1) illustrated that there are multiple dimensions of the subject position all intertwined at once: different kinds of knowledge, the ways through which the world makes sense, the individual, and the world. Because policy is connected to all of these dimensions, it is also intertwined throughout the principal-engaged-with-policy's subject position. Thus, the subject position acts as a medium through which policy happens in schools.

Theoretical framework. The theoretical framework has several components—

hermeneutics, medium/media, and embodiment and the body—through which I

considered the principal-engaged-with-policy. Hermeneutics (Gadamer, 2008; Jasper,

2004) and semiotics (Levi-Strauss, 2000; Saussure, 2000) describes the study of

interpretation, whereby language is attributed meaning such that meaning is not implicitly

contained in language. For this reason, mediums or media are used to transmit meaning.

They also have an effect on the meaning, as Marshall McLuhan (1994) reminded us, the

medium is the message. This is why thinking about mediation in terms of embodiment is

important because the body serves as a medium through which we are able to understand

the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, 2002).

Review of Literature. I divided the review of literature into two major sections.

The first focused on the principal as she figures within literature about the policy process.

This literature was divided according to the approaches to research using the lenses of

education policy, the policy process and critical policy analysis. The second section

featured literature that considered the principal as an implementer within the school

environment. In chapter two I argued that both the macro and micro picture of the

principal as a policy implementer focus on particular kinds of knowledge that principals

bring into the implementation situation. Missing from this picture is the representation of

principals as idiosyncratic and embodied individuals.

Methodology. The research methods that I used to guide this study were

informed by my postmodern epistemology. I utilized four interlocking methods: critical

policy analysis, photomethods, sensory research methods, and reconstructive policy

analysis. I interviewed six principals-engaged-with-policy who work in public schools in South Carolina on four or five different occasions over the span of two months. During our second interview, I asked participants to take photographs based upon the pressures and policy that they had identified in our first conversations. I also maintained a research journal throughout the research process, which included by field notes from being at the school with participants. Additionally, I presented the study to the Education Policy Fellows Program attendees and asked them to answer two survey questions (survey questions can be found in Appendix C). After transcribing our conversations, I analyzed in three stages: general impressions, meaningfields and pragmatic horizon reconstruction (Carspecken, 1996).

Implications

In chapters four through six, I represented the subject positions of six principals-engaged-with-policy, paying particular attention to the sensorial and embodied dimensions of these representations. I also considered the affect that participants' understandings policy and the senses had on our conversations. In this section, I explain what these representations and understandings mean for educational policy, research and practice

Idiosyncrasy and Policy

One of the most salient features of chapter four was the idiosyncratic and dynamic nature of the subject positions of the six principals-engaged-with-policy. Given this idiosyncrasy, I hesitate to talk about generalizations across principals; however, chapter five illustrated that the distinctions that I made between the different dimensions of the

subject position were false in that an example that I used to describe *having to do with the individual* could also contain elements of *having to do with the world* or *ways through which the world makes sense*. In chapter four, however, I set up the distinction between these dimensions in order to identify them for the reader. I was able to then deconstruct them in chapter five because we can only understand the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy *through* different mediums. This means, for instance, that we can only see the aspects of the subject position having to do with the individual through something else.

Thinking about policy implementation and principals through the subject position illustrated the ways that post-positivistic discourse about policy does not entirely describe what it is like for these principals to live in the world of education policy. Instead, as we saw in chapter four, policy had a look and feel that was unique to these principals-engaged-with-policy. For instance, for Principal Arbre, policy was just as much about *following the rules* as it was about recognizing the role that his personal "moral compass" plays into decision-making. Scholars (Firestone & Shipps, 2005; Shipps & White, 2009) have identified the normative way that policies define what it means to for principals to be accountable; however, normativity, *moral commitment,* or social justice only partially explains this subjective and personal facet of policy (Firestone & Shipps, 2005).

Using Carspecken (1996) as my guide, I take normativity to refer to an ontological realm separate from objective and subjective domains, which include statements about "what is right, wrong, good and bad" (p. 83). They also have to do with "our" world, where the objective domain is "the" world and the subjective domain is

"my" world (Carspecken, 1996). The "moral compass" to which Principal Arbre refers spans across normative and subjective domains such that labeling it normative would severely limit the scope of its significance. This is particularly evident when he explains the conflict that he has in navigating the "cultural, moral … political, social compass" as though it exists both for himself and for the community at large. The fact that this *compass* pertains to the community suggests that it signifies a level of normativity; however, that it pertains to himself highlights the way that it exceeds traditional moral and professional norms.

When researchers and policymakers have tried to think of ways to affect the capacity (Chrispeels, 1997; Cohen, et al., 2007), discretion (Elmore, 1979-80) or sensemaking (Cohen, 2005, 2006; Spillane et al., 2002) of educators, they do not recognize the idiosyncratic nature of the mediums through which policy happens in schools. Acknowledging this idiosyncratic nature would mean that we accept that education practice is about people and that as Principal Portsmouth pointed out "you can never predict or consistently predict what people are going to do." This does not mean that we need to craft policy for individuals, but rather that we think about the tools that we provide and the kinds of knowledge that we privilege as they act as implementers.

Embodied Knowledge

In chapter five, I described the different ways that the body and embodiment figured in my conversations with six principals-engaged-with-policy. The theoretical framework that I used helped me to highlight the undeniable fact that policy implementers have bodies and that these bodies do mediate their engagement with policy.

Scholars who have linked studying the body and policy often do so in ways that focus on particular types of bodies (e.g. girls' pregnant bodies, Pillow, 2003; adolescent girls' bodies, Charania, 2010) or bodies that do not function properly (e.g. disability policy, Stamou & Padeliadu, 2009).

Often the presence of the body is often absent from conversations about policy, implementation, and micropolitics (Beatty, 2000). This study is not meant to point out what principals-engaged-with-policy sacrifice as a result of this omission (Beatty, 2000). Instead, I point out that the following—*how it feels*, the senses, the body and embodiment—remain facets *through which* policy happens in schools. If policy implementation happens within the world, isn't it important to pay attention to the world that principals-engaged-with-policy live through rather than the world that we think exists? Scholars like Beatty (2000) pointed out the ways that discourse about emotions are relatively absent from conversations about school leadership, this elision does not have to mean that the body and the senses are absent from education practice and policy implementation.

It is important to think about how it feels in relationship to the body and its place within the process of hermeneutics in order to maintain the messy conglomeration that makes up the subject position, which is neither subject nor object, but both at the same time. Thinking about policy and embodiment this way resists the temptation to objectify experiences such that we can point at them and poke at them in ways that ignore the mediums through which we are able to talk about them. All social action, including policy implementation will always and already be done through the medium of the body.

Discursive Affinities

In chapter six, I briefly discussed the phenomenon of *talking past each other*, where two individuals in conversation might be using the same words, *policy*, for example, but that word signifies different things for different people. One way to avoid talking past each other is to always talk to individuals with whom you know that you share affinity. In other words, we could only talk to people who understand the world as we do. Hajer (2009) referred to this phenomenon as "discursive affinity," which he describes as "arguments that may have very different roots and meanings but that together uphold a particular way of seeing" (p. 65). The concept of "discursive affinity" reminds us of the *network society* in which we live that I described in chapter two when talking about critical policy analysts' view of the world. Hajer's (2009) term "discursive affinity" describes the way that groups of people share a coherent understanding of particular issues. This affinity brings about coherence for policy actors together despite potential divergent foundational assumptions about that issue. Thus, discourse is malleable and contingent.

The examples that I gave in chapter six of the different ways that principals participated in and appropriated tools from this research project illustrates the "different roots and meanings" from which they might have a different discursive affinities. My conversations with principals-engaged-with-policy illustrated a particular dominant policy discourse that I called post-positivistic because of the objective and obvious status of policy documents; however these conversations also illustrated some of the ways in which discourse is also malleable and contingent. For instance, Principal Firestone

acknowledged that by looking at the picture taking "backwards" that there was another way to see policy during her daily work. Because of this shift of perspective, we were able to talk about policy outside of the objective, documentary context.

As I illustrated in chapter two, the term *policy* is often invoked within the context of the *policy process*. Given the embedded nature of the term, the discourse surrounding it brings with it this signification. In this study, however, I asked principals to consider what policy meant by momentarily forgetting the process by which it came to exist in their daily lives, and instead to consider that which is right in front of them: policy as they engage with it on a daily basis. In this way, I was asking them to loosen their discursive affinity to what they perceived to be the "roots and meanings" of policy. What we found, together with some participants, was that alternative pictures of policy do exist.

For Research

By doing research with principals about their engagements with policy, I have learned that using photographs within the research process provides principals a chance to reflect that they might not otherwise experience. As I explained in chapter three, my original intention was to recruit principals who were willing and eager to be open-minded and reflective. I learned during the photo-interview process, that it also required that I be open-minded and reflective. There were many moments during our conversations where I had to adjust and modify my interviewing approach because principals responded and engaged in ways that I could not have predicted. In this way, I also had to maintain an open-mind and continue to reflect on the perspectives that these principals shared with me.

Taking account of the idiosyncratic and embodied aspects of principals-engaged-with-policy, it is important to remember all of the dimensions of the subject position when doing research because while we can pretend like things having to do with the individual, the world and ways through which the world, particularly the body, do not exist, this is not a representative picture, at least, of what these six principals-engaged-with-policy showed me. It was helpful to learn that one of the participants from the pilots study inquired about the possibility of using a similar project as a professional development exercise for his teachers. Such a mutually beneficial research project seems to be a potential way of engaging the idiosyncratic nature of principals-engaged-with-policy in that the project exists as an amalgam in which both myself and the participant have invested a sliver of ourselves and learning more about them.

It is also important to point out the ways that photographs figured within this study. At times, photographs physically served as a medium through which principals and I communicated. Other times, they hindered our conversations by representing what was obvious and natural about policy. Sometimes, they helped provide a starting point from which we would talk. Whatever purpose photographs served during our conversations, they were a tool that I used to employ participants to participate in the research process by being active in the data collection process. By asking participants to collect data, at times, I sensed that they were uncomfortable making the decision regarding what to collect, but that was not always the case.

For Leadership Preparation

In thinking about the implications of this study for leadership preparation, I am drawn to Ranciere's (1991) lesson that

> one can teach what one doesn't know if the student is emancipated, that is to say, if he is obliged to use his own intelligence. The master is he who encloses an intelligence in the arbitrary circle from which it can only break out by becoming necessary to itself. To emancipate an ignorant person, one must be, and one need only be, emancipated oneself, that is to say, conscious of the true power of the human mind (p. 15).

In this quote, Rancière (1991) explained that the ignorant schoolmaster is able to teach by encouraging his student to probe and interrogate that which he already knows. This means that the ignorant schoolmaster is not overlaying the best or legitimate knowledge that has been vetted by textbooks, colleges or authority; thus, creating a false distance between what is important and what we already know. Instead, he relies on the knowledge that the student has of the world in which he lives, rather than the world that he has been told to think exists.

After reading Rancière (1990), I always take from him the value that individual knowledge has for the knowledge generation process and the educational systems which we have created. So often, during my conversations with principals, they looked to me to *know* the policy that they were to photograph. This process showed me the value of learning what participants know about policy. To include this message into leadership preparations, for me, would be teaching our future leaders the tools they need to have the

time and space to not only reflect, but value their own reflections and impressions regardless of whether the language and discourse that they have available is obvious or common sense.

Literature on leadership preparation points to the various "skills, attributes, and characteristics" that should be integrated into a successful leadership program in order to produce principals who are able to positively affect student achievement in schools (Clark & Clark, 1996, p. 19; Davis, Darling-Hammond, LaPoint & Meyerson, 2007; Jackson & Kelley, 2002). Whether the focus is on *effective*, *transformative*, or *authentic* preparation programs, scholars point to the importance of field-based experiences that emphasize thoughtful data-based decision making and instructionally based leadership strategies (Brown, 2004; Hess & Kelly, 2005; Levine, 2005; Perez, Uline, Johnson, James-Ward & Bason, 2011). These sorts of experiences are more often effective when principals are able to authentically engage in ways that move beyond learning an additional skill set, but instead help individuals grow and develop personally and professionally (Borden, Preskill & DeMoss, 2012; Brooks & Normore, 2010; Brown, 2004). This project provides one avenue for such reflection and growth.

One way to use this implication in practice is to assign a photo-essay-type project (Chio & Fandt, 2007) in leadership preparation courses as a medium for discussion and reflection. This strategy would work well with online (Janzen, Perry & Edwards, 2011), hybrid and face-to-face settings. The assignment would consist of the instructor providing students a prompt related to the course material. For instance, the instructor could ask students to take photographs of diversity in their schools, or situations in which they see

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policy affecting their job. As Janzen, Perry and Edwards (2011) noted, photovoice projects provide a medium through which students are able to authentically interact in online environments; the same would hold true to face to face and online courses.

For Practice

As more scrutiny is paid to the ongoing professional development for principals, it is important to think about the structured spaces that are provided to principals within district policy. Particularly, it is important to note those spaces and materials provided for the purpose of understanding the policies which principals are called on to implement, and also the ways that they serve as a medium through which implementation happens. In terms of policy, the latter would help principals understand that policies do not exist solely as a list in the book or binder that sits on their shelf. As I explained in chapter six, many of the participants in this study remarked on the helpfulness of this study in terms of giving them time to reflect on their work and its relationship to policy. This sort of authentic engagement and professional development seems important for practicing principals.

This dissertation points out that it is helpful to provide principals with the time, space and resources to reflect on their job safely outside of the scope of school responsibilities. In other words, principals commented as much on the fact that I was a neutral party in terms of district and school politics as they did about having the time and space to reflect. Thus, I would urge superintendents to provide the time, space and resources for principals to *authentically* engage in professional development opportunities that allow for such reflection.

Just as literature about principal preparation (Brown, 2004; Jackson & Kelley, 2002; Perez, Uline, Johnson, James-Ward & Bason, 2011) points to the importance of transformative and authentic experiences, scholars of principal professional development acknowledge the ineffectiveness of pushing additional knowledge on principals (Evans & Mohr, 1999) piecemeal in sterile environments. In other words, principal professional development is helpful when it provides individuals with the time, space and dialogue to momentarily step out of the day-to-day responsibilities that often consume their time (Brown, Anfara, Hartman, Mahar & Mills, 2002). At the same time, it is important to provide opportunities that respect the complex societal context within which they work (Crow, 2006). This study points to one avenue for helpful professional development for principals gives them this contextualized and reflective space.

For Policy

In chapter one, I pointed out the ways that federal policy mechanisms, like Race to the Top and ESEA waivers, heighten the pressure for educators, like principals, to affect student success through systems of standardization and evaluation (Koyama, 2011; Martin &Lázaro, 2011; Maxcy, 2011). Thinking about policy and the policy process in terms of implementation targets implementers to be effective and strategic in ways that have to do with the world of "what I think [rather than] what I live." (Merleau-Ponty, 2002, p. 4). This study addresses the problem that *people* bring to the policy implementation situation by pointing out the ways that the *world I live* was represented for these six principals-engaged-with-policy: people are idiosyncratic and dynamic, often unlike policy.

Scholars like Hill (2003) pointed out the importance of structuring the ways that implementers learn about the policies that they are tasked with implementing. This interpretive focus recognizes that policy as passed by legislative bodies does not arrive in the field, but is processed through several intermediary moments. This dissertation points out that it is important to pay attention to the idiosyncratic and dynamic nature of those that mediate implementation. This does not mean trying to prescribe ways to eliminate idiosyncrasy, but it advocates accepting the idiosyncrasy rather than approaching it as a problem of policy.

Scholars have recognized the value of grassroots or deliberative democracy approaches to the policy process, which integrate the input and perspective of local actors and the construction of policy *in the field* (Hajer, 2009; Laws & Rein, 2003; Stone, 2002). These approaches focus on the localized or particular enactments of meaning through which policy is constructed and negotiated. In their ongoing study of policy enactments in secondary schools funded by the Economic and Social Research Council in the UK, Braun, Ball & Maguire (2011) described these as policy enactments where "context [effects the] … forming, framing and limiting interpretive and practical responses to policy" such that policies are enacted in schools by educators based upon their "values and pre-existing knowledge and practices" (p. 581; ; Ball, Maguire, Braun & Hoskins, 2011; Maguire, Hoskins, Ball & Braun, 2011). Another localized approach to policy enactments is described by Law and Rein (2003) in terms of the work by a Latino community organization, El Puente, who protested waste facilities that were causing

health issues in their community. Their protests were woven together from research, community feeling and reflection, and a desire for action.

Both of the examples of policy enactments above illustrate the ways that localized actors use the tools that they have available (e.g. either "values … knowledge and practice" or community, research and desire for action) to engage with and reframe policy. Thinking about the subject position of the principal-engaged-with-policy points out the ways in which often these conversations about reframing policy omit the body. In other words, it is important to think about constructing and negotiating policy in ways that regard people not as tools but rather consider the complete-ness and idiosyncratic nature of being human.

Conclusion

Through this study, I have shown that six principals-engaged-with-policy explained their engagement with policy in multiple, idiosyncratic, and multi-faceted ways. At times their representations were not overtly about their embodiment. This elision is illustrative of the way that often the policy discourse that principals-engaged-with-policy were most regularly drawn to paint a picture of policy as common-sense and obvious. In this way, bodies did not exist within principals' representations of the implementation situation, or where they do, are objective and set aside. This study of the subject position of principals-engaged-with-policy reveals not only the medial nature of principals and policy implementation, but the idiosyncratic, dynamic and embodied quality of that medium. We should pay careful attention to how we think about policy, principals and policy implementation and the affect that that discourse has on education

practice. Thinking about policy—expanding our definition to include the ways that it

feels—could help us better understand the ways in which policy is not something that we

think, but that which we live through.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Glossary of Terms

Cognitive knowledge – Describes what an individual knows about the world through cognitive processes. Based in information processing theories (Hayles, 1999).

Discourse – "Practices that systematically form the object of which they speak" (Foucault, 1977, p. 49 quoted in Ball, 2005). The conglomeration of words and understanding that influences the way that a certain topic (like "policy") is understood and talked about.

Embodied knowledge – Explains what we know about the world as it is conveyed through the body.

Embodiment – Describes the body's relationship to experience and knowledge. The state of being in the world that recognizes that the body influences the way that we sense the world (Crossley, 1996; Merleau-Ponty, 2002). Thinking about knowledge, perception and experience in terms of embodiment provides some structure to the post-modern picture of the multiple layers of meaning that make up a simulacra (Derrida, 1998).

Emplacement – Pink's (2009) interpretation of embodiment that "attends to the question of experience by accounting for the relationship between bodies, minds and the materiality and sensoriality of the environment" (p . 25). This interpretation focuses on the space that the body inhabits as the structure to interrogate when looking at the post-modern picture discussed in the embodiment definition.

Hermeneutics – The philosophy of interpretation (Crotty, 1998; Gadamer, 2008; Jasper, 2004)

Implementation situation – My term for implementation that takes into account that there are particularities associated with the local condition (i.e. conditions of the bodies of the participants and their emplacement) in which implementation takes place.

Media Theory – A field of study derived from art history and literary theory that studies the ways that the medium affects the way that art (visual and literary) is studied. Partly a result of 'new media' art that utilizes technology and performance. The term *media* refers to the technologies through which we receive information (e.g. video, images & sound).

Medium – the material through which meaning passes before it reaches the individual. Can be a person, place, object or concept. The importance of this term comes from the way that it emphasizes the process, the how, of how we participate in understanding.

Whereas media refers to the *technology* through which information is conveyed, medium serves as a more conceptual referent for the material through which interpretation happens.

Personal knowledge – Explains what we know about what has happened to us in the world, where subjective features have been objectified. A subset of cognitive knowledge that refers to self-knowledge rather than objectified knowledge of the world.

Pragmatic horizon – From Carspecken's (1995) critical ethnography. Describes the conglomeration of possibilities for communicative action. Contains multiple dimensions of categories: foreground and background, and onotological categories (i.e. subjective, objective, normative-evaluative and identity).

Principal-engaged-with-policy – My term that describes the individual, principal, as she encounters state level accountability and policy throughout her day.

Proprioceptor – "sensory receptors which respond … to stimuli arising within the body" (prioprioceptor, 2011).

Policy – A broad category that refers to both policy documents issued by a legislature or organization as well as discourses that govern how we live (Ball, 2005).

Policy Implementation – a stage in the policy process (Laswell, 1951) that involves applying policy to a local situation.

Reconstructive horizon analysis – a process of analyzing spoken words that takes the possible meaning of those words and separates them according to their ontological category (i.e. subjective, objective, normative-evaluative and identity). For a description of where these categories are situated, see pragmatic horizon.

Strategic knowledge – An extension of cognitive knowledge, similar to situated knowledge (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Weick, 1995), where knowledge occurs as a process of relating to others present and the situation at hand.

Subjectivity – Knowledge that an individual has about the world that is abstract, vague and fluid (Merleau-Ponty, 2002).

Subject position – includes subjectivity and the co-construction of agreed upon societal meaning or discourse about a particular role or identity (Foucault, 2010).

Appendix B

Method of Synthesizing Literature

In line with Boote and Biele's (2005) call for increased quality in literature reviews, this section outlines the method that I followed throughout this project. Literature for this review came from peer-reviewed journal and published books. Journal articles were gathered through three simultaneous strategies. First, I searched the following databases: Education Research Complete, Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), Academic Search Premier, Business Search Premier, PsycInfo, and SocInfo. I used a combination of the following terms: principal, policy, embodied, implementation, accountability. The second strategy employed involved the use of Google Scholar and its "cited by" function. Once I established the seminal nature of a particular article, I would find the title in Google Scholar. I would then follow the link below the title that listed all of the articles Google Scholar identified as having cited that seminal article. Finally, I read the table of contents for the past five to ten years for the following journals: *Educational Administration Quarterly, Educational Researcher, American Educational Research Journal, Education Policy, Journal of Educational Administration, Journal of Education Policy, Critical Studies in Education, International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, Qualitative Research, Harvard Educational Review, Visual Studies and International Journal of Leadership in Education.*

Articles were eliminated based on their relevance to the topic, principals-engaging-with-policy. This relevance was related to how the article explained, contextualized or presented implementation and policy. Rarely, however, were articles

completely eliminated once they were downloaded from either one of the mentioned databases or journal websites. This is because the articles downloaded had already met the relevance criteria and were in some way related to implementation, policy and/or principals.

Books were chosen for inclusion in the review based on their relevance to the topics of principals, policy and embodiment. For instance, the former two topics led me to multiple education policy handbooks (e.g. Cooper, Cibulka & Fuserelli, 2008; Fuhrman, Cohen & Mosher, 2007; Sykes, Schenider & Plank, 2009). Due to the philosophical foundations of the literature review and my prior experience with philosophical texts during the process of writing my masters thesis, I sought out books related to embodiment and hermeneutics, using Merleau-Ponty (1964, 2002, 2004) and Gadamer (2005) as my primary guides.

Appendix C

Interview Protocols

Interview 1: Establishing Rapport

Covert Topics

- Establish a common vocabulary about the following:
    - What do principals do? In relation to multiple accountabilities? In relation to policy documents?
    - How do they understand policy? In terms of policy documents? In terms of direction from the district?
    - How do they refer to accountability pressures? What language (e.g. education, policy, personal) do they use? What words do they use to refer to these pressures?
    - How are these references related to policy? In particular? In general?

Introduction Question: What are some of the external pressures that you face? Could you describe them to me?

Lead Question One: Think about a critical moment where you faced external pressures. Describe this experience to me. (Repeat)

Lead Question Two: How do you navigate these external pressures?

Follow up for Introduction Question:

- When you say _____, what does that mean to you?
- When you say _____, what does that look like?
    - Are there any distinct images that you remember?
- When you say _____, does that have a certain feel?
    - How did that feel?
- Can you recall what effect you thought the setting had on you or the interaction?

Follow up for Lead Question One:

- Do you remember what you were feeling at the time?

- What did this feeling/experience mean to you?
- What were you thinking at the time?
- What did you think about that?
- Why did you (like/dislike) this?
- Can you recall what effect you thought the setting had on you or the interaction?
- What kind of image were you projecting? Is this the type of image you wanted to project?

Follow up for Lead Question Two:

- What does that mean for you?
- Was that important to you?
- Why was that important to you?
- How much of this has to do with the school? With you? With your district office?
- What about how you feel?

Interview 2: Photo-Interview

Covert Topics

- How does this photograph represent external pressures? Policy?

- What are the sensorial dimensions of this photograph? Which senses were involved? How did it feel to take the photograph? How did you feel when the photograph was taken

- How does the principal relate to the image? To policy? Multiple accountabilities?

- How do the images help encourage discussion of subtle aspects of policy?

Introduction Question: Why did you choose this picture?

Follow up for Introduction Question:

- How did you feel when you took this picture?
- Do you remember any particular sensations (e.g. touch, smell, sound) when you took this picture?

- Did taking the picture alter the way people interacted with you?
- How did that make you feel?
- What did this experience/feeling mean to you?
- What were you thinking at the time?
- Can you recall what effect you thought the setting had on you, the interaction or the others in this photograph?
- How did you think you might fit into this photograph?
- What about this picture reminds you of policy, accountability or external pressures?
- Can you show me what that was like?

Gallery Survey Questions

Which photograph was the most provocative of your thinking about education policy? Why?

Choose another photograph, what affect do you think the senses might have had?

Appendix D

Meaningfield & Pragmatic Horizon Analysis Examples

In the three examples below I provide the a) quote, b) meaningfield, and c) pragmatic horizon analysis.

1) Principal Firestone and being a saleswoman

a. I always said I'm not a saleswoman, but I'm getting really good at it. I'm working on those skills, and … that's not my personality, like I could never sell you a car … but when I'm talking about my children, these children here. I can sell you on them because I'm only going to do for them what I want for my own kids (Principal Firestone).

b. *What I am saying is very important (AND) I am saying this because it explains what I was thinking (AND) what I was thinking explains something about me (AND) I do not think I am a saleswoman (OR) I do not think I am a very good saleswoman (AND) I need to be a saleswoman (OR) my job forces me to sell things (AND) I am good at selling things (OR) I have learned to sell things (OR) I am learning to sell things (AND) Selling things takes certain skills(AND) saleswoman is a particular identity (AND) I do not identify as a saleswoman (OR)I do not like selling things(AND) I love these children (AND) these children are children at my school (AND) these children are my children (AND) I love my children (AND) what I want for my children is best*

c.

	Objective	Subjective	Normative/ Evaluative	Identity
Foregrounded	Selling things takes certain skills			I am not a saleswoman
Backgrounded	My job requires that I sell things These children are children at my school	I do not like selling things	What I want for my children is best	
Highly Backgrounded		I love these children I love my children		

2) Principal Forester explaining his picture taking.

a. As directed to me by the student whose pursuing her PhD. That's how I looked at it: to get you the information that you needed. I mean … I didn't look at it for any, you know, which picture did I like the best, which did I think was the neatest. I was looking at it more along the lines of: well this shows this type of policy, this shows this, so (Principal Forester).

b. *What I am saying is very important (AND) I am saying this because it explains what I was thinking (AND) what I was thinking explains something (AND) I took pictures because you asked me to (OR) I took pictures to help you (OR) I took pictures because I*

had to (OR) I took pictures (AND) the pictures contain information (OR) those pictures are information (OR) those pictures are what you need (AND) I do not care about these pictures (OR) I do not understand these pictures (OR) thinking about my favorite picture is not who I am (OR) neat pictures are bad (OR) neat pictures are confusing (AND)pictures that show policy are best (OR) pictures that show policy make sense to me (AND) thinking about pictures abstractly is bad (OR) thinking about pictures abstractly makes me uncomfortable (OR) I do not have time to think about pictures(AND)I am uncomfortable (OR) I am trying to make light of the situation (OR) so is a word I use to finish my sentences.

c.

	Objective	Subjective	Normative/Evaluative	Identity
Foregrounded	I took pictures of policy These pictures show policy	I took pictures because you asked me		
Backgrounded	*So* is a word I use to finish my sentences	I want to help you		I am not an abstract picture taker
Highly Backgrounded		Pictures that show policy make sense to me Thinking about pictures abstractly makes me uncomfortable	Neat pictures are bad Pictures that show policy are best	

3) Principal Arbre and difficult decisions.

a. those are difficult decisions when that kind of thing happens because you just don't

know where you. Where you stand sometimes … but you can't throw away the person

that you are. I know I tend to be, I tend to be more liberal and I have to be I have to watch

that I really do. I have to watch that in myself. I don't want to stir up any sort of political

I'm not willing to go there. So I kind of have to watch myself because my first instinct is

you're right [student], everybody needs to watch this video. That's who I am it's hard to leave that at the door when you're interpreting policies. You can't leave who you are at the door. And yet, you're responsible to a community and you have to be respectful of that community. There are I've always said I grew up in [the NW US] which of course is much more liberal than it is here. There are things that are said and done here in SC schools that we would never have done, just would never have been a part of and vice versa, there are things that we did, that you would never do here.

b. *What I am saying is very important (AND) I am saying this because it explains what I was thinking (AND) what I was thinking explains something (AND) I am telling you about my thoughts about making a decision (AND) these decisions are difficult (OR) I do not like these kinds of decisions (AND) this decision is about a student showing a video (AND) this decision is an example of a type of decision that I make (AND) I make these kinds of decisions a lot (AND)making decisions involves who I am (AND) making decisions involves who the community is (AND) who I am and the community are sometimes at odds (AND) I am liberal (AND) being liberal causes me to be cautious (AND)being liberal is political (AND) being political is bad (OR) being political is hard (OR) being political is scary (AND) interpreting policy requires who I am (OR) interpreting policy requires I know the community (AND) I want to help this student (AND) this student reminds me of my child (AND) I am not from here (AND) where I am from is different (AND) SC is better than where I'm from (OR) where I'm from is better than SC (OR) neither SC or where I'm from is better*

c.

	Objective	Subjective	Normative/Eval uative	Identity
Foregrounded	This decision is about a student showing a video I am not from here	I want to help this student	These decisions are difficult	I am liberal I am not from here
Backgrounded	I make these kinds of decisions a lot Interpreting policy requires I know the community Interpreting policy requires I know myself	I believe that who I am and the community do not always agree	Being political is difficult Where I am from is different Neither SC or where I am from is better	
Highly Backgrounded		This student reminds me of my child		

Appendix E

Researcher IRB Approval

CLEMSON
U N I V E R S I T Y

November 28, 2011

Dr. Curtis Brewer
Clemson University
Department of Leadership, Counselor Education and Human
and Organizational Development
409C Tillman Hall
Clemson, SC 29634

SUBJECT: IRB Protocol # **IRB2011-353,** entitled **"Towards an Understanding of the Principal-Engaged-with-Policy Using Theories of Embodiment and the Senses"**

Dear Dr. Brewer:

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Clemson University reviewed the above-mentioned study using Expedited review procedures and has recommended approval. Approval for this study has been granted as of **November 14, 2011.** Please find enclosed with this letter your original, stamped consent documents to be used with this protocol.

Your approval period is **November 14, 2011 to November 13, 2012.** Your continuing review is scheduled for October 2012. Please refer to the IRB number and title in communication regarding this study. Attached are handouts regarding the Principal and Co-Investigators' responsibilities in the conduct of human research. The Co-Investigator responsibilities handout should be distributed to all members of the research team. The Principal Investigator is also responsible for maintaining all signed consent forms (if applicable) for at least three (3) years after completion of the study.

No change in this approved research protocol can be initiated without the IRB's approval. This includes any proposed revisions or amendments to the protocol or consent form. Any unanticipated problems involving risk to subjects, any complications, and/or any adverse events must be reported to the Office of Research Compliance immediately. Please contact the office if your study has terminated or been completed before the identified review date.

The Clemson University IRB is committed to facilitating ethical research and protecting the rights of human subjects. Please contact the Office of Research Compliance at 656-6460 if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Laura A. Moll, M.A., CIP
IRB Administrator

www.clemson.edu/research/compliance

Appendix F

Consent Form

Information Concerning Participation in a Research Study
Clemson University

Describing policy implementation

Description of the Research and Your Participation

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Curtis Brewer, Ph.D and Amanda Werts. The purpose of this research is better understand the experience of principals as they implement policy.

Your participation will involve participating in up to six interviews that will be audio recorded, photographing things in your school, having me shadow you for an afternoon and a gallery presentation that will be audio and video recorded.

By participating in this study you give the researchers the right to use these photos in any presentation or publication. Up to 10 of your photographs could be used in the publication of this study.

The amount of time required for your participation will be approximately 15 hours.

Risks and Discomforts

There are certain risks or discomforts associated with this research. They include using your photographs in published documents; however, we will use a pseudonym in our all reporting of this project. Furthermore, we will not use any description or photograph that you are uncomfortable sharing outside of this study. Audio and video recordings and photographs will be destroyed 4 years after the completion of this study.

Potential Benefits

This research may help us to understand what you experience on a daily basis. We also hope that this research will show policymakers more about what happens in schools.

Protection of Privacy and Confidentiality

Throughout this process, we will do everything we can to protect your privacy. Neither your identity, your school, nor your district will be revealed in any publication that might result from this study. A pseudonym will be used to identify you in any publications.

We might be required to share the information we collect from you with the Clemson University Office of Research Compliance and the federal Office for Human Research Protections. If this happens, the information would only be used to find out if we ran this study properly and protected your rights in the study.

This form is valid only if the
Clemson University IRB
stamp of approval is shown here:

CLEMSON UNIVERSITY
IRB CONSENT FORM
APPROVED 11/14/2011
EXPIRES 11/13/2012

Page 1 of 2

Information Concerning Participation in a Research Study
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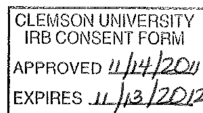
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