

The Caring Police Wear Cardigans: Reading Embodied Emotions Towards Anti-
Oppressive Education

A dissertation
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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June 2018

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Acknowledgments

My daughter saw the ocean for the first time just before I submitted the final draft of this dissertation. She spotted it and toddled directly into it without hesitation – falling in the first wave, standing up, and continuing onward until we caught her from being fully submerged. I want to thank those who have inspired me forward yet also kept me from drowning. Specifically:

My committee past and present J.B. Mayo, Keitha-Gail Martin-Kerr, Annie Mason, Tim Lensmire, and Jessie Dockter Tierney, thank you for conducting and living out examples of nuanced, engaging, and hopeful work.

My adviser Mark Vagle, I am awed by how you were able to help me think and write in such a dramatically different way with only kindness, support, and encouragement. Your pedagogy is inspiring.

My fellow PIPsters Liv Christensen, Tiffany Nielsen-Winkelman, Jen Niedzielski, and Sara Sterner, I am glad to have entered the murkiness of this new methodology with you and treaded water just long enough to start swimming a little.

My colleagues in teacher education Jeff Henning-Smith and Tracy Leitl, thank you for modeling such passion and dedication to caring for your soon-to-be teachers. And thank you for your friendship.

Family and friends near and far, thank you for deftly asking me about my work, but not too much, giving me the space to dive deep into incomplete ideas with your support and encouragement to keep going and make some sense of them.

Finally, the women in this study who jumped in because I asked them to, I have learned so much about the teacher I would like to be from each of you.

Dedication

To Elena, may you learn to know your emotions as a valid form of knowledge.

To Dennis, for caring.

Abstract

White, middle-class women make up the majority of public school teachers in the United States of America while the student population is diversifying rapidly (Taie & Goldring, 2017). The need for these educators to cultivate a critical consciousness is high if our education system is to be equitable for all students (Winans, 2012). This study focuses on an embodied approach to teacher reflexivity by paying attention to teachers' emotions and wondering about what those emotions might mean in relation to the beliefs and values that undergird teaching philosophies.

In this post-intentional phenomenological study, I investigate the phenomenon of white, middle-class women educators reading their embodied emotions evoked in classroom moments circulating with race and/or class. Four women, including the author, shared emotionally evocative moments and analyzed them over a series of individual and collective interviews.

The shared classroom moments were all marked by conflicting emotional responses within the same moment (e.g. joy and despair, guilt and pride, anger and shame, power and helplessness). When we talked about our emotionally evocative classroom moments, the ideology of white femininity and of motherhood pervaded all of the moments. The social control of emotions (Boler, 1999) was also evident in the emotionally conflicted embodied responses we felt and how we policed our own emotional responses to the moments we shared. These contradictions indicated areas to question our beliefs and values about our pedagogical choices, our teaching philosophies, and institutional narratives of teaching guiding those choices and philosophies.

Implications from this study are methodological, practical, and theoretical.

Identifying and writing feminist storylines that include emotions for reading educational moments is a methodological implication of this study. Historicizing teacher education with preservice teachers and incorporating the teaching philosophy as a foundational and adaptable tool are practical implications for teacher education. Decoupling the notion of caring from the ideal of the teacher/mother and transitioning to caring as teacher/artist is a theoretical implication of this work.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

All of life's adventures go into the cauldron, la hoya, where all fragments, inconsistencies, contradictions are stirred and cooked to a new integration. They undergo transformation. For me esta hoyo is the body. I have to inhabit the body, discover its sensitivity and intelligence. When all your antenna quiver and your body becomes a lightning rod, a radio receiver, a seismograph detecting and recording ground movement, when your body responds, every part of you moves in synchronicity. All responses to the world take place within our bodies. Our bodies are tuning forks receiving impressions, which in turn activate other responses" (Anzaldúa, 2009, p. 292).

This dissertation is about embodied emotions and their potential to help us reclaim some agency in shaping our identities. The metaphor of body as cauldron conjures up dangerous images of witches brewing potions and, indeed, the body has historically been considered dangerous, mysterious, and feminine by white, capitalistic, and patriarchal norms (Bordo, 1989). These norms permeate institutional spaces like schools, and students who are perceived to not fit them are too often marginalized by an education system that sends them messages of inferiority, deficiency, and otherness through systemic, curricular, and interpersonal means (Olson, 2009; Jensen, 2012). Work on disrupting these inequities in schools happens on multiple levels (e.g. teacher retention efforts, identifying bias in curricular resources, analyzing day-to-day pedagogical moments). With this study, I am entering this issue on the level of the individual teachers' understandings of her own histories, beliefs, and values – the level of teacher reflexivity. Anzaldúa's quote above captures this recognition of the body as one's initial response to the world and a site of our histories, an accumulation of our adventures. I build off this conception of the body to approach teacher reflexivity from a feminist perspective with an emphasis on embodiment.

At the outset of this dissertation, I need to clarify how I have used and named the concepts of reflection, reflexivity, and post-reflexivity. Although there are important distinctions in theoretical work between the concepts of reflection, reflexivity, and post-reflexivity¹, I have used each term in this research purposefully in different ways and with different people. Vagle (2014) describes the role of theory in post-intentional phenomenology, writing “theories are interrogated so they do not dominate or determine what is possible to see during data gathering and analysis, but this interrogation does not mean that theories are not always already running through data gathering and analysis” (p. 75). The theoretical concept of reflexivity, and post-reflexivity in particular, is foundational to the content and design of this research (see Chapter 3), yet I chose to talk about “self-reflection” and “reflection” with the people in the study rather than “reflexivity” in order that the terms did not “dominate” nor “determine” our conversations. “Self-reflection” was a concept more familiar to all of the people in this study, and I believe it can encompass the critical questioning of one’s beliefs and values if it is framed in that way. Concepts change meaning in the lifeworld based on the context in which they are used, who is invoking them, and how they are being used.

This post-intentional phenomenological study investigates how white, middle-class women teachers may identify and interpret the signals sent from their bodies during emotionally evocative classroom moments. It looks at how this phenomenon of reading

¹ Reflection is the process of thinking *about* events or actions either during the event or afterwards (Dewey, 1910/1997; Schön, 1987). Reflexivity is a more critical approach to reflection and more often associated with research. It is the process of thinking about our own assumptions and beliefs in relation to an event or action that has happened (Finlay, 2008). Post-reflexivity is part of the post-intentional phenomenology research methodology that involves the commitment and practice of identifying, wondering about, and questioning the beliefs and values that influence how we perceive the world (Vagle, 2014).

embodied emotions may take shape, particularly with regard to social inequities. The hope of this work is to expand the theory and practical tools available to educators who are dedicated to supporting teacher reflexivity towards anti-oppressive education.

My Motivation

I feel pressure to start this dissertation off with all the reasons I am committed to working towards more equitable pedagogy in public schools. I feel driven to talk about the connections I can make between the theories that guide this research and my findings with admirable goals like closing the opportunity gap or disrupting the status quo of public education as we know it so that every child truly does have access to life-giving education as they grow. Those lofty hopes are certainly true, but if I am honest with the motivations that are really driving this dissertation then I must write about them, and they are intensely personal and selfish. It is not polite, nor in line with academic discourse, to write about personal motivations, but this dissertation is about just that - identifying and wondering about what guides our beliefs, values, and actions. To stay true to this commitment, I begin with my motivations for this project realized in my own reflexivity.

I was a practicing teacher for a few years in a public elementary school, and I did not make it. I burned out. I quit and retreated to the comparably comfortable, familiar, and relaxed halls of higher education. I still feel sad for that new teacher who would feel her mood sink every morning when she started down the stairwell to her classroom, and I feel sad for the students who without choice had to interact with someone who felt as if she were faking it every day. I feel anxious when I recognize the depletion in the eyes of the beginning teachers I now mentor. These emotions that I reference are significant to

the motivation of this dissertation. The exhaustion of the new and beginning teacher, the sadness in the recognition of that depletion, and the anxiety it produces when considering the impact of teachers' emotional strain on their students all led me to study the emotions of teachers. If I was able to recognize the implications of these emotions on how I view education, what might other teachers come to understand if asked to read (i.e. identify and interpret the meaning of) their own emotions? Yes, I want public education to be exciting, challenging, and equitable for all children, but even more so I recognize what Franklin (2003) identifies as the expectation of martyrdom in teaching, and I want to care for those about to be martyred.

Statement of Phenomenon & Research Question

The phenomenon I am investigating in this study is *reading embodied emotions*. This is different from the research problem or contexts. This is the aspect of the lifeworld that I am investigating. The post-structural underpinnings of post-intentional phenomenology assume that phenomena are always circulating through, making, unmaking, and transforming the lifeworld. Situating this phenomenon in the context of classrooms involving teachers and students inherently implies that race and social class, among other phenomena, are circulating through the space, material artifacts, interactions, and people located there. To situate this study, I set my researcher gaze on classroom moments in which race and/or social class are implicitly or explicitly factors in the strong emotions evoked by the white, middle-class women in this study.

My research question is:

What might be produced when white, middle-class women educators are asked to read their embodied emotions evoked by classroom interactions circulating with race and/or social class?

The research question in a post-intentional phenomenological study is designed to be open-ended and generative, rather than answered in a definitive and absolute way.

Hofsess (2013) writes, “the question we ask is our first move” that produces “an *aesthetic swell*- a wave-like movement that unmoors us and sets us adrift towards unanticipated, surprising possibilities” (p. 8). The very act of looking for “what may be produced” in relation to the phenomenon reveals, redirects, and even provokes unanticipated and surprising insights.

Although I continue to center an already privileged group by limiting the scope of this study to white, middle-class women teachers, this is where important anti-racist and anti-classist work is desperately needed. bell hooks (1994) calls on white women to do the work of understanding their own racialization by focusing on white women’s racial experiences. “Curiously, most white women writing feminist theory that looks at ‘difference’ and ‘diversity’ do not make white women’s lives, works, and experiences the subject of their analysis of ‘race,’ but rather focus on black women or women of color” (hooks, 1994, p. 103-104). Although this dissertation is not a direct inquiry into the racial experiences of white women teachers as hooks recommends (i.e. it is an inquiry of reading embodied emotions not race), I do ground my theorizing of the tentative manifestations of the phenomenon in white femininity.

Furthermore, Lensmire (2017) uses the following passage by James Baldwin ([1963]1993) to make a similar point in an article on the scapegoating ritual that some white anti-racists undertake in order feel a sense of belonging.

I do not know many Negroes who are eager to be ‘accepted’ by white people, still less to be loved by them; they, the blacks, simply don’t wish to be beaten over the head by the whites every instant of our brief passage on this planet. White people in this country will have quite enough to do in learning how to accept and love themselves and each other, and when they have achieved this – which will not be tomorrow and may very well be never – the Negro problem will no longer exist, for it will no longer be needed (p. 9).

Baldwin also hints at the self-compassion that will be necessary for white people to develop in order to “accept and love themselves and each other.” Although, he also recognizes the potential impossibility of this ever happening. This research intends to be a step towards that goal of white people turning inward and developing enough self-compassion to come to an acceptance and love of their own identities without scapegoating others.

An important assumption of this study is that embodied responses to emotionally evocative classroom moments are tied to the histories, beliefs, and values of the people involved as well as to the broader social context of the time and place of the classroom moment. The histories of the individuals, the events of the moment, the geographic location of the classroom, and the time period in which the moment is situated all intertwine in an ever shifting and evolving set of factors that influence the hierarchies at play, as well as create an emotionally vulnerable environment.

Emotions are body-based yet connected to the social world. “[E]motions are not simply located in the individual, are not simply biological or privately experienced

phenomena, but rather reflect linguistically-embedded cultural values and rules and are thus a site of power and resistance” (Boler, 1999, p. 6). This study integrates both this physiological and social description of emotions and assumes that these embodied responses can offer insights into our histories, beliefs, values, and relationships to the broader social context if explored reflexively. Emotions, either positive or negative, are our bodies’ responses to the world and are activated when some aspect of our histories align with, disconnect with, or spark some other unforeseeable encounter with the world.

The insights that may be provoked through the act of paying attention to one’s embodied responses to the world and wondering with self-compassion about the meaning or origin of those responses may offer openings for an educator committed to disrupting inequities in her pedagogical practice. Teachers are encouraged to reflect and practice reflexivity on their classroom experiences and foundational beliefs and assumptions that guide their teaching philosophies in order to grow as educators (hooks, 1994; Fecho, 2011). Reflection and reflexivity, however, can be treated primarily as a “thinking” act and potentially disregard the messages from body-bound physiological emotional responses that could aid in self-reflection and reflexivity. If teachers generally do not, cannot, and are not taught and encouraged to recognize and value the emotional messages sent from their bodies in classroom moments, they are more limited in their resources for finding openings into insights about their beliefs, values, and relationships with the broader social context.

As educators engage in reading their embodied emotions, they enter into a process that has the potential to call into question, nudge, cement, or constitute any number of

other ways their beliefs, values, relationships with the world, and, ultimately, their identities. Since the focus on this study is on the emotions that connect us to our social groups and since the identities of most teachers and of the people in this study are white women, it is important to offer some background on the concept of white femininity.

White Femininity

When I think of the phrase “white femininity,” I think of me. I think of how I am supposed to be, how I am supposed to act, and what I am supposed to do with my time. I am a white woman who looks very much like a white woman. My hair is fair and long. My clothes are modest yet form-fitting to demurely show off my body. I do not wear makeup, but I compensate for the subtle nagging guilt of not wearing it by convincing myself that looking healthy is more beautiful. White femininity is a discourse, or way of being in the world, that helps to uphold a white, capitalist, patriarchal society. Women are socialized into white femininity and follow it by conforming to social norms in regard to beauty, work, emotions, and family obligations among other ways of being (Clements, 2015; Coffee, 2016; Deliovsky, 2010; Stutelberg, 2016). Although only race and gender are implied by its name, white femininity is an intersectional concept encompassing social class and sexuality as well. Social class and sexuality are factors in white femininity when considering how inequitable social structures are perpetuated. If white femininity maintains white capitalist patriarchy, then it does so through the actual sexual reproduction of white babies (i.e. heterosexual normativity) who become heirs for accumulated wealth (i.e. maintaining social class).

The ways of being and values supported by white femininity do not only affect white, financially-secure, heterosexual women. They are the default standard to which all women are held and are, therefore, important to better understand how they manifest in education. Although I am concerned about continuing to center the experiences of already privileged women by focusing so much on white femininity rather than the experiences of women of color or women in poverty or working-class situations, Deliovsky reminds us that “taking [critiques of feminism by women of color] seriously means exploring not only the lives of negatively racialized women but those of positively racialized women as well” (2010, p. 4).

Whiteness, according to Deliovsky, “is a social relation dependent on others” (p. 20). She describes whiteness as positive racialization, meaning that when one has become white she has gone through a process of racialization and received material, social, and some psychological benefits from it. This is in contradiction to a negative racialization in which people of color are generally at an economic, social, and sometimes psychological disadvantage as a result of how they are perceived racially.

White femininity is living out the norms of whiteness, middle-classness, and heterosexual womanness even though I know that to do so represents and bolsters the discursive structures that uphold white patriarchal supremacy. It is trying to figure out a way to continue to be who I have grown into being while simultaneously trying to fight against the oppressive structures that my body represents. I am a white, cisgender, heterosexual, middle-class woman, and I desire to live an anti-oppressive life while still being and looking like who I have become.

Deliovsky (2010) conducted research on white women who are in intimate relationships with men of color in Canada and found certain “scripts” available to white women. “The sedimentation of race and gender has produced a script of what it means to be ‘white’ women and as such, has constructed what appears to be a ‘natural’ configuration of social and cultural relations” (p. 124). By focusing on the culturally marked, or deviating from the norm, relationships of mixed-race couples, she has uncovered clear directives of how white women are supposed to behave, what they are to believe, and how they may be punished if they diverge from those scripts. These scripts also serve to make white femininity appear natural and, thus, unquestionable as to how things are or should be. This normalizing effect of the scripts of white femininity are one way in which white women’s bodies are raced and gendered and performing these scripts is racializing and feminizing.

To be raced and to racialize is to conceive of racialization as a process in which people become a race and learn to take on and perform the scripts of a particular racialized identity. Race itself is a social creation that has social, material, and psychological consequences. The process of racialization includes “rituals of unity and exclusion” that serve to mark the boundaries of a social group (Deliovsky, 2010, p. 87). When the process of racialization creates races that become stratified in prestige and privilege, racism, or the wholesale systematic privileging of certain races over others, develops. In our white supremacist society, the “white” race is embedded at the top of this hierarchical system. The racial category “white” is

a political, cultural and psychological fiction used to exploit and oppress groups of people not defined as ‘white’ for the mass accumulation of wealth, power and

psychological advantage. While it is a fiction, it is a fiction that translates into a powerful reality that benefits people of European descent (Deliovsky, 2010, p. 20).

Coffee (2016) offers some nuance to this social hierarchy. In her autoethnographic study, she links whiteness with femininity by showing the particularly precarious position of white women within the racial hierarchy.

A focus on white women's racialization process within a patriarchal society is particularly important because there is no possibility of women fully inhabiting the location or benefit of whiteness; their woman-ness will not allow it. White women's bodies are the carriers of whiteness, necessary in its production. They birth white babies, raise children to be white, and reinforce structures of whiteness through positions of authority (teaching). And yet, their own whiteness is not assured. The precarity of whiteness is one of whiteness' most recognizable features (p. 70-71).

While whiteness is at the top of that social hierarchy, white women are not by virtue of their gender. They are perpetually in danger of losing the privileges they have been granted as white women.

This precarity of whiteness is precisely how white supremacy is thought to be perpetuated. Whiteness is a *learned* way of being in the world. Thandeka (1999) theorizes how people learn to be white through the fear of being ostracized from their intimate familial relations at the early ages of childhood. Deliovsky draws on Thandeka to theorize how whiteness is reproduced in different ways. "The reproduction of whiteness can occur in two primary ways: first, through active participation and second, through passive participation" (Deliovsky, 2010, p. 86). The participants in Deliovsky's study all espoused liberal views on race, yet exhibited passive participation by not acknowledging and intervening in "rituals of unity and exclusion" that Deliovsky notes can take place within "inter-group" or "intra-group" communities (i.e. within the

boundaries of a white community or crossing the boundaries of a white community with a perceived other). Understanding how whiteness may be perpetuated in explicit and implicit ways is important for teachers to know given their role in the lives of children.

Purpose of Study

As a methodology for social action, post-intentional phenomenology approaches complex problems with the assumption that a careful and nuanced attunement to the problem is necessary in addressing it adequately and equitably (Vagle, 2018). Post-intentional phenomenology is a research methodology of social action yet does not try to offer a particular solution to a problem. The purpose of the researcher is:

to question the way we experience the world, to want to know the world in which we live as human beings. And since to *know* the world is profoundly to *be* in the world in a certain way, the act of researching - questioning - theorizing is the intentional act of attaching ourselves to the world, to become more fully part of it, or better, to *become* the world. Phenomenology calls this inseparable connection to the world the principle of ‘intentionality’ (van Manen, 1990, p. 5).

Of course, I want to solve problems - teacher burnout, inequitable school systems, unjoyful classrooms - but I genuinely agree that an integral part of solving those problems is a better understanding of what we are actually dealing with in its particulars. I have framed this research project as important to helping education become more equitable. I think that is true, but it is a little too ambitious for what I am actually doing here.

Van Manen (1990) also writes about researching being a caring act which is itself action. “To care is to serve and to share our being with the one we love” (p. 5). Caring is a way to serve, but not in a predetermined way. It is to offer up what we can do without a

prescribed agenda of how we will do it – much like teaching. Despite the importance of planning and assessment in our pedagogy, what our students actually take away from the pedagogical experience is broader and maybe more or less significant than what we as teachers think they are getting. Phenomenology trusts that in the process and product of its research, if undertaken in an open, thoughtful, and caring manner, there will be important and valid insights that will resonate with some. It is a modest but difficult goal.

Wobble (Fecho, Graham, & Hudson-Ross, 2005) is a commitment to continually seek to call into question assumptions of normality. It is also a description of what can happen to the assumptions when they are called into question. Wobble is "that authored space of uncertainty that lies between and among figured worlds" that "creates opportunities for examining practice in ways that might not otherwise occur" (p. 175). It is also what I hope this study can accomplish in readers. Phenomenological texts strive to be evocative and elicit a resonance in the reader, but they cannot dictate what that response in the reader will be.

My hopes for the impact of this work have come forth as questions in the process of carrying out this research. For instance, one theoretical insight that this research offers is a complication of the notion of caring in teaching to which I just referred in the paragraph above. Caring, while important for teachers to do in relation to their students, is problematic when viewed through the discourse of motherhood. What might it mean to care for students from an anti-oppressive discourse rather than a teacher/mother discourse? Furthermore, the dominant ideal of what makes a good teacher is rooted in discourses of white, feminine motherhood. How might those teachers who embody this

ideal (i.e. white feminine women) enact an anti-oppressive pedagogy and be perceived as sincere in their actions while inhabiting a body that represents oppressive structures?

Finally, my practical hopes for this research center on teacher education. How might this study shape ways in which self-reflection is taught in teacher education programs? How might this study support a shift towards mind-body connected thinking in teacher education programs?

The embodied messages we receive in classroom moments are indications of our connections, disconnections, and bottom lines. They indicate our beliefs and values, which may or may not align with institutional narratives of teaching. Imagine if teacher education programs more often valued this pathic, or embodied, form of knowledge and consistently sent the message that wobbling our common-sense beliefs about teaching was an integral part of teacher reflexivity. This post-intentional phenomenological study of teachers reading their embodied messages could be a step towards such an imagined reality.

Organization of Chapters

In the following chapter, I define and explore how I am using the concept of embodied emotions, inequitable institutional narratives of education, what it means to read embodied emotions, and what reading embodied emotions has looked like in teacher education. Chapter three describes the methodology of post-intentional phenomenology including a description of how I conceptualize intentionality using post-intentional phenomenology and my research design. In chapter four, I draw on phenomenological material from interviews and conversations with the women in this study as well as

feminist theory on emotions to highlight three tentative manifestations of the phenomenon of reading embodied emotions: teacher/mothers, teacher bots, and the necessary emptiness of white women teachers. In chapter five, I continue with three more tentative manifestations of the phenomenon: the caring police, outlawed anger, and a feminist awakening. Chapter six closes this dissertation by putting the ideas from chapter four and five to work to generate questions about white women teachers working towards anti-oppressive education and to theorize an approach to make this a reality. I conclude with theoretical, methodological, and practical implications of this research.

Chapter 2

Reading Teachers' Embodied Emotions

Emotion and affect in teaching and learning have a profound role in epistemological and ethical reflexivity, requiring a critical praxis necessary to create inclusive spaces for all voices in the never-finished work of freedom (Boler & Zembylas, 2016, p. 29).

The role emotion and affect play in critical reflection are important to equity-oriented education and serves as the foundational principle guiding this research. It is important at the outset of this chapter to make a distinction between emotion and affect. In *the Affect Theory Reader*, an edited volume on “the affective turn” in research, Seigworth and Gregg (2010) wrote that “there is no single, generalizable theory of affect” (p. 3). Throughout edited volumes on emotion and education in research, the terms “affect” and “emotion” are used almost interchangeably across different chapters (Zembylas & Schutz, 2015; Schutz & Zembylas, 2009). The choice of the term used seems to be related to the scholars on which the authors base their work. I do not mean to suggest that the terms and scholarly traditions that they have come out of are interchangeable. Instead, I am suggesting that current usage of “affect” and “emotion” have similar meanings but different histories. Seigworth and Gregg (2010) described their initial encounters with trying to study affect as a “methodological and conceptual free fall” (p. 4), a sentiment to which I can attest. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to attempt to balance my footing with the conception of emotion in this research just long enough to develop something meaningful to say for teachers and teacher educators.

I draw most heavily from Boler’s feminist politics of emotion. A feminist politics of emotion explicitly acknowledges the hierarchical power of emotions. Boler (1999)

wrote about this through gender, but hierarchies of other social markers of difference such as race and social class are also maintained through emotions as well. “A feminist politics of emotion encourages scholars to analyze and understand the role of emotions in epistemology, ethics, cultural values and beliefs, and in the construction of social relations and hierarchies” (Zembylas & Schutz, 2015, p. 6). In looking at the role of teachers’ beliefs and values about teaching as well as how those beliefs are in relation with social hierarchies within the classroom, a feminist politics of emotion is most useful in understanding how I use the concept of embodied emotions in this research. Seigworth and Gregg (2010) identify eight different prominent directions of how affect and emotion are conceptualized in research. I classify this dissertation most closely with the strand most concerned with the phenomenological, post-structural, and feminist:

The fifth is found in the regularly hidden-in-plain-sight politically engaged work – perhaps most often undertaken by feminists, queer theorists, disability activists, and subaltern people living under the thumb of a normativizing power – that attends to the hard and fast materialities, as well as the fleeting and flowing ephemera, of the daily and the workaday, of everyday and every-night life, and of ‘experience’ (understood in ways far more collective and ‘external’ rather than individual and interior), where persistent, repetitive practices of power can simultaneously provide a body (or, better, collectivized bodies) with predicaments and potentials for realizing a world that subsists within and exceeds the horizons and boundaries of the norm (p. 7).

In this chapter, I describe how I conceptualize embodied emotions as links between individuals and their social groups. Next, I show how inequitable institutional narratives become internalized through embodied emotions. Then, I conceptualize the process of reading embodied emotions and why it is particularly important for white, middle-class women educators to engage in it. Finally, I situate how this study fits into the feminist and poststructural ideas presented here.

Embodied Emotions: Self-Social Connections

Emotions shape the very surfaces of bodies, which take shape through the repetition of actions over time, as well as through orientations towards and away from others. Indeed, attending to emotions might show us how all actions are reactions, in the sense that what we do is shaped by the contact we have with others (Ahmed, 2004b, p. 4).

Conceptions of emotions have typically fallen on either side of a “split” (Ahmed, 2004b) – between a conception of emotions as primarily concerning the body and one concerning cognition and judgment. Ahmed turns to Descartes, somewhat unexpectedly since he is often credited with splitting the mind and body apart in western thought, to show how this split between bodily sensations and cognition and judgement is more intertwined than theories on emotion seem to suggest. She does this through a phenomenological discussion of the objects of our emotions. “If emotions are shaped by contact with objects, rather than being caused by objects, then emotions are not simply ‘in’ the subject or the object” (p. 6). For example, the anger that I may feel when a student continues to look at a cell phone after I have called back the attention of a class is actually a reflection of my relationship to that student and the situation in that particular moment in time. Depending on my history with that student, depending on my knowledge of the context of why the phone is being used, and depending on an uncountable number of other factors, how I respond physically and cognitively with my judgment and decision to act (or not) is not a product of that object (i.e. the student, the cell phone, or the student interacting with the cell phone). It is a product of my relationship and contact with that object.

Ahmed describes this contact as a phenomenological intentional relationship (see intentionality in Chapter 3) between subjects and objects. This means that emotions are *about* something. “The ‘aboutness’ of emotions means they involve a stance on the world, or a way of apprehending the world” (p. 7). This stance must inherently involve the discourses, as well as the beliefs and values bound up in those discourses, that constitute a person’s identity. To say that emotions are a discursive practice (Zembylas, 2005) is to say that emotions help orient us *towards* the world through emotional rules (i.e. what frames our seeing) and our perceptions *of* the world (i.e. our judgments about and sensations of the world) all while shaping us and the world.

Although Ahmed (2004b) locates emotions at this point of contact between subjects and objects, she continues, “This does not mean that emotions are not read as being ‘resident’ in subjects or objects: I [show] how objects are often read as the cause of emotions in the very process of taking an orientation towards them” (p. 6). If objects are not actually the cause of our emotions, what is? In the example above, I am not angry *because of* the student checking the cell phone, though I might say this. I am angry *at* the student checking the cell phone. This ‘at’ is directional and suggests my orientation towards the student checking the cell phone – my perception of the contact between me and that student checking the cell phone at that particular moment and place in time. This means that the rush of heat that I feel in my cheeks and the sharp exhale I let out are not themselves my experience of anger. They are part of it. They are my physical response. But the values and beliefs (i.e. that students should not be looking at cell phones after the

teacher has called for attention) that led to my reaction are also part of my experience of anger in that moment. So, too, is the potential calcification of that belief as a result.

This poststructural turn in conceiving emotion that Ahmed expresses mirrors a similar turn in theory on identity and the self (Kamler, 2001; Hauge et al., 1987; Anzaldúa, 2007). Britzman (1992) describes a poststructural approach to identity as, “concerned with ways of tracing identity as subjected to the constraints of social structure and to the practices of discourse while also subject to creative agency. As discursive boundaries shift, so do our identities” (p. 26). This acknowledgment of a person’s creative agency within constraints is important to seeing embodied emotions as a site of resistance to inequitable social hierarchies.

I deliberately conceptualize embodied emotions with the work of feminist scholars in order to enhance the social justice aim of this work. “Emotions were identified as core to the liberatory work of feminist pedagogies, which – as a political arm of the women’s movement – served as a politicizing, embodied intervention for social change” (Boler & Zembylas, 2016, p. 20). Important aspects of this poststructural and feminist turn that inform the conception of emotions and identity that I take up in this research view emotions as indications of links between individuals and social groups. That is, emotions (1) are discursive practices (i.e. not innate nor universal), (2) do things, (3) offer a source of embodied knowledge, and (4) serve as a site of social control and resistance (Ahmed, 2004a; Ahmed, 2004b; Jaggar, 1989; Boler, 1999; Zembylas, 2005).

1. *Emotions as discursive practices*

Emotions as discursive practices are mutually constitutive, meaning they shape the people doing the feeling and the objects linked to that feeling all while being shaped and defined themselves. Following a poststructural conception of subjectivity, emotions and identity are “continuously constituted, never completed, never fully coherent, never completely centered securely in experience” (Zembylas, 2005, p. 938). If emotions are not centered securely in experience, then they are found in shifting and unstable discourses. The discourses that circulate through a subject constitute, in part, that subject’s identity.

In my conception of emotion, teacher emotions are not private, nor merely the effects of outside structures, nor simply language-laden, but are *performative* – that is, the ways in which teachers understand, experience, perform, and talk about emotions are highly related to their sense of identity (Zembylas, 2005, p. 937).

(2) *Emotions do things*

The term *practices* in the phrase “emotions as discursive practices” implies some sort of action. Emotions help guide our actions, as well as thoughts, through the repeated and circulating presence or absence of values and beliefs. Aspects of emotions are certainly physiological responses, but emotions are also performative (Zembylas, 2005). That is, individuals use emotions knowingly or unknowingly to signal something, to identify in some way. Ahmed (2004a) argues that emotions mediate between the self and the social through an affective economy.

In such affective economies, emotions *do things*, and they align individuals with communities – or bodily space with social space – through the very intensity of their attachments. Rather than seeing emotions as psychological dispositions, we need to consider how they work, in concrete and particular ways, to mediate the

relationship between the psychic and the social, and between the individual and the collective...My economic model of emotions suggests that while emotions do not positively reside in a subject or figure, they still work to bind subjects together (Ahmed, 2004a, p. 119, emphasis in original).

One of the “things” that emotions do is help to form (and break) social bonds.

Ahmed (2004b) uses this idea of emotions as social links to describe how social bonds are formed. “In other words, emotions are not ‘in’ either the individual or the social, but produce the very surfaces and boundaries that allow the individual and the social to be delineated as if they are objects” (p. 10). Emotions help create the rules of who belongs and who is excluded. To be a good and effective teacher means that you follow certain emotional rules that depend upon the time and place of where you are teaching, rules that require particular emotional responses to particular stimuli (Boler, 1999). If a teacher finds her emotional responses contradictory, or upsetting in some way, that is when interesting moments emerge of what it means for this teacher to be good and effective.

The triggers and circumstances that generate emotions are grounded in contextually bound scenarios. Particular bodies, marked by particular times and places, subscribe particular emotions to these contextually bound scenarios. Ahmed (2004a) argues that since emotions are not inherent to individuals nor are they universal, they can intensify as they are transacted among subjects. This intensification serves to bind people together and, although it seems that an intense emotion felt by a group of people implies that those people are all similar in some way, the emotion is not located within each of those individuals. It is serving as a link, a bind, working as a mechanism to relate individuals. It is located in that relation and connection. Walkerdine (2016) extends this

idea by showing how affective histories (i.e. histories of emotion) help produce embodied responses that are a result of and perpetuate relationships maintained across generations.

(3) Emotions offer a source of embodied knowledge

Emotions offer a source of embodied knowledge, an alternative epistemological stance, to make meaning of our experiences (Jaggar, 1989). Jaggar works to narrow “the purported gap between emotion and knowledge” (p. 146). She outlines how emotion and reason have been constructed as “contrasted pairs” (p. 145), yet how this distinction is unwarranted and impedes the construction of knowledge. This aspect of embodied emotions is a cornerstone of this project. Embodied knowledge may be congruous or contradictory to the thoughts in our brains, but it is valuable regardless. If noticed, embodied emotions can be signals to pay attention and wonder about what those messages are.

Emotions have been discredited through their juxtapositioning with reason and the paradigm of positivism. A positivist view of science aims to decontextualize and deconstruct a phenomenon into parts and pieces in an effort to come as close as possible to discovering what can objectively be observed. This stance requires a scientist who is able to separate their emotions from their rational thought. Jaggar calls this the “myth of the dispassionate investigator.” She shows how this myth contributes to the marginalization of women and people of color through the discrediting of emotional epistemic stances that have historically been attributed to women and people of color.

[The ideological function of the myth of the dispassionate investigator] functions, obviously, to bolster the epistemic authority of the currently dominant groups, composed largely of white men, and to discredit the observations and claims of

the currently subordinate groups including, of course, the observations and claims of many people of color and women. The more forcefully and vehemently the latter groups express their observations and claims, the more emotional they appear and so the more easily they are discredited. The alleged epistemic authority of the dominant groups then justifies their political authority (Jaggar, 1989, p. 158).

Although Jaggar (1989) calls for the recognition of embodied knowledge of emotions as valid, she does note that trusting emotions is not without limitations. Part of her critique in purely trusting emotion as an epistemic stance is that emotions “may be constituted by oppressive values” (p. 163). Embodied emotions are a valid and important source of knowledge for teachers to draw on in their reflexive practices precisely because they may be constituted by oppressive values. The point of critically reflecting on our emotions is to work to identify those oppressive values. “Accepting the indispensability of appropriate emotions to knowledge means no more (and no less) than that discordant emotions should be attended to seriously and respectfully rather than condemned, ignored, discounted, or suppressed” (p. 163). It is important to note that she specifies “discordant emotions.” I understand this to mean conflicting emotions. These conflicting emotions are the moments that may indicate contradictions between espoused beliefs and actions and may be the emotional site of resistance.

(4) Emotions serve as a site of social control and resistance

Emotions serve as social control by helping to create shifting social boundaries through rules that delineate what emotional responses are or are not permitted for individuals within a particular group. As social phenomena, embodied emotions are inherently political since they are subject to critique and evaluation based on hierarchical

social norms. Embodied emotional responses rely on a person's judgement of an event, interaction, or experience. Judgement is grounded in values, which are socially determined. "Emotions and values are closely related...values presuppose emotions to the extent that emotions provide the experiential basis for values" (Jaggar, 1989, p. 153). To say values are socially determined does not mean that each individual's value judgement mirrors everyone else's in the same social group. There are certainly individualized interpretations of values based on individual's experiences, histories, and the body within which they experience the world. Although there may be individualized differences as to how particular emotions are interpreted, they do serve as a mechanism for social control (Boler, 1999).

Socially privileged discourses determine what emotional responses are appropriate for different groups of people. Boler (1999) calls this "emotional selectivity" driven by "specific cultural agendas." This emotional selectivity is created by "inscribed habits of (in)attention." An important aspect of this phrase is the emphasis on the lack of attention paid to one's habits and, similarly, the lack of attention paid to one's emotional responses. It also implies that attention could be applied to one's emotional responses in order to bring awareness to how emotions may be operating on and through oneself.

To resist social norms, attention must be brought to our emotional responses and interrogated for what values and beliefs they uphold. "[Emotions] give us information about what we care about and why. Thus, a primary and underexplored source for this transformation and resistance is our emotional experience as it informs both our cognitive and moral perceptions" (Boler, 1999, p. xviii).

Emotions and teaching: Internalizing inequitable institutional narratives of teaching

Emotions are a primary medium through which we learn to internalize ideologies as commonsense truths. For example, children are increasingly taught not to express their anger, not to question authority and not to resist those who have power. These rules are taught through differing forms of emotional discipline (shame, humiliation, etc., depending on gendered, racialized norms, for instance); depending on their gendered, raced, or social class standing children learn different rules regarding what emotional expressions are acceptable (Boler, 1999, p. 32).

Following Boler's claim of the social control of emotions, the rules that teachers follow regarding what is institutionally acceptable are learned, in part, through emotions, and these emotional rules are gendered, racialized, and classed. This means that how people are socially expected to feel about something is, in part, determined by one's identity markers. For instance, while anger may be considered inappropriate for all women and girls to display in schools, the consequences differ depending on race. A display of anger by a black girl is more likely to result in escalated disciplinary action such as suspension or even arrest (Hines-Datiri & Carter Andrews, 2017). Combining Britzman's (2003) analysis of what becoming a teacher does to the teacher (i.e. the development of teacher identity) with Boler's conception of emotions is helpful in understanding how teachers persist in knowingly or unknowingly living out inequitable institutional narratives in education.

Institutional narratives guide and are shaped by both the official ideals of an institution as well as the personal perceptions of the individuals who hold power within the institution. Britzman (2003) writes about the culture of "institutional narratives" as multifaceted.

Within any given culture, there exists a multiplicity of realities – both given and possible – that form competing ideologies, discourses, and the discursive practices that are made available because of them. It is within our subjectivities that we can make sense of these competing conditions even as these competing conditions ‘condition’ our subjectivity in contradictory ways (p. 71).

She rejects the notion of a unified narrative of teaching that dominates in public education, but acknowledges that institutional narratives work to shape teacher identities and can be problematic by perpetuating social inequities. Institutional narratives of teaching in all their multifacetedness are still most often grounded in white, middle-class ideology and are inherently inequitable (see Britzman, 2003; Delpit, 1995; Freire, 2012; hooks, 2000; Jones & Vagle, 2013). They have material consequences that have been documented in an ongoing opportunity gap with students of color (Milner, 2012) and students experiencing poverty (Gorski, 2017). Hierarchical social discourses can be part of the multifaceted institutional narratives of teaching due to the personal perceptions of the individuals who hold power within the institution – white, middle-class women teachers are among those individuals holding power, and the “demographic imperative” (i.e. the growing disparity between the race and class of students and teachers) (Sleeter, Neal, & Kumashiro, 2014) demands those who hold power in the institution pause and examine their own personal beliefs and values that may be perpetuating inequitable institutional narratives of education.

According to Britzman (2003), a cultural myth of teaching “makes available particular discursive practices that position situations as given without the quality of contingency” (p. 6-7). Cultural myths as “common narratives that [new teachers] confront and internalize as their own” (p. 6) set rules about what teachers should do,

think, and feel. They inform teacher identities by setting up the constraints within which teachers negotiate their personal identities with their teaching identities. The notion of common sense is born out of the cultural myths of teaching and inherently resists critical examination (Britzman, 2003). “Common sense” is discursive and is that which is taken-for-granted, reliable, and proven in the sense that it is how things are done. It keeps everything moving along as it always has.

In a journal-based self-study on the emotional aspect of teaching, Winograd’s (2005) analysis of his emotional experience in the classroom bears out several of the points Britzman makes: the multifaceted and contradictory institutional narratives of teaching; the tension between the institutional narratives of teaching and the teacher’s identity; and the unquestioned nature of common sense notions of teaching. Winograd describes how the common sense cultural myths of teaching set up conflicts between his expectations of what he *should* be doing and the reality of what he was doing in the classroom. He identifies this behavior as “self-exhortation” and notes how “commonsensical” and unconscious it had been before he analyzed his own journal entries from a year of teaching. One of the common instigators of his self-exhortations was a conflict between competing institutional narratives of teaching. He, at once, espoused the need and desire to care for all students as individuals, maintain order and efficiency, and simultaneously plan meaningful instruction. He found these goals incompatible. He had too many students to realistically care for them in the way he envisioned, and “meaning-based” curriculum was too messy for the material constraints

of the classroom. “The historic school discourse that privileges order and busy-ness conflicted with another historic discourse, meaningfulness” (p. 253).

These contradictions in the stories of how to ‘do’ school make up and are revealed in our identities as teachers. “The self-exhortations were responses to moments when I behaved in ways that conflicted with my self-conception. The self-exhortations suggest a tension between my identities and the demands of the situation, often represented in contradictory discourses that never quite were resolved” (Winograd, 2005, p 253). The “common sense” of institutional narratives become internalized through emotions (Boler, 1999). If the hope is to resist the inequitable status quo in education, then common sense notions of teaching, including how teachers are supposed to feel, must be carefully looked at and questioned with an approach that focuses on teachers’ identities.

These inequitable institutional narratives can cause ambivalent and unsettled emotions in preservice teachers when they are called upon to reflect on them and experience a different way of doing school (Miller Marsh, 2002). Miller Marsh shows how prospective and preservice teachers can become unsettled when asked to reflect on the inequities of a child-centered approach to teaching early childhood when grounded in a strict adherence to stage developmentalism. She describes how a child-centered discourse developed from theories and research centering white, middle-class, male children and, as a result, made whiteness, middle-classness, and maleness the standard and norm. As a discourse, a child-centered approach assumes particular things. For example, it assumes that children are unique, possess “an inner potential,” and move through development in a linear fashion (p. 456). Miller Marsh contrasts this with a

sociocultural discourse, which assumes that learning is social and happens in tandem with development rather than after development. If the studies that determined the developmental trajectory of children were conducted primarily with boys from white, financially secure homes, then the assumptions of what is considered normal learning and development are skewed towards those particular children. “I wanted the educators enrolled in my course to be able to recognize when they were speaking and acting within the discourse of child-centeredness and to understand the effects that it had on their identities and the identities of the children and families with whom they worked” (p. 457).

Emotions may offer insights into our emotionally discursive identities, in particular, how inequitable institutional narratives of education may become part of our teacher identities (Boler, 1999; Matias & Zembylas, 2014; Matias, Montoya, & Nishi, 2016). Matias and Zembylas (2014) draw on critical race theory, whiteness studies, and critical emotion studies to show how emotions serve to both mark and hide white teacher candidates’ discursive separations from a perceived other. They analyze how “benign emotions” like pity and caring in teacher candidates can sometimes be “hidden expressions of disgust for the Other” (p. 319). They argue that literature on how whiteness ideology is intertwined with the performative emotions of caring, sympathy, and love in teacher education is scarce. They call for teacher candidates to engage in critical reflection on the emotions that form the basis of their teaching beliefs.

Matias, Montoya, and Nishi (2016) show through counter storytelling and theoretical exploration how whiteness manifests in emotional ways such as fetishism and

sentimentalization which work to block sincere efforts to take up critical race theory in an urban teacher education program. They write about emotional resistance to learning about and discussing race by white preservice teachers through embodied defensive behaviors (e.g. crossing arms across the chest and audibly grunting during lectures on race); avoidance (e.g. the inability to say the word race and replacing it with “culture”); deflections (e.g. turning the emotionally charged topic of race into something else like gender); fetishism (e.g. an excessive attachment to blackness to satisfy the urge to be white, which manifests in sentiments like “saving,” “helping,” and “giving back”); and sentimentalization or when “socially accepted emotions mask the underlying emotions that may not be socially acceptable for fear of being labeled racist, or moreover, realizing one is racist” (p. 6).

Emotions, as a discursive practice, constitute, in part, our fractured, conglomerate poststructural identities. “In and through these discourses we ascribe to ourselves bodily feelings, emotions, intentions, and all the other psychological attributes that have for so long been attributed to a unified self” (Zembylas, 2005, p. 938). The inconsistencies and fractures that result in our identities become expressed in the distance between what a teacher is supposed to do and what a teacher believes. “The two are in dialogic relation and it is this tension that makes for ‘lived experience’ of teacher” (Britzman, 1992, p. 29). It is this tension that can also be productive for analysis towards resisting the inequitable emotional rules of teaching. The phenomenon of reading embodied emotions manifests, in part, in the conflict and inconsistencies between a teacher’s identity and her teaching philosophy.

Reading Embodied Emotions in Teacher Education

Critical reflection on emotion is not a self-indulgent substitute for political analysis and political action. It is itself a kind of political theory and political practice, indispensable for an adequate social theory and social transformation (Jaggar, 1989, p. 164).

We must cultivate emotional literacy in a way that recognizes the embodied experiences of emotion and its role in guiding attention: what do and don't we attend to – and why?...I argue that when we understand emotion and thought as interwoven, it becomes clear that cultivating a critical emotional literacy entails not only engaging with emotions cognitively or analytically, but also engaging with them experientially, contemplatively, in a way that recognizes their embodied nature (Winans, 2012, p. 152).

Reading embodied emotions is a reflexive and contemplative act (Jennings, 2015; Winans, 2012; Winans & Dorman, 2015) that uses body knowledge as a focal point (Jones & Woglom, 2016; Stutelberg, 2016). As a contemplative act, reading embodied emotions has an element of self-compassion embedded in it through the principle of non-judgement (Kabat-Zinn, 2003). Reading embodied emotions offers teachers an alternative approach to reflection to question the possible impacts their beliefs and values about teaching may be having in their classrooms. It is especially important for white, middle-class women teachers to engage in a reflective act that calls into question one's beliefs and values and the impact they may be having in the classroom (Chubbuck & Zembylas, 2008; Coffee, 2016; Deliovsky, 2010; Leonardo & Zembylas, 2013). Winans and Dorman (2015) offer an example of this reflexivity.

Winans and Dorman (2015) situate their reflexivity in a contemplative approach that has the potential to set educators on a path towards more equitable teaching. "A contemplative approach to self-study can open up spaces for change and transformation

as awareness is brought to discomfort and to embodied habits of emotion” (Winans & Dorman, 2015, p. 96). Building off the idea of mindfulness, they introduce the concept of bodyfulness. If mindfulness is paying attention in a particular way to the present moment with non-judgment (Kabat-Zinn, 2003), then bodyfulness is one particular way of paying attention to the present moment with non-judgment by focusing that attention on the sensations in one’s body.

Winans was an English professor at a small, rural liberal arts college that she identified as predominantly white. She wrote about practicing her own bodyfulness as a teacher in moments of difficult conversations with students about race and white privilege and the initial sensations of panic and fear she felt.

My thoughts raced, and I felt my heart pounding louder in my chest as my body grew warm and as I considered possible responses to students’ strong emotions and their limited knowledge of contemporary and historical racism and white privilege in the U.S. At an instinctive level, I wanted to escape (Winans & Dorman, 2015, p. 102).

She does not escape, however, and she uses her contemplative practice of bodyfulness to pause, scan her body, notice the sensations, and analyze those physical responses by asking herself questions.

If I had turned analytically to my emotions, I likely would have discovered that my stress emerged in part from my desire to “fix” my students and their erroneous beliefs about racism quickly so that I might believe that I had done my part to address racism — or, perhaps more accurately, to assuage white guilt. Cognitively, of course, I recognized that the difficulty students were experiencing reflected not only their limited historical background surrounding race and racism, but, more significantly, the emotion bound up with issues of race, racism, and white privilege. The questions students offered emerged from embodied experiences of uncertainty and worry: if they accepted what we were learning in class, then their very identities as well-intentioned, hard-working white college students — people who got what they deserved and deserved what they worked for — were called into question (Winans & Dorman, 2015, p. 102-103).

Her embodied reflection (e.g. by asking herself why she felt an instinctual urge to escape) seems to open up the insight that her fearful reaction to her students' anxiousness around discussions of whiteness may be centered on wanting to assuage her own white guilt. This insight is significant in that a cognitive reflection would have only revealed important considerations into why her students may have been hesitant to discuss whiteness (e.g. a lack of historical knowledge and the realization that their identities may be predicated on different reasons than they had thought). Adding the component of embodied reflection seems to have revealed to her that part of her anxiousness is about herself and can, therefore, influence how she responds to her students. If her students do need remedial instruction on the history of race relations in the U.S. as well as a compassionate response to their fears from their teacher, those demands take time. Recognizing this as the instructor, Winans can plan for and prepare herself emotionally for a long engagement with her students.

Other research by Winans (2012) shows how reading embodied emotions helped her predominately white undergraduate students experience the discomfiting realization that identities are malleable. She described how her class experienced becoming more aware of difference through discussions of literature and their own personal histories. They used contemplative-based activities and assignments in class to become more attuned to their emotions in order to further question their identities. Winans notes that students found this very difficult – coming to learn that their identities are not fixed and stable but rather malleable and contingent on their social position among other factors. She argues that critical emotional literacy can be a way into questioning one's own

identity and privilege. It does not, however, provide answers to students' questions or resolution to potential negative emotions causing some students to resist this type of work. It is disruptive and uncomfortable.

As teacher educators ask teachers to become reflexive practitioners and commit to questioning their beliefs and values that are products of raced and classed identities, we also have to recognize the magnitude of the task that we ask of them. To question beliefs and values is to take initial steps into potentially rupturing relational and social ties (Lensmire, 2017) as well as produce unexpected feelings of shame or guilt (Winans, 2012). Self-compassion is vital to any effort of serious reflexive work. To work towards more equitable institutional narratives of education, Conklin (2008) addresses the need for teacher educators to cultivate compassion towards their preservice teachers as they ask these teachers to cultivate compassion for their future students.

I suggest that in addition to modeling this compassion by expressing it towards students, we, as teachers, must also express it towards ourselves. As a contemplative practice, reading embodied emotions has the space for allowing self-compassion in unsettling and discomfoting work. Teachers are not alone nor singularly responsible for disrupting the status quo of education and changing society. They have a large role to play, but they must acknowledge their limitations and learn to be content with them if they are to persist over the long term. I do not mean to minimize the need for urgency when engaging in social justice work towards more equitable schools. There are inequities plaguing public schools now, but the urgency cannot be at the expense of compassion or self-compassion for those stepping into a new mindset.

By proposing an approach to critical reflection based, in part, on a form of emotional literacy, I risk the serious critique of reading embodied emotions becoming just another method of social control (Boler, 1999). If the goal of reading embodied emotions is for teachers to self-regulate in order to better adhere to inequitable institutional narratives of education, then there is no critical reflection and no expectation of transformation. If, however, the goal is for teachers to enter into the uncomfortable territory of questioning educational norms, then the practice could be transformative.

Boler argues that there are benefits to teaching emotional literacy despite this serious critique. In writing about using an emotional literacy curriculum in schools with students, Boler (1999) identifies an opening for teachers' reflexive practice as one of the benefits. A careful emotional literacy curriculum could "allow teachers to explore their own emotional experience and develop conscientious 'philosophies of emotion' to inform their pedagogies and interaction" (p. 81). She also writes that her "greatest fear" of schools haphazardly adopting an emotional literacy curriculum is that "emotions are again reduced to an individualized phenomena, and that emotional literacy curricula function as a mode for continued social control and pastoral power through self-policing" (p. 82). This echoes a similar risk of engaging teachers with emotions for self-reflection. If teachers perceive an emotion as housed only in that individual teacher's body, then the benefits and potential of the knowledge they reveal is squandered. At best the critical reflexive work on beliefs and values that undergird their pedagogy is never engaged in. At worst, the teacher takes on any guilt or shame she may feel as entirely her own issue

and becomes crippled with inaction. An individualistic conception of emotion can hinder the self-compassion necessary to do meaningful reflexive work.

As I get deeper into how emotions are conceptualized in this research and what their implications may be, it is important to emphasize the embodied aspect of embodied emotions.

Why Embodied?

Reading embodied emotions takes as its focal point for attention the sensing body. The teacher's body has historically been unwelcome in the classroom (Franklin, 2003; Stutelberg, 2016). Hughes-Decatur (2011) notes that "as educators, we are supposed to be brains on sticks, teaching brains on sticks; meaning, we are still plagued with the mind/body dualism that continues to permeate educational discourse" (p. 85). The teacher body is just "another object to be moved around the classroom like furniture" (p. 86). Hughes-Decatur focuses her research on reading the body as a visual text, "as enough or not enough." Not only, however, can we read the body as a visual text, but we can also read it as a sensing text in a contemplative way. Hughes-Decatur briefly suggests the body as a sensing text herself in her conclusion, "If the discourse in education shifted from a mind/body dualism to living and learning as sensing, meaning-making bodies, what might that kind of education look like?" (p. 86). My research on embodied reflection is meant to point teacher education in this direction by identifying the body as something to be read and attended to without judgment.

Research by Jones and Woglom (2016) on their experiences raising teacher education students' awareness of their bodies through planned pedagogical encounters

indicates “that bodies are playing a largely unacknowledged role in education” (p. 126). Through the span of a course specifically designed to bring attention and attunement to their bodies, teacher education students were asked to participate in a variety of assignments inside and outside of the classroom in which they bodily experienced something outside of what is typically asked of teacher education students. For example, they were asked to ride a city bus route that they were unfamiliar with. From the discussions following these assignments, Jones and Woglom concluded that paying attention to bodies and what they mean was not historically a part of their students’ educations.

An example of the value of the kind of body knowledge one can gain by riding an unfamiliar bus line is to know and experience something viscerally that adds depth to one’s way of understanding an experience (Jones & Woglom, 2016). The example of viscerally knowing the feeling of having to time your day around a bus schedule and the anxiety it can produce to know that they only come at certain points (and what if they come late or early!) cannot just be explained. To cognitively know that the bus comes at 8:00 a.m. seems simple. But the gut feeling of worrying about being on time or watching someone just miss a bus gives you a different level of knowing and understanding. Furthermore, having waited in the heat or cold for a bus, changes completely how you plan your day, what clothes to wear, what things you might bring with you. This type of knowledge could inform a teacher’s pedagogy by opening up different examples they use to explain classroom concepts like weather or time. At the very least, and most important, it may engender an element of compassion and understanding for their students or others

who have different ways of being in the world (e.g. people living in working-class or poverty whose access to personal transportation may be precarious or nonexistent).

Valuing and using body knowledge may help in reimagining and recreating the spaces we inhabit like schools. Jones and Woglom (2016) name paying attention to bodies as a way to think and act differently in the world as well as a way to disrupt the standard, normalized way of being in institutional spaces.

Explicit attention to bodies - the teacher education students' relationships with their bodies, perceptions of bodies in different spaces, images of bodies in media, the ways bodies acquire and use specific literacies in specific situations, the ways different spaces dictate how bodies might be, and the *affect* felt through the body at different times - opens up generative possibilities about being in the world differently. These ways of being together differently in the spaces of teacher education creates the conditions for mutant and mutating pedagogies that stand in stark contrast to what Bourdieu calls institutional nomos (Jones & Woglom, 2016, p. 47, emphasis added).

Coffee (2016) reads her embodied emotions as she reflects in an autoethnography on her white femininity as a teacher. "I did not think this clearly about what was happening at the time; however, I felt the unnamed hypocrisy in my body. I felt the hotness in my cheeks, the pounding of my chest, the fear of failure heightened by a fear of exposure" (p. 65). What is important about Coffee's writing is that she remembered these embodied sensations years later. She did not think about the meaning of them at the time, but when asked, those memories were there for her to unpack. Through her analysis she comes to recognize the "precarity of whiteness" (p. 71) for herself and for white women and how this fear was experienced in her white teaching body. She also came to recognize her inability to disrupt an oppressive banking model of education because of this fear.

The white female teacher in a case study by Chubbuck and Zembylas (2008) comes to a very similar realization after working through her emotions with a professional counselor when coming very close to quitting the teaching profession despite assurances from colleagues and administrators of her effectiveness. She realized her racialized fears and anxieties hindered her ability to enact an anti-oppressive pedagogy despite her strong desire to do so. Once she realized this, recognized the source of her fears as stemming from a white savior discourse, and listened to her students' critiques, her students convinced her to relax and have more fun.

These examples show that teachers must be able to analyze strong and ambivalent emotions “to understand and challenge how they shape and mark one’s sense of emotional attachment and identity” (Chubbuck & Zembylas, 2008, p. 309). If white teachers are consumed knowingly or unknowingly by this white guilt and shame, how are we going to be effective at creating joyful classroom environments that facilitate connections with and among students?

Conclusion

After critical reflection, the viscerally exhilarating or discomfoting sensations of emotions can be a catalyst for action. They help us to decide, taking us out of our heads and into our bodies where we can move and act. Callahan (2004) describes emotions as “important in creating the individual change that drives social change. Social change begins with recognizing and implementing individual change” (p. 77-78).

Boler and Zembylas (2016) identified the need for educators to find new ways of reflecting on the values and beliefs that guide their teaching as a future challenge in

research on emotion and education for social change. Boler goes on to recognize the broad need for new ways of approaching critical self-reflection. “To enact – much less to develop – such pedagogies goes beyond what is emphasized in nearly all teacher education programs” (Boler & Zembylas, 2016, p. 28). Investigating the phenomenon of reading embodied emotions relates to Boler’s call for a pedagogy that can engage emotions and critical reflection from an alternative epistemological standpoint.

What I call the ‘feminist politics of emotion’ is a theory and practice that invites women to articulate and publicly name their emotions, and to critically and collectively analyze these emotions not as ‘natural,’ ‘private’ occurrences but rather as reflecting learned hierarchies and gendered roles.... Feminist politics of emotions recognize emotions not only as a site of social control, but of political resistance (Boler, 1999, p. 112).

Boler’s (1999) feminist politics of emotions is both a theory and a practice. A feminist politics of emotions claims that it can also be a site of political resistance to dominant ways of thinking and being in the world. That is the hope of my work, that taking up an alternative form of reflection using this alternative type of knowledge would open up ways of thinking about our own beliefs and assumptions undergirding our teaching philosophies that may guide us in more equitable directions in the classroom. There is certainly no guarantee of this, but continuing to double down on traditional practices of self-reflection seems to only perpetuate the status quo of many of our classrooms.

Chapter 3

Post-Intentional Phenomenology

We need to be reminded that in our desire to find out what is effective systematic intervention (from an experimental research point of view), we tend to forget that the change we aim for may have different significance for different persons (van Manen, 1990, p. 7).

Hermeneutic phenomenologist Max van Manen (1990) emphasizes that the purpose of phenomenological research is not to replicate and reproduce, but it is to pursue “a philosophy or *theory of the unique*” (van Manen, 1990, p. 7, emphasis in original). He contrasts phenomenological research with experimental research in the above quote to explain the purpose of interpretive phenomenological research - to look deeply and with wonder at the things of our lives to better understand them in their singularity and uniqueness. Post-intentional phenomenology (Vagle, 2014, 2018) is informed by this purpose but nuances it with poststructural theory. Within post-intentional phenomenology, there is no singularity and uniqueness to the phenomenon being studied. Instead there are multiple singularities and unique manifestations of a phenomenon that are contingent on the context in which it is being investigated and the histories of the researcher(s) investigating it. Furthermore, the very act of investigating the phenomenon can prod and alter it. I chose to use post-intentional phenomenology as a research methodology and stepped into this messiness in order to bring poststructural commitments to the work of investigating the phenomenon of white, middle-class women educators reading their embodied emotions of classroom interactions.

Post-intentional phenomenology asks me as a researcher to do the same thing that I asked of the people who participated in this study, to commit to an attunement to our

embodied knowledge, in particular our emotions. In its creation, divergent theories were brought together to form a set of commitments of the post-intentional phenomenologist. One of those commitments is for the researcher to pay attention to her own body as a source of knowledge and insight in identifying the phenomenon and gathering, analyzing, and sharing phenomenological material². Another commitment this methodology asks of the researcher is to embrace potentially incongruent theories, methods, and assumptions and to be open to the inconsistencies that result as productive and fertile directions to explore. These commitments are in contrast to other research methodologies, including other forms of phenomenology, that seek to illuminate the stable and already-there essential structures of a phenomenon.

Using a post-intentional phenomenological approach to study the phenomenon of teachers reading their embodied emotions allowed me to look at what would typically be overlooked. The body is material, temporal, and of this world. In his *Phenomenology of Perception*, Merleau-Ponty (1962) writes, “I regard my body, which is my point of view upon the world, as one of the objects of that world” (p. 70). A phenomenon of or related to the body is bound to the material world and is, therefore, mundane (i.e. too obvious to be noticed or cared about). The physiological responses of emotions are so mundane that they are often overlooked. It is not a common practice to metacognitively notice our emotions of shock, frustration, or joy and to pause and reflect on the message those signals may be sending to us. It is arguably even less common to listen to those signals and choose to act based on their messages. The phenomenon I am investigating in this

² Vagle (2018) draws on Lincoln and Denzin’s (2003) theoretical and methodological shift from “data” to “empirical material” to make a similar shift to “phenomenological material.”

study is the experience of teachers reading their embodied emotions of classroom moments.

Intentionalities

The phenomenological concept of intentionalities can seem confusing in that it does not imply something purposeful as the root verb “intend” would suggest in common American English. Intentionalities are the links or connections between subjects and objects, though they are not necessarily *purposeful* connections or links nor are they graspable. Intentionalities “are not objects that can be poked and prodded, nor can they be observed in the traditional sense. They must be philosophized – conceptualized, discussed, opened up, and contemplated” (Vagle & Hofsess, 2015, p. 3). Although they are fleeting, they are the manifestations of the meaningful aspects the phenomenon or our relationship to it and are, therefore, that which a phenomenologist hopes to encounter when gathering, collecting, or cultivating phenomenological material.

Intentionalities become particularly important when identifying differences between approaches to phenomenology. Intentionalities hold subjects and phenomena in relation, tethered, yet how this relation is conceptualized matters. One of post-intentional phenomenology’s fundamental assumptions is that a subject is not apart from an object gazing upon it, meaning that the intentionalities that link a subject to an object are not uni- or even bi-directional. If visually imagined, there are not two entities set apart from each other with some sort of link between the two. According to Vagle’s (2014) conception of intentionalities in post-intentional phenomenology, the connections between subjects and objects are not linear, “rather, there are intentionalities of different

size, shape, and contours running all over the place” (p. 41). I envision a mesh of clouds of differing sizes, quality, and density. What makes this possible is the poststructural notion that everything, our identities included, are partial, contingent, and ever changing. There is no stable essence of a subject or an object that can be neatly intentionally in relation.

Identifying a Phenomenon

A more in-depth explanation of how I philosophically understand a phenomenon is helpful in further understanding the concept of intentionalities in post-intentional phenomenology. Phenomenology, broadly defined, is a philosophy and research methodology that investigates phenomena through particular perceptions depending on the type of phenomenology used. Ihde (1993), who writes about postphenomenology, describes early phenomenologies as having discrepancies in approaches that emphasized either a microperception or macroperception approach – “microperception, whose emphasis is upon the bodily-sensory dimensions, and macroperception, which emphasizes cultural-hermeneutic dimensions” (p. 74). Ihde denies this perceived dichotomy and Vagle (2014, 2018; Vagle & Hofsess 2015) builds off of this linking of micro and macroperception with post-intentional phenomenology.

Ihde (1993) describes how microperception (bodily sensations and position) must always be *contextualized* in macroperception (spatiality and the social); and, conversely, macroperception must always be *grounded* in microperception. “The macroperceptual is what *contexts* the microperceptual” (p. 76). These two philosophical approaches to phenomenological philosophy contextualize and ground each other. It is out of this

merger in postphenomenology that post-intentional phenomenology has evolved. Post-intentional phenomenology emphasizes the polymorphy of Ihde's variational theory of phenomenological intentionalities (Vagle, 2014, 2018). The micro and macro (the body-sensing and social-contextual) ways of perceiving phenomena offer, even demand, a multiplicity of ways of encountering a phenomenon – a multiplicity of glimpsing the shifting and changing intentionalities of a phenomenon. This is where the “post” of post-intentional phenomenology applies. The multimodal and variable ways of getting access to a phenomenon are valid and important. In studying this phenomenon of reading embodied emotions, data from people's experiences engaging with it as well as my own bodily experiences working to investigate it become valid. Additionally, contextual aspects such as political climate and educational theory among other potential theories become equally valid as sources to glimpse, analyze, and interpret the phenomenon.

In an example of how the microperception and macroperception relate, Ihde (1993) draws on navigational maps used in the fourteenth century. He notes how the change in bodily perspective from looking out from a ship at landforms to looking at the same landforms on a map from an aerial perspective requires “a particular hermeneutic act, the act of transferring a perspective and position from overhead to lateral” (p. 97). This hermeneutic act is an act of interpretation that brings meaning to the textual representation of landforms and waterways in this instance, but also represents an interpretive phenomenological approach. This hermeneutic act represents an intentional meaning – precisely what the phenomenologist is looking for. I am looking for possible intentional meanings which arise out of joining the micro and macro perspectives of

perception – reading embodied emotions within the political and social context of white, middle-class, women’s bodies. This joining of the microperception of bodily position and sensations with the macroperception of that body being in the world produces an infinite array of possible intentional meanings. Vagle (2014) drawing on the work of Ihde and Merleau-Ponty writes of intentionality in post-intentional phenomenology that “threads [of intentionality] are constantly being constructed, deconstructed, blurred, and disrupted. For me, intentionality is running all over the place, all the time – at times with clarity, but most often in the gnarliness of life” (p. 113).

Post-intentional phenomenology poststructurally complicates Ihde’s notion of a polymorphy of intentional meanings available in the investigation of a phenomenon by asserting that “intentionalities cannot be traced” (Vagle, 2014, p. 113). So, what is a post-intentional phenomenologist supposed to do?

One cannot start with a stable subject and try to follow that subject’s intending toward and with the world. That very subject is both constructed and constructing, not dissolved. She is both agent and acted upon: what is available for that subject is both a manifestation of the social and is made possible by that subject’s intending (Vagle, 2014, p. 113).

I read “subject’s intending” to mean her physical bodily position and, consequently, perception – how her body is in relation with the phenomenon and how she is at once interpreting the phenomenon, influencing the phenomenon, and being shaped by it.

In this study, subjects are in white, cisgender female, financially secure bodies. Our perception – of our classroom spaces, the content we teach, and the students to which we teach that content – is directed by that standpoint. To even begin to try and see what this might mean in regard to our beliefs and values, we need a post-intentional

phenomenological approach that draws on our microperception of the emotional sensations produced in our bodies to wonder about their possible intentional meanings related to our privileged cultural and social affiliations. Once we begin that wonder, we can imagine other possible intentional meanings that might decenter the privileged ones that may be unreflexively guiding our thoughts and actions.

Why Post-Intentional Phenomenology

The theoretical work of post-intentional phenomenology that binds the micro and macroperceptual philosophical approaches allows me to join the micro and macro in this research. I look at the self-social connection through embodied emotions as indications of those social links – the intentionalities that tether individual’s embodied emotional responses to their social worlds. “[P]ostphenomenology is the practice of both a perceptual and cultural *variational theory*. Perspective, if limited to one or even one dominant take upon the world, would be limited indeed” (Ihde, 1993, p. 70 emphasis in original). The micro (self) and macro (social) perspectives are both necessary. I am drawing on this idea of multiple perceptual modes to highlight an embodied way of knowing about who we are and what we value. I am leaning heavily on feminist scholars who have consistently in theoretical ways demanded that embodied knowing be included as valid (Ahmed, 2004b; Boler, 1999; Bartky, 1990; Bordo, 1989; Jaggar, 1989). Post-intentional phenomenology offers a research methodology that echoes this valuing of embodied knowledge. Using our embodied emotions as a source of critical reflection is one way to try and understand the inequities and hierarchies that pervade educational institutions.

My brazen hope for using post-intentional phenomenology as a research methodology is to attempt to nudge, or wobble, more entrenched perspectives of teacher reflexivity. I believe post-intentional phenomenology is particularly useful in this goal because it emphasizes, not discounts, the emotional and physical responses or reactions that one experiences. It relies on pathic (i.e. embodied) as well as gnostic (i.e. cognitive) knowledge. My goal, then, with this study is to enact or produce a resonance with the reader, one of those emotional and physical connections or disconnections, and generate wonder towards further questioning.

Tapping into such alternative ways of knowing like pathic knowledge is potentially transformative. When our thinking, beliefs, or assumptions are questioned and wobbled we may become uncomfortable in our new uncertainty. This destabilizing effect of pathic knowledge is the foundation of reform. van Manen (2014) writes about this potential effect as wonder. “Wonder is a disposition that has a dis-positional effect: it dislocates and displaces us” (p. 37). When in this state of discomfort or dislocation, we are more able and likely to shift or adjust our thinking about a topic or phenomenon. In this uncertain state is where personal perspectives, beliefs, or ideals can be nudged and, possibly, eventually changed.

The wobbling and layering of perspectives or understandings is my interpretation of why Vagle (2014) describes post-intentional phenomenology as having political, disruptive, and dangerous possibilities (p. 114-115). It has the potential of uprooting – or at least digging around in the roots and destabilizing – deeply held ideas, beliefs, or

assumptions through a vocative encounter with a phenomenological anecdote. Gardner (2013) suggests,

this methodological lens may also be useful for other researchers who have social justice oriented objectives aimed towards revealing and ending the violence of silence related to race, class, and gender inequities, and that it can also challenge the researchers own beliefs and perceptions (p. 57-58).

Embodied Practice of Post-Reflexivity

A post-intentional phenomenologist undertakes her investigations using methods that include noticing and sitting with embodied responses to emotions like shock, joy, anger, or excitement. These emotions indicate our bottom lines, or our guiding beliefs and assumptions. All of these aspects of conducting post-intentional phenomenological research demand an attunement to embodied sensations. Post-intentional phenomenology draws on philosophers Ihde and Merleau-Ponty to assert the body as socially inscribed with identities as well as “our access to the world and one another” (Vagle, 2014, p. 113). The body, then, is a site of phenomenological manifestations. Embodied sensations offer clues of how we are tethered to the world and what it means for our particular bodies to be in specific times and places.

Post-reflexivity in post-intentional phenomenology is distinct from the practices of bracketing or bridling in other phenomenologies. This shift was made in order to look directly at that which frames the researcher’s seeing rather than trying to suspend her belief in those values and discourses that may be influencing how the researcher perceives (Vagle, 2014). This ability to know one’s shifting self more intimately is central to the validity of the research for a post-intentional phenomenologist. Drawing on

qualitative research philosopher Patti Lather, Vagle (2014) notes, the ability to better see what frames our seeing is necessary in thoroughly conducted post-intentional phenomenological research (p. 66). The process of post-reflexing – sitting with and writing through embodied responses – helps cultivate this phenomenological attitude.

Post-Intentional Methodology

Research Question

What might be produced when white, middle-class women educators are asked to read their embodied emotions evoked by classroom interactions circulating with race and/or social class?

Process

The nuts and bolts of a post-intentional methodology are summarized in a five-component process:

1. Identify a Post-Intentional Phenomenon in Context(s), around a Social Issue;
2. Devise a Clear, yet Flexible Process for Gathering Phenomenological Empirical Material Appropriate for the Phenomenon Under Investigation;
3. Make a Post-Reflexion Plan;
4. Explore the Post-Intentional Phenomenon Using Theory, Phenomenological Material, and Post-Reflexions;
5. Craft a Text that Engages the Productions and Provocations of the Post-Intentional Phenomenon in Context(s), around a Social Issue (Vagle, 2018).

Although there are numbers beside each component, those are not steps and this five-component process is not linear. For example, a researcher may have an idea of the phenomenon she intends to study, but is unable to actually identify it in context and around a social issue until she engages in significant post-reflexing. As a research methodology, it adheres to its philosophical commitment of partial, fleeting, varied, and

unfixed phenomena, meaning the research process is just as unfixed and un-prescribed. In post-intentional phenomenology, the phenomenon under investigation dictates the methods used to recruit participants, gather phenomenological material, analyze it, and report findings. In the following sections, I detail the methods I used in investigating the phenomenon of reading embodied emotions.

Although there is not a preset group of methods in post-intentional phenomenological research, there are important commitments to this methodology. In addition to maintaining a conception of phenomena as partial, fleeting, and always in flux, the post-intentional phenomenologist commits to an openness and attempts to cultivate an attunement to the phenomenon under investigation that requires significant reflexive work by the researcher. The process for undertaking this self-reflexive work is through post-reflexivity.

Post-reflexivity

The researcher's post-reflexion journal is a primary source of phenomenological material in a post-intentional phenomenological research study. The post-reflexion journal serves as an organized space for my, the researcher's, continuous questioning of assumptions and beliefs that guide the research decisions I make, my interactions with participants, my personal encounters with the phenomenon, and my positionality.

“Crafting a post-intentional, post-reflexive text also presses us to question our understandings, the traditions we are operating within, and the history we are launching from—while carefully examining the participants' experiences” (Vagle, 2014, p. 132).

The post-reflexion journal offers a dedicated space for this.

The post-reflexion journal is also the initial stage of analysis in a post-intentional phenomenological study. Post-reflexing as a way to write through the phenomenological material allows the researcher to “do the hard work of” seeing what might be produced and provoked by the phenomenon (Vagle, 2014, p. 134). This allows the researcher to move beyond identifying surface level themes that seemingly relate to the phenomenon. Phenomenology does not try to explain, give rationales, or show cause and effect. It is not looking to generalize through “taxonomizing, classifying, codifying, or abstracting” (van Manen, 2014, p. 66). Rather, it seeks to particularize and “offers us the possibility of plausible insights that bring us in more direct contact with the world” (van Manen, 2014, p. 66). Post-reflexive data analysis is a process in which the researcher asks:

What doesn't seem to fit?

If I follow the “mis-fit” notion, idea, insight, perspective, what might I learn about the phenomenon that is not yet thinkable?

Where might I have retreated to either/or thinking?

Where might I appear “certain” of what something means?

Where might I have extended to something creative and intriguing, but then backed off to something a bit more safe?

Where might I appear “uncertain” of what something means? (Vagle, 2014, p. 135-136).

I give an explanation of and rationale for post-reflexivity in a previous section.

The purpose of this section is to outline my post-reflexive plan and process for this study.

Beginning at the earliest stages of this project (i.e. identifying the phenomenon under investigation), I began a written post-reflexive journal where I recorded how and why I was thinking about taking on this project. The following is an excerpt from the initial stages of this research.

I am interested in mindfulness in education for two distinct reasons (at this moment in time). I see the self-care of teachers directly related to the

sustainability of teaching as a profession. I also see the self-work of teachers as a way to work towards equity-mindedness in order to create more equitable classroom spaces. I also believe that introducing and guiding students through mindfulness practices is incredibly important, but the focus of my dissertation research will be on teachers' engagement with contemplative practices and how they manifest in their pedagogical decisions and interactions with students (Post-reflexion journal, 10/22/2015).

This written journaling continued throughout the research project during design, recruitment, cultivation of phenomenological material, analysis, and writing.

Additionally, during analysis, I began a more systematic post-reflexive plan using voice notes where I recorded observations of my personal reactions to the phenomenological material and tried to wonder why I may have been reacting the way that I did and how that may be influencing my interpretation of the data (see questions above).

I just realized that she does tell a story about joy, about her students' joy which is in conflict with her own internal despair (feeling of dying). This is sort of what I was expecting to hear from her, but not quite sure how to describe. So really, what I assume to be a fundamental aspect of her pedagogy is not merely bringing joy into the classroom, but cultivating the joy in her students even at her expense (though this might not be at her expense, just in contradiction to her own feelings). From rereading my initial reactions to watching the video, she also seems to be doing that here. She clearly is uncomfortable with this story, her smile looks tight, but she is smiling the whole way through, almost like trying to put up the quality of joy despite the shame or guilt or whatever she might be feeling inside. I wonder what this does to a person, to an educator, who keeps this up throughout their career. She seems like one of those rare teachers who feels as though this is a calling and will be doing it until retirement. How does she maintain her own well-being? (Post-reflexion journal, 7/20/2017).

It became significant to my research that while I designed and carried it out, I was also undergoing a physical and mental transformation of becoming a mother. This embodied experience is intricately woven throughout the entries in my reflexive journal and is significant to how I interpreted the phenomenological material. It is also an

example of a moment when I extended the project to something I felt was intriguing, but backed off of for a while given its seemingly unrelated content.

It was interesting for me to read this section on pastoral power and the examples of anger and how school has been used to teach students (and people) how anger is negative and interferes with a well functioning society. I felt myself following Boler's argument, rationally, but at the same time the voice in my head saying "but, but, I think it's important to be able to control one's emotions." I could relate exactly to the description that anger upsets the body and the mind. Just this weekend I had a "bout" of anger where it basically laid me up for about 16 hours. I couldn't sleep, my head hurt, and I kept it all in. I figured out ways to manage it. But the source of that anger was valid and now it hasn't been resolved. I guess this is a perfect example of how anger as pathologized benefits men...Anyway, I felt/feel myself agreeing with the text about how it's important to be able to control anger and that it is a learned skill, while simultaneously proving the point that this is a form of pastoral power and the feminist point that as a pathologized emotion in my culture, it is being used to keep me subordinated. I don't think I was so aware or angered by feminist issues until I became a mom (Post-reflexive journal 3/13/17).

As a middle-class white woman seeking to study a phenomenon in regard to race and class, I realize that the affordances I have had in having beliefs, values, and relationships with the world that are generally regarded as "normal" by dominant white middle class standards makes this task of continuous post-reflexing vital in this study. The assumptions I have about emotions, participants, events, and anything else directly influence the way I conduct this study and interpret and present the tentative manifestations of the phenomenon.

The Women in this Study

Max van Manen (1990) writes about phenomenology as "a human science which studies persons" (p. 6) and eschews words like "subjects" or "individuals." As a research methodology that expressly seeks to investigate singularities, the words used to describe

the process become important. “Person” implies a uniqueness of history and experience that is precisely what the phenomenologist is interested in. The phenomenon of reading embodied emotions, especially with a focus on what is produced, demands more in depth and sustained interaction with fewer people in order to cultivate phenomenological material rather than interviewing a larger number of participants for a glossed description of their experience. This is an example of how the phenomenon has guided my choice of research methods. I did not want to limit recruitment for this study to a specific grade level, content area, or level of experience. The phenomenon is the act of white, middle-class women educators reading their embodied emotions, not a particular grade level or content area teacher. I recruited teachers with whom I had had interactions through previous professional relationships. An established personal relationship with each person helped facilitate the cultivation of phenomenological material, since I was asking them to share and reflect on their emotions.

Three women, in addition to myself, who self-identified as white, middle-class educators participated in this study. We collectively have a variety of experience working from pre-kindergarten through higher education. Kristen is an educator with more than 15 years of experience teaching elementary school as well as working with preservice teachers in higher education. Doris has more than ten years of teaching experience with pre-kindergarten, elementary age, high school, and adult English learners. Florence also has more than ten years of experience teaching elementary and secondary English learners as well as coaching teachers. I also have more than ten years of experience teaching elementary and adult English learners as well as preservice teachers.

By targeting white, middle-class women, the hope of this work is to open up potential new ways for teachers to engage in the difficult work of self-reflection on their beliefs and values. This type of critical reflection is particularly important for this group of educators to engage in as a way to disrupt dominant narratives of education that serve to oppress marginalized students. Although this focus continues to center the experiences of an already overrepresented group, I believe there is a need to investigate how this particular group engages in self-reflective work for the sake of creating more equitable classroom spaces.

Cultivating Phenomenological Material

Embodiment is central to the phenomenon and, therefore, central to cultivating phenomenological material. Primary sources of phenomenological material included video lived experience descriptions (LEDs) of emotionally evocative classroom moments, video recorded progressive individual interviews, video recorded collective conversations, and my post-reflexive journal and voice recordings. I cultivated this phenomenological material with the women in this study online and in-person between May 2017 and October 2017.

Interpretive qualitative researchers are careful about the words they choose to describe how they end up with empirical data (van Manen, 1990). Traditionally, *data* is *collected*, implying a systematic and formulaic process of recording observation or interview data. *Gathering* data (Dahlberg, Dahlberg, & Nystrom, 2008) seems to imply a slightly more organic way of going about the process of observing and interviewing. This is not to imply that there is no systematic structure to how the researcher approaches the

process of gathering data, but it is somewhat less rigid and more flexible. For example, Vagle (2014) draws on principles of improvisational comedy to prepare for open-ended interviews. In this type of interview, there is a clear set of commitments and principles that guide the interviews, but not a prescribed interview protocol that the researcher rigidly adheres to.

I have chosen to describe the process that I have used in this research with participants as *cultivating phenomenological material* to signal the collaborative and productive aspect of this project. I asked participants to engage in something (i.e. create a video of a description of an emotionally charged classroom moment and engage in reflection on that moment with me and others) that they would not have otherwise done. I did not go out and watch what they were doing in their classrooms, nor did I try to unobtrusively glimpse into their experience. I intentionally asked them to try something unfamiliar and tell me about it. The phenomenological material from which I draw on in this research was created, cultivated by the other educators and myself. Furthermore, the term phenomenological material is significant in post-intentional phenomenology to signal particular assumptions about empirical material, known elsewhere as data (Vagle, 2018). For instance, phenomenological material may come from interviews, observations, statistical analysis, fictional writings, photos, popular media, or something else that the phenomenon may call for.

I cultivated phenomenological material with the women in this study over the course of four stages. During the initial stage, we created and shared our video LEDs. Over the subsequent three stages, I engaged everyone in semi-structured and progressive

individual interviews and collective conversations. In the first interviews, I set out to have everyone retell their moments and elicit further sense-detailed descriptions of them. During the second interview, the purpose was to delve into their beliefs about teaching and learning. Finally, during the third individual interview, the purpose was for everyone to reflect on their experience reading their embodied emotions. I designed the collective conversations to be generative spaces with guiding questions to lead off the discussion but open for us all to take the conversation in various directions.

Video Lived Experience Descriptions (LEDs)

Lived experience descriptions in phenomenological studies are texts created by a participant that describes how they encounter the phenomenon. More typically in phenomenological data gathering, the lived experience description is a written text (van Manen 1990, 2014). For this project, I chose to have the women in this study create video recordings of their LEDs to purposefully try and capture embodied aspects like gestures, posture, gaze, expressions, intonation, emphasis, pausing, and pacing of how they retold their emotionally evocative classroom moments. Videos are messier and potentially more spontaneous with less crafting than written texts, although there certainly is some preparation when deciding what details to include, how to begin the story, and when to end. I prompted everyone to try and avoid writing out their LEDs so as to avoid reading from a script. Each woman in this study, including myself, created their own video LED by recording themselves talking about their moment and sent it to me (see Appendices A and B).

In preparation for the progressive individual interviews, I transcribed the video LEDs and analyzed them following a post-intentional phenomenological approach in which I turned my attention to my embodied sensations. I noted the moments when I physically reacted out of shock, connection, disagreement, or confusion. These reactions often involved head nods, smirks, a tilted head with squinting eyes, deep breaths or gasps, or some other embodied response. I also noted moments when the body of the person sharing their moment seemed to be compensating for language. When they talked with their bodies, I created questions for the first interview designed to better understand what their bodies were saying. From this analysis, I created individualized interview protocols to address the content of the most salient moments.

Progressive Individual Interviews

I individually engaged the women in this study in a series of three interviews. The interviews were video recorded and took place either in person or digitally using FaceTime allowing for a synchronous interview despite a large geographic distance. The interviews built on each other beginning with targeted questions I created by analyzing the video LEDs (see Appendices C-F). Additionally, I analyzed each individual interview as well as the collective conversations before creating the interview protocol for the following interview. The broad purpose of the first interview was for the women to retell the moment they described in the video LED, provide more sense-detailed descriptions of the moment, and try to verbally fill in the moments of their video LED when their body seemed to be doing the talking rather than their words. The broad purpose of the second interview was to begin to explicitly talk about their beliefs and values of teaching and

learning in relation to the moment they shared in their video LED. The broad purpose of the third interview was to reflect on the process of reading their embodied emotions.

Collective Conversations

Collectives in feminist methodologies are meant to be generative spaces. The other women and I did not form a collective in this project due to time and location constraints, but we did come together for two collective conversations. These conversations happened through FaceTime which allowed us to connect across large distances and see each other as we spoke. This digital format, however, made some of the conversation feel choppy and stilted than an in-person conversation might have been. Despite the format of our conversations, they were generative. I provided a starting and stopping point, but purposefully tried not to over prescribe our time together. I used my initial post-intentional phenomenological analysis of LEDs and phenomenological material from the first interviews to inform the starting points of the collective conversations. Material from these collective conversations also informed the questions I asked in individual interviews (see Appendix G).

Analysis

The analysis of phenomenological material in a post-intentional phenomenological study is flexible and adaptive to initially unseen paths discovered during the investigation. It is a fluid process grounded in post-reflexion and writing to chase the Deleuzoguattarian concept of lines of flight. “Lines of flight resist the tying down of lived experience and knowledge” (Vagle, 2014, p. 135). They “assume

knowledge takes ‘off’ in ways that we may not be able to anticipate...In post-intentional phenomenology the goal is to see what the phenomenon *might become*” (Vagle, 2014, p. 119, emphasis added). The goal of the analysis is not to codify themes and patterns to explain what happens with this phenomenon, but to generate potential new ways of thinking about it.

In post-intentional phenomenology, it is not necessary to see consistencies across phenomenological material in order to make a claim. The researcher is not looking for a density of data points to prove something. Rather, she is looking for and paying attention to the tentative manifestations of the phenomenon that are produced and provoked. These tentative manifestations may come from consistency and density of phenomenological material or they may come from just one phrase from one participant in one interaction. There does not need to be balance across productions and provocations either in terms of how they were identified. One could be from repetition across phenomenological material, another could be from thinking with theory on one line from one participant, and yet another could be from post-reflexive material (Vagle, 2018).

This research has productions from each of those scenarios mentioned above. The idea of the teacher/mother was prevalent in the phenomenological material cultivated with all of the women in this study. The notion of teachers as caring police influencing student’s internal motivation by monitoring their emotions was produced from one passage in one woman’s interview. Finally, the suggestion that the social control of emotions during the postpartum period may suppress a feminist awakening comes out of my post-reflexion journal.

To chase down the “lines of flight” that were produced, I used Jackson and Mazzei’s (2012) technique of theoretical plugging in. They use Deleuzoguattarian concepts of “plugging in” in order to “think with theory.” For Jackson and Mazzei, this technique provides a form of analysis that addresses the limitations of coding data and searching for themes. It adopts poststructural epistemologies to produce unanticipated questions and insights rather than dissecting and sorting data into already known categories. Jackson and Mazzei take issue with qualitative data that “reduces complicated and conflicting voices and data to thematic ‘chunks’ that can be interpreted free of context and circumstance” (p. viii). Thematic analysis appeals to the gnostic, logical, dissected way of knowing. In contrast, post-intentional phenomenological analysis grounded in thinking with theory taps into the pathic knowledge of lived experience. It is embodied, relational, and fosters emotional connection through resonance. Gnostic knowledge allows us to do something in the world, pathic knowledge allows us to connect and generate wonder. It complicates and layers, which primes us for wobble and transformation.

Textual Expressions

Phenomenologically crafted texts seek to resonate with the reader unlike some other forms of qualitative research, which seek to inform or explain. “Phenomenological writing not only finds its starting point in wonder, it must also induce wonder” (van Manen, 2014, p. 360). Furthermore, the textual expression of the research should reflect the post-intentional commitment to a partial, varied, and contingent conception of phenomena. van Manen (2014) describes a fragmentary type of phenomenological

writing that is similar to how I understand Vagle's (2014) post-intentional phenomenological crafting.

Textual paragraphs or sections are written in a fragmentary manner that underscore the multiple meaning aspects of a phenomenon from multiple and variant perspectives. A fragmentary approach is sensitive to the realization that, first, our experiences are never the same, and second, phenomenal meaning is plural in its singularity (van Manen, 2014, p. 390).

The textual expressions of some tentative manifestations of the phenomenon of reading embodied emotions presented in chapters four and five are fragmentary yet related under the umbrella of the feminization of teaching. In chapters four and five, I draw on phenomenological material from interviews and video LEDs along with feminist theoretical material to craft distinct textual expressions aligned with each person in this study. Kristen's moment produced the idea of the teacher bot grounded in white femininity. Her interviews also deepened Angela Coffee's theory on the necessary emptiness of white, women teachers. Doris's experience offered a way to combine Megan Boler's theory on the caring police with cultivating students' internal motivation. Alison Jaggar's idea of outlaw emotions served as a way to theorize Florence's moment as an act of self-surveillance. Finally, the line of flight jutting out from my post-reflexive material produced a wondering about the link between the social control of emotions and the development of a critical consciousness. In chapter six, I deepen these textual expressions with more feminist theory to suggest that the problematic notion of teacher/mothers may need to be reimagined as teacher/artists with Madeleine Grumet's idea of teaching aesthetically as a guide.

Chapter 4

Textual Expressions: The White Feminization of Teaching

Teaching is overwhelmingly a field dominated by white women. In a report published in 2016 by the United States Department of Education, 82% of elementary and secondary public-school teachers in the United States of America identified as white. Not only is the presence of white women dominant in our classrooms, but the discourse of white femininity pervades most classrooms (Coffee, 2016). This means that even if the teacher standing at the front of the room is not white, feminine, heterosexual, or coming from a financially secure background, social expectations of how that teacher should behave are still rooted in white femininity (unless there is a specific mission of the school or teacher to be otherwise).

This white feminization of teaching began with the common school movement in the early nineteenth century and is firmly entrenched today. The common school movement argued that the virtues of women (e.g. self-sacrificing, pure, hard-working, duty-driven, caring) were exactly what the country needed in our classrooms. The rationale for recruiting women into the classroom was obvious to proponents of the common school movement; women were meant to be mothers and, therefore, already possessed the virtues needed in schools to socialize a burgeoning urban and immigrant population. This conception of women, however, was not inclusive of all women. Those who did not embody white femininity had to learn the virtues associated with it in teacher training programs (Boler, 1999).

This chapter includes three distinctly crafted textual expressions of what was produced when white, middle-class women educators read their embodied emotions of classroom moments. I intersperse phenomenological material of feminist theory on education and interviews from the women who participated in this study. First, I introduce the trope of motherhood as significant to discourses of good and effective teaching. Then, I follow with important ideas produced by investigating the phenomenon such as teacher bots and the necessary emptiness of white, middle-class women educators. Each of these textual expressions are distinct from the others yet related through the white feminization of teaching.

Teacher/Mothers

The intersectional concept of white femininity forms the foundation of the dominant ideas of motherhood that circulate in the United States (Clements, 2015; Deliovsky, 2010; Grumet, 1988). The reach of this ideal mother was extended into schools by the common school movement in the nineteenth century when teachers were meant to uphold the values and beliefs found in white femininity (e.g. purity, nurturance, caring, protector, model of morality) all while providing cheap labor in the push to socialize immigrants to the United States.

As society reorganized around urban industrial centers in the early nineteenth century, people were expected to fit in with white, Protestant, American ideals. This need brought into stark relief the contrast between those with power in antebellum American society and working-class, poor, rural, nonwhite, and immigrant children and families. The rationale at the time seemed to be that children from these backgrounds now needed

the civilizing capacity of public school to participate in society as adults. Another way of reading it is that public school finally provided the opportunity for children from these backgrounds to participate in society – so long as they learned to conform to it.

White women capable of demonstrating the values and beliefs of the higher social-classes were called upon to fill this need.

The common school movement and the feminization of teaching colluded in support of a program of centralized education that exploited the status and integrity of the family to strip it of its authority and deliver its children to the state...Working-class, rural, and immigrant children became, by definition, unfit to participate in the national ethos of self-discipline and productivity without the ministrations of the school (Grumet, 1988, p. 39).

Just as white Anglo-Saxon Protestant men headed the common-school movement, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant women became the teachers (Boler, 1999). There were multiple benefits of having majority women teachers populate schools. First and foremost, women were cheaper than men. They also represented the domestic and maternal cultural ideals of nurturing and caring, and could, therefore, be marshalled into nurturing and caring for students as they transitioned from home-life to social-life. Additionally, women teachers were better able to be controlled given their secondary legal and social status (Coffee, 2016).

The contradictions implicit in this image of the ideal woman and the ideal mother were extended into the training and work of the ideal teacher. The intimacy, spirituality, and innocence that teachers and students were to inherit from the mother/child bond – the prototype of their relationship – collapsed into strategies for control. The ideal teacher was one who could control the children and be controlled by her superiors (Grumet, 1988. p. 43).

This conception of ideal teacher born out of the ideal white feminine mother continues today and was found in the ways that all of the women in this study talked about

teaching. Some of the varied ways that the trope of motherhood came up in the interviews are represented in the excerpts below.

In this first excerpt, Florence talks about the credibility she feels as a teacher because of her identity as a mother.

Kelly: I'm curious how you see your mother identity sort of interacting with your teacher identity.

Florence: Yeah, I mean, I think that, so this is really funny that you bring this question up cause I had this thought the other day when I, I was thinking about when I first started teaching, and I was talking to parents of elementary school kids. So parents who are dropping their babies off for the first time, right? And me being this person like, "I'll take care of them!" You know? And I can remember at that time thinking that I wasn't going to have any of my own children, and that how would that be seen by parents? Like, you know, and I, so fucking weird, I remember having this thought years ago before children were even a glint in the eye...and I can remember thinking, "would there be a challenge between me and parents? Talking about their children, my students, when I don't have children myself?" I thought about that years ago and now here I am, you know, where I've been teaching students while I do have children.

And I think...it just gives me a title that the kids can relate to, "oh a mom, she's a mom." And then working with, you know, newcomer kids who are the unaccompanied minors meeting their parents for the first time I think that I wanted to be a motherly figure for them even though they had one. I just think that um I think that just that thought of not having my child with me for fourteen, fifteen years just blew my mind...I think I use it mostly now with students when I talk to students and tell them I'm a mother to like make a connection to them. Like, "I care about kids, and I have my own kids." And I don't know, there's just some kind of, and I don't know why I feel this, but I feel like there's some kind of credibility by being a mother and a teacher. And I don't know if this is something I've engrained in myself or I've like learned (Florence interview 8/24/17, 19:45-23:20).

Florence begins her response to my question by wondering about her legitimacy with parents. There seems to be a worry here that she would lack credibility with parents because she was not a mother, and potentially more incriminating, she did not want to become one. She then shifts the focus of her answer away from parents to students. She

feels she has more legitimacy with students now that she has the recognizable title of mother. Students no longer have to figure out who she is. She lets them know by telling them about her own children. Her role as a teacher of unaccompanied minors further deepens the importance of her role as mother. She identifies with the mothers of her students by putting herself in their situation by imagining not knowing her children for their entire lives, but does not finish her thought. Instead, she drops the connection she begins to build with the mothers, and shifts back to students, a more familiar group, and puts the emphasis back on making connections with students. Her concern about credibility shifts along with who her students are. When she transitions from teaching elementary students to teaching secondary newcomers, several of whom were also unaccompanied minors, the group she is concerned most about having credibility with shifts from the parents to the students. In this excerpt, she comes to recognize the credibility she is granted as a teacher because of her status as a mother. It is interesting that she explicitly questions the source of this credibility wondering if she learned it herself or from somewhere else.

In this excerpt, Doris talks about a deeper connection with students as a result of having her own child.

Doris: I think both this process and having a baby will change. I think I'm gonna connect with the kids in a different way. I'm gonna see them as somebody's son or somebody's daughter. I'm gonna see them as people who, you know, somebody worked really hard in their infancy to keep them alive. You know? Someone has really invested a lot of time and love and energy in even getting that child through the infancy stage. And they're not, I never really saw them as numbers or data. I always saw them as people, but I think that personhood, there's gonna be a deeper awareness than before. Like, "they're not just third graders who need to learn the planets in order," you know? "They're not just third graders who need to be on a level P by the end of the year," you know, for reading. They come in

with all sorts of experiences. Yeah, I keep saying the same thing in a different way, I feel like this is going to help me connect with my kids on a more deeper level instead of a more shallow level (Doris interview 10/23/2017, 16:20-17-49).

Doris was participating in this interview while on maternity leave with her first child. In this moment, she was acutely aware of the work it takes to care for a newborn and this is reflected in her views on teaching and motherhood. Her perspective of her students seems to have shifted as a result of becoming a mom. While before she understood her students as people, now she seems to know this in an embodied sense when she references working really hard in the infancy stage. It is significant that she is talking about her students' parents when she says, "somebody's son or somebody's daughter." She is identifying with them but never actually names them. As a listener, I had anticipated her to say that she had a deeper connection with parents now that she herself was a mother, but she does not. Instead she recognizes that there will be a deeper awareness of the students' personhood. It is almost as if she is doubling down on her teacher/mother role and seeing them in a more motherly way rather than seeing their actual mothers.

Here, Kristen talks about her students as her own children and the relational power that affords her in her teaching. She also draws on a socially-classed description of family relations that helps her develop this relational power yet is somewhat forbidden to disclose.

Kristen: I had such a tight family. Like, "those are my babies." There were children from every single class that I taught at my wedding. I'm still friends with them today...I've gotten a wedding invitation from my students every single year since I've been teaching...It's a true, when you build a family you love each other, hate each other, do stupid stuff, then you apologize. There's this connectedness there. There's this cohesion of family that is harder to cultivate, and so I had power to do that and that power was so important to me. And that building a family and building this learning community, I mean like I know it sounds very

cheesy, cause I wouldn't even say "learning community" I would say "family" ...It's like they're my babies. They're the most important thing to me outside of my family, cause I don't have children. I really invested in them. And it's just, and because everything goes back to my, I guess, relational part of my teaching philosophy. (Kristen interview 8/7/2017, 50:55-52:40).

In describing her teaching philosophy, Kristen highlights the importance and power of the relationships she cultivated with her elementary students. Without children of her own, Kristen still draws on the trope of motherhood in education to cultivate relational power that helped her build community in her classroom and, ultimately, lead a successful classroom. Although the trope of motherhood is pervasive and encouraged, it is a particular type of mother that is allowed, a white, middle-class mother. Kristen describes how as a result of the strong bond she developed with students, she was able to be more emotional in the classroom. Her and her students were able to “love each other, hate each other, do stupid stuff” and then apologize. This seems like a particularly healthy way to live in a family relationship, but it is also a classed description of how family’s fight and argue (Jones & Vagle, 2013).

In my own experiences moving in and out of classed spaces, it has felt as though an open argument in which people are frank, sometimes hurtful, but then apologize is more of a working-class way of interacting rather than the politeness-obsessed middle and upper-class. I grew up in a middle-class world where “hate” was considered a strong and almost forbidden word. I remember hearing teachers redirect students with missives like, “You don’t mean hate. Hate is such a strong word” when they expressed their displeasure with something. Classrooms are not meant to function in this sort of emotionally open way. From my middle-class way of interpreting the world, to say that

students and teachers "hate" each other feels harsh and wrong when said from a teacher's mouth.

The motherhood that is allowed in an elementary school is a particular type of motherhood – one devoid of the emotionality of doing “stupid stuff” and having to apologize. Kristen acknowledges this taboo aspect of calling her students her family by trying to shift to the label of “learning community” but realizes that the notion of the learning community does not quite encompass the emotionality of the family. She shifts back to calling her students “family” but tempers that label by calling it “cheesy.” If the white, feminine, middle-class teacher/mother were actually in control in her classroom, there should be no need for apologies.

Finally, I talk in my own interview about the desire to care for my students and a sense of pity that I cannot seem to justify.

Kelly: What about this group of students made me want to provide a safe and relaxing space? Um, I felt bad for them. I felt like they were always in trouble. I felt like they were left out of a lot of their, a lot of things happened in their classrooms, again I don't know if that's true. They were a lot, often in trouble. You know what? I don't know if that's true. Some of them, they were left out in a lot of ways. They were also loved on pretty hard by a lot of those teachers. But I felt bad for them and I don't know why (Kelly interview 9/20/2017, 20:37-21:20).

I have a sense of needing to care for my students, despite the fact that I am unsure of whether or not this care was really necessary. I come to realize that my students were cared for by other teachers in other classrooms, yet I still felt that urge to care because I imagined they were not getting it elsewhere.

The varied and important ways that motherhood was used in just these few excerpts suggests the value of such an idea as the teacher/mother. It also shows how

deeply it is embedded in our discourses of education. The teacher/mother grants the teacher more credibility with students, parents, and herself. It provides a pathway to a deeper connection with students based on the shared experience of the mother/child bond. It affords the teacher relational power through the analogy of the mother/child bond. Finally, it instills in the teacher the urge to care for the students.

Although the teacher/mother concept can offer significant benefits to students and teachers, it is still grounded in white, Protestant, patriarchal values. White feminine teacher/mothers serve to perpetuate norms that support the existing power structure. Furthermore, “the histories and structures that undergird teachers’ positions in schools are deeply entrenched in colonial, racist, patriarchal and social-classed ways of being” (Coffee, 2016, p. 16). White women were integral in filling an expanding need for teaching positions in the nineteenth and early 20th centuries for economic and cultural reasons (Clements, 2016; Grumet, 1988; Stutelberg, 2016). Ultimately, teachers (in particular white, hetero-normative, middle-class teachers) became, knowingly or unknowingly, charged with maintaining and carrying out the norms of our patriarchal, white supremacist society. The institutional narratives of teaching bear this out along with the teacher/mother trope represented in each of the experiences shared by the people in this study. Teacher/mothers, who are or uphold white, heteronormative, middle-class ideals, are positioned similar to “middle managers” in that they carry out the decree of those holding power while not really making their own decisions.

This hierarchy requires a system of subordination whereby students are subordinate to their teachers who are, in turn, submissive to and malleable by their administrators. In the middle position of this hierarchy, women teachers are complicit in the reproduction and legitimization of the colonial discourses of the

hetero-patriarchy through methods, pedagogy, curricula and the management of students' bodies. Simultaneously, their male superiors subject women's bodies to those controlling discourses (Stutelberg, 2016, p. 95-96).

In much the same way that the precarity and fragility of whiteness is communicated by potential ruptures in familial relationships (Thandeka, 1999), women's compliance with the demands of white femininity in motherhood and in teaching is also reproduced through subtle threats to their inclusion in this middle manager position of power and control (Coffee, 2016; Deliovsky, 2010).

If we break away from a discourse of white feminine motherhood in education, the role of teacher may shift from middle manager to something not yet conceived. Teacher/mothers are vessels that are partially filled up by administrators' expectations, teacher education, their own experiences as students in school, and dominant social values of white, middle-class normality (Coffee, 2016). Reimagining and teaching from a discourse of teaching that is not grounded in white feminine motherhood requires a better understanding of how white femininity and teacher/mothers may appear in classrooms of equity-minded white, middle-class women educators.

Teacher Bots

Imagine squatting in the middle of a first-grade classroom whispering to a student about what detail she could add to her story while twenty-six other little bodies sit scribbling away at their desks, wandering aimlessly between tables, staring longingly out the window, or tugging at your sleeve to answer one of the most urgent questions of their young lives – “did you know that grandma was visiting?” At that moment, the classroom phone starts ringing, the door opens and a student from another classroom is sent in to

take a break, and two students across the room start yelling about the blue crayon and who gets to use it. Meanwhile, you look over and notice that the little boy who joined your class last week has yet to pick up a crayon or a pencil to start his story and seems withdrawn. This could be one minute of a teacher's day.

Choosing what to attend to and how in this moment feels like cognitive gymnastics, and this continues throughout the day, day after day. It did not surprise me to notice the concept of the "teacher bot" pop up when talking to Kristen about her teaching. How else could a teacher get through the day other than relying on a sort of autopilot to help her prioritize what needs attention and regulating all other decisions to default, automatized responses built up through teacher training programs, years of experience as a student or teacher, and the culture and identities through which she views the world?

The teacher bot is a concept that represents part of one's teacher identity. It is used as a default guide to help make the innumerable amount of pedagogical and interpersonal decisions we make as teachers during the day. It is what teacher education programs work to develop in a teacher, and it gets honed through teaching experience as well as prior experiences as a student.

The first reference to "teacher bot" came from Kristen right at the beginning of our first interview.

Kristen: I often use the term teacher bot. We're kind of asked, I feel like, to stuff our embodiment or leave it behind. I am a hugely emotional person. I cried in front of my students all the time and that always got remarked on. It was always something to be teased about or be slightly derided (Kristen interview 6/22/2017, 1:31-1:50).

Kristen suggests that the teacher bot is a disembodied part of our teacher identities. It does not primarily draw on the in-the-moment sensory data of what a teacher hears, sees, smells, or generally feels to make decisions on how to act. Rather, it relies on assumptions about how a classroom should look, sound, and feel based on a mixture of past experiences of the teacher, professional preparation of the teacher, media images of teaching, expectations of administrators, and the culture in which and through which the teacher is teaching.

Furthermore, teacher bots do not emote. They are disembodied autopilots. Teacher bots can develop into talented and effective teachers at teaching students content standards, but they are not meant to disrupt status quo education. Indeed, talented teacher bots can be understood as perpetuating it. Talented teacher bots do not question inequities in education because they are rooted in white, feminine motherhood narratives. It is not their role to question it. They are meant to control students and be controlled by superiors (Grumet, 1988). They are the middle managers of the education system, and middle managers do not reorganize or revolutionize a company. They maintain it.

Kristen's moment and interviews brought up important questions to ask about how a teacher who embodies white femininity can also be committed to and enact an anti-oppressive pedagogy. I use her moment and our interpretations of it to capture the phenomenon of reading embodied emotions in a particular way. While the tentative manifestations of the phenomenon could be crafted together in other ways to form a different production, this interpretation may be useful to other teachers who embody white femininity and who are committed to anti-oppressive education.

I start with a summary of Kristen’s emotionally evocative classroom moment that I crafted by synthesizing information from her video lived experience description, subsequent interviews, and collective conversations.

Kristen’s Moment

Kristen had a student named Tom in a class for preservice teachers that centered on diversity. Tom was a white nontraditional student who switched careers to pursue an elementary education teaching license. Therefore, he was older than most of the other students and was of a similar age as Kristen. Towards the end of the semester, Tom negotiated with Kristen to change the parameters of an assignment. Kristen worked with him over several email exchanges to reach a format that would satisfy the requirements of the course she was teaching and allow him to take ownership of his assignment. The day of the assignment, Tom gave a presentation that egregiously over-extended the boundaries that he and Kristen had negotiated. He talked passed the time limit by about ten minutes, presented a one-sided view of a text he shared with his classmates, and then showed a video of a police shooting multiple-times in the small groups he led without any sort of trigger warning for students and without discussing it with Kristen ahead of time.

Kristen felt paralyzed to act in the moment and let him continue. She felt that stopping him would have made him lose-face in front of his cohort and impact his relationships with his peers for the rest of his teacher preparation. By not stopping him, she felt as though she had handed all her power over to the very thing that she was trying to decenter in her teaching – white patriarchal supremacy.

Kristen’s compulsion to protect Tom and the need to uphold politeness is clear from her interviews.

Kristen: I would say that is definitely my training as how to be a woman in my family. We don’t rock the boat. It’s interesting, in my mother’s family we are very assertive and we express our opinions, but in the moment, politeness often is more important than upsetting. Like we’ll come back and really bitch about things like, “I can’t believe that just happened,” but in the moment politeness reigns. And I do think that’s very gendered. I don’t know in my experience with men, I don’t know that politeness trumps sometimes other aspects of things. Where in a lot of my interactions with [Tom], there was politeness leading, where if we had been closer, like if I had actually been friends with him, I would have been, “well no, that’s dumb” (Kristen interview 8/7/2017, 14:30-15:58).

Politeness and the need to maintain order seems to have set up a barrier that Kristen could not cross to interrupt him. As one of the virtues of white feminine motherhood, politeness, is a central characteristic of white femininity.

Kelly: What stopped you from stopping it?

Kristen: I think it goes back to a lot of politeness and the fears. All those fears, the fears of, I really, it sounds weird cause I was so mad at him, but I was really worried how it would look if I stopped him. I was really worried about what that would say to the class, what that would say to my relationship with him. I didn't want him to be embarrassed, and that was where the instructor in me was overriding my own self. And sometimes as the instructor, you have to, you have to put yourself on the back burner. You're less important in the actual situation. It's their learning process. I think that's the tension too, right? I was worried about him and then I was also worried about them, and I felt, and my student of color, I was worried about him. There were all these different things at play like...are these messages damaging to the whole class?...It's interesting, thinking that all of that was going on in my head, and I couldn't. It was a barrage, and it was all those things stopped me... I was really worried. I just couldn't foresee doing that to Tom, even though Tom was doing something I felt damaging to the whole class.

Kelly: Tom in particular?

Kristen: I couldn't. I just didn't want to pull the rug out from under him, which was so ridiculous cause the rug he was standing on was a bad rug! I just needed to like get him out of there, but I was so afraid of embarrassing him, not upsetting him, maybe there was a piece of that. I just, I had positioned him as an expert, so coming in and devaluing that just felt, and also I was afraid of how I would look cause I had positioned him as an expert (Kristen interview 8/7/2017, 54:09-56:47).

Kristen says, “the instructor in me was overriding my own self” due to “all the fears” and the “barrage” of conflicting needs. In this excerpt, she explicitly names eight separate fears she had: Tom would be embarrassed; he would be upset; she would be perceived as impolite; she would devalue his expertise; she would threaten her own authority by challenging his expertise that she helped to establish; she would damage her relationship with Tom; she would damage her relationship with her student of color; and she exposed

the other students to a lesson that damaged the course's message of diversity. Ultimately, her teacher bot took over amidst the barrage of conflicting potential outcomes. When her teacher bot took over, the concerns about Tom's well-being and the preservation of her authority as teacher won out. White femininity dug in its heels and blocked messages of complicating problematic "good guy" narratives and promoting a pedagogy of diversity and inclusivity.

Kristen also recognizes the elementariness of her teacher bot in the following excerpt. The "elementariness" of her teacher bot can be read as another way of saying the motherness of her teacher bot. The nurturing and caring aspect of her teacher bot seeks to protect her students from discomfort or embarrassment. In her moment, she led with care rather than disruption. The problem with protecting one's students from discomfort or embarrassment is that only particular students may be protected at a time, and the teacher bot prioritizes the emotions of students in the dominant social group over marginalized students. Tom was spared embarrassment, most of the students were spared the instability of a crisis of authority in the classroom, but her student of color along with students of color not represented in the majority white class were subjected to a perpetuation of damaging narratives.

Kelly: When you were talking there, you said "the instructor in me overriding my own self," teacher mode as this like teacher bot – something different from you that you inhabit. When those moments of being barraged by conflicting roles or responsibilities to different people, the default in this situation is that "teacher bot" that "teacher mode" which is what we train to develop. It's what we create.

Kristen: And for me, it's 16 years in the making. It's a muscle memory. It's very easy for my body to

Kelly: That you've got to have cause this is not the only moment that you're barraged with different competing, that's the nature of teaching, and so it's almost like this the default mode.

Kristen: And I think some people's default teacher bot pushes and some people's default teacher bot pulls back, and sometimes I wonder if that is an elementary secondary split. Colleagues who are secondary, they can push in different ways cause there's only so far you can push a 10-year-old, right? I've made 10-year-olds cry, and it's not a fun day. Oh, it's dreadful! And so my teacher bot, I don't want to say is a soother, but maybe isn't a pusher, because I worked with 10 and 12-year-olds my whole career. Where if you work with high school students who are really young adults, I think part of your work is pushing. It's part of that developmental process, and so it's interesting thinking about that elementariness of my teacher bot. (Kristen interview 8/7/2017, 57:59-1:00:30).

Kristen theorizes that this elementary/secondary split between keeping students comfortable and pushing them follows the developmental trajectory between childhood and adolescence. At a certain point, the mothering and nurturing transitions to a more hardened approach in which students need to learn to toughen up. Secondary teachers push while elementary teachers coddle.

Kristen continues to prioritize motherly care and love when talking about her teaching philosophy.

Kristen: I also think love, or care, is important. Sometimes we say love and that feels like a dangerous word to use in education, not thinking of Eros or erotic love, just a motherly love. I just think it's really important to cherish your students. In a school year, during the elementary school setting, we see them as teachers more than their parents do, right? And I just think, like "they are someone's most precious cargo," and if you don't, if you can't see them that way, if you can't cherish them, I think that's a slippery slope (Kristen interview 6/22/2017, 8:18-9:00).

Kristen warns that it is a slippery slope if an elementary school teacher is not capable of seeing or not willing to see their students as somebody's children. She does not, however, say what is at the bottom of that slope. It is an unnamed fear. What is that unnamed fear,

and is it really so scary that we need mothers in the classroom to protect kids from it?

With this fear unnamed, it is hard to argue against the need for motherly love.

As a mother, I intuitively connect with this idea. Yes, I want my daughter's future teachers to love her as if she were their own daughter. Yes, I want my daughter to feel cherished while she is at school learning about life cycles of frogs and what it means to multiply numbers. But what does that actually mean if I expect her teachers to take over the role of mother for most of the hours of daylight? Loving my daughter means cherishing her, but it also means redirecting and disciplining her, instilling values of how to be a good person. My values as a parent and my hopes of what I teach my daughter in terms of how to behave in public and what is of value or interest are going to vary from those of her classmates' parents. Do I really want to expect her teacher to take on that role when each child's parent is going to have a different idea of what parenting is and means? It does not seem fair or possible to expect this of teachers. The only way this seems possible is to coalesce around one particular set of values and beliefs, which we have done in public schools – white, Protestant, patriarchal values. Without reservation, I want my daughter's teachers to care for her, nurture her, cherish her, and love her, but I do not want them to be another mother. I want them to be her teachers.

The trope of motherhood in elementary education becomes particularly problematic if we consider Thandeka's (1999) theory that white children experience a form of abuse in terms of fracturing their identities as they learn to become white. Thandeka classifies this as familial abuse, experienced within the context of a loving and caring relationship. If elementary teachers are like white mothers, and we collectively

expect them to rely on their highly trained teacher bots, it is not surprising that schools perpetuate an inequitable status quo. Students learn to be white, what whiteness is, or the social value of whiteness in schools through the guidance of white feminine teacher bots.

Kristen's experience as an elementary school teacher is part of the reason why cherishing and loving her students is a priority in her teaching philosophy. In the moment Kristen shared, the care she expresses for young students is extended to her adult students. Her teaching philosophy has not drastically changed from teaching elementary students to working with preservice teachers. It is too easy to suggest that Kristen was mothering her adult students and that she maybe should have pushed them more. This follows too nicely the problematic assumptions found in child development theory that Kristen alludes to. If by high school, students are ready to be pushed, then surely by college the instructor should be challenging and calling students out.

Kristen debates the merits of leading her pedagogy with care in contrast with pushing and disruption. While this may not be a true dichotomy (i.e. one could theoretically disrupt with care and love) imagining both together is difficult and, she admits, beyond her current capacity.

Kristen: What I think too when you lead with care, right? I mean care is an aspect of your pedagogy and relationships, it can become hard...I can imagine how [some instructors] would have dealt with the situation by shutting it down, being aggressive with Tom. It's hard for me, because I don't actually think that it, I think, I feel like relationships and caring are paramount. It's hard. Like, I don't have the tools in a caring way to push or in a caring way to shut things down. Where I know if that isn't what you lead with, if you lead with disruption or, I don't know...

I understand that it's about children, marginalized groups that have been marginalized systemically...I understand that urgency, but I recognize too that my own pedagogical stances, again where the rubber meets the road, get stuck a little

bit. Where I know other people would be like, "I don't really care. I need to be like aggressive so I can wake this person up," but I'm not sure that that's the best way to actually wake him up. I just don't know, right? (Kristen interview 6/22/2017, 19:22-25:00).

Looking closely at Kristen's discussion of care in her teaching philosophy brings up another issue with the motherhood trope. In Noddings' (2012) care ethics, the carer gives of herself in "the caring relation" by "[feeling] with the cared-for" (p. 53). Noddings is explicit about the feminine aspect of her work by using women's experiences as mothers, nurses, and teachers to develop her theory of care ethics. There is no room in this conception of caring to disrupt, shut down, or really push very hard. There is no room because mothers, nurses, teachers are meant to nurture, support, and guide not rupture and make uncomfortable. How, then, are teachers supposed to disrupt an inequitable system?

Furthermore, the notion of caring for students is too broad and general to be effective in an anti-oppressive pedagogy. To say one cares for students erases the differing and often competing needs of diverse students. A teacher who simply wants to care for students becomes confronted with a conflict at some point when what comforts students is in opposition. The teacher must then prioritize which students' comfort to attend to. In default, white, feminine, teacher bot mode, this would be the comfort of normative students, meaning nothing gets disrupted. If a teacher is committed to being an anti-oppressive educator, then she must make a commitment to prioritize the comfort of students who are not always considered the norm (e.g. students of color, students experiencing poverty). This re-prioritizing, however, comes at the expense of the teacher's own comfort. Kristen and I continue our conversation:

Kelly: Tell me a little bit more about that the best way to wake somebody up.

Kristen: ...I don't know if I know the right way, cause I think it varies person by person. I do think it's cumulative. I do think that it has to happen like over courses. In my mind, I feel like it's you're filling up a cup and like, "I'm gonna add a few drops. You're gonna add a few drops." And part of that is a recognition that I, Kristen, am not going to dismantle white supremacy. I can chip at it. I can pick a piece out. It is a system that is much larger than me, and it has shaped my whole lived experience.

I don't know. It just feels like a smack down is not the way, but it could be one of the drops. It's just not the way that I would do it, and the way that I came to racial consciousness was slow subtle reading...I was allowed this space to kind of read, take it in, read, take it in, examine, read, take it in. And I'm not there yet, right? It's always a process...

I went through full cultural competence training, which was like that's what school districts do, professional development, right? And I still, I know it sounds so ridiculous, but I didn't think white was a race. I mean intellectually, obviously, when I filled out the race bubble, I filled out white. I saw that, but it was never, like saw myself as a racialized being (Kristen interview 6/22/2017, 19:22-25:00).

As Kristen herself notes, she came to racial consciousness not by being called out or through a framework of confessing to white privilege. Indeed, the cultural competency professional development from earlier in her career failed to help her realize her own race. Instead, she was provided a patient pedagogy in which she could digest a new way of viewing the world.

By analyzing Kristen's story in the way that I have, by choosing these particular excerpts and interpreting them through my own understanding and experience, I am left with questions like: Is it possible to uncouple the idea of mother from the care and nurturing of a teacher? How might a teacher lead with care for *all* students while disrupting the status quo of a white supremacist education system? How might a teacher

prioritize some students' emotional well-being or comfort over others in order to enact an anti-oppressive pedagogy?³

Necessary Emptiness of Teacher/Mothers

The lack of pathways for professional advancement in teaching serves to “maintain the illusion that teaching is not directly identified with one’s own ego identity and aspirations” (Grumet, 1988, p. 86). The teacher/mother is not really there herself. She cannot be. She must be at home committed to her domestic responsibilities. The teacher bot fills in for her in the classroom and allows her to earn some money and status that can be reinvested in her domestic responsibilities. The teacher/mother is necessarily empty.

In Coffee’s (2016) analysis of her experience as a white woman teaching indigenous women on a reservation, she theorizes how Freire’s banking model of education demands an “emptiness” in teachers that must be filled by the “institutional authority and knowledge” that gets passed along in spaces like teacher training programs (p. 73). The teacher herself is not the expert that is filling the minds of her students, rather she is a conduit through which expertise passes. Therefore, she must be organized and prepared for the lesson in which knowledge gets passed along through her to her students. The female teacher’s authority is built on the “contingent fullness” she experiences as the conduit of knowledge (p. 73). Her appearance as prepared and organized grants her this authority. If she is to disrupt this banking model of education, which she must in order to enact an anti-oppressive pedagogy, decentering her authority would invalidate her legitimacy. It signals a lack of preparation and organization if the teacher is not in

³ I address these questions in the final chapter.

control. This is different from a man's experience disrupting a banking model of education, because his legitimacy is constituted by more than just a "contingent fullness." He is also a man, which carries its own assumptions of authority. Therefore, a woman's authority as a teacher is in a state of "precarious legibility" (p. 73).

Kristen's experience could be interpreted through this particular way that Coffee reads her own story. Kristen's experience with preservice teachers suggests that despite a critically oriented syllabus and pedagogical practice, she was not read by her students as believing herself what she was saying. She was, instead, being read as "politically correct," or *performing* the anti-oppressive ideals of the curriculum but not *embodying* them.

The following excerpts represent Kristen's body being read as aligning with institutional narratives and suggest that her white femininity eclipses her efforts to teach diversity.

Kelly: It seems like when I think of people being politically correct, it's the opposite. It's cause they're hyper aware of the language, and it sounds like the language you'd been using...isn't taken up by the student; as in "No, this is what I believe. This is not just the words I'm saying." It's almost an acknowledgment that they don't trust that you believe [in the benefits of diversity]. That they might see who you are and think that these are the beliefs that you have, so why don't you just say them?

Before I asked this question, Kristen had disclosed that a student had accused her of being politically correct in her teaching. The student wanted her to just say what she meant, suggesting that the student did not believe that Kristen believed herself in the need for more diversity in schools and the detrimental effects of not having it. In this question,

I am wondering about how the meaning of “politically correct” had been contorted in her interaction with the student. Kristen answers.

Kristen: I think I'm also soft. I wear cardigans. I wear glasses, right? I'm like this very stereotypical white middle class female elementary school teacher type. I mean, I talk about being soft; my body is soft; my face is round; there's all these things that...I'm white and I probably shouldn't talk about, I think, in a polite cultural kind of norm. So sometimes, I do think I wonder if it's surprising to hear me talk about it, but also, again, I have all the privileges. There's always a tension there I think. But I always wonder if my body also has something to do with it. I'm traditionally feminine. There's just a lot of check, check, check, so I do think sometimes, I wonder if that changes, like my mouth is saying this, but my body says something else (Kristen interview 6/22/2017, 42:57-44:55).

Kristen is wondering about whether the messages her white, feminine body is sending to her students are louder than the message she is telling them with her voice, syllabus, assignments, and feedback. The fear here is that it is not enough for a feminine, white woman to have the desire to be an anti-oppressive educator. Nor is it enough for the teacher to work towards anti-oppressive educational goals with her students. In her body, she can still be read as upholding values and beliefs that align with all aspects of white femininity.

In her research on the body as a visual text, Hughes-Decatur (2011) concludes that bodies are read as “enough or not enough.” The image of the racial justice educator does not quite fit our white feminine bodies. Kristen’s experience also bolsters Coffee’s theory that white, feminine teacher bodies rely on a contingent fullness for authority in the classroom. If we try to fill our teacher bodies with the messages and aims of anti-oppressive education, there is a visual contradiction. The image of our soft, warm, round, white, motherly bodies does not seem to be able to contain the necessarily urgent and

uncomfortable messages of anti-oppressive teaching. Our nurturing bodies represent that which oppresses. We are, in a way, trying to oppose ourselves.

For a white, feminine teacher to be disruptive and anti-oppressive in her teaching, she must not only be committed to it and enact it, but also be perceived as sincere in her efforts. Perhaps Coffee's suggestion that her efforts to decenter her authority due to being read as illegitimate is only part of the explanation. Perhaps it is not only legitimacy she needs but the appearance of sincerity.

Kristen's frustration with the disconnect between her commitment and white feminine identity is palpable in how she describes what it feels like to not quite know how to be a socially-just oriented pedagogue.

Kristen: I still don't know, knowing my personality, what was in me to do about it. But it's just interesting, this mix of guilt, embarrassment, and I just feel like I've been taught racial consciousness...and like I'm armed with it, but I don't know that I've had combat training, if that makes sense. I feel like they're like, "Here you go. Here's your racial justice AK-47, enjoy." That came out so brutal, sorry. (Kristen interview 6/22/3018, 17:55-19:20).

Kristen interjects "knowing my personality" into her wondering about what she could have done about the situation with Tom in her classroom. She also wonders "what was in [her] to do about it," suggesting again, that she herself may not be capable of doing anything to stop or change the situation. Again, something needs to "fill" her in order for her to have reacted differently in the moment. The image of the combat training and the racial justice AK-47 completely contradicts the image of the soft and round motherly elementary school teacher.

The missing piece here may be an absence of "combat training," but it could also be the lack of being perceived as sincere in one's efforts to be an anti-oppressive

educator. This conflict of trying to dismantle what my body represents can be debilitating if read in that dichotomous way. For example, my identity is not whiteness, but if I simplistically interpret my white skin as whiteness, I may feel paralyzed by the overwhelming guilt and shame of causing so much damage in the world. But white skin does not equal whiteness, and interpreting my body in this way is problematic. It is, however one way of reading this tension, and others may read my body in this particular way. Lather (1993) offers an alternative reading. She writes about letting “contradictions remain in tension, to unsettle from within, to dissolve interpretations by marking them as temporary, partial, invested” (p. 681). This remaining in tension and unsettling from within calls for a self-reflexive practice of asking ourselves these questions: what is it about my appearance that I am holding onto so tightly and why? How do I come to understand this tension of fighting what I represent as a partial and invested interpretation of this conflict?

Our goal as white, feminine, anti-oppressive educators cannot be to change our identity or appearance. That is impossible and not a feasible solution to ask hundreds of thousands of white women to suddenly change their mindsets and appearances. In addition to trying to remain in the tension of the contradictions as Lather suggests, Coffee extends this recommendation and offers that we embrace, care for, and trust our white, feminine teacher bodies in order to come to terms with how they have been raced, classed, and inscribed with violent histories in other ways.

What would it look like for white women teachers to not only acknowledge their bodies, but to turn towards them as sources of wisdom and strength, and to care for them deeply?...How might deep care and attunement of teachers towards their own bodies open up new possibilities for humanizing pedagogy and care for the

bodies of their students? Sexism, capitalism, heteronormativity, and racism need bodies. Structures of oppression live in and through bodies. They do violence to bodies. They separate, police, silence, and kill bodies. They do different things to different bodies; however, all of our bodies experience the violence of oppression. And these histories of violence and fear are carried, experienced, and expressed through our bodies (2016, p. 80-81).

With her suggestion to care for our bodies rather than widen the split between them and our minds, Coffee is suggesting a radical approach to teaching. This approach to see our bodies as in need of care and as a valid source of knowledge is a feminist approach and, therefore, counter to dominant norms of education. It is an act of resistance. Reading our embodied emotions with an openness and intent to wonder about why we might be feeling what we are feeling is a way to approach Coffee's suggestion.

Chapter 5

Textual Expressions: Social Control of Emotion

In this chapter, I extend the ideas set out in the previous chapter of teacher/mothers, teacher bots, and the necessary emptiness of women educators by adding the textual expressions of the caring police, outlawed emotions, and feminist awakenings. I continue to draw on phenomenological material from interviews with the women who participated in this study as well as feminist theory on emotions and add some of my post-reflexive material for three more distinct textual expressions of what was produced when white, middle-class women educators read their embodied emotions of classroom moments. Boler's theory on the social control of emotions and Jaggar's theory on outlaw emotions are helpful in interpreting the moments that Doris and Florence shared. Finally, my experience as a post-intentional phenomenologist with postpartum depression during the course of this study helped me theorize a relationship between embodied emotions and a feminist awakening that may have implications for the social control of teachers' emotions.

The Caring Police

The logic of the common school movement contended that white women were natural teachers of young students because of their virtuous nature. These virtues were, and are, considered innate to white women. In order to keep up this appearance of innate virtues, women have become skilled at monitoring their emotions, actions, and appearances.

The activities of mothering and domestic emotional servicing to which the women in my research referred are the material expressions of compulsory 'white' heterosexuality. The corollary of this is that the activities of self-surveillance, self-improvement and self-correction are the psychic expressions of normative 'white' femininity rooted in 'white' culture. (Deliofsky, 2010, p. 121).

Not only do teachers self-surveil, but they pass this skill onto students through direct lessons on character development or implicit messages aimed at developing students' internal motivation. Examples of both of these forms of emotional control – of the teacher and of the students – appeared in the moment shared by Doris. Boler (1999) names this emotional role women perform in education “the caring police” (p. 42).

In her feminist reading of the role of emotions in education, Boler (1999) describes a gendered history of education through the social control of emotions. She claims that emotions have always been taught in classrooms either explicitly or implicitly, though rarely explicitly named in educational texts and, when detectable, in relation to women rather than men. Boler maps these explicit and implicit traces of emotion in education in two distinct categories: “skills-based” linked with discourses of science and efficiency and “rules-based” linked with discourses of moral values and religion (p. 31). The dominant ideal of what women should be during the time of the common school movement was “constructed through the combined discourses of religion, science, and rationality” (Boler, 1999, p. 38).

Boler (1999) uses a text for girls from 1898, *The Domestic Economy Reader*, to show how women, including female teachers, were discursively thought to be responsible for social ills. Social problems like crime and poverty were directly related to poorly managed households, according to the text. Boler points out how a discourse of economic

efficiency was used to legitimize the notion that women were responsible for the proper care of the domestic sphere. “As the ‘domestic scientists’ who learn the ‘right skills,’ women’s burden is nothing less than curing society of all its social ills” (Boler, 1999, p. 35). This burden of women spans the domestic sphere into the social through schools.

Adding to the skills-based discipline of the “domestic scientist” is the natural morality found in women. If (white) women are supposedly pure, chaste, innocent, and obedient, then they are clearly good. “To assist in the project of assimilation to Protestant and middle-class values, women’s naturally virtuous character was considered well suited” (Boler, 1999, p. 39). Boler draws on the writings of Catherine Beecher, a champion of the common-school movement, to make this point. Boler identifies the “cult of motherhood” or the “cult of domesticity” as the “epitome of these virtues” (p. 39). Although the idea of the virtuous woman was used in the rhetoric of the common school movement, not all women were considered virtuous. “The virtuous woman is an ideal based on the white, middle-class Protestant female” (p. 40). Furthermore, “women who entered the teaching profession from poor and working-class families were trained to adopt the proper values through teacher training schools” (p, 40).

In this section, I build off of these ideas of a gendered history of emotion in education to analyze aspects of Doris’s emotionally evocative moment. In her moment, there are elements of Boler’s “caring police” that confirm her theory that emotions work as a mechanism of control through skills-based and rules-based discourses. I also show how Doris uses emotions to police both herself and her students through a discourse of caring.

First, I crafted a summary of Doris’s emotionally evocative classroom moment by synthesizing information from her video lived experience description, subsequent interviews, and collective conversations.

Doris’s Moment

Doris was teaching third grade literacy in a dual-language program. She was teaching in English and third grade was the first year that her students had had literacy instruction in English. Doris also lived in a state where third grade students were required to pass Read to Achieve (RtA) assessments*. If they did not pass all 15 standards, they would have had to attend summer school. Doris uses assessment data to guide her standards-based instruction. She also had students keep track of their own progress in their personal notebooks where they charted their scores. Her students began to take the RtA assessments in October, and, by April, she described their progress on a class data wall as a “wall of shame.” One student in particular, Alex, was not progressing. To pass an assessment, a student needed five out of five correct. Alex consistently got a zero.

Doris had made an explicit goal for herself as she began to teach third grade. She wanted to be a “shield” rather than a “sieve” for the stress and pressure that third graders face from high-stakes testing in her state. She described third grade as “no joke” meaning students were expected to take and pass several state-mandated assessments for the first time.

On this particular day, Alex came up to Doris beaming. He was happy and wanted to celebrate his “personal victory.” He had gotten a two out of five on his latest RtA assessment. Doris smiled along with him and agreed that he should celebrate while “dying inside” herself. She left school that day and held her emotions in until she got home to her driveway where she cried.

*RtA is a kindergarten through third grade reading policy with the goal of improving early reading skills and ending social promotion.

In our interviews, Doris describes the conflicting emotions she felt during the moment when Alex approached her and asked her to celebrate with him. She monitors her own emotions by internally taking on the institutional narrative of high expectations yet also shields Alex from this potential anxiety.

Kelly: Right after you describe how Alex talked to you and asked you to celebrate his personal victory and how you celebrate it with him, you say you were dying

inside. Try and pull that phrase apart a little bit. What does that feel like? What are the emotions that may have contributed to dying inside?

Doris: Like hurting on his behalf. He wasn't hurting at all! I mean he was happy. He was so happy and proud of himself for his progress. On his behalf it was pure pure joy and optimism, and I felt like somebody has to acknowledge that this is a tragedy, that the state has set the bar at a certain way or yeah. And so I, gosh, I don't know really how to articulate it, but it was like, "I'm so happy that our character lessons have been so effective. I'm so happy that you are such a wonderful person (you being Alex). You're so hard working and so willing to celebrate all of your steps forward." And I want to, I want to support that. But at the same time, I want to, maybe knowing that nobody else would view that as a victory maybe, you know? The state would never view that as a victory, you know? The administrators would never acknowledge that as an acceptable score (Doris interview 7/22/2017, 30:31-32:35).

This example of Doris policing her own emotions is interesting because it takes on the negative emotion of despair as a corrective measure. In the face of Alex's pure optimism and joy, she has to present (even if only to herself) the appropriate disapproval for failing to pass the assessment. Her inclination is to be happy and joyful with him, but internally she also does the work of acknowledging his failure according to the state's expectations. Doris is monitoring and policing her own emotions in this first excerpt.

The long excerpt that follows is an example of how Doris preemptively polices students' emotions by cultivating internal motivation in her students through shame and pride in using student data and goal setting. The students in Doris's class are all native Spanish speakers. They are learning literacy for the first time in English at precisely the same time that they are expected to take high-stakes tests showing their competency in it. If they do not pass, they must attend summer school. Although Doris has vowed to protect her students from the stress of this reality, she is clear and transparent with them about their scores and where they need to be. This seems contradictory, yet in this excerpt

she explains how she is able to use the data she shares with students to set very specific and targeted goals, helping her use the resources available to her (e.g. Ms. G the teaching assistant) more productively. Doris is so successful at convincing her students to buy into their class and personal goals that students volunteer to give up their specials like art to try and pass their tests.

Kelly: A lot of how you teach and how you've taught for a long time is being transparent and goals. And [students] track their goals, and they have personal victories. So they're tracking. They're aware of their progress and where they're headed and what they're going to. So I find it fascinating that both are happening at once, where you are able to help them be aware of [their progress on assessments] while shielding them somewhat from that stress.

Doris: It's really hard...yeah, I only had one student pass all of the RtA standards the first time through. And they were keeping track of it on a bar graph, and they knew they had to pass a certain line to pass a certain standard.

I think the goal setting helped me stay positive with the kids, cause I was able to say, "hey, look, you're almost there in five standards. And these two standards you've had a lot of trouble with, we've made a class goal to," ...and I would reference the class data board. And I would say, you know, like, "don't worry about moral of the story that's what we've been working on as a whole class. And don't worry about main idea and detail that's what you're working on with Ms. G our teacher assistant. So just keep working hard and listening in our whole group when we talk about moral of the story. And keep working hard and listening to Ms. G when you're in small group, and you're gonna be fine when you take these tests again."

So, you know, there would be at the same time maybe an inner voice, "this child has passed zero standards. This child," you know? But it turned out every single child in my class passed every single standard. We had 100 percent passing. Yeah, it was really motivational on our class data board. I had all our standards. At first it looked like a wall of shame, cause I had a hundreds chart, and I had filled in what percentage of kids had passed that standard. And it was all like well under 50 percent...

Kelly: When did it switch from being a wall of shame to being something to start getting excited about?

Doris: So the first time through October to April you basically don't have any time to teach these standards. You're just taking tests on moral of the story and character traits and main idea and detail and text features and text structure and stuff like that. And, well you have one day to teach and then you know four days to test on this stuff. And so almost everybody failed almost everything, because they had not had adequate time to learn any of these standards. But that first time through ends in April, and it was actually when things turned around. It was April when I first put the class data board up, and they saw.

I started with a discussion where they had to go and write on sticky notes [something] they were really proud of and something we needed to work on. So they would say you know, "we're really good at right there questions. And we really need to work on, I don't know, text structure," whatever. Then we just tackled it piece by piece, bit by bit. And it was really fun, because we would, I don't know. We had our goal underneath, or we had our strategy like, "what are we gonna do to practice this?" And we kept, you know, stickers. It was everyone was invested, and everybody knew, "ok we are working really hard together on this strategy right here." And I would use a different color marker when somebody, you know...and we had huge celebrations when kids passed them. And I would make a big deal of increasing our hundreds chart like, "oh, we moved from 38 percent passing to 52!" Then another kid would be like, "I need my next one!" Then, "oh, this student just passed that standard, so now we're up to 67 percent passing!" So it became a huge motivational thing where everybody wanted to get to 100 percent.

Kelly: Were you worried what would happen if they didn't? Like to an individual?

Doris: Um, not really, because um nobody knew who that individual was, you know? It was anonymous enough that I didn't think that any particular student was going to be signaled out by his or her peers. And then I did have some moments of worry and, interestingly, Alex wasn't one of these kids. It got down to the wire, cause they had to have all of their tests done at a certain time, certain day certain time. And it was like the last week, and some kids still had three standards that they needed to pass. I don't know. I remember having a couple days in the classroom where these particular students said, "can we stay in the classroom and not go to art?" and, "let me take this test." And um they took...passed them all (Doris interview 7/22/2017, 40:20-47:24).

Before continuing with an analysis in terms of the social control of emotion going on in this moment, I want to be clear that I think this is an example of excellent teaching.

Doris is clear and transparent with students about what they are learning (i.e. standards on

“right there questions,” “moral of the story,” “and main idea and detail”), how they are learning it (i.e. strategies for learning the standard posted on the class data wall), how to set goals (i.e. tracking progress with bar graphs), and how to break those goals into manageable chunks (i.e. work on this standard with the whole class but focus your attention on this other standard with the teaching assistant). It also strikes me that Doris is so good at helping her students develop motivation, and it is so effective that they all pass each standard by the end of the year despite having literacy instruction in English for the first time. It is important to question, though, why she was so deeply troubled by the work of it that she was reduced to tears.

By calling the history of emotions in education gendered, Boler (1999) specifies that it is women who are designated as the caring police, the ones charged with the emotional labor of teaching. Doris’s moment bears this out. In the above example of the caring police, Doris is policing her students’ emotions as well as her own by drawing heavily on the skill-based discourse of science and efficiency that “domestic scientists” are expected to rely on to address social issues (Boler, 1999) – in this instance illiteracy. Doris works to turn her students’ worry and shame into pride, excitement, and an invested feeling. She does this through attending to their emotions and trying to stave off the negative ones: “don’t worry” because I have a plan to help you. She also works to cultivate positive emotions and ultimately motivation through promoting fun: stickers, celebrations, and colored markers all served to build excitement.

Doris also indicates that she monitors her own emotions, but does not detail how she does this. She mentions her inner voice that threatens to pull her into despair by

reminding her of which students had not passed which standards: *there would be at the same time maybe an inner voice, "this child has passed zero standards."* To police her emotions and avoid the trap of despair, she immediately shifts to the positive outcome of all of her students passing all of the standards to gloss over the emotional work she had to do for herself. In a single utterance, she transitions from her threatening inner voice to the safety of a positive outcome: *But it turned out every single child in my class passed every single standard. We had 100 percent passing.* To keep the despair from overcoming her, she seems to turn to a discourse of science and data to rationally break into chunks the task of helping all of her students pass all of the standards. This discursive move allows her to talk productively about data, evidence, standards, and strategies. Ultimately, though, when the scientific discourse of data and measurement clashed with the invested, excited, and hard-working emotions of her student Alex, her despair surfaced and she was left crying in her driveway.

When a pedagogy of emotional control goes unacknowledged, questions about why a teacher is teaching what she is; what is being given up so that these particular students can pass these tests; and who does not have to give up those things go unasked. Yet her pedagogy is superb. Again, Doris is in the middle manager position where it is not her job to ask, but if these questions go unasked, inequitable education persists. As a teacher in the middle, her job is to just teach what she is told to and then deal with the emotional conflict of it in her driveway when she gets home.

Outlawed Anger

Alison Jaggar (1989) first wrote about outlaw emotions in a chapter on emotions in feminist epistemology. Outlaw emotions are counter to the emotions that would be socially acceptable in any given situation, and Jaggar contrasts them with “conventional emotions,” which work to maintain the status quo. Outlaw emotions stem from an embodied epistemological stance and they are potentially psychologically damaging to experience in isolation and/or potentially affirming and productive if experienced with other like-minded counter-culture individuals.

Outlaw emotions “may also enable us to perceive the world differently from its portrayal in conventional descriptions” (Jaggar, 1989, p. 161), and thus form the basis for the development of a more critical consciousness. This critical consciousness would come from making “subversive observations that challenge dominant conceptions of the status quo” (p. 161). Although Jaggar identifies this potential of outlaw emotions, she also provides a caveat that one must be at least open to developing a critical consciousness before experiencing the outlaw emotion. “Outlaw emotions stand in a dialectical relation to critical social theory: at least some are necessary to develop a critical perspective on the world, but they also presuppose at least the beginnings of such a perspective” (p. 160). Indeed, if a woman is not ready to wake up to the experience of oppression, then she may never realize that she is experiencing an outlaw emotion, or more concerning, she may internalize the blame for feeling something so inappropriate. Furthermore, if an implicit aspect of a woman’s job is to self-monitor her own emotions, her outlaw emotions may go undetected.

Florence’s moment offers a glimpse at how the self-policing of emotions can rewrite how a woman experiences a situation. Florence “outlaws” her anger and in the process, transforms it into guilt and disappointment. I crafted a summary of Florence’s emotionally evocative classroom moment by synthesizing information from her video lived experience description, subsequent interviews, and collective conversations.

Florence’s Moment

Florence was teaching middle and high school English learners at a newcomer center, which was located in the district’s central office building. She was isolated from other teachers and colleagues. She had a full class of 6th-12th grade students who were with her all day every day. On this particular day, she had a ceramic bowl that a friend of hers had made sitting on her teacher desk at the back of the classroom waiting to be used to heat up her lunch. She looked up sometime late in the morning and noticed the bowl gone, and she snapped. She got angry, stopped what she was doing, addressed the whole class, and threatened to keep the students from lunch if her bowl did not reappear.

Florence strongly suspected one particular student who sat close to her desk and who she distrusted. After turning her back to write something on the board, she heard the clink of the fork in her bowl. She turned around to see the bowl back on her desk. She then confronted the student she suspected, accusing him of stealing the bowl, in front of everyone, which he denied. She decided to keep that particular student and one other back from lunch to have a more private conversation. She was beginning to feel some guilt about getting so angry in front of her students and signaling the one student out, so she kept back the second student because she reasoned that he would not mind since he was often in trouble and did not seem to care. The student she suspected, she characterized as a liar and admitted that she had a gut reaction to stay away from him. The other student, she characterized as an honest troublemaker – he admitted when he did something, so she described feeling some respect for that student based on his honesty.

The class, with the exception of Florence and the two students, went to lunch. Florence confronted the suspect again, but this time in a less heightened tone and out of the sight of the rest of the class. He still did not confess, but his body language had shifted. Instead of appearing to clown around and coyly respond to her accusations as he had been doing in front of the class, he stood tall, looked down, and continued to deny them. Florence suspected this type of body language was a kind of survival skill the student had developed.

Florence got her bowl back, but felt as though she had failed in taking advantage of the moment to teach about character.

Florence talked extensively and ambivalently about her moment. She described her emotions as both ashamed and disappointed in herself as well as comfortable with having shown her students something authentic of herself. In the three excerpts from multiple interviews that follow, Florence talks about monitoring her own emotions, monitoring the emotions of her students, and the disappointment at missing an opportunity to model and teach about respect to her students. This first excerpt describes her frustration at herself for not more strictly policing her own anger in her classroom.

Florence: I'm in front of the classroom, and I stop my instruction and am throwing a temper tantrum about my fucking bowl. It's like that's not what I want the kids to do when they get upset about something, you know?

Kelly: Why not?

Florence: I mean, I don't know, cause it's distracting cause there are so many of them.

Kelly: Distracting from what?

Florence: From yeah, what? Some task I was assigning or that they were supposed to be working at. Oh, I see what you're getting at.

Kelly: I'm sorry

Florence: No, I mean it's good. They're good questions. It's just like as much as there's this community feel to the classroom, there's also like a time. And working with students who come from a very traditional classical schooling, like they expected worksheets and textbooks and sitting in rows and teaching in front of them all day talk talk talking. When I put them in groups and left them alone to do something, they didn't know what to do with themselves, you know? So I was like training them to be not just English, but like, "this is what you'll see in the US schools. It's not just teacher in front of you." I mean sometimes it is...

It's just, I have let plenty of kids have temper tantrums or tantrums or get their shit out, but when it takes an entire class period this goes back to like respecting other people, right? Other students may actually want to do something academic that day or like learn something or they had worked on something they wanted feedback on, and you have a kid having this emotional thing and distracting

everyone and getting everyone's attention, which is what I was doing. I had like stopped teaching, stopped everyone from working, and made this giant announcement that nobody was going to lunch, you know? It's like it's fine. And in retrospect, it's fine to ask that. Like I said before, it makes you more human to these kids to know that you also have a breaking point and that you also react in certain ways.

So maybe I did show them something that day that like, "look, I can do this and then I'm gonna go take a breather, we're all gonna go take a breather, and then I'm gonna come back and we're gonna keep moving forward, you know, or sideways or whatever direction we're moving." But in the moment you're just like, "ga! Why did I get like that? Why did I act like that?" And like, "I can't even talk to you right now. I'm just like so exhausted" (Florence interview 7/25/2017, 38:40-41:55).

In this excerpt, Florence justifies her desire for calm and order in the classroom through the discourse of efficiency. She cites time and the number of students in the room as demanding some level of student self-control so that the classroom can function as a classroom for all students in it. She then shifts her rationale to a moral discourse citing respect for others in the learning community as a rationale for student self-control. In the midst of this rationale, she inserts herself as the one who disrupted the classroom environment breaking efficiency and disrespecting her students in the process. She equates her behavior to that of a young child by calling it a temper tantrum, but comes around to finding some potential moral benefit to her behavior. She modeled for students how it is possible for an adult to make *the mistake of getting emotional*, jeopardizing the efficiency and respect of a group, but can then take a break, recover, and return to her proper role as teacher.

Although she fails to "police" her own emotions during the moment, her self-policing is evident in how she views her behavior. She calls it a tantrum and derisively says her "fucking bowl" was the cause, signaling its insignificance. She is disappointed

and ashamed that she was not able to control her anger in the moment. Although Florence comes around to finding some value in showing her emotions to her students during class, the value is not in what those emotions may signal about the situation. The value is that she is able to *recover* from becoming emotional. She is showing that teachers are human and make mistakes, but she is also showing that demonstrating emotions is a mistake reinforcing the ideal of the disembodied teacher (Stutelberg, 2016). If Florence had a different approach to her embodied emotions available to her, how might the value of that knowledge be transformed from modeling a recovery from emotions to a recognition that some aspect of her relationships with her students was breached during this moment?

When teachers acknowledge their own bodies in the classroom and seek to honor the bodies and embodied knowledge of their students, they violate the convention that docile, schooled bodies ought to be invisible, neutral, and denied. Perhaps this is the most resistant and radical work that teachers can do: to be and remain in their bodies and to find openings for bodies to be vibrant material in the classroom (Stutelberg, 2016, p. 3).

Stutelberg's work suggests that this recognition of embodied emotion as valid and important is an orientation towards more equitable pedagogy.

In the next excerpt, Florence talks about how she failed to police the emotions of her student because she was not in the right state of mind. She was not able to control her own emotions, so she was not able to control her students' either. She expresses her failure to deliver a moral lesson about respecting others.

Kelly: You pulled those two aside, and you said, "not being in the right state of mind to reprimand and have a conversation about the disrespect." What would you describe as being in the right state of mind?

Florence: I guess what I meant was that my anxiety and my stress had elevated. And I was in a very, this is going to be very interesting, I was in a very emotional state of mind. I was not in a logical state of mind, which is very interesting cause like maybe I was in this more feminine state of mind than this masculine state of mind...

I wanted to be teaching them how to respond to somebody who had disrespected you. And I felt that I was probably going a little too like, just being really kind of snappy. And I wasn't going to be productive, you know, cause people don't like to be snapped at. They don't like to get yelled at. They don't respond to that type of stuff...So I think that I was just so exhausted from the elevated like emotion, you know? And realizing that it was a fucking bowl. It wasn't a big deal in the scheme of things, you know, like the way I reacted...

But the right state of mind is where you can, I guess what I'm imagining is had I come off of that anxiety high or that stress high and been able to relax and try to understand both sides, whereas it was an attack on me. I was feeling a victim of something. It was like, "oh, ok. What's going on here? Why do you need this attention?" would have been what I think I was referring to as the right state of mind (Florence interview 7/25/2017, 25:18-28:15).

Florence identifies the right state of mind as logical and masculine, one that would have allowed her to "understand both sides" of the situation and not feel like such a victim. The discourse she uses on emotion to describe the failure she felt in turning this moment into a productive moral lesson reifies the different expectations of women and men. She implies that in order to be effective in helping her students understand the disrespect that she felt, she should have taken on a more masculine state of mind. Her "feminine" and emotional response triggered an angry response which, according to her, was unproductive because people do not like to be yelled at. This image of an angry snappy teacher does not fit with the caring and nurturing mother figure that she envisions. I am left wondering if a male teacher's anger is more acceptable and respected in the classroom.

Florence is explicit that she wishes she had better controlled her emotions and had come off her “anxiety high” and “relaxed.” She rationalizes that in her emotional mental state she missed what her students really needed in that moment - attention.

Paradoxically, Florence provides her students with undivided direct attention when she stops her teaching to address her missing bowl, though she does not recognize her response as providing attention.

The following excerpt is an example of Florence expressing regret at her failure to deliver a character/moral lesson. She is referring to the part of the moment when she kept two students back from lunch to confront them.

Florence: I was more upset about the way I reacted and the way I presented myself in front of all the kids that I actually didn't have a plan for what I was going to say to them. I just was like making a point by saying you all need to stay back. So in retrospect, I think about this a lot, because it's like one of those moments where it was this gut reaction to get really upset. And I was really sarcastic with them, and they were English language learners, you know? I don't know how much they actually are understanding the words, but I knew they were understanding my sentiment. They're old enough to know that she's pissed.

And so I just knew that it was one of those moments where I did not handle that well. I don't think I got any resolution out of it except for getting my bowl back. I don't think I like changed the way this kid thinks, you know, or is going to react or act in the world. I didn't do anything to help this kid make choices or whatever. I was just so lost in myself and feeling disappointed in myself that I couldn't even figure out what to do.

Kelly: Something that struck me right at the end, though, is how you were saying there's no outcome of this. You had no plan other than to prove a point, other than getting your bowl back. And I'm thinking, "well that's a pretty good outcome," which is kind of like the point, right? And then you add on you didn't change how the student thought about something. You didn't change how he would react. And then I thought, "well, if you're really going by what a teacher does, like you've got a lesson objective and you meet that by," that kind of thing, all of that other stuff is not part of it. But clearly that's important to you. There's some message out there that we need to be teaching the whole student and values

and morality and stuff when technically we're not. But we still feel that sense of urgency to.

Florence: Right, like going back to being a social worker. It's like we're not just content teachers...you're also this life coach. I don't know what it is, but you are somebody who this child sees all day. I mean in this situation these kids saw me all day every day, you know? I was like their other grown up in their life, and I wanted them to know somebody who cared about them and who would treat them with respect so that they can then do that to others, you know? It's this whole give and take, but it was an authentic moment. They saw all kinds of Florence breaking down (Collective Conversation 8/20/2017, 6:53-11:09).

The perception of a lack of outcome that Florence expresses is important. It implies that her role in the classroom shifted. In the moment she shares, she starts in the role of teacher, shifts out of it momentarily with her “tantrum,” then shifts back into teacher mode when she tries to teach a moral lesson about how to be respectful. Her emotional outburst – the force that moved her out of teacher mode and into her body was driven by emotions, a “gut reaction” to reclaim her personhood and her personal needs – was brief. Jaggar describes outlaw emotions as coming out of a feminist and alternative epistemological consciousness – our “gut-level awareness” (p. 161) in a similar way that Florence describes how she recognized her initial anger. As she shifted back into teacher mode, her guilt and shame for having momentarily stepped out of it eclipsed the initial anger she felt and, ultimately, the original purpose for the outburst – getting her bowl back. She outlaws her anger and in the process, transforms it to guilt.

Florence could not express anger over being a victim because that contradicts the image of teacher/mother. Anger itself may not be outlawed, but that particular cause may be – the teacher/mother as victim. And that is gendered. Boler (1999) shows how the negative effects of anger are considered different for boys and girls. “Preventing boys

from expressing anger is discursively framed as being for the boy's own benefit; for girls, emotional control is especially for the benefit of others" (p. 34). Teachers, in the early 20th century were instructed to placate boys' anger by rationalizing the harmful effects anger can have on them. Anger "exhausts the energy, gives pain," and may be perceived by others as "short madness" (Boler, 1999, p. 34). For girls and women, however, anger detracts from their ability to care for others. Through the control of emotions like anger, girls are given the message that their needs are secondary to those of the other, whether that other is their family, society, or whoever happens to be in the argument. If a woman responds with anger in the classroom, she becomes ineffective, not doing her job of understanding her students' side of the story and acting out of emotion rather than logic.

The fact that Florence operated without a plan seems to be a large part of what upset her about this moment. Coffee (2016), in her autoethnographic study of a teaching moment, found that she used organization and the appearance of preparedness through neatly collated and stacked materials to help justify her presence as a white teacher in a classroom of indigenous students. Florence is a white teacher of newcomer English learners, many of whom were unaccompanied minors from Central America. She sees her role not only as a teacher of English, but a teacher of American school culture, and another grown up in her students' lives. The need for her to appear prepared, knowledgeable, and caring is important to her as a way to demonstrate and model respect as well as build relationships with her students.

An important idea that has come out of this analysis is that a woman teacher is unable to feel like a victim. Anger from victimization is outlawed and its appearance

threatens the teacher's authority and legitimacy. This control of emotions, and anger in particular, jeopardizes a teacher's ability to see alternative perspectives more easily. By monitoring her own emotions and transforming her anger into guilt and disappointment, Florence stays within the bounds of what is expected of her as a teacher – a desire to maintain orderliness and instill character and moral lessons in her immigrant students.

A Feminist Awakening

“I think I began at this point to feel that politics was not something ‘out there’ but something ‘in here’ and of the essence of my condition” (Adrienne Rich, 1979 quoted in Boler, 1999, p. 115).

The days, weeks, and months following my daughter's birth were filled with complete wonder, isolation, desperation, and anger for me. My anger was diffuse and hard to place initially. Now that time has passed, I can point to policies and cultural attitudes about women's role in raising children and discrepancies between national parental leave policies as part of the cause. And I can point to the vastly different experiences that my husband and I had in those early weeks that I was not prepared for. I was starting to realize in an embodied sense the hurt that can come from being a woman in a patriarchal society. I was also starting to realize that this pain was unnecessary, and I got angry.

Ahmed (2004b) links wonder, feminist awakening, and anger in *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*.

Wonder is what brought me to feminism; what gave me the capacity to name myself as a feminist. Certainly, when I first came into contact with feminism, and began to read my own life and the lives of others differently, everything became surprising. At the time, this felt like moving out of false consciousness, though now I see that I was not moving into the truth as such, but just towards a reading

that explained things better. I felt like I was seeing the world for the first time, and that all that I took for granted as given – as a question of the way things are – had come to be over time, and was contingent. It is through wonder that pain and anger come to life, as wonder allows us to realise that what hurts, and what causes pain, and what we feel is wrong, is not necessary, and can be unmade as well as made. Wonder energises the hope of transformation, and the will for politics (p. 181).

Ahmed's recognition that wonder started her off on her feminist awakening verifies Jaggar's claim that outlaw emotions are in a dialectical relationship with critical consciousness. For a woman to experience a feminist awakening, she has to be open to experiencing an outlaw emotion and willing to be curious about it. Wonder encompasses that openness and curiosity.

Bartky (1990) writes phenomenologically about feminist consciousness. She identifies a catalyzing moment, event, or experience that, in some sense, creates a feminist. I am now recognizing that the postpartum mood disorder that I was experiencing was intricately linked to my feminist awakening. The undirected anger that welled up in me and burst forth as sobs in the shower may have been caused, in part, by dis-regulated hormones, or maybe they were expressions of some outlaw anger I was experiencing as I bodily became aware of the sexism that is tightly wound up inside of me and my relationships. My wondering has helped me shift my thinking. Maybe the high incidences of postpartum mood disorders are misdiagnosed as a hormonal issue. Perhaps it can be explained as a social wound that is opened up through the profound transformation women may undergo through childbirth.

I do not want to minimize the reality of postpartum mood disorders. They are very real, and it was very real for me. Whatever the label (postpartum mood disorder or

feminist awakening), I was suffering after the birth of my daughter. I would still have needed support – help rocking my baby, someone to talk to, time to cry and heal – but the cause would have been different. Reframing my postpartum experience as a feminist awakening rather than a mood disorder lets me shift blame off of myself. Rather than something wrong with my biological woman body, my anger and its effects were a reckoning with the perceived deficiency of my sociocultural body.

In the days just after my daughter's birth, I was reminded in a number of ways that everything wasn't about me. And firmly even today, I absolutely believe that at that moment, yes, it should have been all about me. I'm realizing now, and on the verge of tears, that what was/is so enraging about that time was that the woman is not cared for at the precise moment when she needs it the most, the immediate days after giving birth. She is expected to care, and really no one has the expected role to care for her. Men are expected to provide, but not care for. We can pay doulas for that now, but we have to pay for that. In those days of acute crisis for me, when I felt the literal shortness of breath and tightness of chest constantly, when my family was visiting for the special event of the birth of my daughter, I was reminded that it was not about me (Post-reflexion journal, 1/2/2018).

Postpartum depression (PPD) is a catchall term for the variety of mood disorders that up to one in five women experience after giving birth (Kleiman & Raskin, 2013).

“There is conclusive evidence that depression in the postpartum period is common and there is some evidence that it may be more common than at other comparable times in a woman's life” (O'Hara, 2009, p. 1259). This term excludes conditions such as postpartum psychosis, but includes all other postpartum psychological reactions from stress to anxiety and depression (Kleiman & Raskin, 2013). This catchall term PPD is really a misnomer. The variety of mood disorders represented are actually syndromes. “In medicine, a ‘syndrome’ refers to those illnesses for which a specific single cause is not known and that have a very typical pattern of symptoms clustering together” (p. 4). Some

potential causes of PPD include a predisposition for depression, hormonal imbalance, traumatic birth experience, chronic sleep deprivation, and isolation from friends and family among other factors. What is not typically included in the potential causes of PPD is the development of a critical feminist consciousness.

In her phenomenology of feminist consciousness, Bartky (1990) works to define a feminist consciousness as having particular characteristics including a) developing after a personal transformation, b) having distinctively feminist ways of perceiving, and c) changing her behavior in some way as to reflect this new consciousness (e.g. making new friends, changing habits of consumption, or pursuing a particular career). In my case, I have decided to write my dissertation on the topic. It is hard for me to imagine a more drastic and life-altering event than childbirth that could condense a general feeling of wanting equality for women to an intense feminist consciousness that demands action from its bearer or threatens to consume her with anger. “Feminist consciousness is a little like paranoia, especially when the feminist first begins to apprehend the full extent of sex discrimination and the subtlety and variety of the ways in which it is enforced” (Bartky, 1990, p. 18). This is what I believe I was experiencing after the birth of my daughter – an anger that I could not quite place on a specific object until delving into the feminist writings on emotions for this dissertation.

In the following excerpts that began two months after my daughter was born, I was realizing the physicality of caring for a newborn and was starting to wonder about social pressures that may have been contributing to my exhaustion. I was also beginning to wonder about how my experience may have differed from women of color or women

who were experiencing financial insecurity. My personal life as a mom was intersecting with the research I was doing on reading embodied emotions of white, middle-class women teachers towards anti-oppressive pedagogy. If I had not been researching embodiment, I am sure that I would not be using the word body so much in these excerpts from my post-reflexion journal. These excerpts show how the readings and theories that I was reading on emotion, embodiment, and white femininity worked their way into my experience as a new mom. It also shows the opposite - how my experience as a new mom worked its way into my academic work.

9/29/16

For a year, I have been grounded in bodywork both in my research interest and in my personal life. Trying to get pregnant, being pregnant, birthing a baby, and caring for a newborn are unbelievably body-centric. I understand now what people mean when they refer to the exhaustion of having a newborn. It's not just the sleepiness. That's part of it, but only a fraction of the exhaustion I am feeling. It's the total body exhaustion of always being physically on call. There is no moment when a mom's body is not primed for action even if she is physically separated from her baby. This alert body state (alert applying to the body only, not necessarily the mind) is only compounded with the knowledge that there really is no end to it for a very long time. I fantasize about getting under a warm soft blanket and letting my body relax. The closest I can get to that is getting in the shower with the vent turned on so I cannot hear the outside world.

10/18/16

My first few years in grad school, I would take the bus to campus. Often, I would see mothers carting their child or children with them on the bus with all the things needed to keep those children warm and clean. Sometimes it looked easy if the weather was warm and sunny and if the child was a little bit older. Sometimes, especially since we were in Minnesota, it looked damn near impossible. I would marvel, at the time, at how complicated it all looked - maneuvering the stroller up onto the bus without the ramp being lowered with another child following behind and groceries piled high. Now that I have my own child, I am in complete awe of these women, because it was always women. I have struggled in my own way to leave my house with my newborn to take care of basic errands or make it to well-baby appointments at the pediatrician. I should clarify; I have struggled leaving the warm and secure house that my husband and I had recently purchased in a safe neighborhood, getting my daughter strapped into her safety-tested car seat

and clipping it into the car seat base in the crossover vehicle we bought when we learned she would be joining us, and driving to whatever it was we had set out to do. My white, middle-class body has struggled to do these things. The bodies on the buses, marked by brown skin and layers of blankets rather than warm coats in winter are also struggling to do these things.

I wonder how much parents sacrifice their bodies for their children, and how different it might be for bodies of color and/or bodies living in poverty or working class. In what ways do I not have to sacrifice my body for my daughter since I started out with white skin, middle-class markers, and the advantage of heteronormativity?

11/5/16

I've got a plan now for what I want her childcare to look like. I feel so much better having a goal in mind to work towards...

3/27/17

[Coffee, 2016] writes about showing love and care through soreness of muscles and hard physical work with the body (p. 36). Is this what bothers me so much about caring for my little one? Is it that I feel like I shouldn't be doing this work, or more that I feel like I should be doing this work and I don't really feel capable? I think it's the latter. I think I am so thoroughly middle class, conditioned in elite feminism, that I am having trouble actually physically doing the work necessary to take care of her. This feels so contradictory to me because I am in good physical health, I know how to use, move, and take care of my body. Yet I feel shame and confusion about how other women seem to be able to "effortlessly" (though I know that's not true) take care of their children. They can hold and rock them to sleep, carry them in their car seats. This brings me back to being amazed at that one mom who carried her infant in the seat all the way up to the weigh-in on the third floor of the clinic building. I needed the stroller.

11/27/17

HOLY SHIT. I just googled "postpartum mood disorder as feminist awakening" and got nothing really. Reading a blog post though, I came across this sentence, "Never in my life had I considered going on medication to treat a mood disorder...But this time was different. This time I had a whole family, and their feelings to consider." - I could also read and interpret this as, "so I had to really stay in line, play the game, and follow the rules so as not to jeopardize them" (<https://www.xojane.com/healthy/why-i-started-taking-medication-for-my-postpartum-depression?page=2>). If that's not some pastoral control, I don't know what is...Seriously, what would happen if women thought of this particular disorder as an outlaw emotion instead of a disorder??? First off, it wouldn't be her fault. Yes, there would still be a very real problem, but a social one, not one

only in her. Could this then lead to some paralysis though when realizing that you can't single-handedly change social problems?

As I'm typing all this I feel like I want to cry all over again. I feel a rush in my chest, a tightening, another anger. I had the urge to swear as I'm realizing what may be going on. The rise in conversation about postpartum mood disorders (which are experiences that have very very real effects on people and their lives!), could be just yet another way that women's experiences become explained away (at best) and used to perpetuate marginalization (at worst). I think this was part of the reason my experience was so bad. I had a sense of this injustice, but didn't know how to name it. I was naming all the other aspects of injustice that I acutely felt (issues of parental leave; so much physically/mentally demanded of the woman in disproportionate amounts; no one to really care for her; lost wisdom of childbirth and rearing; lack of support from being separated from family and other close networks).

Precisely the moment women may acutely feel societal injustices of sexism, they are called to manage the monumental task of fostering new life into the world. The timing of these two life transforming experiences is critical and pivotal.

Adjustment syndrome...I felt such relief when it had a name (Post-reflexion journal).

Fisher and Good (2004) studied anger, feminist consciousness, and psychological distress from a psychological lens. In their study, they recognize that “political consciousness” has both “positive and painful effects” (p. 437). They hypothesize that anger could mediate the potential psychological distress claimed by many feminists. “Feminist therapists have long recognized that as people develop critical consciousness about social injustices, they are likely to feel angry and upset, perhaps depressed, anxious, or both” (Fisher & Good, 2004, p. 439).

Taylor, writing in 1996, details a sociological study of postpartum support groups that she labels as part of feminist self-help groups. She finds that despite critiques of their insularity, they can provide a space for resisting dominant gender norms.

When a mother feels and expresses anger toward the very persons she is expected to love and cherish, she is resisting strong gender norms. When she admits depression rather than basks in maternal satisfaction and pride, or guilt when the bonding she anticipates does not come automatically, or anxiety in connection with the enormous responsibilities of caring for her family, *she abandons the script of American motherhood* (p. 174, emphasis added).

Taylor openly questions why “mainly white and middle-class women” would push the medical community to recognize postpartum “distress” as a medical condition. “How are we to understand the fact that thirty years after the modern women’s movement set out to erase biological justifications for women’s disadvantages, some women appear to be embracing psychiatric explanations of the distresses of motherhood” (p. 29)? I did, ultimately, seek therapy, and it helped to the extent that I got a name for what I was experiencing – adjustment syndrome. But what ultimately helped me move past the period of overwhelming anxiety and episodes of crying to myself was finding more consistent childcare.

If my PPD was, indeed, caused in part by a feminist awakening as characterized by Bartky, then anger could have helped to mitigate the psychological distress I was feeling. “Anger becomes feminist anger when it involves the perception that the persistent importuning endured by one woman is a single instance of a widespread pattern of sexual harassment” (Jaggar, 1989, p. 160). I was angry at the lack of support new mothers receive from a society that has invested in the promise of chasing opportunity, hard-work, and individuality. The exhaustion I was feeling was not just my own, but a symptom of a social disinvestment of women. If I had actually recognized the anger and not tried to discredit it or treat it as merely a symptom, how might I have fared differently?

If I had not been immersed in feminist writings like Boler's social control of emotion, Jaggar's outlaw emotions, and Ahmed's affective economies, I may have been more susceptible for the fix of medication to mitigate the distress I was feeling and potentially mitigate my feminist awakening. I want to be clear that I do not mean to suggest that PPD is a feminist awakening in all women who experience it. Nor am I suggesting that medication is merely a way for a patriarchal society to squash feminist awakenings right at the moment when women may be most apt to experience one. Even now as I write this theory about PPD potentially being linked with feminist awakenings, I wonder if I should have sought more aggressive medical treatment beyond counseling.

Fisher and Good (2004) draw on other studies that suggest that the psychological distress caused by a newly developing critical consciousness may be more acute in more privileged people⁴. Quoting scholarship from Laura Brown in 1994, "Especially with relatively more privileged clients, feminist therapy 'will temporarily induce distress where formerly there was comfort and acceptance . . . and those forms of distress are construed as a good outcome of the therapeutic relationship'" (p. 439). Fisher and Good are referring to the potential mental distress caused by a beginning awareness of social

⁴ It is important to acknowledge that prevalence of PPD is higher in minority women and women experiencing financial hardship than in white, financially-secure women. Segre, O'Hara, Arndt, and Stuart (2007) found PPD to be more prevalent in mothers with low incomes compared to more affluent mothers. Howell, Mora, Horowitz, and Leventhal (2005) found that African American and Hispanic women are at higher risk for reporting early symptoms of PPD in an interview study of women who had given birth two to six weeks prior. Similarly, Rich-Edwards et al. (2006) also found African American and Hispanic mothers at greater risk for reporting symptoms of PPD, but they isolate financial hardship as one of the main factors. Once financial hardship along with other factors such as unwanted pregnancy, symptoms of depression during pregnancy, and poor pregnancy outcomes were accounted for, there was no difference in prevalence of PPD in relation to race. In another study on the prevalence of PPD by sociodemographic factors, Liu and Tronick (2013) found a similar pattern with African American and Hispanic mothers suffering from PPD at higher rates. They also found that Asian/Pacific Islander women to be the most likely to receive a diagnosis of PPD.

injustices, which intuitively makes sense that a group of people whose identities match the dominant “unmarked” identities of power would not recognize it until there was a reason to.

Through my analysis of phenomenological material related to my postpartum depression and feminist readings, I show how it would be possible to suppress an awakening in the domestic realm and I wonder about the possibility of a similar suppression through emotional control in schools. If schools are sites of perpetuating inequitable society, they should also be where these inequities are resisted. For this to happen, our mostly white, middle-class woman teaching pool needs to have a developing critical consciousness. If teachers’ emotions are controlled in the classroom, this development may be suppressed.

Boler writes about the social control of emotions in education, and I extend her theory to show how this control may be used to suppress a developing critical consciousness. The social control of emotions implies that there are gendered, raced, and classed emotional scripts to follow in order to belong to the dominant ways of being. The idea of social control of emotions does not, itself, suppress an awakening to an awareness of sociocultural differences and inequities. Indeed, the PPD I experienced happened in the midst of realizing the contradictions between how I wanted to be, what I felt was expected of me, and how I actually felt. The mitigation of this conflict came from the medical label, and I actually did feel slightly better knowing that what I felt had a name. However, this diagnosis implicitly suggested that something was wrong with me (and

maybe I was hormonally imbalanced) but not with society and its impossible expectations of me.

Similarly, the social control of emotions in the classroom means that there are scripts teachers should follow to be seen as good and effective. These scripts are also gendered, raced, and classed just as they are in homes. Although these scripts do not necessarily suppress a critical sociocultural awakening or an anti-oppressive pedagogy themselves, the reaction or response to deviations from them do. One signal of these deviations is a conflicted emotional response. Ignoring those emotions or explaining them away is similar to suppressing an awakening by being misdiagnosed as hormonally imbalanced.

The effects of anger and mental distress are real and potentially very harmful. Efforts to disrupt status quo education can also be very harmful as Deliofsky (2010) shows attempts to deviate from cultural scripts may be punished. A current example of this punishment is the publication of a Minnesota high school English teacher's address, phone number, and a call to enact violence against her on a white supremacist website because she supported what they called the "indoctrination" of students. This controversy started when another teacher at her school wrote an editorial in the school's newspaper after Donald Trump won the presidential election telling students that students of all colors and religions were welcome at the school. Conservative media picked up and critiqued the article labeling it indoctrination resulting in negative emails to the author, and a threat of violence to his coworker. It is important to note that the call for violence

and the publication of the personal information was directed at the female teacher even though she did not write the editorial (Wastvedt, 2018).

The choice to recognize emotions and go “off script” is a serious one, but for white, middle-class women teachers, it is still hard to even see that there is a choice. White, middle-class women teachers are choosing between a comfortable and easy social inequality or a difficult and dangerous disruption. This is the narrative I am building and, as Ahmed says, this is not truth but a way of reading the world that seems to fit better. This reading of PPD as a potential suppression of a feminist awakening leaves me with a question. In what ways might a feminist awakening, or a developing critical consciousness, be suppressed by the social control of emotions in schools?

Conclusion

This chapter follows the philosophy of post-intentional phenomenology in that the phenomenon under investigation manifests in varied and rhizomatically connected bursts (Vagle, 2018). That is, the manifestations are all intentionally connected with the phenomenon, but may not have a clearly visible “above-ground” link between them. The feminization of teaching and the social control of emotions serve as overarching themes under which I placed each of these textual expressions of the phenomenon. There are a number of other directions that I could have chased the phenomenological material to craft a different narrative about white, middle-class women educators reading embodied emotions (e.g. the thread of meritocracy and social class that is stitched through the moments in this study and my post-reflexion journal but not expanded on in this writing).

The idea of the teacher/mother bound up in white femininity is so pervasive that it bears particular attention.

Teachers, especially white women teachers, must better understand the role that this discourse may be playing in how they think about their pedagogy. In the following chapter, I put the big ideas to work from this and the previous chapter (e.g. teacher/mothers, teacher bots, the necessary emptiness of teacher/mothers, the caring police, outlaw emotions, and feminist awakenings) to wonder and theorize about how white women teachers may work towards anti-oppressive pedagogy while embodying symbols of power.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

The six textual expressions presented in chapters four and five are intentionally connected through the phenomenon of white, middle-class women educators reading their embodied emotions. These manifestations do not tidily offer a description of white women's lived experiences of reading their emotions, nor do they offer clear directives as to how teachers, teacher educators, and feminist theorists should proceed with their work. Instead, they offer possible storylines, possible ways of thinking about white women, education, and the both beneficial and sordid histories and implications of those two realms.

The idea that teachers should be like white, feminine, middle-class women is pervasive. The logic that this type of woman makes an ideal teacher because she would be a caring mother of children and can model moral behavior is problematic. The trope of white, middle-class motherhood is itself rooted in white, Protestant, patriarchal values and, when lived out unreflexively, serves to perpetuate inequitable schooling. Yet white, feminine, middle-class women are the majority of our teachers and have their own skills, potentials, and wisdom to offer the field of education – including many of their experiences of motherhood.

Part of the potential of white women is in their critical mass as teachers. For instance, teachers are proving to be, once again, powerful political lobbies by striking for better working conditions, resources, and wages in places like West Virginia, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Arizona, and Colorado (Romero & Turkewitz, 2018). Although it is

somewhat anathema to their position as middle managers carrying out institutional expectations from administration while managing and leading their students, imagine what this force could do as a group of reflexive individuals. According to Deliofsky (2010), the white women who are most able to resist oppression are reflexive. “They appeared to be the most willing to peer into their lives (past and present), dig into their psyches and question their location in the world as ‘white’ women” (Deliofsky, 2010, p. 96). The purpose of this research is to add to efforts of how to go about building this reflexive capacity of teachers. In the process of doing so, I am left with two big questions to consider:

- What might it mean to care for students from an anti-oppressive discourse rather than a teacher/mother discourse?
- How might white feminine teachers enact an anti-oppressive pedagogy and be perceived as sincere in their actions while inhabiting a body that represents oppressive structures?

Using the concepts from the previous chapter, I work to create legible, though not definite, answers to these questions. I begin by searching for a feminist storyline that is in short supply in education by critiquing Nodding’s ethics of caring and marshaling Jaggar’s (1989) concept of outlaw emotions to consider methodological implications of this research. Then, I put forth a practical implication useful for teacher educators to consider concerning historicizing teacher education and harnessing the potential of the teaching philosophy as a living text for preservice teachers. Finally, I consider what it might mean to reconceive teacher/mothers as teacher/artists with Grumet’s (1988)

conception of teaching aesthetically to wonder about an important theoretical implication of this research. Before I begin with my hopeful implications of this work, it is important to acknowledge some of its drawbacks and limitations.

Caveats and Misrepresentations

This dissertation took a sharper feminist turn than I had anticipated in the midst of crafting it. Therefore, it only scratches the surface of feminist writing on the topics of motherhood, teaching, teacher/mothers, and feminist awakenings. There is certainly more out there related to these ideas (see Ahmed, 2017; Fernandes, 2003; McNish, 2016), but the scope of this dissertation ends with an opening into this direction. The purpose is to seek new possibilities and ways of thinking about anti-oppressive teaching. If I have managed to thread together a few ideas and feminist theories that help build a path towards more ideas and theories that can be woven in, I will have been successful.

The nature of post-intentional phenomenological research demands that sometimes contradictory phenomenological material be considered simultaneously. For example, I have asked you, the reader, to consider the value of the motherhood trope in education while also condemning it as a pillar in upholding patriarchal social values. Jones and Hughes (2016) encounter a similar dilemma of contradictory commitments in their study. In the following passage, they describe how in the midst of teaching their preservice teachers about anti-racist pedagogy, they constructed a stable and known identity of their white women students.

Beyond the gap between antiracist and antisexist teacher education, we suggest that under the umbrella of justice-oriented teacher education, a somewhat sedimented discourse seems to have evolved over the years surrounding the

mostly young women preservice teachers who are presumed to be both white and economically privileged: they are insufficiently prepared to teach 'diverse' (read: brown and black) youth because they have not confronted and deconstructed their own white privilege. In making such assumptions about the students sitting in front of us, we argue that a pedagogue and/or researcher submits to being in a pedagogical space of the already-known and the predictable, a space closed off from surprises. To claim that we already know who is sitting in front of us implies that we also already know what they need and what our instruction will look like, sound like, and do. Our pedagogies are decided ahead of time, our responses become recitations, and we are in danger of not being surprised by who our students are and what they can do. We become mired in repetition, even if we think that what we are repeating is admirable and seems urgent: lessons against racism and oppression (Jones & Hughes, 2016, p. 171).

Without intending, my research can be read as falling into this storyline of reading white women as already known and in need of some sort of specific change. Although this is partially what I intended, the specific change I am advocating for is not a blanket call to confess one's privilege but to approach one's teaching in a more embodied and reflexive way. The design of my research is explicit in focusing on white, middle-class women educators with the assumption that white femininity is central to the values, beliefs, and actions of this group. A more justice-oriented pedagogy, however, demands that we stay open to who are students are and what they offer which is a tricky balance.

I believe the women who offered to explore their emotions with me in this study are all excellent educators who are committed to anti-oppressive pedagogy and are successful in many of their efforts to disrupt status quo education. If I have given the impression that they are less than that, it is entirely due to my own inability to present complicated and sometimes contradictory material without insinuating some sort of negative judgment. In addition to staying open to who our students (or fellow participants) are and what they offer, I would add that a more justice-oriented pedagogy

demands that we stay open to who we may be and how the stories we tell may be read and perceived by our students and others.

Methodological Implication: Searching for Feminist Storylines in Education

The teacher/mother discourse in education is a patriarchal discourse and serves to perpetuate the middle manager position of women in education. Caring for students is important and necessary, but I question whether it must be done through the discourse of motherhood. We may lack the language necessary to even discuss how students could be cared for differently. Noddings (2012a; 2012b), a leading researcher on care ethics in education, writes extensively on care as a relational ethic, but her work does not challenge the discourse of teacher/mother in caring. Noddings discusses how a carer must set aside “her own projects” for those cared-for. “Typically on detecting an expressed need, the carer ‘feels with’ the cared-for and experiences motivational displacement; that is her motive energy is directed (temporarily) away from her own projects and towards those of the cared-for” (Noddings, 2012a, p. 53). She identifies parents of young children, teachers, and nurses as typical carers in which their energy is necessarily directed towards an other. Noddings description of a care ethics is valuable in how it highlights caring as an integral aspect of teaching, but it remains grounded in dominant narratives that perpetuate inequitable education.

Along with its value, there are important critiques of Noddings work that have been raised. Vandenberg (1996) calls her work a *feminine* ethics rather than a *feminist* ethics raising the point that Noddings writes about women’s experience, but does not challenge the general patriarchal assumptions of how carer roles and professions are

women's work. Hoagland (1990) furthers this critique of Noddings' care ethics. "A truly radical ethics will challenge not only the masculine but also the feminine, for the feminine is born of a masculine framework and so does not, at a deep level, represent any change" (p. 112). Indeed, Noddings is explicit about using the female experience as an important cornerstone of her theory. Hoagland (1990) objects to the use of mothering and other female-centered roles as a model for caring. "My central thesis is that the unidirectional nature of the analysis of one-caring reinforces oppressive institutions" (p. 109). Hoagland continues her critique of Noddings by pointing out,

If ethics is built on caring which is always other-directed, then the only time I may focus on my own goals and have that be an ethical matter is as a cared-for – when it is important to someone else that I pursue my goals as a way of having their caring received (p. 110).

When does this ever happen for women, in particular mothers and teachers? If educators are ideally teacher/mothers, then there is no one to fulfill this role of carer for the woman who is the teacher/mother.

Part of this gap in our language and discourse could be attributed to what Jones and Hughes (2016) identify as a lack of feminist storylines in education. This lack of feminist storylines in education is jarring to realize given the dominance of women in the teaching profession. However, it makes sense when viewed through the idea that women are the middle managers of education – controlling students yet controlled by administrators and the ideology of white femininity. Jones and Hughes created an intersectional study that considered race and gender in the discursive "lessons" or "storylines" that are readily available to teachers in institutional and community spaces. The authors found themselves troubled by their own lack of feminist readings of their

students' stories even though they were themselves committed to feminist pedagogies. They recognize how even within their own attempts at justice-oriented teaching, they continue to position “women in the service of others” thereby “naturalizing misogyny” (p. 186).

Jones and Hughes (2016) write about their experience working in teacher education with mostly young white women.

Positioning young white women in teacher education programs as needing to be opened up to racial consciousness presumes an already-known teacher education ‘subject’ and an already-known pedagogical ‘solution’ to the massive inequalities in US schooling that are often cited as race-based but are better (un)defined as the infinitely different ways that bodies/places/discourses/materiality come together to produce relations of power (Jones & Hughes, 2016, p. 178).

By perpetuating the narrative that women are to be in the service of others, “it seems as though the field perpetuates a historical women’s education trajectory that doesn’t align well with justice-oriented education” (Jones & Hughes, 2016, p. 177). They identify a clash between the narratives of teaching that seem to have bubbled up in the moments that were shared by Kristen, Doris, Florence, and myself in this research. This incommensurability is important. It highlights and brings out the conflicts, clashes, and resulting frustrations and fears – our emotions – in our retellings of our teaching.

When thinking about storylines—those that are more readily available, like race and racism, and those that are present but still quite suppressed in teacher education, like misogyny—we wonder who we think we are to try to diminish or ignore the experience of fear. This is the conundrum in which we find ourselves as both antiracist and feminist scholars and pedagogues—where our justice-oriented pedagogies bump up against the incommensurability of racism and misogyny (Jones & Hughes, 2016, p. 175).

One storyline that is missing is the reading of certain emotions as “outlawed” (Jaggar, 1989). Anger, for example, is not read as productive in the home or in the

classroom. It jeopardizes the calm and stable environment necessary for learning what is meant for students and children to learn. Therefore, the teacher and the mother must police their emotions to cultivate those most appropriate for nurturing. What if anger was read in a different way?

Imagine if when the heat of anger began to prickle her cheeks or when she noticed her eyes widen and settle into that think-very-hard-about-your-next-move stare, the teacher paused for a split second and recognized that her body was telling her something important. Stutelberg's (2016) study demonstrates the potential of this focus on bodies. "Teachers, by studying their own bodies, can interrupt normalizing discourses of power and oppression and recognize their participation in these narratives" (p. 119). Emotions like anger are an important source of knowledge and should be used as such. Outlaw emotions in particular (e.g. the moments when something feels disconnected, contradictory, or wrong) should be paid particular attention to. These outlaw emotions could signal an appearance of our teacher bots, the caring police, or a critical sociocultural awakening. They also provide opportunities to craft alternative storylines about our teaching.

Outlaw emotions also may serve to generate confusion or self-doubt in the individual who experiences them in isolation because they are counter to how one "should" react to a joke, event, or new headline. Experienced collectively, however, Jaggar theorizes that outlaw emotions may serve as a unifying force for "a subculture defined by perceptions, norms, and values that systematically oppose the prevailing perceptions, norms, and values" (p. 160). This is precisely why feminist consciousness-

raising efforts are so important as are racial affinity groups. Grumet's writing echoes this call for collectivity. "She cannot challenge the school's sexism and her own doubts and ambivalence alone" (Grumet, 1988, p. 86).

Outlaw emotions are most productive when experienced collectively. Therefore, a teacher who is committed to anti-oppressive pedagogy must not act in isolation. She must be willing to build a community of other committed educators in which the ruptures in the scripts of teaching that are exposed by outlaw emotions can be discussed, theorized, and ultimately used to craft anti-oppressive storylines.

Practical Implication: Historicizing Teacher Education

After writing so much about how white women's bodies are controlled through emotions, I am left wondering what the effect of this policing is having on the bodies of women who are not read as white, feminine, and financially-secure (i.e. women of color, women from working-class or poverty, or women who do not perform femininity). If institutional narratives of teaching are still grounded in white femininity, what can teacher educators do? In particular, if teacher education programs have historically taught recruits to be more like white women, how might this impact efforts to diversify the teaching pool today? These questions are important and valid because people who wanted to be teachers have been subjected to training through teacher education programs specifically designed to instill the appropriate (i.e. white, Protestant, and middle-class) values, beliefs, and practices in them (Boler, 1999).

Furthermore, efforts to increase the diversity of the teaching force have picked up recently, but their success has been limited. The pace with which the student population

is diversifying will eliminate any minimal gains recent efforts have made in diversifying the teaching pool (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). Clearly, those in leadership roles in teacher education programs have more to understand and address in their efforts to diversify the teaching pool. One practical implication of this research is the suggestion that the history of how people have become teachers matters. The feminization of teaching along with other alternative histories of teacher development such as the history of teachers' roles in black education (Watkins, 2001) are important to present to preservice teachers so that a broader understanding of what it means to be a teacher can be more easily grasped. I also suggest building off of this multiple and varied historicizing of teacher education to ground the idea of the teaching philosophy as an integral, revealing, and adaptable component of becoming and being a teacher.

Historicizing the process of becoming a teacher with preservice teachers offers a way to show the discursive nature of what it means to be a good and effective teacher. It can show how this definition changes depending on who is in power and what serves them best. For example, understanding that there was an active effort to recruit young, single, white women into classrooms because they were cheaper than male counterparts as well as supposedly more virtuous shows that this is not an innate aspect of teachers. Similarly, showing how black educators were more common in some places before the order to desegregate by the decision of *1954 Brown v. Board of Education* (Oakley, Stowell, & Logan, 2009) offers an alternative history to be shared with preservice teachers. I am not suggesting that we revert back to the racially segregated education

system we had before *Brown v. Board*. I am suggesting that understanding this history can show how ideas about good teachers are rooted in multiple and varied contexts.

If the concept of good teacher is discursively constructed, how might preservice teachers settle on what good teaching means to them? If the teacher/mother trope is problematic, what are some alternatives? I believe teacher education programs should pay more attention to helping preservice teachers create, revise, and revisit teaching philosophies as well as see them as working tools, not something to put away in a binder. A teaching philosophy is integral to the ability to teach with presence. Florence comes to this realization during an interview and describes how a teaching philosophy could give a teacher stability.

Florence: A lot of when you think about what philosophy is, like this set of ideas and this theory and this instrument, it's like an internal instrument that guides what you do and how you react and respond to things. And so it's like if you don't know what your philosophy is you're just like grasping all over the place. You know? You don't have something solid that keeps your practice together.
(Florence interview 7/25/2017, 16:50-17:21)

In the void that would be where a teacher's teaching philosophy sits, steps the teacher bot in the philosophy's absence.

Integrating a focus on one's teaching philosophy from the start of a teacher education program sends the message that a teaching philosophy is a resource to guide a teacher in cultivating a way to make important moment-to-moment decisions without completely relying on an unreflexive teacher bot. Having preservice teachers revisit their teaching philosophies throughout their program signals that it is a living text that gets analyzed and revised perpetually. Not only is it important to incorporate the teaching philosophy as a larger cornerstone to a teacher education program, but multiple and

varied ways of knowing must be welcomed and encouraged in the drafting, analyzing, implementing, and revising of the teaching philosophy. Reading embodied emotions is one such alternative approach to understanding one's beliefs and values about teaching.

Theoretical Implication: Teacher/Mother to Teacher/Artist

In her beautifully written chapter on teaching as aesthetics, Grumet (1988) compares curriculum to art. "Curriculum is, after all, artifice, deliberately designed to direct attention, provoke response, and express value; it reorders experience so as to make it accessible to perception and reflection" (p. 79). So, the teacher is, in part, an artist who attempts to make the content of standards relevant, engaging, and meaningful. Grumet also writes that the point of art is to provide a space to express the parts of us that are inexpressible in our day-to-day realities. "The things of art stand away from the things that surround them" (p. 78), and she refers to this delineation between one's reality and the artistic space as where the "line is drawn." This is the delineation between our realities as women and the selves we put forward as teachers in the classroom. She continues this comparison by showing how a teacher crosses over that line between "the actual and the possible" daily as she transitions from the demands of home life to the rituals and drama of school. But teaching is not just art.

The art of teaching invites this inspection of its boundaries and territory, for if teaching is an aesthetic experience, it is also a form of labor and an accommodation to bureaucracy. It is both subject to and extends social control in schools designed by and for professionals (Grumet, p. 78).

Therefore, I would add that teachers not only cross over the line between the actual and what is made possible by artifice, but also between the actual and artifice in all of that

word's pejorative connotations. "Artifice" conjures up images of deception and concealment. Part of the artifice of teaching can be this hiding behind a teacher bot and the ideology of white femininity embedded within it. Or it could be more hopeful and creative as teacher/artist.

Grumet writes a strong claim that "to adopt the stance of the artist is to challenge the taken-for-granted values and culture that one shares with others" (p. 81). The values and cultures that I had implicitly held as a white woman teacher prior to the feminist awakening that spurred my postpartum depression were, whether I was aware or not, in line with the values and culture of white femininity. They still are. After this awakening, I am more aware of how implicit I am, as well as my mere presence in the classroom is, in the perpetuation of oppressive social hierarchies through education. It is not enough now for me to just understand this. My understanding of this fact does nothing to alter it. My white femininity is still read by colleagues, students, families, and administration unless I work to explicitly counteract those default readings. My default teacher bot is grounded in white femininity. Unless I can take on the stance of a teacher/artist who challenges those values and culture, it will remain grounded in white femininity.

Feminist pedagogies offer insights into what teaching aesthetically could look like, but offer no prescribed guides. A prescription would be antithetical to a feminist pedagogy that recognizes the particulars of a context. Teaching aesthetically means, then, challenging the taken-for-granted practices and assumptions that pervade public education. For instance, an aesthetic approach to teaching might be to challenge the siloed and compartmentalized nature of learning by integrating content standards with

students' and communities' experiences to create culturally relevant learning opportunities. It might refuse the implicit assumptions that Standard American English is more correct than African American Vernacular English, Chicano English, or any other variety and show students examples of how different English variations have been used and valued in significant ways. An aesthetic approach to teaching might question the dominance of assessing students' learning through high-stakes multiple choice tests over authentic and meaningful student productions. Teaching aesthetically is not confined to one particular way of approaching education. There is no guidebook for how to teach aesthetically. It is a creative and critical approach to teaching. Teaching aesthetically means grounding one's teaching in a teaching philosophy that is revisited often and honed to reflect her changing attitudes and understandings about teaching. The contribution of this study is to suggest that teaching aesthetically could involve a commitment to revisit one's teaching philosophy when a significant emotional experience or conflict occurs in relation to one's teaching.

Ahmed's feminist take on emotions conveys how they are important for a teacher to consider when trying to teach aesthetically towards possibilities and an unknown future.

Emotions also open up futures, in the ways they involve different orientations to others. It takes time to know what we can do with emotion. Of course, we are not just talking about emotions when we talk about emotions. The objects of emotions slide and stick and they join the intimate histories of bodies, with the public domain of justice and injustice. Justice is not simple a feeling. And feelings are not always just. But justice involves feelings, which move us across the surfaces of the world, creating ripples in the intimate contours of our lives. Where we go, with these feelings, remains an open question (Ahmed, 2004b, p. 202).

Emotions are informative as to how we orient our white, feminine teacher bodies towards our students (i.e. those who are often the objects of our emotions). They also offer a way to understand this orientation as not fixed and stable, but as malleable and may, therefore, be a way to challenge taken-for-granted assumptions.

Teaching aesthetically is one way to approach the questions that I posed at the beginning of this chapter. What might it mean to care for students from an anti-oppressive discourse rather than a teacher/mother discourse? It means recognizing that the concept of caring is not exclusive to teachers and mothers. It means working to create more feminist ways of reading education that could offer more ways of teaching that do not follow the teacher/mother script. It means recognizing one's outlaw emotions, then becoming curious about them with a group of other educators committed to anti-oppressive pedagogy in order to create ways of caring for students that do not uphold existing power structures.

How might white feminine teachers enact an anti-oppressive pedagogy and be perceived as sincere in their actions while inhabiting a body that represents oppressive structures? To enact an anti-oppressive pedagogy as a white, feminine woman requires that we reflexively work to transform our teacher/mother image into a teacher/artist. Following Grumet's conception of aesthetic teaching, artists care too, like mothers, only their care is coming from a drive to show the possible not the drive to protect and nurture.

Conclusion

Jones and Woglom (2016) elegantly sum up the hope of my work on reading embodied emotions as a tool for self-reflection. Drawing on Guattari, they point to an

alternative - the purpose of all this potentiality may be to offer different directions in people's lives - "offering 'people diverse possibilities for recomposing their existential corporeality, to get out of their repetitive impasses and, in a certain way, to resingularize themselves'" (p. 170). I hope that reading one's embodied emotions as a way to self-reflect offers an alternative path to "recomposing their existential corporeality," a way to change up the dominant narratives that guide our thoughts, beliefs, and actions. I also think this idea of "resingularizing" oneself is an interesting way to describe the purpose of self-reflection/reflexion, a way to crawl out from under those dominant narratives of teaching if only for a moment. This is exactly what I think my study has initially shown me, that despite how much we want to "resingularize" ourselves and slough off oppressive dominant narratives, we cannot continuously live without them. Even as my participants and I espoused teaching philosophies that sometimes contradicted dominant narratives of teaching, we all inevitably fall back on those narratives to get through the day. The moments the women in this study shared, that they recalled from reading their embodied emotions, all seem to show the emotional intensity that is felt when these contradictions arise.

Those dominant narratives are there for a reason. They serve a purpose, and like normativity, are not inherently evil. They offer people a reprieve from the work of figuring out each interaction and situation as if it were new and unfamiliar. The energy necessary to live in a way that approaches each interaction and experience from a fresh standpoint untainted by the stories and scripts that guide our understanding of the world would be impossible to maintain. It is similar to watching my infant daughter grow and

learn about the world around her. In a sense, she began her life without those narratives helping her to make sense of the world – and she slept most hours of the day. It is not possible to approach our classrooms without the assumptions we make from these narratives. It is possible, and imperative that we do occasionally expend the energy necessary to be open and question these assumptions as a consistent and regular part of our practice.

The conflicted emotions we may feel in a classroom moment may be reminders that systems are inequitable, and if white, middle-class women teachers perpetuate an inequitable system, we are also available (and necessary) to disrupt that system. In fact, we must disrupt that system because we are the pillars of it. We structurally hold it up.

The ideology of white femininity centralizes itself by being the norm, thus reifying the very stability of power that equity-oriented scholars are hoping to disrupt. This is true, but it also is a sort of resignation to the problem. The grammatical structure I used in the opening sentence to this paragraph masks the agentic power of individuals within a system. “The ideology of white femininity” is doing the action in my sentence, but concepts do not center themselves. People center them. That is why referring to participants as the people in this study is so important. It is important to remember that people are part of this, and part of structures, and people have choices. They may be small, seemingly insignificant choices in the moment, but the way we orient ourselves through our moment-to-moment actions and language – through our choices – adds up to passive participation or resistance.

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Appendix A: Video Lived Experience Description Email Prompt

Dear _____,

This purpose of this email is to share my own example of a video-recorded description of an emotionally evocative moment with a student from another race and class background. It also provides some tips as to how to go about creating it, both technologically and in crafting the moment. Please share your video with me no later than the end of May 2017.

Prompt

Tell me about a time as a teacher when you felt a strong emotion (positive and/or negative) that occurred in conjunction with an interaction between you and a student, or students, from a different perceived race and/or class background. This moment could have happened recently or a long time ago.

Options to help you add some detail to your description:

- Describe the interaction
- Describe what prompted the interaction
- Describe how your body felt physically before, during, and after the interaction
- Describe the emotions you felt before, during, and after the interaction
- Describe how you perceived the bodies of the students before, during, and after this moment
- Describe the emotions you perceived the students to be feeling before, during, and after this moment

Tips on crafting your description:

- Make notes ahead of time but do not script the experience. The video should be you talking authentically about the moment. Stops, starts, stutters, pauses searching for the right words are all okay and important. This is not a final product you are creating, but just you sharing your moment in a casual and authentic way. Imagine you are telling a friend about it over a drink at a cafe.
- Keep your description just a few minutes in length. There is no need to fill a certain amount of time. If you've told all the details that you remember and you feel the memory is complete, stop there. Alternatively, if there is a lot to tell, please do so. Keep in mind, however, that you do not need to go into much analysis of what you think this all meant. That reflection piece will come later.
- If you mention students or other coworkers, please use pseudonyms.
- Include some details about the context of the moment. Where were you physically? Where was the student(s) physically? When did this moment occur during the year, during the day, during the week?

Here's an example of the notes I took as I thought about my moment. There's a tear in the paper because I used some of it to make a grocery list. There are different color inks because I took a few notes, set it aside for a while, thought some more about the moment, then came back to it. I hope that this conveys the casualness with which I encourage you to think of this moment. In other words, be detailed, but do not stress about it.

Appendix B: Emotionally Evocative Moments

I crafted the following moments by synthesizing information from each person's video lived experience description, progressive interviews, and collective conversations.

Kristen's Moment

Kristen had a student named Tom in a class for preservice teachers that centered on diversity. Tom was a white nontraditional student who switched careers to pursue an elementary education teaching license. Therefore, he was older than most of the other students and was of a similar age as Kristen. Towards the end of the semester, Tom negotiated with Kristen to change the parameters of an assignment. Kristen worked with him over several email exchanges to reach a format that would satisfy the requirements of the course she was teaching and allow him to take ownership of his assignment. The day of the assignment, Tom gave a presentation that egregiously over-extended the boundaries that he and Kristen had negotiated. He talked passed the time limit by about ten minutes, presented a one-sided view of a text he shared with his classmates, and then showed a video of a police shooting multiple-times in the small groups he led without any sort of trigger warning for students and without discussing it with Kristen ahead of time.

Kristen felt paralyzed to act in the moment and let him continue. She felt that stopping him would have made him lose-face in front of his cohort and impact his relationships with his peers for the rest of his teacher preparation. By not stopping him, she felt as though she had handed all her power over to the very thing that she was trying to decenter in her teaching – white patriarchal supremacy.

Doris's Moment

Doris was teaching third grade literacy in a dual-language program. She was teaching in English and third grade was the first year that her students had had literacy instruction in English. Doris also lived in a state where third grade students were required to pass Read to Achieve (RtA) assessments*. If they did not pass all 15 standards, they would have had to attend summer school. Doris uses assessment data to guide her standards-based instruction. She also had students keep track of their own progress in their personal notebooks where they charted their scores. Her students began to take the RtA assessments in October, and, by April, she described their progress on a class data wall as a “wall of shame.” One student in particular, Alex, was not progressing. To pass an assessment, a student needed five out of five correct. Alex consistently got a zero.

Doris had made an explicit goal for herself as she began to teach third grade. She wanted to be a “shield” rather than a “sieve” for the stress and pressure that third graders face from high-stakes testing in her state. She described third grade as “no joke” meaning students were expected to take and pass several state-mandated assessments for the first time.

On this particular day, Alex came up to Doris beaming. He was happy and wanted to celebrate his “personal victory.” He had gotten a two out of five on his latest RtA

assessment. Doris smiled along with him and agreed that he should celebrate while “dying inside” herself. She left school that day and held her emotions in until she got home to her driveway where she cried.

*RtA is a kindergarten through third grade reading policy with the goal of improving early reading skills and ending social promotion.

Florence’s Moment

Florence was teaching middle and high school English learners at a newcomer center, which was located in the district’s central office building. She was isolated from other teachers and colleagues. She had a full class of 6th-12th grade students who were with her all day everyday. On this particular day, she had a ceramic bowl that a friend of hers had made sitting on her teacher desk at the back of the classroom waiting to be used to heat up her lunch. She looked up sometime late in the morning and noticed the bowl gone, and she snapped. She got angry, stopped what she was doing, addressed the whole class, and threatened to keep the students from lunch if her bowl did not reappear.

Florence strongly suspected one particular student who sat close to her desk and who she distrusted. After turning her back to write something on the board, she heard the clink of the fork in her bowl. She turned around to see the bowl back on her desk. She then confronted the student she suspected, accusing him of stealing the bowl, in front of everyone, which he denied. She decided to keep that particular student and one other back from lunch to have a more private conversation. She was beginning to feel some guilt about getting so angry in front of her students and signaling the one student out, so she kept back the second student because she reasoned that he would not mind since he was often in trouble and did not seem to care. The student she suspected, she characterized as a liar and admitted that she had a gut reaction to stay away from him. The other student, she characterized as an honest troublemaker -- he admitted when he did something, so she described feeling some respect for that student based on his honesty.

The class, with the exception of Florence and the two students, went to lunch. Florence confronted the suspect again, but this time in a less heightened tone and out of the sight of the rest of the class. He still did not confess, but his body language had shifted. Instead of appearing to clown around and coyly respond to her accusations as he had been doing in front of the class, he stood tall, looked down, and continued to deny them. Florence suspected this type of body language was a kind of survival skill the student had developed.

Florence got her bowl back, but felt as though she had failed in taking advantage of the moment to teach about character.

Kelly’s Moment

I was in my third year teaching English learners, and I was done. I was burnt out. There was a step on the way down to my classroom that once I landed on each morning, I would feel my shoulders sink. I would often force myself to smile to try and lift up my

mood. This particular day, I was with a group of kindergartners who I classified as my “toughest but funnest group.” As I remember them now, they were my lowest proficiency group, but also some of the most engaged students, which for kindergartners means more out of control than a teacher should like. We were sitting around a kidney shaped table, five or six kids in the group, and I remember this internal monologue playing in my head. Something like: “You’ve got to stop. You sound really mean right now. They don’t deserve to hear you sound so mean. Start sounding nicer, because you sound so mean right now.” Just as I was thinking this, a little boy raised his hand, which makes me laugh because he didn’t raise his hand any other time, and said brightly, “Ms. Gast, your voice sounds like rainbows.” Even now thinking about his statement gives me pause and wonder and confusion and concern. To sound like colors is such beautiful imagery, but how is it possible that we had such different impressions of the same thing -- my voice. What were these students hearing all day long that made my voice sound like rainbows?

Appendix C: Kristen's Interview Protocols

Kristen Interview 1 (45-60 minutes)

Purpose of 1st Interview:

- To find out why the participant was interested in participating in the project;
- to get a sense of the participants' teaching and learning philosophy;
- to record a retelling of the moment with more sense-detailed description

*The phenomenon is reading embodied emotions in classroom interactions.
(pay attention to moments where I already think I know what she is saying)*

Common Questions:

1. Tell me about what interested you in this project and what you hope to get out of participating in it.
2. What principles/assumptions guide your teaching
3. In order to generate multiple versions of your moment to analyze together later, describe again the moment you shared in your video.

Kristen Specific Questions:

1. Tell me more about trying to keep a neutral face during Tom's book talk.
2. You mention trust and you pause for a long time on that word. Tell me more about what trust felt like before, during, and after this moment.
3. You talk a lot about power and losing it/giving it up. What does power here mean to you?
4. Tell me more about how you perceived the other students in the class during this moment. What did it feel like to perceive them this way?

Kristen Interview 2 (45-60 minutes)

Purpose of 2nd Interview:

- Focus on underlying assumptions, beliefs, and values of our stories and their relationship to our underlying assumptions, beliefs, and values of our teaching philosophies
- Explore connections of these assumptions, beliefs, and values to race and class

The phenomenon is reading embodied emotions in classroom interactions with students of a perceived different race and/or class background by white, middle-class women educators.

Common Questions:

1. As you think back on the video you made of your moment, our first interview, and the collective conversation we have had so far, what do you notice about your moment that seems important in regards to your teaching philosophy? **How did you recognize that as important?** (i.e. repetition, leaning in feeling, agitated/excited, etc.)

2. As you think back on the video you made of your moment, our first interview, and the collective conversation we have had so far, what do you notice about your reflections on your emotions that seem important? **How did you recognize that as important?**
3. What seems important in regards to race in your story and reflection? What is mentioned/unmentioned?
4. What seems important in regards to social class in your story and reflection? What is mentioned/unmentioned?

Kristen Specific Questions:

Neutral Face

1. What assumptions may be upholding the desire for you as the instructor to keep a neutral face during this moment?
2. What might the desire to keep a neutral face as the instructor indicate about how race and/or class was circulating through the moment?

Teacher Bot: Split from What

1. You mentioned that everything in your body wanted to stop the moment. What do you think was in conflict with your bodily desire to stop that moment that ultimately won out and allowed it to continue?
2. Later in the first interview you say, “I don’t know what was in me to do about it.” This suggests to me that split you referred to between your body and mind. It seems like your body was all in for stopping that moment, but was stopped by something, maybe your mind and a perception of some sort of lack. Imagine for a moment what possibilities may have happened if you trusted your body knowledge to stop the moment even without a plan as to how or what you would have said or done.

Conflicting Roles: Teacher or Advocate

1. You refer to your fear of losing any legitimacy as an advocate for your students of color that you may have gained. I noted that as I was listening I was surprised when you finished the phrase with “advocate” because I was anticipating “teacher.” What does the role of advocate mean to you here?
2. Thinking back on your story, what do you see as your role as the instructor at that moment?
3. What is our role as white, middle-class women in disrupting the social reproduction of education?

A Feminist Read

1. We didn’t get into this in the first interview, but I am very intrigued by this direction of a feminist reflection on the moment. You said, “the one white male in the room who is a contemporary to me in age just took over the classroom” as well as “this pisses my feminist self off.” Tell me more about what in particular pissed off your feminist self?

2. You also note that you were feeling mostly guilty and embarrassed but also angry. I'm curious about how anger takes a back seat here to guilt and embarrassment. What might this say about space for feminist perspectives in dominant teaching narratives?

Fun & Joy in the Classroom: Beguiling Students

1. During the class in which the moment you shared occurred, when and how did you experience fun or joy or perceive the students to be beguiled?

Kristen Interview 3 (45-60 minutes)

Purpose of 3rd Interview:

- Explore connections of participants' assumptions, beliefs, and values of teaching to race and class
- Discuss each participant's' experience reading embodied emotions.

The phenomenon is reading embodied emotions in classroom interactions with students of a perceived different race and/or class background by white, middle-class women educators.

Common Questions:

1. What was it like for you to focus on your emotions as a way to reflect on your teaching practice?
2. What surprised you most about focusing on your embodied emotions as a way to reflect?
3. What might your body have been trying to tell you in the moment you shared?
4. What might it be like for you to trust your body knowledge to guide the tone and mood of a classroom? How might that knowledge be used to guide your classroom towards a more equitable space?
5. What have you noticed about the way you are mentally approaching your new school year after going through this process of reflecting on your embodied emotions?
6. **“What do we -- educators and students -- stand to gain by engaging in the discomforting process of questioning cherished beliefs and assumptions?”** (Boler, 1999, p. 176)
7. Any other thoughts or questions?

Appendix D: Doris's Interview Protocols

Doris Interview 1 (45-60 minutes)

Purpose of 1st Interview:

- To find out why the participant was interested in participating in the project;
- to get a sense of the participants' teaching and learning philosophy;
- to record a retelling of the moment with more sense-detailed description

***The phenomenon is reading embodied emotions in classroom interactions.
(pay attention to moments where I already think I know what she is saying)***

Common Questions:

1. Tell me about what interested you in this project and what you hope to get out of participating in it.
2. What principles/assumptions guide your teaching
3. In order to generate multiple versions of your moment to analyze together later, describe again the moment you shared in your video.

Doris Specific Questions:

1. I visited your classroom a few years ago looking for joy, and I found it. I remember asking you about this and you mentioned actively cultivating joy was a fundamental aspect of your teaching. I noticed in this story that joy is present Alex and it is almost like you are performing joy while actually experiencing contradictory emotions. This even seems to come through in your telling of the story. You have a smile on your face for most of your telling even as you say things like "it was awful."
 - Can you speak to this contradiction of emotion that you seem to have experienced?
 - How might it be so that you both express joy and feel despair?
2. Right after you describe how Alex asked you for permission to celebrate his personal victory you describe how you were "dying inside." Try and pull apart that phrase. What emotions may have gone into that feeling?
3. Towards the end of the video you say, "What this child needs is for me to teach him, he hasn't been taught yet, and the state requirements took away my rights to teach this child." This part and the passion with which you say it struck me as an important part of this story.
 - Hearing those words back to you, what do they bring up for you?
4. I'm also wondering about the contradiction I see in the happy ending. If Alex made so much progress and passed third grade without any qualifications, doesn't that sort of reinforce the efficacy of the testing policy?
5. "I learned a lot about what kids can do if you just focus on their progress and celebrate every little step in the right direction" When saying this you slow down a lot right before progress as if you are searching for the right word. Do you think you found the right word?

Doris Interview 2 (45-60 minutes)

The phenomenon is reading embodied emotions in classroom interactions with students of a perceived different race and/or class background by white, middle-class women educators.

Purpose of 2nd Interview:

- Focus on underlying assumptions, beliefs, and values of our stories and their relationship to our underlying assumptions, beliefs, and values of our teaching philosophies
- Explore connections of these assumptions, beliefs, and values to race and class

Common Questions:

1. As you think back on the video you made of your moment, our first interview, and the collective conversation we have had so far, what do you notice about your moment that seems important in regards to your teaching philosophy? **How did you recognize that as important?** (i.e. repetition, leaning in feeling, agitated/excited, etc.)
2. As you think back on the video you made of your moment, our first interview, and the collective conversation we have had so far, what do you notice about your reflections on your emotions that seem important? **How did you recognize that as important?**
3. What seems important in regards to race in your story and reflection? What is mentioned/unmentioned?
4. What seems important in regards to social class in your story and reflection? What is mentioned/unmentioned?

Doris Specific Questions:

Disruption of Normalcy

1. In the collective conversation you made a comment in response to Kristen's story about celebrating the fact that there were nontraditional students in the teacher program. Tell me more about why you think having nontraditional students is a good thing.
 - Do nontraditional students have something to do with disruption of normal ways of doing things? And if so, do you find disruption of normalcy good? Why?

Reflection

1. In our interview and in the collective conversation you made a few comments about not really thinking much about the bigger conversations of teaching like the role of the teacher or how you might describe your teaching philosophy. This surprised me a little since I know you as a very reflective practitioner. Describe how you reflect as an educator. When? How? About what?

Diversity

1. In the first interview you talk about valuing diversity. What does diversity mean to you?
2. You also mention that character is important for you, and that you were happy to be teaching the whole child. Describe a good character.

Middle Class Values

1. In our first interview I asked you about what progress is towards which led to a conversation about standardized testing and the state as the definer of success. You said, “that’s worth looking at too, a redefinition of success.” So, I want you to imagine what success could look like if you were able to redefine it.
 - What might an emphasis on standardized testing reflect about larger society’s definition of success?
2. In the first interview you say, “I’m a big advocate of students making their own goals.” Tell me about this process, what sorts of goals do students make, what guidance do you give them in making their goals?

Teacher Power

1. In the first interview you talked about the difficult choices you had to make with such limited instructional time. You say, “There was so much to do in those 30 minutes I had to choose...between do I teach science, do I teach the 7 habits, do I teach the ELA topic that they’re gonna be tested on next week I only have 30 minutes you know which one is...it was so hard to choose because they’re all important and it was so hard to integrate...**I was angry a lot** that I had to make that choice angry at the state.” Tell me more about this being angry. I could see it in how you started talking about your instructional time.
2. I was quite surprised when you mentioned that you had moved the standardized tests after school towards the end of the year. I was surprised and impressed that you the power to do this and that you recognized and felt like you had the power to do this. **What parts of schooling do you see as malleable, that you have influence over, and what do you feel like you do not?**

(Interview 3 questions were combined with interview 2)

Purpose of 3rd Interview:

- Explore connections of participants’ assumptions, beliefs, and values of teaching to race and class
- Discuss each participant's’ experience reading embodied emotions.

The phenomenon is reading embodied emotions in classroom interactions with students of a perceived different race and/or class background by white, middle-class women educators.

Common Questions:

1. What was it like for you to focus on your emotions as a way to reflect on your teaching practice?
2. What surprised you most about focusing on your embodied emotions as a way to reflect?
3. What might your body have been trying to tell you in the moment you shared?
4. What might it be like for you to trust your body knowledge to guide the tone and mood of a classroom? How might that knowledge be used to guide your classroom towards a more equitable space?
5. What have you noticed about the way you are mentally approaching your new school year after going through this process of reflecting on your embodied emotions?
6. **“What do we -- educators and students -- stand to gain by engaging in the discomfoting process of questioning cherished beliefs and assumptions?”**
(Boler, 1999, p. 176)
7. Any other thoughts or questions?

Appendix E: Florence's Interview Protocols

Florence Interview 1 (45-60 minutes)

Purpose of 1st Interview:

- To find out why the participant was interested in participating in the project;
- to get a sense of the participants' teaching and learning philosophy;
- to record a retelling of the moment with more sense-detailed description

***The phenomenon is reading embodied emotions in classroom interactions.
(pay attention to moments where I already think I know what she is saying)***

Common Questions:

3. Tell me about what interested you in this project and what you hope to get out of participating in it.
4. What principles/assumptions guide your teaching
5. In order to generate multiple versions of your moment to analyze together later, describe again the moment you shared in your video.

Florence Specific Questions:

1. I noticed that you used the word "incident" a few times to describe your moment. I'm curious about what you think of this word choice looking at it now.
2. Part of my initial analysis of your video is to look for moments when your body may be taking over or compensating for language. At about 4 minutes in you pause/catch your breath, let out a little chuckle, and describe the teaching situation in the newcomer center as challenging. Tell me more about how this teaching situation was challenging.
3. Another moment where your body seems to take over happens just after. You chuckle when settling on the word "nourishment" to describe why taking the bowl felt like disrespect. Tell me more about why this word choice of "nourishment" may have elicited some laughter in you.
"I think that I gave these kids a lot of trust and love and that when I felt disrespected in such a way you know it's something simple but in a way it's disrespect to like touching my things that are obviously for nourishment or whatever um that I just I felt very um upset about it"
4. You mention not being in the "right state of mind to reprimand and have a conversation about the disrespect," what would you describe as the right state of mind to reprimand and have a conversation about disrespect with a student?
5. You describe the emotion you felt as feeling "defeated" - Tell me more about this. What might you have lost as a result of this interaction?
6. Towards the end of the video you say,
"I don't think I ever trusted Michael again from that point on and I think that it really affected the way that I worked with him I didn't really want to give him much of my time um because I was already spread so thin and

I just didn't feel like he deserved it which you know he probably was stealing things for attention um in retrospect"

7. You suggest that the student probably needed something different from you than how you responded. It seems like the underlying assumption you have here is that when a student acts out in some way they are seeking attention. I want to ask you to wonder for a minute about this assumption and where it may come from?
8. In the add-on video you describe Michael as "transforming" into a "nonemotion stance" and that this "aggravated" you more...you also mention that he was standing tall like a statue but not hunched over or deferential...then qualify this behavior with hindsight as being likely some sort of survival technique...I'm not sure what my question is here, but this struck me as important to this phenomenon of reading embodied emotions. What do you think might be going on here with emotion given the setting of a classroom and the power dynamics at play between teacher and student?

Florence Interview 2 (45-60 minutes)

Purpose of 2nd Interview:

- Focus on underlying assumptions, beliefs, and values of our stories and their relationship to our underlying assumptions, beliefs, and values of our teaching philosophies
- Explore connections of these assumptions, beliefs, and values to race and class

The phenomenon is reading embodied emotions in classroom interactions with students of a perceived different race and/or class background by white, middle-class women educators.

Common Questions:

1. As you think back on the video you made of your moment, our first interview, and the collective conversation we have had so far, what do you notice about your moment that seems important in regards to your teaching philosophy? **How did you recognize that as important?** (i.e. repetition, leaning in feeling, agitated/excited, etc.)
2. As you think back on the video you made of your moment, our first interview, and the collective conversation we have had so far, what do you notice about your reflections on your emotions that seem important? **How did you recognize that as important?**
3. What seems important in regards to race in your story and reflection? What is mentioned/unmentioned?
4. What seems important in regards to social class in your story and reflection? What is mentioned/unmentioned?

Florence Specific Questions:

Good Teaching/Teacher Identity

1. You've brought your mother identity into our conversations often. I'm curious how you see your mother identity interacting with your teacher identity.
2. In our first interview we talked about "grad school" answers about what one's teaching philosophy is. You made a distinction between answers that seem to come out of textbooks and answers that seem to come from experience. What might be different between the narrative of "good teaching" from grad school and what "good teaching" actually looks and feels like?

Community of Learners

1. In our first interview you start off your teaching philosophy with, "my number one thing is that it is a community of learners and that I am included as one of those learners." How might the power of the teacher help or hurt this idea?
2. Can you give an example of when have you been a learner in the classroom that the students could recognize and when have you garnered their respect as a result?
3. In the first interview you also mention that you see part of your role as being a model for how to do academic work and have cognitive thinking skills. What do your students bring to the classroom with them in terms of their abilities?
4. In our first interview you mention valuing a safe and respectful space as important to building your classroom community. What does a safe and respectful space look like? How do you work to create it? Do you feel as though you are successful at creating a truly safe and respectful space? Are safe spaces really possible in classrooms given the power dynamics at play?
5. In our first interview you make a distinction between authoritative and authoritarian. I didn't ask you to elaborate then, but I'd like to get some clarity on this distinction. It seems central to your teaching philosophy.

Reflection and Alternative

1. In our first interview you say the incident, "wasn't a big deal in the scheme of things." So, why might this seemingly small moment feel so important? Can you come up with multiple possible answers? What might be another way to interpret the importance of this moment?
2. In our last collective conversation, you mentioned creating alternative stories as a way that you reflect, rewriting the memory almost. How might you rewrite this memory? Why?
3. In our first interview you unabashedly cite your "gut feeling" of your student when talking about not wanting to get attached to him. You say, "I just don't want our energy circles to interact any more than they have to." I found this interesting cause this is often never cited as a source of valid knowledge, yet my whole project is based on gut feelings being incredibly valuable sources of information. I'm curious to know if you would cite your gut feelings as a source of knowledge in another context, like an interview, or if you were comfortable enough with me and knowing what my project was about helped in this case.

4. Do you have any questions for me?

Florence Interview 3 (45-60 minutes)

Purpose of 3rd Interview:

- Explore connections of participants' assumptions, beliefs, and values of teaching to race and class
- Discuss each participant's' experience reading embodied emotions.

The phenomenon is reading embodied emotions in classroom interactions with students of a perceived different race and/or class background by white, middle-class women educators.

Common Questions:

8. What was it like for you to focus on your emotions as a way to reflect on your teaching practice?
9. What surprised you most about focusing on your embodied emotions as a way to reflect?
10. What might your body have been trying to tell you in the moment you shared?
11. What might it be like for you to trust your body knowledge to guide the tone and mood of a classroom? How might that knowledge be used to guide your classroom towards a more equitable space?
12. What have you noticed about the way you are mentally approaching your new school year after going through this process of reflecting on your embodied emotions?
13. **“What do we -- educators and students -- stand to gain by engaging in the discomforting process of questioning cherished beliefs and assumptions?”**
(Boler, 1999, p. 176)
14. Any other thoughts or questions?

Appendix F: Kelly's Interview Protocol

Purpose of Interview:

- To find out why the participant was interested in participating in the project;
- to get a sense of the participants' teaching and learning philosophy;
- to record a retelling of the moment with more sense-detailed description

*The phenomenon is reading embodied emotions in classroom interactions.
(pay attention to moments where I already think I know what she is saying)*

Common Questions:

1. Tell me about what interested you in this project and what you hope to get out of participating in it.
2. What principles/assumptions guide your teaching
3. In order to generate multiple versions of your moment to analyze together later, describe again the moment you shared in your video.

Kelly Specific Questions:

1. As soon as I started talking about my moment, giving the background context, my hand goes to my chest and rubs it, like a security blanket, **what am I nervous about in sharing this moment?**
2. I find it interesting that I use the word "tough" to describe the group, but also that they were the "funniest" and had the most energy (though is this true? What do I mean by energy here?). They were also the "hardest to control." Maybe that's what I mean by energy.
3. How could it be that we had such different perceptions of that moment, of my voice?
4. What about this group of students made me want to provide a safe and relaxing space? Why did I feel like I was not providing a safe and relaxing space for those students at that moment? Just because I felt like I was burnt out and over it? Couldn't be my best self, I was not happy. What might it mean if I was able to provide that space for this student even without feeling happy and like my best self?
5. I repeat how burnt out and done I was. I "wasn't having a good time." **Is this what teachers should be feeling? What do I mean by a good time?** This seems like it might be a window into my philosophy of teaching
6. In what ways was my moment funny to me? Why did/do I laugh?
7. I suggest that it might be naive of me to think that if we are being real with each other in the moment we will have an understanding. How might this be related to my white, middle-class woman identity? I acknowledge that maybe there should not be an expectation that that should be the case since we are coming from very different backgrounds (including age).
8. Why is it so important to me as a teacher to be open and be authentic?

Appendix G: Collective Conversation Protocol

Purpose of Collective Conversations:

- Create a generative space for encountering the phenomenon
- Ask participants to practice reading their bodies as they hear others' moments

***The phenomenon is reading embodied emotions in classroom interactions.
(Pay attention to moment when I think I know what they are saying)***

1. Remind participants of confidentiality agreement.
2. Share purpose of this conversation
 - a. Collectives provide a generative space for encountering this phenomenon
 - b. Not a true collective given time, distance, lack of familiarity; ask that you consider this when responding to someone; ask you to be open and vulnerable but only up to your comfort given that we are not building a community over time
 - c. Share our moments with each other and actively read our bodies as we listen to others with the hope of engaging in a conversation about what beliefs and values may be guiding the emotions
3. Share your moment / As you listen to the moment being shared, focus your attention on your body and notice when you physically react to something you hear (eyes widen, pull your chin back, shake your head, nod along, smile, gasp, tap your foot, feel heat in your cheeks, etc.) That's what we will have a conversation about after the moment is shared.
4. How might it be that _____ caused that reaction in you? What assumption might that indicate?

Collective Conversation 2 Additional Questions:

1. What do good teachers do?
2. What do good teachers look like?
3. Tell me about how you reflect as a teacher. When? Where? What? How? Why?
4. How did this habit come about?
5. What did you notice was said about race and/or class in these conversations?
6. What did you notice was unsaid about race and/or class in these conversations?
7. Can you give an example of ways you've felt your teaching philosophy being lived out in your pedagogy? What does that feel like?