The Big and Small Stories of Faculty in the Changing Landscape of Higher Education

Dissertation

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By

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Abstract

The landscape of higher education has been shifting, a story which has drawn the interest of researchers looking at change at the institutional level. In the literature, and in the media, stories are told in broad strokes: the rise of the neoliberal university, the wave of campus internationalization, and an increasing reliance on a contingent faculty workforce. However, in spite of faculty's central position within these phenomena, stories of faculty experience during this era of change mostly remain untold. Narrative research has illuminated large, autobiographical accounts of teachers, but these empirical inquiries have primarily focused on the professional development and situated learning of novice educators as they find their footing and balance a range of commitments. Considerably less attention has been given to veteran faculty whose experience straddles old and new ways of teaching and learning in higher education. The current dissertation is an effort to illuminate the retrospective big stories of faculty which capture the life span of a career, from entering the field to experiencing challenges and change through working with diverse groups of students over several decades. A macro-micro perspective enables both an aerial view of faculty experience over time and a view of how faculty work with students at the ground level.

There are five chapters in this dissertation. Chapters 1 and 2 situate the study in the literature exploring faculty experience in higher education and theories and methods of narrative research, respectively. These chapters set the stage for Chapters 3 and 4 in

which I share findings related to the big stories and small stories of faculty experience. The findings chapters were written with the intent that they can be reworked as stand-alone articles. For the time being, however, to preserve readability and cohesion across the dissertation, I link Chapters 3 and 4 to the introduction, methodology and conclusion chapters.

In Chapter 1, I situate the study in literature examining change in the wider landscape of higher education. Given that the research site is a small institution which has traditionally attracted students from around the world, I review scholarship which specifically addresses campus internationalization in order to paint a picture of the competitive global environment in which small schools are operating and, in some cases, struggling to survive. I then examine the increasing reliance of higher education institutions on contingent, non-tenured labor force, a phenomenon which has come to bear on faculty at the research site. Lastly, through a review of narrative research examining faculty experience, I identify gaps in the literature which this study seeks to address, specifically the following: 1) a lack of attention toward how veteran faculty report experiencing change in their careers; 2) an under-representation of faculty experience at the ground level, in classrooms and in conversations, as observed through small stories.

Big stories in narrative research are retrospective and biographical. They are useful to tellers as they piece together and give meaning to past experiences and to narrative researchers interested in exploring educational phenomena. In Chapter 3, I draw primarily from interviews with three veteran faculty who share big stories about their experience spanning multiple decades at a small graduate school in New England. In

semi-structured interviews about their careers, the participants recall the transformative and transfixing moments which stayed with them. Analysis of faculty stories reveals two types of big stories which served different purposes for faculty participants. Through the use of *bedrock* stories, faculty create and preserve an institutional narrative in the face of rapid change in the present-day landscape of higher education. A second type of story, which I call *faultlines,* are stories of faculty learning, told to make sense of unsettling or unresolved experiences. The findings suggest that narrative accounts of these critical events are underutilized but important sources for faculty learning as they navigate the shifting landscape of higher education.

Chapter 4 examines a subset of small stories drawn from the larger study which are told by faculty and students to achieve a variety of interactional purposes. Compared to well-ordered and smoothed over big autobiographical stories, small stories are atypical narrative fragments told in everyday conversation and classroom discussions. Of particular interest is how faculty utilize small stories to talk about social, cultural, and political issues, and, in their classrooms, talk with students about contemporary and oftentimes sensitive issues. In Chapter 4, I begin by sharing examples of how small stories operate in different interactional settings in the larger data set in order to demonstrate the versatility of small stories in interactional settings. After establishing a range of small story functions, I turn to a focal small story told by Martin, a veteran faculty member, during a class discussion about a student in a youth program coming out to his peers. The retelling of the story served as a means for graduate students to enter a storyworld and map out a moral geography of a salient and sensitive issue through the co-construction of additional stories. Within these spaces, participants utilize a variety of

small stories in order to evaluate their beliefs as educators and to plan future action in scenarios in which these beliefs will be put into practice. Insights drawn from small stories in this chapter have implications for faculty and international educators as they attempt to create a stable ground for difficult discussions to take place.

In Chapter 5, the concluding chapter, I trace insights from the two findings chapters back to the broader context of change in higher education and explore future paths for narrative research of faculty experience.

Dedication

To Nara, MJ, Patrick, and Maddie

To Mom and Dad

In Memory of Walter Ersing and Russell Clark

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There are individuals who supported me at each stage of this dissertation, without whom I would never have been able to start, continue, and complete this project. In particular, I owe my mentors and committee members at Ohio State a large debt of gratitude.

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I do not have enough words or superlatives to describe my gratitude for Leslie Moore, my dissertation advisor. As a teacher, scholar, and mentor, she set the bar high in every imaginable way and somehow managed to make me feel I could actually leap over it. When I brought self-doubt into our conference sessions, she turned these doubts into directions forward. The clarity of her vision and feedback advanced my study at each stage and gave me a model of mentorship I could emulate in my own work with undergraduate and graduate students. She knew exactly when to push and when to step back and let me figure things out. I will be forever grateful for the time that she invested in me, as a student and as a person.

Although there are too many individuals to thank by name, I would like to acknowledge the entire EDUTL administrative staff on whom I relied for logistical support. I am also indebted to my colleagues in the ESL program at OSU who supported me during the early stages of my doctoral studies, with a special thank you to Kathi and Russell for taking me under their wings.

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Specialization: TESOL, Applied Linguistics

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Chapter 1 Introduction and Literature Review

Introduction

This study explores the experience of faculty at a small, internationally-focused graduate program in the era of rapid change in higher education. This era has witnessed increased collaboration and cooperation among institutions of higher education, both in order to serve an idealistic vision of educating globally-minded students and to increase the mobility of students as a means of diversifying revenue streams in the face of decreased government funding. Faculty in higher education are positioned at the center of social and educational phenomena as they seek to meet new institutional expectations and simultaneously meet the needs of increasingly diverse student populations. Therefore, I place faculty experience at the center of this study.

The stories of participants in this study reveal a changing stage upon which faculty perform. There is the old stage, one that is fading, in which stories of opportunity, adventure, and security abound, now giving way to a new stage, where the theatrics of the world have come to campus and into the everyday discourse of classroom discussions and office hour meetings. Decreasing job security, as seen in the increase of contract and adjunct faculty positions, particularly at smaller institutions, along with fewer opportunities for tenure-track positions have made the ground upon which faculty stand less stable. On campus, the walls of the college classroom have never been so permeable (Pennycook, 2001). Issues in the political, social, and cultural air make their way into

classrooms, leaving faculty and students operating in a new classroom climate in which relationships are more horizontal and learning is co-constructed. As a result, the changes occurring in higher education are happening in a multidirectional manner. The ecosystem of higher education is shaped by broader forces and enacted by students and faculty in everyday experiences on the ground.

In this study, I use a narrative research design as a means of exploring faculty experience at a small graduate program in New England with degrees in international education, language teaching, and sustainable development. In total, 47 participants were enrolled in the study through the collection informed consent forms. Of the 47 participants, 14 of the participants were faculty and 33 were graduate students at the research site. The faculty participants are considered the primary research subjects, as the study focuses on their experience. The students were members of the faculty participants' classes and consented to have their classes observed and recorded.

Methods selected for the study aligned with the goal of gathering both 'big stories', the retrospective accounts of faculty careers, and 'small stories' told in conversation and classroom discussions. Semi-structured interviews were the primary means of collecting big stories. In total, 25 interviews were conducted with faculty which resulted in approximately 35 hours of interview data. From the larger group of 12 faculty participants, I observed four faculty classrooms on multiple occasions which resulted in approximately 10 hours of audio-recordings of classroom discussion. The classroom observations were the primary source of small stories. Lastly, I conducted two focus groups, one with faculty and one with students which produced 2 hours of discussion and

yielded a mix of big and small story data. In Table 1 below, I present a snapshot of the narrative study I employed to shed light on faculty experiences.

Table 1 Snapshot of the Study

<table>
<tr><td>Setting</td><td colspan="2">Greenhills Graduate School (GGS), a small internationally-focused institution with degrees in international education, sustainable development, language teaching, and conflict transformation</td></tr>
<tr><td>Participants</td><td>12 faculty participants

33 student participants</td><td>4 focal faculty participants in Chapters 3 and 4

7 focal student participants appearing in Chapter 4</td></tr>
<tr><td>Methods and Data</td><td>Faculty interviews

Classroom observations

Focus groups</td><td>25 interviews = 35 hours of audio-recorded data

7 observations = 25 hours of observation, 10 hours of recorded discussion

2 hours of audio-recorded discussion</td></tr>
<tr><td>Research Approaches</td><td colspan="2">Narrative inquiry (big stories)
Narrative analysis (small stories)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Theories Informing the Study</td><td colspan="2">Narrative knowledging
Sociocultural theory: externalization and verbalization
Moral geography
Language socialization: contingency and multi-directionality</td></tr>
</table>

The research questions for the study emerged over several years during a time in which I was teaching at the research site as a junior faculty member and, at the same time, studying narrative research as a doctoral student. In my work as a faculty member, I was observing change on the ground level at a small school. As a newcomer to the faculty, I was also privy to stories of how things used to be and how they were changing.

These stories fascinated me. With nearly constant emergency meetings to address the school's dire enrollment numbers and financial woes, faculty stories of a different era made me wish I had been born 30 years earlier. I sensed there was something important about the stories that faculty had told me. It was more than nostalgia, more than just telling stories. Narrative research provided me with a means of exploring these stories in a rigorous, empirical fashion. Through the guidance from narrative scholarship and mentorship of my dissertation committee, the following research questions emerged as avenues to understand faculty experience at a deeper level:

1) What is the narrated experience of faculty in a small graduate program during an era of rapid change in higher education?
2) What are the big stories told by faculty in this setting? How are they told and what is accomplished in their telling?
3) What small stories are told by faculty and students in this setting? How are they told and what is accomplished in their telling?

These research questions created a structural template for the organization of the dissertation. Below, I briefly discuss how the dissertation is organized and then proceed to a review of literature relevant to the study aims of gaining aerial and ground-level view of faculty experience during an era of change in higher education.

Organization of the Dissertation

There are five chapters in this dissertation. Chapters 1 and 2 situate the study in the literature exploring faculty experience in higher education and narrative research, respectively. These chapters set the stage for Chapters 3 and 4 in which I share findings related to the big stories and small stories of faculty experience. The findings chapters

were written with the intent that they can be reworked as articles. However, to preserve cohesion across the five chapters, the findings chapters make occasional references to other chapters, and are thus not in stand-alone article form just yet. In Chapter 5, the concluding chapter, I revisit insights from the two findings chapters in the context of the literature review and briefly explore future paths for narrative research of faculty experience.

Literature Review

This literature review seeks to set the stage for the stories which follow. In other words, the literature tells the backstory for the faculty participants in this study. While the backstories of higher education may not always draw straight lines to the experience of individual faculty, the literature review outlines phenomena and trends in higher education that may be acting on institutions somewhat broadly. These broader forces interact with and trickle down to the micro-spaces in which the everyday experiences of faculty play out. Conversely, local activities within classrooms may influence broader institutional and cultural discourses (Garrett, 2008).

Higher education is a vast universe which includes institutions of different sizes and research aims (Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2021). From large research focused universities (R1) with a number of doctoral programs to two-year colleges awarding professional and associate's degrees, and everything between, faculty working across this spectrum have experienced and been the drivers of change. The scope of this study, and subsequently this literature review, does not attempt to capture the breadth of these experiences. However, this literature review begins by examining some of the broader forces shaping and shaped by faculty experiences in the context of the study, a small graduate institute (category M3) which grants approximately

50-100 Master's degrees annually. This wide-angle view includes attention to the advent of campus internationalization and trends in faculty hiring and job security, both of which have implications for the faculty participants in this study in terms of advancing, maintaining, or losing their footing.

To place the study in the context of the relevant scholarship, this chapter then narrows its focus to a review of previous studies which have raised interest and underscored the significance of empirically studying the experience of faculty. Since the context of the present study is a small graduate school focused on international education, I was particularly interested in narrative studies which explore faculty experience in underrepresented contexts of higher education, off the beaten R1 path, which similarly serve small populations of students with specific professional goals. Such contexts are not simply germane to the present study. Since faculty in these contexts are less likely to be tenured, a by-product of the financial uncertainty and instability facing small colleges, they are also likely to feel the impact of macro-level change in higher education more acutely. Through attention to scholarship related to the broader forces shaping higher education and literature which attends to faculty experience, a backdrop for the 'big' stories of faculty is created.

The final section of this literature review provides an empirical backdrop for the 'small' stories presented in Chapter 4 of this study. Small stories have been described as non-canonical, atypical narratives-in-interaction, snippets of verbal or electronic communication which include tellings, retellings, and allusions to tellings (Georgakopoulou, 2015, p.255). In educational settings, they are told in classrooms, breakrooms, faculty meetings, and office hours. Initial thematic analysis of my classroom

observation data revealed a great deal of small stories which served as cohesive and pedagogical support for faculty and students in their classrooms. In a graduate program which trains future educators working with diverse students, faculty and students also generate small story narratives about interacting with future students around challenging issues. As a result, the process of selecting and reviewing sources for this literature review followed an iterative process. After the initial data analysis, I discovered the need to place the empirical data in this study in the context of past research which has explored faculty and student classroom discourse around sensitive topics.

In summary, this literature review seeks to provide a narrative backdrop to the stage on which the narratives of faculty in this study took place. I begin the review with attention to macro-level issues of relevance to the research site and gradually zoom into the local contexts where faculty experience has been examined narratively. Studies were systematically selected to include sources which were conducted with narrative methods and which attended specifically to underrepresented faculty at contexts of higher education similar to the context of this study. Lastly, within these local contexts, special attention is given to how faculty have important but delicate discussions with students around sensitive topics. The review provides an opening for the study's central contribution to existing scholarship: the contrast between nostalgic, retrospective 'bedrock' narratives of stability with unsettled, contested narratives of experience in the everyday contexts where faculty work.

Seismic Shifts: The Era of Campus Internationalization

Students from around the world arrive on U.S. college campuses to learn from experts in their chosen fields, and to acquire the skills, knowledge and practices required

of the profession or area of academic inquiry. Though it is often couched in a desire to prepare students to become global citizens (Kreber, 2009), the push for campus internationalization across higher education has been equally driven by the economic interests of universities which seek new streams of revenue through partnerships and international student enrollment (Thelin, 2017; Altbach & Knight, 2007). In the meantime, as these idealistic and market-driven initiatives play out, the everyday practices of faculty working within higher education are being reshaped to meet the needs of their increasingly multicultural and multilingual students (Niehaus & Williams, 2016).

Internationalization has been defined in general terms as a "process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (Knight, 2008, p.11). The activities conducted under the broad scope of internationalization efforts include "traditional study abroad programs, providing access to higher education in countries where local institutions cannot meet the demand" as well as "upgrading the international perspectives and skills of students, enhancing foreign language programs, and providing cross-cultural understanding" (Altbach & Knight, 2007, p.290).

Fueled in large part by transnational initiatives such as the Bologna Process in Europe which sought closer collaboration between institutions of higher education in order to facilitate faculty and student mobility across this connected space, internationalization initiatives are based on an ethos of cooperation and competition (Kreber, 2009). According to Kim (2010, p.578), the Bologna Process has "galvanized the member countries . . . and helped them to compete as a coherent group in the wider global market." Some have gone as far as to refer to internationalization as 'academic

capitalism' (Stromquist, 2007, as cited in Kreber, 2009) which for the past few decades has driven colleges and universities worldwide to scan "the horizon for new approaches to academic programs and new enterprises" (Thelin, 2017).

It may not be surprising to learn that the value of the international education industry, which includes traditional contexts of higher education as well as language institutes, e-learning programs, and branch and satellite campuses, has been estimated at $100 billion (Vavrus & Pekol, 2015). In the 2015-16 academic year, international students represented $35.8 billion in revenue for the U.S. economy and accounted for 370,000 jobs in the U.S. alone (Open Doors Report, 2016; Koseva, 2017), which is almost triple the revenue a decade earlier when international students added an estimated $12 billion to the U.S. economy (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Funding for international students in U.S. higher education comes overwhelmingly from personal and family funds (66% overall, 53% international graduate students).

These revenue streams have coincided with a decrease in direct funding from state and federal governments to higher educational institutions, funding which is down nearly $9 billion from pre-2008 recession levels. The decrease has been called a 'lost decade' in higher education funding, and according to a recent report has "contributed to higher tuition and reduced quality on campus" (Mitchell, Leachman & Masterson, 2017, p.1). In this context of rising tuition and historically low government funding of higher education, mobility in the higher education context has become a big business, and it has led some public institutions to view "foreign students who pay tuition as a source of institutional financial salvation" (Thelin, 2017, p.313). To every college president across the globe, it

has become apparent that institutional viability requires participation in the economy of campus internationalization.

A large proportion of the attention in the campus internationalization literature is devoted to a broad-based look at how institutions are coming to terms with the rapidly changing, neoliberal landscape of higher education (Thelin, 2017). There has been some but notably less attention given to how faculty are adapting to internationalization initiatives (Hockings et al, 2009; Trahar, 2011; Niehaus & Williams, 2016), primarily as it relates to faculty initiatives to internationalize their curriculums and courses. However, as noted by Niehaus and Williams (2016, p.60), "Despite the role of curriculum transformation to the internationalization of higher education and the central role of the faculty in curriculum transformation, little is known about the curriculum transformers themselves." This gap is apparent within higher education contexts serving multicultural and multilingual populations of students (Trahar, 2011), which underscores the contribution this study can make to understanding faculty experiences in such contexts.

A decade ago, Altbach and Knight concluded a state of internationalization in higher education report with a warning: "We are at a crossroads - today's emerging programs and practices must ensure that international higher education benefits the public and not simply be a profit center" (2007, p.304). For faculty, the implications of internationalization are beginning to garner more attention, and several recent studies capture this. These studies will be highlighted in the section below.

Faculty in the Era of Campus Internationalization

The previous section highlighted the economic driver of campus internationalization. For better or worse there is little in the literature to suggest that

increased mobility of students and collaborative partnerships will subside. Faculty within these institutions are now situated in roles which fall along a spectrum from active adoption and championing of internationalization initiatives to responding to the presence of more diverse groups of students and curricular demands. The role of faculty is a recurring theme which emerges from the internationalization literature, and it is apparent that faculty are collectively making sense of this new landscape as it relates to their roles of teaching, advising, and research.

Some of the literature regarding faculty in the era of campus internationalization presents faculty as grappling with a role in between broader institutional initiatives and the performance of an academic identity meant to support these initiatives. Warren (2017) describes this as the 'management of a public self' and laments that "academics are worked upon in order to be aligned to institutional objectives that are overdetermined by the global political economy of higher education" (p.134). Hockings and her colleagues studied university teacher identities working in a variety of disciplinary fields, and observed a similar though much more agentive struggle among their participants: "Teachers . . . found ways of coping with the 'insatiable demands of contemporary higher education' (Archer, 2008, as cited in Hockings et al, 2009) which sometimes involved sacrificing aspects of personal life or compromising professional values" (p.489).

Mobility and Internationalization: One-way Streets and Dead Ends

The phenomenon of campus internationalization has also affected the mobility of faculty in positive and negative ways. While mobility as a by-product of internationalization is not new, mobility as a form of academic capital has become more nuanced, and these nuances present themselves in the narrative data of the study.

According to research by Morley and her colleagues (2018), there is no question that internationalization has led to an increased flow of international students for many decades. Questions remain, however, "about whether opportunity structures for mobility are unevenly distributed among different social groups and geopolitical spaces" (p.537). In a recent study by Akar, Cobanoglu, and Plunkett (2020), the authors compared internationalization at partner universities in Turkey and the US. They found that the process of internationalization, which included collaborative research with US academics and curricular reform, was experienced much more intensely by faculty in Turkey as they attempted to adapt to Anglophone educational practices. In other words, the mobility of academic practices was more or less a one-way street.

As a form of professional capital, mobility is a currency that participants in this study willingly traded in exchange for less secure, non-tenured positions at the research site, Greenhills Graduate School (GGS). This form of mobility was literal, with opportunities to travel and carry out academic work as representatives of GGS in global contexts. It was also a 'soft' form of mobility in terms of the exportation of academic values and training materials. Veteran faculty in the study shared stories of a bygone era in which teaching and training projects in international locations were embedded in their work loads. As financial constraints bore down on GGS, however, these opportunities at first diminished, then nearly disappeared as programs located overseas either shut down or were transferred to consultants in a separate area of the institution. As a result, a paradoxical narrative emerges in which the educational landscape of higher education is expanding while the mobility of faculty employed at an international graduate program simultaneously diminishes.

Curricular and Pedagogical Implications of Internationalization

In their primary roles of educating and mentoring students, there is a recognition among faculty of the potential that internationalization holds in developing students who are able to "think locally, nationally, and globally" (Leask, 2012). Likewise, when faculty have opportunities to teach and research in global contexts, they develop "themselves as global citizens to be able to pass that experience on to their students and to encourage gaining such experience" (Mertova, 2013, p.126). Even so, there is no shortage of gap statements related to understanding the faculty experience of promoting and realizing this ideal. As Kreber (2009) claims, "Internationalization is an important policy issue in higher education; yet, what precisely internationalization means with regards to teaching and learning, and what it can add to the student learning experience, is far less talked or written about" (p.8). A similar sentiment is expressed by Dewey and Duff (2009), who observe that "surprisingly little work has been published that addresses the roles, responsibilities, and problems faced by the faculty on an operational level" (p.491).

Far from suggesting a passive role, recent research suggests that faculty are adapting to this new landscape in strategic and creative ways which seek to optimize the student experience. Much of this adaptation has been witnessed at the curricular level as faculty have sought to incorporate international elements to course content. Adaptations have also been observed in micro-level classroom practices and discourse. Some outcomes for faculty have included "changing pedagogical approaches, coming to accept students as more active agents in their own learning . . . and becoming more comfortable discussing potentially controversial issues in the classroom" (Niehaus & Williams, 2016, p.61). Another thread of this scholarly discussion offers an important caveat to the idea that the presence of diverse groups of students in higher education settings guarantees the

high-minded outcomes envisioned by internationalization efforts. “The extent to which (internationalization) is addressed,” notes Teekens (2003, p.109), “is a test of the quality and adequacy of teaching and learning in our multicultural setting.” In other words, bringing multicultural and multilingual groups of students together in the same room is not a sufficient condition for intercultural learning and would not satisfy the ‘ethos of cooperation’ mentioned earlier. The context for this study is a place where multicultural and multilingual students have come together for decades, yet the literature suggests that the presence of diversity is insufficient to meet the goals of an internationalized, intercultural curriculum. What is needed is closer observation of what actually happens in classrooms, between students and faculty, in order to gain a better understanding of how the ideals of internationalization are enacted and contested.

The message is that successful internationalization requires faculty who are able to skillfully adapt their practices to meet the needs of their increasingly diverse students. There is a call in the literature to go beyond comparisons of the experiences of different groups of students and their cultural and, in some cases, linguistic needs, and instead to explore “the interactions between students and academics from many different backgrounds and contexts and the ways in which these interactions contribute to - or detract from - learning” (Trahar, 2011, p.47). For example, one study of this variety uncovered an issue of culturally specific jokes or examples which do not register or facilitate learning for students from diverse backgrounds (Hockings et al., 2009). Akar and her colleagues, in their study comparing internationalization within a US-Turkish partnership, also found that faculty in both contexts were challenged “to teach and deal with more culturally diverse groups with different language backgrounds and pre-

knowledge" (2020, p.1138). They call for a closer look at how faculty effectively work with groups of varied backgrounds and academic skill levels within internationalized contexts of higher education such as the one in this study. Through classroom observation data, this study seeks to address a need for a closer examination of faculty experiences as it is embedded in their daily talk with colleagues and students.

Critical Internationalization

A recent call in the internationalization literature invites researchers and practitioners in higher education to lend a critical perspective to this phenomenon. Vavrus and Pekol (2015) problematize the idea that partnerships between Global North institutions and Global South is a means of capacity building as Northern universities enhance teaching and research practices of their Southern counterparts. The authors claim that this "unidirectional view of capacity building ignores the learning that takes place for faculty from the Global North when they are working in new contexts with highly capable colleagues in Southern institutions" (p.10). Other scholars advocating for a critical perspective on internationalization note that the role of English as a lingua franca in the global market of higher education privileges institutions which conduct research and teaching in English (Altbach & Salmi, 2011).

For example, Mertova (2013) conducted a study examining faculty perspectives of internationalization using a critical event narrative inquiry approach. In semi-structured interviews, faculty participants recalled incidents which had "a significant impact on professional practice" or "considerably changed the academic's perception of their professional practice" (p.119). One of Mertova's findings was a concern among participants about the hegemony of English in "flattening the experiences of cultural,

historical, and social contexts" (p.125) where internationalization is at play. This is significant to the present study in terms of how faculty qualified this concern as an experience which allowed them to "step back reflect on and learn from these experiences to be able to utilize them in their pedagogical and other practices" (p.126). As will be discussed in the Chapter 3, faculty 'faultline' narratives were similar in nature in that critical events were causes for concern and also opportunities to better understand students and adjust their practices to meet diverse needs.

Tenuous Ground: An Era of Contingency

According to a recent report from the American Association of University Professors, over the past several decades "the tenure system in US higher education has eroded" (AAUP, 2018, p.1). Nearly 70% of the non-student workforce is comprised of non-tenure-track faculty (Fetcher et al, 2019), a number that has grown steadily from around 40% in 1975 (Figlio & Schapiro, 2021). Morton and Schapiro (2015) estimated that by 2040 only 10% of faculty positions will be tenured. The decrease in tenure-track positions at higher education institutions of all sizes, from R1 institutions to associate's degree colleges, has been enabled by 'unbundling' the roles of faculty (p.1) and creating a contingent labor force which separates research from teaching and service.

Non-tenured faculty are not necessarily without job security. Approximately half of the faculty in full-time, non-tenured positions have multi-year or indefinite contracts, and this percentage is higher at R1-R3 institutions (AAUP, p.3). However, the contingency of a large subset of faculty may result in challenges related to job security and academic freedom. The AAUP report warns that contingent faculty "are vulnerable to dismissal if

readings assigned or ideas expressed in the classroom offend a student, administrator, donor, or legislator or if students don't receive the grades that they want" (p.4).

Contingent faculty also may also face financial challenges. With the caveat that "there is no prototypical contingent faculty member" (2019, p.237), Murray notes that the 'happy adjunct' -- faculty who may support themselves in another career and for whom teaching a single course is either a service or a source of additional income -- is an exception to a general picture of financial strain faced by part-time and contract faculty. This strain includes lower salaries, reduced or no benefits, and reliance on public assistance to make ends meet (Murray, 2019). These cost-cutting measures on the part of institutions of higher education has "created a multi-classed system of professors with contingent personnel serving as the inexpensive laborers" (p.235).

A central question which has emerged from an increased reliance on contingent faculty in higher education is well put by Figlio and Schapiro, who ask: "Do (students) taught by contingent faculty members learn as much as those taught by faculty who are tenured or on a tenure-track appointment?" (2021, p.153). The answer is inconclusive. Studies attempting to address this question have been careful not to report findings with a broad brush given the many different contract scenarios of contingency faculty, from those teaching one-off courses to others with multi-year renewable contracts. However, Ran and Xu (2019, as cited in Figlio & Schapiro, 2021) found that 'deep learning' as measured by student willingness to take another course in the same area and performance in future courses was more highly correlated with instruction from tenure-track faculty. Notable to Ran and Xu's finding is that the study took place at teaching-oriented colleges. A similar study at a large R1 university found that students may learn more

from contingent faculty than tenure track faculty when learning outcomes were compared in an introductory course taught (Figlio, Schapiro, and Soter, 2015).

The Confluence of Internationalization, Contingent Faculty, and the Research Context

It is worth pausing for a moment to situate internationalization and the prevalence of contingent faculty in the context of the present study. None of the Greenhills Graduate School (GGS) faculty who participated in my study were tenured, as GGS does not have a tenure-track system; faculty at GGS have contracts ranging from one to five years in length. However, with the exception of two of the faculty participants who had been hired within the previous five years, the rest of the faculty participants (10 out of 12) had been employed at GGS for at least 15 years. Eight of them had been at GGS for over 30 years, indicating a certain measure of security and stability for these 'contingent' faculty. Although GGS employed a small number of adjunct faculty to teach individual courses, this was generally the exception. Most GGS courses were taught by faculty who had been at the institution for years. The continuity provided by faculty whose careers had spanned decades at GGS enabled the formation of shared values in teaching and learning: experiential education for future teachers, trainers, and leaders working in international education.

In other words, this security allowed for the creation of 'bedrock' narratives shared among faculty, stories which fueled and sustained the esprit de corps which many of the participants in my study reported in during interviews about their experience at GGS. This bedrock at GGS was established during times of relatively high student enrollment across degree programs. For example, in the 1980s through the early 2000s, student enrollment in the MA-TESOL program at GGS ranged from approximately 60-120

students per year. The job security of faculty at a small graduate school, however, depends largely on sustaining student enrollment numbers and tuition revenue to cover the annual operating budget. In the late 2000s and early 2010s, the enrollment started to head in the wrong direction. The recession of 2008, combined with a lower birth rate in the U.S., led to a flattening in overall enrollment numbers in higher education (Barshay, 2018). In particular, schools in the northeastern U.S., where GGS is located, are expected to see a decline in enrollment in the next decade.

These projections do not affect all schools equally. Elite colleges remain in high demand and have enough financial resources to weather short-term hits to enrollment (Barshay, 2018). Small schools such as GGS which lack a large endowment, on the other hand, began to see enrollment decline across degree programs. By 2018, at the time data was collected for this study, the enrollment in the MA-TESOL program had dwindled down to approximately 20 full-time students. The pipeline of international students, in particular, had been steadily ebbing for years, exacerbated by "visa restrictions, anti-immigration sentiments, and increased competition from abroad for international students" (Hudzik, 2020). As an example of the stark changes witnessed at GGS, at one point in the early 2000s there were dozens of Fulbright Scholars coming to campus annually. In the 2018-19 cohort, there were none.

A 2015 Moody's report foresaw the predicament that small private institutions such as GGS would face in the years that followed (ICEF Report, 2015). It predicted a tripling of closures among schools with annual revenue less than $100 million, as well as a doubling in the number of schools forced to merge with other institutions due to financial strain. A central finding from Moody's was that small private colleges were steadily

losing their market share to larger schools: “Colleges with more substantial scale have greater ability to reinvest in degree programs, student life and capital facilities. While some smaller colleges historically thrived by serving place-bound students, increased online education and student mobility are eroding that advantage” (ICEF, 2015). Although the tripling of closures did not exactly come to fruition, the closure rate steadily increased between 2015 and 2018 (Seltzer, 2018). Small schools unable to attract large gifts or investments to keep programs operational, Moody’s predicted, would continue to face “deep stress and existential questions” (Seltzer, 2018).

As an institute which relies heavily on tuition to sustain its operating budget, toward the end of 2017 GGS gradually came face-to-face with a financial picture which pointed to one reality: the school could not maintain the same number of faculty without going into the red each year. Amid the backdrop of internationalization, increased competition for students, and declining enrollment, faculty at GGS, whose jobs had been contingent in name only, began to find themselves on unstable ground.

This context is significant in understanding the narrative data captured in this study, which was carried out over a period of time when 9 out of 12 participants in the study would ultimately lose their jobs at GGS. The foundational ‘bedrock’ stories presented in Chapter 3 provide a view of faculty experience that is marked by themes of serendipity, opportunity, and collaboration, made possible by the relative stability faculty enjoyed in the early and middle stages of their careers. The financial strain faced by GGS was brought on by forces in higher education, forces which have come to bear on similarly-sized private institutions in higher education. How faculty are experiencing these forces

personally and professionally is a story to which the data in this study makes a significant contribution.

Narratives of Faculty in Higher Education

> What would we find if, instead of studying others, we focused our gaze upon our own community, and took as our data not the polished publication or the beautifully crafted talk, but the unending flow of communications and practices in which we are all embedded and enmeshed, often reluctantly? (Gill, 2010, p.40)

Research interest in faculty narratives is somewhat recent. As Gill alludes to, the work of academics has been the study of others and other phenomena. Ivor Goodson's (1992) foundational study of teachers' lives described it as "emergent field of inquiry" (p.1) in which there had previously been "a good deal of prescription and implicit portrayal but very little serious study of, or collaboration with, those prescribed to or portrayed" (p.3). Goodson was writing about K-12 school teachers, but the same could be said for studies about the lives of faculty in higher education in that there is an "underdeveloped literature which locates the teachers' lives within a wider contextual understanding" (p.234). In one sense, through the proliferation of publications across a wide number of academic journals, the lives and work of faculty are on public display. Warren (2017) argues, however, that publications are merely part of the 'status economy' of rank and rankings in higher education, one in which the currency of visibility is in an additional line on a CV, and which otherwise blurs or renders invisible the 'private anguish' (p.138) of faculty performances on the stage of higher education. As a result, Warren claims that faculty are caught between 'out there' and 'in here' (p.127). One of the main purposes of the present study is to further shed light on the experiences of

faculty which play out locally, ‘in here’, as broader forces in society and education ‘out there’ come to bear on their work. In the following section of the literature review, I examine scholarship that has contributed to the empirical understanding of faculty experience. In doing so, I will identify gaps which still exist in order to precisely locate the contributions of the present study.

Novice and Veteran Faculty in Higher Education

Much of the narrative research related to faculty in higher education has examined the formative experiences of novice faculty entering the academy. This research has highlighted the challenges for novice faculty in navigating and finding a place within academic contexts shaped by veteran “saga-keepers” (McGinn et al., 2012); balancing competing institutional demands of teaching, advising, and research; and the obstacles faced by new faculty of color. For example, Cole, McGowan and Zerquera’s (2017) study of first-year faculty of color revealed a disjointedness between how the participants had been socialized as doctoral students (who they were ‘groomed to be’) compared to the socialized values present in their new institutions (who they were ‘hired to be’). The study concludes with a call for further examination of ‘socialized agents’ who are then “inserted into a new community which may have its own sets of cultural expectations” (p.9). The findings of LaPointe and Terosky’s (2016) study also highlight the contingent and contested space inhabited by new faculty in higher educational spaces which “differ from their original aspirations” (p.241) and where the “norms and expectations for faculty work differ from that of the larger, well-resourced research universities” (p.242). In an autoethnographic account, Jubas (2012) situates her entry into academic life in a neoliberal framework which she argues “has profound implications for students, faculty

members and academic institutions" (p.26). As higher education becomes a commoditized product, institutions have become nimble at tailoring its offerings to adapt to market demands. Although this has led to broader research and curricular initiatives, novice faculty may be left with feelings of "conflict and disenfranchisement" (Kezar, 2004, as cited in Jubas, 2012, p.26) as they seek stable footing on perpetually shifting ground.

In addition to a focus on novice faculty, a study by McGinn and her colleagues (2012) explored faculty experiences across different stages of their careers. The study, titled "All the World's a Stage: Players on the Academic Landscape" examined the experiences of 15 faculty in higher education at different stages of their careers. The authors "learned that issues of history and continuity often collided with academics' conceptions of their work, their relationships with colleagues and students, and the connections they established between their personal and professional lives. Such issues rendered them vulnerable to the ways and mores of the academy and to the saga-keepers who kept earlier stories alive through their telling and retelling" (p.19).

The notion of 'saga-keepers' inspired this study and provides a gap that it will address. I joined the faculty of GGS at the age of 38, nearly twenty years younger than the next most junior faculty in my department. Among these six colleagues, all of them had served on the faculty for at least 15 years, four had been with GGS for 30 years, and the most senior faculty had received an award celebrating 40 years of service. At the time I did not have the language to describe them as 'saga-keepers', but this is what they were. As curators of institutional lore, they reveled in telling and retelling stories that captured the spirit and values of GGS.

Unlike the participants in McGinn's study who reported feelings of vulnerability toward the saga-keepers, I was drawn to the stories. As a novice faculty at the beginning of my academic career, they were stories of possibility, of what could be done and can be done at a place like this. One of the goals of this dissertation was to collect and learn more about these sacred stories. Why are they told (and re-told)? Where, why, and to whom are these stories told? These questions ultimately formed the first research questions for this study: What are the big stories told by veteran faculty? What is the value of these stories, for the tellers and the community? In the literature, the purpose and value of such stories receive very little attention. The most relevant study comes from Green and her colleagues, who examined stories told by old-timers and newcomers in a faculty-based teaching Community of Practice (CoP). They found that old-timers "told stories of praxis, of personally transformative (learning) that involved them in collective action in the wider socio-cultural context of teaching." Meanwhile, newcomer stories were characterized by "individual and pragmatic approaches focused on professional survival" (p.247). Within Lave and Wenger's CoP framework for situated learning, the novice faculty do not simply learn *from* talk, "they learn *to* talk as the key to legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p.95). For this reason, old-timer stories cannot be analyzed in isolation from the communicative act of telling, thus the present study pays attention to the types of stories told by veteran faculty and the purpose of the stories vis-a-vis an analysis of the positionality of the teller and listener. Green's study notes that learning between old-timers and newcomers is bidirectional. Old-timers not only picked up 'tips and tricks' from the newcomers, they also found that the narrative space created by faculty conversations enabled them to "make sense of the sometimes

painful, seemingly unmanageable divisions between the 'different selves' of the teaching/researching academic" (p.256).

The literature examining socialization of academic discourse and practices has also been primarily attuned to the experience of the novice or newcomer to an academic setting, both in terms of what is socialized and how this socialization takes place (Duff, 2011). However, Talmy notes that a language socialization perspective "offers the means to demonstrate the fundamental contingency and multi-directionality of socialization as it is - or is not - collaboratively achieved" (2008, p. 620). The concept of contingency, therefore, can be operationalized in this study in two different ways. There is contingency in the big stories of faculty experience related to job security in the milieu of enrollment challenges and campus internationalization. Small story contingency speaks to the multi-directionality of learning between faculty and students, and therefore this study aims to flip the script by focusing on research participants who are traditionally viewed as 'socializers' as opposed to 'socializees.' In doing so, the study aims to further interrogate the expert-novice construct through an examination of the narratives generated by faculty in the context of this study.

In summary, while there is growing attention in the literature to newcomers in higher education, there is a sizable gap regarding the experiences of veteran faculty in higher education. These faculty may be the saga-keepers or curators of institutional narratives, but curator is too static a label. Through narrative interaction with colleagues and students in their educational communities of practice, they continue to change in the latter stages of their careers. For this reason, the study examines big and small stories to

provide a fuller account of faculty experience, one which captures both the saga and the quotidian activities of the research context.

Macro to Micro: Narrative Research of Educators in Multilingual Settings

Pavlenko (2007) has implored narrative researchers to pay attention to the content and construction of narratives as well as the "social contexts of the phenomena that are the focus of investigation" (Barkhuizen, 2011, p.400). To do so, I examine narrative research which specifically attends to storylines operating at the micro and macro contextual levels. According to Garrett, "Attention to micro-macro connections is an important means by which researchers are able to distinguish between the universal and the culturally specific, and to consider the relationships between them" (2008, p.194).

I also sought sources which could serve as mentor texts for my study, either in the methods used or in how the author presented narrative data. Hayes's (2012) work exemplifies narrative research which met these criteria. In her study, she conducted a life history interview to elucidate the experiences of a Tamil teacher of English. In the presentation of the narrative data the teacher's stories are situated within the social and political climate of Sri Lanka during the civil war which afflicted the country for nearly three decades. A key insight in examining how Krishnan, the focal participant, came to be a teacher and envisaged his future is how Krishnan's "sense of self as a teacher is inextricably intertwined with the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka" (p.80) and that he came to view his role as an educator as a means of social transformation. Similar to the big stories told by participants in this study, Hayes presents an individual narrative which shapes and is shaped by broader societal forces.

In Sayer's (2012) narrative portraits of three English teachers in Oaxaca, there is similar attention given to how the lived experiences of these teachers unfold within a "contested historical, social, cultural, and political space" (p.4). The study is framed by a simple but powerful narratively-oriented question: What does it mean to teach English in Oaxaca? The question permits multiple, nuanced answers from the study's participants, and also creates space to examine how each participant mediates and is mediated by this environment. Sayer describes this as a "dialectical view of the relationship between people, practices, places, and language (which) allows us to account for both the ways in which institutional and ideological structures constrain people's ability to act upon the world in their own interests, as well as how individuals can exercise agency and (albeit limited) change despite those constraints" (p.6).

Additionally, in the opening chapter which outlines the conceptual framework for the study, Sayer notes that an "overriding concern in this book is to tell a good story" (p.16), which alludes to the choices he had to make as a narrative researcher in presenting his data in a way that appropriately situated the data in an academic framework and, at the same time, enabled him to 'tell a good story', one that the reader would enjoy. He is able to accomplish both by separating to some degree the academic framework from the stories of his participants. As a mentor text for this study, it allowed me to think strategically about how to present the stories of my participants, and resulted in a decision to have Chapter 3 (big stories) mostly retain a narrative feel that was true to the form of the original stories.

A final example of narrative research in multicultural, multilingual settings comes from Simpson (2011). Although the focus of this study was on ESL students as opposed

to teachers, it provides several valuable insights to my study. First, it utilized classroom discourse data as a means of gathering narratives told by students in a more naturalistic environment. Narratives of Simpson's participants were not told in life history interviews but constituted within daily talk. Second, this daily talk was contrasted with national policy language describing a "Skills for Life" policy initiative meant to serve the needs of language minority immigrants in England. The author found that the top-down policy language stressed three agendas: a culture of testing, skills for employability, and the emphasis on meeting citizenship requirements (p.11). In her data analysis, Simpson notes that "the field of ESOL itself is understood at policy level as a commodity and . . . ESL students are viewed in terms of how they can become more economically productive" (p.12). This commodity orientation was at odds with the narratives emerging in interaction between students in the classroom, which Simpson observed as 'footing' (Goffman, 1981) for students in taking identity stances. The author's use of narrative analysis for classroom discourse provided a model for examining the small stories which I saw emerging in classroom observation data. Similar to the students in Simpson's study, I observed students taking stances in relation to social, cultural, and political issues through the use of small story narratives, and these stances provided students with footing as they carved out a moral geography of salient issues. These stories are the focus of Chapter 4.

Small Story Research in Educational Settings

The emergence of small story research in educational settings can be traced to Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), who pressed for a reconceptualization of what types of stories should count as narrative data. They were "interested in the social

actions/functions that narratives perform in the lives of people: how people actually use stories in everyday, mundane situations in order to create (and perpetuate) a sense of who they are" (p.378-79). Between traditional spaces of teaching and testing, Georgakopoulou (2007) trained a research eye on the many 'mundane' social spaces which exist among participants in schools. For example, she examined a series of stories told by middle school girls which happened beyond the context of curricular activity in 'side-bar' conversations. These stories served a sociolinguistic function of 'breaking news' and as a currency within the specific context of the young girls' social group.

Research interest in small stories extended to the narrative activity of teachers, where atypical narrative activities have provided researchers with a new way of understanding and theorizing teacher identity, professional development, and pedagogical practices. Small story research by Juzwick and Ives (2010, 2015), for example, provided "a window onto teacher identity *in context*" (italics in original, 2010, p.38) compared to biographical stories which are 'representations of teacher identity'. Through analysis of small stories as a "theatrical performance of self," Ives and Juzwik (2015) explore teacher identity as performed in interactional classroom sequences. By focusing on narratives collected in classrooms, meetings, hallways, and in conversations with students and colleagues, Juzwick and Ives take up Bamberg and Georgakopolou's call for underrepresented stories within educational contexts. In doing so, they argue that identity is observable in context through methods which are more readily used by and associated with sociolinguistic, ethnographic, and conversation analytic approaches.

A relevant example of small story research of language teachers comes from Rugen (2010), who examined classroom narrative activity of Japanese pre-service

English teachers in a teacher education program. Rugen found that teachers in his study positioned themselves in particular ways, as novices or professional English teachers, through ratifications (or non-ratifications) of other teachers' small stories. Rugen's study is significant in the sense that he gathers less commonly identifiable stories and that he does so within the context of a language teacher education setting. In Rugen and Juzwick and Ives's work, we see researchers in the field of international education and language teacher education focused on narrative activity in the environment of teacher education and within specific settings of classrooms.

As a direct contribution to the literature of professional development of language teachers, Barkhuizen's work was central in adapting small story research from naturalistic settings of sociolinguistic studies into educational settings. The prime example of this is found in Barkhuizen's (2009) small story research into English language teacher identity and professional development. This study is significant because he does two things that have influenced how I frame, present, and analyze my data. First, in his narrative study of a Tongan pre-service English teacher in New Zealand, he identifies that small stories can be told in research interviews as well as classrooms, and that stories told in the classroom have something to say about stories told in interviews, and vice-versa. Secondly, Barkhuizen uses Bamberg's (1997; 2004) positioning analysis framework to see the stories as operating on multiple levels: at the level of the story itself (characters, events), the interaction between storytellers, and the relationship between the small story and a broader context. Positioning analysis is "an approach which offers one way of bringing together a focus on content, form and context in the analysis of narrative data" (Barkhuizen, 2009, p.283).

In the recent wave of small story research in educational settings, we see the usefulness of gathering such stories in the classroom and research interviews. The collection of small stories in multiple contexts is important because of the slightly different but complementary roles of stories across different spaces. These roles, observable through positioning analysis, create a bridge between micro-level narratives in interaction and macro-level stories at work in the research environment. In the small story data shared in Chapter 4, we will see that the small stories told in classroom discourse and interviews provide this connective thread.

Lastly, recent narrative research in educational settings has also examined how small stories are used pedagogically in classroom discourse. In Chapter 4, I observe Martin and his students telling different kinds of small stories. There are problem-posing small stories, vicarious small stories, and disnarratives, and each has its own purpose which will be examined in the analysis. These findings build on previous narrative research which identified the type of 'work' that stories do within classroom discussions. Norrick (2013), for example, observed that vicarious narratives, indirectly experienced by the teller, allow for sensitive topics to be discussed at arm's length and promote co-narration. Tyson (2016) explored the difference between narratives of conflict or failure, the staple of case-study pedagogy, and the use of 'success narratives' in teacher education programs to develop a "rich pedagogical imagination" (p.463).

Sensitive Topics in the Classroom

In the micro-level spaces of classrooms, students and faculty engage in discussions meant to examine best practices in the field and deepen understanding of content knowledge. At GGS, where intercultural communication and social justice are

foundational competencies for students pursuing degrees in language teaching, international education, and sustainable development, the classroom is where stories from 'out there' come into contact with stories 'in here' of student and faculty experience. These stories are not always sensitive or controversial. In my data set, there are stories of praxis (teaching vocabulary to young learners), stories of professional growth (co-teaching in Japan), and stories told to get a laugh (What happens in Vegas stays in Vegas). Then there is Martin's story (Chapter 4) about a teenager coming out to his international peers. Based on my own experience struggling with such conversations, I became interested in how other faculty promoted, facilitated, managed, or in some cases avoided discussion of sensitive topics in their classrooms. The literature reveals empirical interest in faculty engagement with sensitive topics, and I will briefly report on the findings of several studies in order to situate this study's contribution to this literature.

Love, Gaynor and Blessett (2016) described, on the one hand, a tendency for faculty to refuse to "engage in difficult dialogues around race . . . justified with claims that such discussions are irrelevant to course topics" (p.228). There was no such reluctance at GGS, where faculty aligned more closely with what Love and her colleagues described as "the double imperative -- one in which we are called upon both to facilitate students' process of critically engaging the world around them and to prepare future leaders with the tools they need to facilitate their own difficult conversations" (p.229). Studies which have examined the facilitation of challenging discussions in higher education (Quaye, 2012; Sue, 2010) note, however, that difficult conversations around race are often facilitated by faculty of color. White faculty in Feagin's study (2001, as cited in Quaye, p.104) were able to "identify when a student voiced a racist

comment during a discussion but were unable to structure meaningful dialogues that moved beyond the individual toward systemic racism." Several white faculty participants in my study shared similar stories of struggle in leading group discussions about race in a productive direction. The result can be an unsettled situation in which the imperative to 'prepare future leaders to facilitate their own discussions' is unrealized and students are left wondering, "If she can't do it, how can I?" Participants in Quaye's study provide strategies for white faculty in facilitating difficult discussions such as enabling students to share first-person narratives connected to an issue or to focus on local events, on campus or in the community, to make sense of theoretical constructs. The participants in my study provide a different contribution to this literature. Their stories of facilitating difficult dialogues are less focused on 'how to do this well' and much more attuned to how the story of a failed interaction has remained with them, revisited them, and changed the way they interact with students.

Conclusion

In 2021, the biggest stories in higher education include the phenomenon of internationalization, the rise of a contingent faculty labor force, the financial strain on small colleges, and the need to engage students in critical discussions around important and sensitive issues. Prior research has only partially examined how these bigger stories relate to the lived experiences of faculty. Additionally, narrative research into faculty experience tends to focus on the professional development of novices, leaving the stories of veteran faculty, also known as the 'saga keepers', relatively unexplored. Veteran faculty on the verge of retirement have experienced vastly different eras in higher education. Their stories hold insights into change, adaptation, and present-day realities for faculty in higher education.

Chapter 2 - Theoretical Frameworks and Research Approaches

> But too often in education research – unlike the duty of the epic theatre spectator– we look for, and find, the obvious. The realist tradition, and the perpetuation of the obvious in the stories of education research, has long lingered in the public imagination. Educational storytellers will need to break new ground and do so in theoretically robust ways; their stories, in both form and content, need to provoke new imaginings. (Gallagher, 2011, p.60)

Overview of the Study

This study examines the experience of faculty at the Greenhills Graduate School (hereafter GGS), a small graduate school located in New England and situated in the social, cultural and educational phenomena outlined in the literature review. As noted by Gallagher, narrative research has the potential to illuminate and "provoke new imaginings" of faculty in the rapidly changing landscape of higher education. The study is theoretically framed by Barkhuizen's narrative knowledging, a dynamic and comprehensive approach to collecting, analyzing, and sharing narrative data. Additional guiding concepts provided a means of understanding and analyzing different types of narrative data collected for the study. In order to analyze big stories, which "attempt to make sense of some significant dimension of one's life" (Freeman, 2006, p.133), I borrow from Johnson and Golombek's (2011) iteration of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, specifically the use of externalization as a means of reflection and professional learning for educators. I also take up Pavlenko's (2007) call for narrative research to move beyond thematic analysis by attending to the contextual reality of narratives. To

understand and analyze the small stories which emerged in classroom discussions, I use Hill's concept of moral geography to view stories in connection to the contested geographic spaces where stories are told and the 'storyworlds' evoked by the tellers. Finally, the concepts of multidirectionality and contingency, central to language socialization theory, informed how I came to view narrative data as interactional, situated between tellers, listeners, and broader discourses beyond the immediate storyworld.

To address the research questions and collect different types of narrative data, the study utilizes multiple methods. As noted by Pavlenko (2007, p. 169), some phenomena "are best examined through triangulation of linguistic, observational, and interview data, rather than narratives only." To achieve triangulation, I gathered big stories and small stories (Georgakopoulou, 2015) which emerged in interviews, focus groups, and classroom observations. The use of multiple methods cast a wider net, expanded the data set, and privileged a wider variety of narrative accounts. By collecting different types of narrative data, contrasting this data alongside other storied activity, and viewing the data through the theoretical framework, the study seeks to tell a research story in a "theoretically robust" manner, and to counter a common criticism of narrative research that it is "just telling stories" (Bell, 2002).

Big and small story data require an analytical approach attuned to different levels of narrative activity. At the first level of analysis, I was guided by Agar's notion of linguistic 'rich points' in looking for "surprising occurrences in language, problems in understanding that need to be pursued" (2000, p.94). Heeding Pavlenko's (2007) call for narrative research to go beyond identification of themes in autobiographical data, a positioning analysis (Bamberg, 2006; Barkhuizen, 2009) is utilized to examine the

relationship between content, tellers, listeners, and dominant discourses. The methods also enabled the study to examine links between micro-level interactions and macro-level social, cultural and political phenomena, shedding light on how faculty practices are influenced by these phenomena.

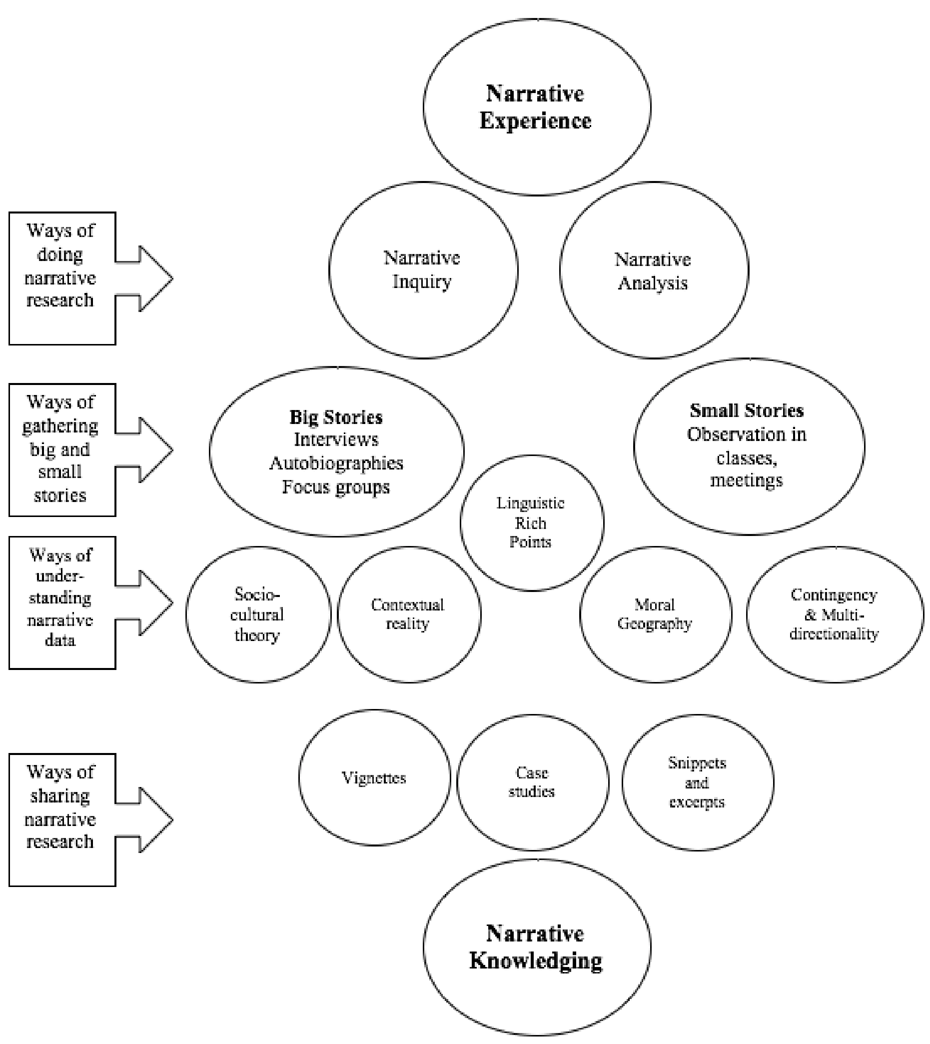
The study explores the following research questions:

1) What is the narrated experience of faculty in a small graduate program during an era of change in higher education?
2) What are the big stories told by faculty in this setting? How are they told and what is accomplished in their telling?
3) What small stories are told by faculty and students in this setting? How are they told and what is accomplished in their telling?

In brief, the first question is aligned with the narrative focus of the study and its foundational assumption that narrative is a process which helps humans understand experience and generates research knowledge about that experience (Barkhuizen, 2011). The first question is intentionally broad and reflects a commitment to the narrative ontology which "calls upon researchers to enter what Dewey termed 'ordinary experience,' both theirs and their participants'" (Caine, Estefan, & Clandenin, 2013, p.576). The second and third research questions are lines of inquiry connected to the research puzzle and choices which emerged as the result of interaction among participants and with the researcher before, during, and after the study. Clandenin and Rosiek (2007, p.9) paraphrase Dewey in stating that "an honest empirical method will present inquiry as a series of choices, inspired by purposes that are shaped by past experience" (p.9). As discussed in the introduction to the study, the choices I made for

this study are shaped by past experiences of being a participant in the research context and a purpose of learning more about particular types of stories being told in this context. To that end RQ-2 allows me to explore the relationship between individual and community narratives at GGS, and RQ-3 enables an inquiry into how storytellers position themselves within other societal narratives.

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework for the Larger Study



In Figure 1 above, the study begins at the top of the diagram with narrative experience, which includes the experience of the researcher/inquirer and those of the tellers in the research context. A narrative inquiry comes from interaction between the stories of researchers and participants, an intersection which takes the form of a research puzzle. Within this puzzle, narrative researchers consider the theories and methods available to explore their initial questions. The alignment between the findings chapters, research questions, methods, theoretical frameworks, and analysis is outlined in the table below.

Table 2 Framework Alignment

Chapter / Focus	**Research Question**	**Method**	**Theoretical Framework**	**Analysis**
3 Big Stories	2) What are the big stories of faculty in this context? What kinds of stories are told and what purpose do they serve?	Interviews	Narrative knowledging (Barkhuizen) Sociocultural theory – externalization (Johnson & Golombek)	Linguistic rich points (Agar) Positioning analysis (Bamberg, Barkhuizen)
4 Small Stories	3) What small stories are told by faculty and students in this context? What kinds of stories are told and what purpose do they serve?	Interviews Classroom Observations Focus Groups	Moral geography (Hill, Modan)	Linguistic rich points (Agar) Positioning Analysis (Bamberg, Barkhuizen

The opening section of this chapter has presented an overview of the conceptual framework and its alignment with methods selected for this narrative study. In the following section, I will elaborate on the conceptual framework to provide justifications for the selection and suitability of these concepts for the present study.

Conducting Narrative Research

Underneath the wide banner of narrative research, there are distinctions and discrepancies in how researchers view their work as informed by or conducted via narrative. In this chapter, I situate this study within the vibrant and contested space of narrative research. In general, I agree with Freeman (2015) who advanced the "idea that there is no more appropriate vehicle for studying human lives than through narrative inquiry" (pp.21-22). Having spent several years collecting, analyzing, and now retelling and repackaging narratives as research, I can also agree with Freeman's qualifier that this idea is 'deceptively simple'. As humans we live narrative lives. From birth to adulthood, we have listened to stories, told stories, and re-told them to family, friends, strangers and colleagues, in different languages and across a variety of contexts. This vast experience might lead one to believe that narrative research is a 'simple' task of collecting and reporting on these stories. In a seminal article published at the narrative turn in qualitative research Clandenin and Connelly reminded narrative inquirers to "listen closely to their critics" and cautioned that it "is too easy to become committed to the whole, the narrative plot . . . to lose sight of the various fine lines that one treads in the writing of the narrative" (1990, p.10). This chapter is devoted to the fine lines, both of narrative data and of a narrative approach to research. Narrative is both theory and method (Freeman, 2015), and the chapter is organized in a way that attends to both. I begin with a review of the theoretical landscape of narrative research and discuss how I came to find my own

footing within this rapidly expanding field. Then, I turn to methodological considerations for narrative researchers prior to outlining the methods utilized for this study.

Finding One's Footing

This study examines the lived and storied experience of faculty against a backdrop of contingency and internationalization in higher education. A key assumption of the study, therefore, is that narrative is an effective means of exploring these particular people within this particular setting. After a brief discussion highlighting key affordances and issues in narrative research, I will argue that doing narrative research is less a question of 'either/or' - either this way or that way - and more of a question of how the researcher plans to approach a research project from a narrative perspective.

Narrative inquiry is the exploration of human experience (Clandenin & Connelly, 1990). More broadly, the role of narrative is essential to understanding "how cultures rely upon narrative conventions to maintain their coherence and to shape their members to their requirements" (Bruner, 2010). In narratives, the lives of individuals are lived, told, and retold, and these stories both reflect and create the 'stories we live by' (Clandenin & Connelly, 2000). These stories are told by parents to children, teachers to students, and among colleagues, peers, and friends, and are utilized for different purposes and situated in a variety of contexts. Personal narratives, according to Bell, "allow researchers to present experience holistically in all its complexity and richness" and this depth of exploration necessarily involves "powerful constructions . . . instruments of social control as well as valuable teaching tools" (2002, p. 209). The narrative data collected by narrative researchers is, therefore, "rarely just neutral" (Bruner, 2010). As in any empirical research, narrative inquiry also involves serious ethical considerations as

researchers grapple with truthfully representing participant voices (Pavlenko, 2002) while at the same time protecting the anonymity of participants (Bell, 2011) and negotiating sensitive entries and exits of research sites (Clandenin & Connelly, 2000).

Conducting narrative inquiry research means something different depending on the researcher, the context, the participants, and the nature of the stories that are gathered and told. The consensus among narrative researchers aligns with De Fina's view that "narrative resists straightforward and agreed-upon definitions and conceptualizations" (2012, p.1). This does not mean that narrative-oriented researchers have not tried to define their work. Most narrative studies begin with a discussion of the author's interpretation of narrative, in general, and a justification of the author's choice to use particular theories and methods among the menu of available options.

For a novice researcher, the ambiguity of doing narrative inquiry is an opportunity and a constraint. It is an opportunity for researchers "to explore narrative work more freely without the constraints of prescriptive methodological patterns and to begin to locate themselves and their practice within the possibilities that narrative research has to offer" (Barkhuizen, 2014, p. 450). On the other hand, narrative inquiry scholars warn against any notion that narrative is an "easy kind of research . . . to design, live out, and represent in storied format in journals, dissertations, or books" (Clandenin, et al, 2007, p. 21). Quite the contrary, to those committed to a narrative view of human experience, utilizing a narrative perspective in research is 'serious business' (Bruner, 2010). At the level of a research study, narrative inquiry is 'serious' in the responsibility of researchers to clearly state theoretical, methodological, and ethical considerations of a study (Caine, Estefan & Clandenin, 2013). As Clandenin and Connelly wrote twenty-five years ago in

their seminal piece on narrative research in education, "It is currently the case that each inquirer must search for, and defend, the criteria that best apply to his or her work" (1990, p. 7).

Narrative Inquiry and Narrative Analysis: A Space Between

The search for a suitable approach begins with the distinction between narrative inquiry and narrative analysis. In this study, narrative inquiry means the process of entering into, being present within, and observing the storyworlds of participants. Narrative inquiry involves listening to, collecting, and telling stories in order to better understand the phenomenon at the center of the research study. Narrative analysis is defined in this study as having as its central focus the textual and contextual elements which shape stories told in interaction, primarily in naturalistic settings. Narrative analysis has blossomed over the past several decades as a response to a critique of proliferation of narrative inquiry research which has primarily used autobiographical and interview data to capture life history narratives. The surge of narrative analysis and the privileging of stories-in-interaction can be traced to the work of Ochs and Capps (1996, 2000) who argued that a "narrative point of view is realized through a community's linguistic repertoire, including its set of languages, dialects, and registers" (1996, p.27). Reflecting on the advent of a social-interaction approach to narrative research, DeFina and Georgakopoulou describe this approach as "combining a focus on local interaction as a starting point for analysis with an understanding of the embedding of narratives within discursive and sociocultural contexts" (2015, p.3). As such, narrative analysis and narrative inquiry are not in competition with one another. In this study, they serve

complementary roles in answering the main research question: What is the experience of faculty in a small graduate program during an era of rapid change in higher education?

Narrative analysis provides greater depth to a narrative inquiry. Pavlenko (2007) warned against the potential shallowness of thematic content analysis of autobiographical data which, she noted, had become the status quo for narrative studies in applied linguistics. Of the contribution that narrative analysis offers, Pavlenko writes:

> Context analysis exposes global and local influences on the content of individual narratives. In turn, analysis of form highlights the linguistic, cultural, and genre influences on ways in which people structure their life stories (macro-level). It also allows us to examine how storytellers achieve their interactional goals through particular narrative devices or lexical choice (micro-level) and illuminates individual creativity and agency in the presentation of self (p.177).

In spite of the emergence of narrative analysis, Vasquez notes that narrative research in TESOL was still dominated by autobiographical and life history accounts more typical of narrative inquiry. “In contrast,” Vasquez writes, “narrative analysis, with its focus on the specific details of small stories remains much rarer in the field” (2011, p.536). This clear gap statement presents an invitation to researchers to raise the flag of narrative analysis in examining stories-in-interaction in educational contexts. However, after some initial squabbling between defenders of big and small stories (see Freeman, 2006 vs. Bamberg, 2006), it is now the case that narrative researchers have a middle path which borrows from both narrative camps. Freeman ends up offering a middle path, stating that “Big and small stories . . . complement one another; taken together, they represent a promising integrative direction for narrative inquiry” (2006, p.131).

Types of Narrative Data: Big and Small Stories

The distinction between narrative inquiry and narrative analysis mirrors a similar distinction in narrative methods and data. Narrative researchers encounter all kinds of stories. There are stories in conversation, interviews, between friends, colleagues, and strangers. They are told in classrooms, breakrooms, exercise rooms, and, more recently, Zoom rooms. Ultimately the stories may fall into one of two categories: big and small. Big stories allow for retrospection and reflection that are "largely unavailable in the immediacy of the moment" (Freeman, 2006). These stories, which are often gathered in interviews and are biographical in nature, may privilege a view of contextual factors which shape daily practices of faculty. Narrators of big stories can put the pieces together and thoughtfully integrate social and cultural stories 'out there' into their personal experiences in strategic ways. The prevalence of big stories in the late 1990s and early 2000s was celebrated as evidence that narrative research had gained momentum, but also treated with suspicion as potentially unserious empirical work. This created an opening for small stories, grounded in discourse analysis and conversation analytic approaches, to emerge and provide a perspective on narrative activity, from the ground up, that the big stories may have missed from up above.

Small stories can serve different purposes depending on the context in which they are told. Stories are told as means to cooperate in a 'team performance' (Norrick, 2019) around a particular topic. Norrick (2013) noted that in addition to narratives of personal experience, 'narratives of vicarious experience' are often used to strengthen an argument or assist in co-narration with peers. Collaborative storytelling, which is focal to the conversations between faculty and students in this study, has a pedagogical value as well.

As Bietti and colleagues argue, the specific value of storytelling “lies in making sense of non-routine, uncertain, or novel situations, thereby enabling the collaborative development of previously acquired skills and knowledge” (2018, p. 710). For the faculty and students at GGS, classroom discussions are replete with these types of stories. On several occasions I observed faculty present a story, often in the form of a case study, to students in order to promote collaborative narrative activity around that story. An example of collaborative narration will be presented in Chapter 4.

Bridging Narrative Worlds: Narrative Knowledging

How do big and small stories fit together in the collection, analysis, and presentation of narrative data? Barkhuizen provides the clearest path toward conducting narrative research which can realize the full potential of the synergy of small and big story data. His definition of ‘narrative knowledging’ presents narrative research as open to multiple, connected sources of narrative activity. It is “the meaning-making, learning, and knowledge construction that takes place at all stages of a narrative research project, from the conception of the research project to the consumption of the research report” (2011, p.395). Of particular note is the link that narrative knowledging makes between activity and cognition. Through the process of narrating stories, gathering stories and analyzing stories in conversation, the researcher and participants gain an understanding of experience and generate knowledge. One study in particular (Barkhuizen, 2009) represents a middle path for narrative researchers seeking to capture and seek connections between ‘small’ and ‘big’ stories which emerge in the course of research activities. In this study, Barkhuizen conducts a positioning analysis of a pre-service English teacher’s narrative data which revealed the focal participant’s ‘better life’ aspirations via stories

which took place across multiple sites of learning and teaching. As described by the author, “Positioning analysis operates on three levels, which together require the analyst to examine the content and characters in the story, the interactive performance of the story, and the positions that are agentively taken by the narrator vis-a-vis normative discourses. Positioning analysis thus considers content, form, *and* context” (emphasis in original, p.282).

It is also a direct response to Pavlenko’s (2007) call for greater attention in narrative research to the form and context of narrative data. Pavlenko persuasively argued that the large body of narrative research derived from autobiographies and diaries (including her own previous work) had relied too heavily on thematic analysis which risks “offering conclusions that are too obvious and trite” (p.167). In calling for greater focus on contextual and textual factors in narrative research, Pavlenko states that any such effort requires researchers to “adopt a specific theoretical framework that would allow them to clarify the nature of (thematic) categories and to pinpoint the links between the recurring themes and conceptual constructs" (p.167).

The relevance of Pavlenko’s argument to the present study is significant. It directed me to find a suitable theoretical framework which can capture the dynamic nature of narrative activity likely to be present in a multicultural, multilingual research setting. It also implies the need for methods which are attuned not just to the content of narratives but to the context and text of storied activities. Returning to Barkhuizen’s (2009) positioning analysis of a pre-service English teacher, this study offers an example of how thematic content from narrative data collected through autobiographical accounts, or ‘big stories’, can be enhanced with the inclusion of ‘small story’ data derived from

conversation. This combination enables Barkhuizen a conceptual bridge between the thematic content of biographical data and the contextual and textual narrative elements of 'snippets' of conversation, a bridge made possible by the positioning analysis taken up in his study.

As a means of summarizing the conceptual appeal of narrative research and of situating the proposed study within narrative research, I would like to return to Barkhuizen's (2014) invitation for researchers to "begin to locate themselves and their practice within the possibilities that narrative research has to offer" (p.450). Where is the study located?

- As a phenomenon, narrative both reflects and constitutes experience and therefore provides an avenue toward better understanding the experiences of faculty in higher education that are the focus of this study.
- Narrative knowledging provides a conceptual framework which links narrative research activities to the generation of knowledge, and is therefore useful as an umbrella concept in the research design.
- 'Big' stories allow for retrospection and reflection that are "largely unavailable in the immediacy of the moment" (Freeman, 2006). These stories also may enable contextual factors which shape daily practices of faculty to emerge.
- 'Small' stories give voice to "a gamut of under-represented and a-typical narrative activities" (Georgakopoulou, 2015) and provide an important piece of triangulation alongside content and context. Therefore, this study collects big and small stories as a means of making such analysis possible.

Theories Informing the Present Study

Sociocultural Theory: Externalization and Verbalization

Johnson and Golombek (2002, 2011) make a clear case for the advantage of exploring teacher development narratively. They utilize Vygotskyian sociocultural theory to argue that narrative serves three important functions in the development of teacher cognition. First, narrative enables the process of externalization. Narrative is a "means of enabling teachers to disclose their understandings and feelings by reacting and giving voice, oral or written, to what they perceive, creating opportunities for introspection, explanation, and sense-making" (2011, p. 491). Further, they argue that externalization creates space within a person's zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978) to promote further social interaction, via conversations and feedback, for example, with 'knowledgeable others.' The methods of this study are informed by these concepts: through participant interviews and focus groups, the narrative activities of faculty are externalized and available for mediation through interaction with the researcher and other participants. Through interviews and focus groups, narratives which may have previously been held as private are externalized and available as data for analysis.

A similar function of narrative is as a form of verbalization. Through verbalization, teachers have the opportunity to describe 'everyday concepts' and 'scientific concepts'. 'Everyday concepts' emerge from daily life experience and have not been systematically categorized or analyzed. 'Scientific concepts' are theoretical in nature. Everyday concepts are practical while scientific concepts are more abstract (Johnson & Golombek, 2011, p. 492). Narrative is a means of mediating between the concrete and the abstract. In other words, through verbalization in narrative, teachers make connections between their everyday practice and the theoretical notions they may

have encountered or taught in teacher education programs. In sociocultural theory, the narrative is a means of cognitive development as a teacher internalizes an external process in talking and writing about their experience. For participants in the study, interviews are a means to bring narrative texture to everyday concepts in the work of faculty: teaching, learning, reflection, opportunity, collaboration, words that are so common that their meaning can be abstracted without verbalization. Scientific concepts in the realm of participants' work include terms like anti-racism and social justice. Definitions of these terms are readily available but may only be internalized through encounters and interaction.

Lastly, narrative serves as a tool for systematic examination. In performing narrative activities, such as writing a language learning autobiography or partaking in action research, teachers have the opportunity to analyze their own learning and the learning that takes place in their classrooms. According to Johnson and Golombek, "what is learned is fundamentally shaped by how it is learned, and it follows that, when teachers use narrative as a vehicle for inquiry, how they engage in narrative activities will fundamentally shape what they learn" (Johnson & Golombek, 2011, p. 493). For this reason, it is important to go beyond what is told in narrative and consider the 'how', 'why', 'who', and 'where' of narrative data. What is told is shaped by the context of telling and to whom the story is told. A story shared by a faculty in the classroom to her students may be qualitatively different than one told in a research interview. It follows that faculty learning is different depending on the type of story that is told.

The methods utilized by Johnson and Golombek (journals and autobiographies) differ from the methods of this study (interviews, classroom observations, and focus

groups). The use of particular methods, and not others, is another example of the 'series of choices' Clandenin referred to as part of "an honest empirical method . . . inspired by purposes that are shaped by past experience" (Clandenin & Rosiek, p.9). The appeal of Johnson and Golombek's research to the present study is in the exploration of teachers' narrative activities which are contextualized both by the here-and-now of classroom instruction and the broader, socio-cultural and socio-political settings where the work of teachers is carried out. Narrative research, the authors claim, allows these activities to "go public" and serve as a "tool for local knowledge-building" (p.501). Given the gaps in the literature related to contingent faculty in the era of campus internationalization, the study is a timely opportunity for the narratives of faculty working in this context to 'go public'. Through faculty big stories, I am able to address the second research question: What are the big stories of veteran faculty in this setting? Why are they told and what is accomplished in their telling?

Moral Geography

The small stories turn was influenced by sociolinguists' attention toward storytelling in conversation which broke the Labovian mold of "an active teller, highly tellable account, relatively detached from surrounding talk and activity . . . and certain, constant moral stance" (Ochs & Capps, 2001, p.20). In Chapter 4, we will observe small stories used by faculty and students to push classroom discourse toward a future-oriented question: What would you do? The link between past, present, and future stories has a moral dimension: "Narratives situate narrators, protagonists, and listener/readers at the nexus of morally organized, past, present and possible experiences" (Ochs & Capps, 1997, p.22). Moral geography, discussed further below, can show how faculty and

students use ‘morally organized experiences’ to take stances and make assertions within the context of a classroom discussion. With narratives and through moral geography, I am able to address the third research question: What small stories are told in classroom interaction between faculty and students? Why are they told and what is accomplished in their telling?

Narrative as Landscaper of Moral Geography

Moral geography is “an interweaving of a moral framework with a geographical territory” (Modan, 2007, p.297). For a storyteller, it is a means of “showing how you fit in and that you fit in to the given terrain” (p.91). The concept traces back to the linguistic anthropologist Jane Hill and her research of narrative in Mexicano borderlands. Hill (1995) demonstrated that her narrator, a man named Don Gabriel who tells a story about the murder of his son, uses space and boundaries to index moral stances within his story. For example, as Don Gabriel recounts the moments and encounters which led to the discovery that his son had been killed, he creates a moral geography of safe and dangerous areas, spaces “associated with peasant communitarian values...contrasted with spaces associated with danger and business-for-profit” (p.111). Hill provides close analysis of linguistic choices which mark moral boundaries, such as when Don Gabriel uses Spanish as the language of profit versus Mexicano, the safe language of the village.

Moral geography has been taken up by other scholars to examine narratives-in-interaction. Erol (2018) examined online exchanges about Gezi Park in Istanbul during the 2013 protests against the construction of a shopping mall which led to a broader national movement against the Turkish government. Erol argues that Gezi Park is a contested space, where moralities of heteronormativity (the construction of shopping

malls) are contested by queering of the same space through protests and well-known use as a cruising scene. Moral geography, argued Erol, "is an ongoing and dynamic contestation between various performativities that are part of or lay claim to that particular space" (p.432). For Hill, moral geography is evident in Don Gabriel's narrative which invokes multiple, separate worlds with moralities at odds with one another (village safety vs. city danger). Erol examines online discourse as a means of interrogating a single space, mapping ideologies of queering onto subversive uses of the space and heteronormativity of the construction of shopping malls for mass, neoliberal consumption.

When I first read Hill's analysis of Don Gabriel's narrative, I did not know how it might be useful to understand my narrative data. Don Gabriel indexes stance through multiple voices and multiple languages, and he is a solo narrator. I was not sure how faculty and student stories connected in any way to Don Gabriel. It was not until I read Modan's (2007) ethnography of Mt. Pleasant, and her explanation of her own path toward moral geography, that I discovered the place for moral geography in my research. Modan writes:

> Hill's framing of moral geography at first did not seem to fit my case because I was not contrasting different areas. But after reading this essay, I started to notice more and more that Mt. Pleasant discourse was full of references to other places. And just as Don Gabriel had done, people in Mt. Pleasant used negative characterizations of these other places to bolster the positive qualities of the place they associated themselves with. With Hill's concept of moral geography, I was able to spatialize the notion of social positioning - to think about how social positioning worked in relation to real geographic space - and to start theorizing about how social positioning was accomplished through the discursive strategy of contrast (p.298).

In the stories that faculty and students told, in class, in the office or the dining hall, I saw a similar discursive strategy of contrast. I noticed stories being told in the present about another place, as a way to index a moral stance, which mostly served as a way to show others "how you fit in and that you fit in" (Modan, 2007, p.91) at Greenhills Graduate School.

Language Socialization – Contingency and Multidirectionality

Moral geography provides a conceptual means to see stances taken by storytellers as linked to geographic spaces. Language socialization theory informs the study in a similar way, enabling a view of the contested nature of novice-expert relationships that are often presupposed to exist between faculty and students. Language socialization scholars are interested in how the linguistic environment is organized in ways to shape members to customs and values. The central features of a language socialization research approach include a longitudinal study design, the collection of audio or video recording in a variety of naturalistic settings, and an analytical focus on how "individual developmental processes relate to larger sociocultural and historical processes" (Garrett, 2008, p.194). Although the present study does not employ the longitudinal, ethnographic design used by language socialization scholars to trace developmental trajectories, I utilize interviews and observation of a naturalistic classroom context to achieve a similar aim of observing change at community and individual levels. Faculty stories, both elicited and naturalistic, enable a view of changes experienced by faculty.

One of the central changes observed in the data is the evolving nature of faculty-student relationships. The socialization of novice students into practices espoused by expert faculty is not assumed to be unidirectional or uncontested. Rather, the asymmetry

in status and roles of various members of a group can create power dynamics and ideological conflicts among individuals. Talmy notes that language socialization offers "the means to demonstrate the fundamental contingency and multidirectionality of socialization as it is - or is not - collaboratively achieved" (2008, p.620). In this study, I am interested in viewing faculty experiences which are similarly contingent and multi-directional in nature. Compared to L1 socialization of young children by their caregivers, the factors at play in second and multilingual socialization where a host of various stances, subjectivities, and identities are at stake can be relatively complex (Duff, 2011). The role of novice can be blurred as novices take agentive roles in socializing peers and knowledgeable others (Bayley & Langman, 2011).

For this reason, language socialization scholars are attuned to the critical elements involved in language socialization in multilingual contexts such as the research site. Aware of critiques of language socialization as "overly deterministic" and "unidirectional", scholars from the language socialization tradition explore interaction through micro and macro lenses. Ochs and Schieffelin note that all socialized interaction involves "an asymmetry of knowledge and power. This asymmetry may last for the duration of an interactional turn or a lifetime" (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011, p. 6). Language socialization, as a theoretical framework, is distinguished by its attention to both interactional turns and lifetimes. The fluidity of novice-expert relationships was observed in a study by Figueroa (2012) of mixed-status immigrant families, which showed that children in such families are not always positioned as novices. In this case, the language of the children socialized parents into ways of thinking about their collective futures. Attached to this language were ideologies about opportunity, which connects to larger

political and social discussions in the U.S. related to immigration. Kim and Duff's (2012) study serves as an example of peer socialization, with no clear boundaries for novices and experts. The 'Generation 1.5' Korean-Canadian students in this study looked horizontally to different peer groups to negotiate their identities in relation to these groups.

Talmy's (2008) language socialization research of ESL students at a multilingual high school in Hawaii further highlights the notions of contingency and multi-directionality. Talmy observed resistance among students toward socialized identities of belonging to a particular group, namely 'ESL student'. Instead, these students resisted such a label by "consistently subvert(ing) the actions, stances, and activities" (p.619) of the school. The findings suggest to Talmy that "contingency and multi-directionality are inherent in language socialization given its orientation to socialization as an interactionally-mediated process" (p.621).

A language socialization perspective offers an opportunity to see the dynamic, multidirectional nature of teaching and learning processes at play in the research site. In the initial round of data analysis, narratives that were coded by themes of contestation, conflict, and confusion often involved discussions between faculty and students about such issues, and on closer analysis, what was being contested often had to do with language. Some examples include: the use of certain terms to identify sexual orientation; the meaning of 'sexual assault'; the concept of 'appropriation'; and the definition of a 'safe space' for discussion. Because the research site involves participants on an expert-novice continuum in which novices are ostensibly being shaped to the practices of experts, and because this shaping is evident in the language of participants, a language

socialization perspective is particularly suitable for examining change reported by faculty in elicited and naturalistic narrative data.

Research Design

Setting

The setting for the study is the Greenhills Graduate School (GGS) which has MA degree programs in international education, TESOL, sustainable development and conflict transformation. It is a subsidiary of a larger international organization based in Washington D.C. which oversees a number of international development projects. The school also runs study abroad programs for high school and undergraduate students. As such, the relationship between the graduate school and the broader organization is intertwined philosophically through experiential, international education. The financial picture of the school is somewhat complex for an institution which has less than 200 full-time students. At times of high enrollment throughout its history, the graduate school has contributed to its bottom line. At other times, it is a so-called 'loss leader' in the sense that the graduate school is losing money or breaking even but adds value to the broader organization through its visibility and word of mouth from alumni. There are many factors which have sustained and challenged the viability of the graduate school over its six-decade history, including: the mobility of international students, the appetite for domestic students in the U.S. to take on debt, and ever-changing policies in Washington D.C. related to engagement with foreign countries and visa regulations. An example mentioned in Chapter 1 related to visa restrictions was the 'Muslim ban' imposed by the Trump administration which made it difficult for students from certain countries to enter the U.S. The school also saw a decline in enrollment following the financial crisis of

2008, a dip that the graduate school had not recovered from at the time the study was conducted.

The struggle to maintain financial viability is related to the backdrop of internationalization efforts by other institutions in higher education over the past several decades. At a different point in its institutional lifetime, GGS had been one of the few places if not the flagbearer for internationally focused graduate degrees in TESOL, International Education, and Sustainable Development. As more and more public and private universities sought to internationalize their student bodies and curricula, competition for enrolling students increased, leading to a paradoxical situation in which there was simultaneous, explosive growth globally in these fields and a declining enrollment of students in GGS programs.

This confluence of factors is one of the reasons GGS was selected as the research site. The history and tradition of the place was a story itself, but the institutional story was rapidly changing. The faculty participants in my study, most of whom had spent their entire careers at GGS, had witnessed these changes firsthand and, in fact, very acutely during the time of the data collection. Prior to the participant recruitment stage, faculty had spent the prior year in a series of strategic planning meetings meant to 're-envision' the institution through new marketing and academic programs. With a goal of attracting new students and reclaiming its foothold in the world of international education, faculty within each degree program had also spent a great deal of time reviewing its curriculum, proposing changes to course names and degree programs. A vision emerged in which GGS might leverage its successful undergraduate study abroad programs as sites for global MA programs in which, in a form of 'graduate study abroad,' students would

spend one academic semester in New England and another at an international site in which issues relevant to their degree program were playing out on the ground.

A narrative study of faculty in the midst of these efforts, with winds of internationalization blowing and the shadow of institutional closure looming, could be wide or deep. I chose deep. A study of faculty narratives surveying faculty across different institutions might have yielded more generalizable insights into how faculty are adapting to the changing landscape. I was more interested, however, in the rich, storied, professional lives that faculty had led up to this point in time. How did they get here? In a world of increasing professional mobility, why had they stayed so long? In making the choice to 'go deep', I was also committed to the narrative ontology which places a value on being 'in the midst' of participants lives, knowing that these lives "do not begin when we arrive nor do they end when we leave" (Clandenin & Connelly, 2000, p.64).

Participants

After the study received IRB approval, participant recruitment was conducted via email to 28 faculty members at GGS which described the purpose, design, procedures, and risks of the study. In total, 16 faculty responded to the email expressing an interest in participating. Of these 16, 12 faculty ultimately joined the study. In an effort to study narratives from faculty at different stages of their careers, I had sought to include both veteran faculty (defined as 10 or more years working at GGS) and newcomers (less than 10 years at GGS), but the pool of potential applicants was already skewed towards veterans. Of the 28 faculty at GGS, only five of them had been at the institution for less than 10 years. As a result, it was not surprising that of the 12 faculty who enrolled in the study, only two are newcomers and the rest are veterans. In the participant sample, I also

sought a mix of faculty from the available degree programs at GGS. Although a comparison of faculty experience between degree programs was not a central aim of the study, I did not want to exclude the possibility that narratives from faculty working in overlapping but distinct fields could yield interesting findings. This was another choice of 'wide vs. deep', and in this case I chose a wider range of faculty specialization to cast a wider net within GGS. Positionality of the researcher was also a factor in this decision, which will be further discussed below. Of the 12 participants, 5 came from the TESOL program, 3 from International Education, 3 from Intercultural Leadership, and 1 from Conflict Transformation. A table showing the demographic information of the 12 participants is displayed below.

Table 3 Faculty Participants

Participant (pseudonym)	Nationality	Years at GGS	Degree focus
Darina	Eastern Europe	4	International Education
Kate	North America	4	International Education
Sandra	Western Europe	18	TESOL
Rada	Eastern Europe	20	TESOL
Sarah	North American	25	International Education
Laura	North America	30	TESOL
Maria	North America	32	TESOL
Martin	North America	33	Conflict Transformation
Annette	North America	35	Intercultural Leadership
Karlene	North America	37	Intercultural Leadership
Loretta	North America	39	Intercultural Leadership
Elizabeth	North America	41	TESOL

The 12 faculty members are the primary participants in the study. Four of these faculty allowed me to observe their classes, creating a secondary set of student participants. Between these four faculty, I conducted a total of seven classroom observations resulting in approximately 10 hours of audio-recorded discussions. In total,

33 students consented to participate in the study through observation and audio-recording of their classes. Students were not interviewed. All 33 participated in the study as students in classrooms I observed. Of these 33 students, 15 took part in a panel discussion organized by a faculty participant during his class session. The nine students who appear in the data discussed in this dissertation are listed in the table below.

Table 4 Student Participants

Participant (pseudonym)	Nationality	Degree focus
Amanda	North American	International Education
Caroline	North American	International Education
Vivian	North American	Intercultural Leadership
Charles	North American	Intercultural Leadership
Ava	European	TESOL
Ling	East Asian	TESOL
Madeline	North American	TESOL
Sally	East Asian	Intercultural Leadership
Allison	North American	Intercultural Leadership

Role of the Researcher

I carried out this study tiptoeing between multiple roles. As a junior faculty member at GGS, I was a newcomer and, only to some degree, an outsider. I had also earned a Master's degree at GGS nearly a decade before joining the faculty, and was already familiar with some of the faculty and the culture of the institution, and this familiarity was an affordance for a narrative study. Bell (2011) notes that narrative researchers, because of the great deal of time spent with participants in conversation about each other's lives, often develop deep friendships. There is an 'emotional commitment' to the participants and their stories. With several of my participants, this commitment had been established prior to the study, facilitating an easier entry into their

lives. These participants knew me and they trusted me and were eager to share professional and personal stories.

At the time of the study I was a newcomer to the faculty, and at the same time completing a doctoral program which had guided me toward doing narrative research. My path as a new faculty and novice researcher converged into the opportunity to do a narrative study about the lives of faculty. I became interested in how the landscape of higher education seemed to be shifting beneath our feet. I was particularly interested in understanding how this was affecting veteran faculty. I wanted to know how they had adapted to a number of changes including student demographics, institutional evolution, and new ways of working with diverse groups of students, and I had come to see storytelling as the best way to understand what was happening.

However, discerning the role of friend, colleague, junior colleague, and researcher is also complicated and raises ethical dilemmas for the study. One central concern relates to protecting participants from harm, typically through the use of pseudonyms and de-identification of data. However, in the telling of personal and professional stories, "we cannot so easily obscure people's lives, because their lives are the focus of the inquiry" (Bell, 2011, p.578). Some of my participants asked *not* to be given pseudonyms, one telling me in a humorous tone, "These are my stories! I want you to use my real name." Honoring this request was a way to represent this participant's story more truthfully. Yet, the participant's stories included references to current colleagues and former students who had not given permission to be named, and whose story would be identifiable through the use of the participant's name. Therefore, in the reporting of narrative data, I tread between representation and protection, and walk a fine line between the 'off the

record' stories told in casual settings and stories recorded interviews for the purposes of research. As Clandenin and Connelly put it, the relationship between narrative researcher and participants (which they described as "falling in love") must be balanced by sound judgment and "cool observation" (2000, p.81).

Another complex question came with how to represent my positionality in the reporting of narrative research: How much should the researcher be 'present' in the narrative accounts of participants? There was a time in narrative research in which, "For all practical purposes, the researcher is absent from the report, looming behind the text as an omniscient, transcendental, all knowing figure" (Canagarajah, 1996, p.324). In his writing, Canagarajah was not suggesting that the researcher was 'absent' per se, rather that narrative researchers needed to step out from behind the text and explicitly state their role and relationships in the research context. Since then, narrative researchers (Pavlenko, 2002; Bell, 2011; Barkhuizen, 2015) have provided models of narrative research which better articulate the role of the researcher and highlight the "way that narrative inquiry occurs within relationships among researchers and practitioners" (Clandenin & Connelly, 1990).

Researcher Positionality and Narrative Data

Explicit attention to the role of the researcher also has two significant implications for the narrative data. First, the set of possible stories expands when the researcher is included. For example, Norton and Early (2011), analyzed the narrative activity present in language they used as researchers negotiating entry into a research site in Uganda. These 'extracts' contained small stories which indexed a variety of researcher identities presented to participants: collaborative team member, international visitor, or teacher

educator. Naming these identities allowed Norton and Early to "make visible the complex ways in which researcher identity impacts research." Notably, my presence and positionality in participant stories is more evident in small story data, which were brief exchanges I had with participants during interviews.

A second implication of the role of the researcher relates to the nature of narrative data. There is a qualitative difference between a story told in the context of a research interview, a story presented by a faculty member to students at the beginning of class, and stories which emerge as part of a free-flowing class discussion. In the setting of a research interview, stories are elicited by the researcher through questions. For example, one of the questions from my interviews was: "How did you become a faculty member here?" This question is likely to produce a storied account shaped both by events and characters in the story as well as the relationship between the researcher and participant. A recurring phrase which came up during interviews was, "Have I told you the one about (so and so)?", indexing a prior inventory of storied activity between teller and listener. Stories are selected and told in order to fill gaps in the listener's 'library' of stories. In observing faculty classes, there were generally two types of stories. There is a type told by Martin in Chapter 4, in which the story serves as a prompt for further discussion. It has a pedagogical role of evoking narratives from students that are connected to the original story. In other classroom discussions, stories emerge more organically, from an aside or a question posed by faculty and their students. The difference in how stories emerged -- from researcher questions or faculty prompts or through organic discussion -- became a unit of analysis aligned with the research questions inquiring into the purpose

of narratives in different contexts of the study.

Methods

As discussed in a previous section, the methods were guided by the conceptual design which sought biographical, big stories told in interview settings and small stories told predominantly in classroom discussion. Small stories were also told, with less frequency, within interviews and focus groups. Through a combination of big and small story data, I wanted to see faculty experience from above and shaped by everyday interaction. The study utilized three methods of data collection. These methods are displayed in the table below. A rationale is given for each instrument and description of the process carried out.

Table 5 Overview of Methods

Methods	Participants	Quantity	Timeline
Semi-structured interviews	12 faculty	25 interviews = 35 hours of audio-recorded interviews	Initial interviews conducted March-June 2018 Follow-up interviews March 2019-July 2020
Classroom observations	3 faculty 33 students	7 recorded sessions = 10 hours of audio-recorded data	March 2018-May 2018
Focus groups	6 faculty 15 students	2 recorded focus groups = 2.5 hours of audio-recorded data	March 2018-May 2018

Interviews

Phenomenological interviewing is a method which uses both life-history interviewing and in-depth interviews, and provides participants an opportunity to share his or her experience as it relates to the topic of the research (Seidman, 2013). This

approach conducts three interviews, each with its own purpose. The first interview was designed to be a life history interview which has a purpose of looking backward so that the participant can provide contextual history of how he or she came to be a faculty in the research setting. The second interview focused on present-day activities, in this case the experience of being a faculty member in this research site. For participants who granted access to their classrooms, the second interview was also a chance to discuss the class and ask follow up questions. Seidman presents the final interview as a way of reflecting on this question: “Given what you have said about your life before you became (a faculty member) and given what you have said about your work now, how do you understand this role in your life? What sense does it make to you?” (p. 22). One final note from Seidman is that the validity of interviews is buoyed somewhat by the fact that participants are “currently engaged in those experiences that are relevant to the study” (p.20). In other words, the truthfulness of any narrative account may be enhanced by its immediacy.

Interview Process

I conducted semi-structured participant interviews with 12 faculty participants. The initial goal was to interview each participant a total of three times in order to explore different aspects of faculty experience. In many cases, participant availability required changing the three-interview model to be reduced to two longer interviews. Each interview lasted approximately 60-90 minutes. Participants typically selected the location for the interview, often in their office but in some cases, we met in my office or arranged to meet off campus. In the latter stages of the study, follow-up interviews were conducted via Skype and Zoom because I had left the research site. In total, 25 interviews were conducted resulting in approximately 35 hours of interview data.

Classroom Observations

As noted above, classroom observations were conducted with a subset of the 12 participants. I visited the classrooms of six faculty participants to provide students with information about the study, answer questions, and leave consent forms. After several weeks, I confirmed with faculty participants the unanimous consent among their students to participate in the study, with two faculty opting out of the observations. I observed three of the faculty courses two times, and one of the faculty classrooms once. The classes lasted approximately three hours. As classes were discussion based, much of the class time was devoted to small group work. In this case, I sat with a particular group and either recorded or took notes. When the class met as a whole, I audio-recorded the discussion. In total, I recorded approximately 10 hours of classroom discussions.

Within the classroom, I used field notes and audio-recordings to capture observations and classroom discourse. The field notes contained a descriptive column for recording what was happening in the classroom and a reflective column to capture "insights, hunches, or broad ideas or themes that emerge during the observation" (Creswell, 2005, p.214). The template I used for field notes can be found in Appendix A, and a sample of field notes from one classroom observation can be found in Appendix B. Given the interactive nature of GGS classes, one challenge I encountered was audio-recording classroom talk which did not always run through the faculty. Talk was distributed around the classroom as pairs and groups of students discussed topics prompted by the teacher and worked collaboratively on tasks. In these instances, I decided to move the audio recorder within one group of students in order to get a sample of how students were engaging with prompts and tasks.

The Presence of the Narrative Researcher in the Classroom

In contrast to the interview setting, in which the researcher is fully engaged in the elicitation and co-construction of participant narratives, the role of the researcher in the classroom can vary from observer to participant-observer to full participant. Prior to visiting classrooms, I emailed or talked to faculty in person to learn about their plan and discuss the role I would have during class, and this role varied depending on the faculty member's preference as well as what was happening that day in class. In one of Loretta's sessions, for example, I sat toward the back of the class taking notes, with my audio recorder capturing the conversation between Loretta and her students. Later in the session, however, a guest speaker came to Loretta's class and, in a humorously forceful way, demanded that I participate in her interactive lecture. Much later, when I reviewed the transcript for this session, I noticed a sudden change in the data which went from descriptive observation to entangled participant. I mention this as an example of how narrative researchers must be flexible and nimble in negotiating their roles within different contexts.

Focus Groups

Purposive sampling was used for interview participants as well as a subset of interviewees who agree to take place in a focus group discussion. One of the reasons for the focus group is that this activity provided a different type of narrative data, one that is collaboratively achieved through faculty who have shared both similar and different experiences in their careers. In terms of conducting the focus groups, a funnel strategy (Morgan, 1999) was used as a middle ground between unstructured and tightly-controlled conversation. In such a focus group, the discussion began as open-ended or based on a guiding question and was gradually narrowed toward more specific aims. A notable

limitation of focus groups is that privacy could not be ensured and the identities of participants less protected, so the informed consent process outlined this risk for participants in focus groups.

I conducted two focus group discussions: one with faculty and students and another with a subset of faculty. In these focus groups, I facilitated conversations around research questions relating to faculty and student participants' experiences learning and teaching at GGS, as well as how their work as practitioners had changed as the result of working with diverse groups of students. GGS students come to campus with anywhere from a few years to a few decades of experience in international education contexts, and thus questions regarding past professional experiences were relevant to the narratives as graduate students.

Data Analysis

Narrative researchers have analyzed data primarily in one of two ways: analysis of narratives and narrative analysis. Analysis of narratives follows the Labovian tradition of examining narratives by looking for structural elements such as a complicating action and result (Vasquez, 2011). The first wave of narrative research pursued a similar line of analysis, primarily relying on paradigmatic, thematic content analysis to explore what narratives were about (Polkinghorne, 1995). The second wave of narrative research emphasizes narratives told in interaction in order to analyze the connection between these small stories and "their participation in a variety of macro-processes" (DeFina & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p.379). Maxwell has noted that analysis is sometimes conceived separately from the research design, and argues instead that analysis is part of the design. He writes that while "there is no cookbook or single correct way for doing qualitative

analysis . . . the use of these strategies needs to be planned (and modified when necessary) in such a way as to fit the data you have, to answer your research questions, and to address any potentially serious validity threats to your conclusions" (2013, p.105). Heeding this advice, the analysis for this study is based on the data set, the research questions, and validity concerns.

As a first stage of thematic analysis, Agar's (2000) notion of 'linguistic rich points' was a useful way to broadly explore the first research question: What is the experience of faculty in a small graduate program during an era of rapid change in higher education? Agar writes that in linguistic rich points, "the researcher looks for surprising occurrences in language, problems in understanding that need to be pursued" (p.94). The nature of these surprising occurrences holds clues for how to proceed with further analysis (outlined below). For example, when faculty referred to broader social and cultural discourses (e.g. US politics), this directed me to analyze the context of the narrative in a subsequent round of analysis. On the other hand, if what is 'surprising' is found in lexical or grammatical elements of the data, then further analysis was devoted to positionality of narratives told in interaction, and took a closer look at how narratives are shaped by linguistic choices.

I share a concern noted by Pavlenko (2007) that thematic content analysis is only an initial stage of analysis which risks missing the text and context of narrative data. Fortunately, positioning analysis (Bamberg, 2004) provides a comprehensive means of analyzing narratives at different levels. Barkhuizen (2009) makes a clear case for the use of such an analysis in a data set that includes both small and big stories:

> Positioning analysis operates on three levels, which together require the analyst to examine the content and characters in the story, the interactive

> performance of the story, and the positions that are agentively taken by the narrator vis-a-vis normative discourse. Positioning analysis thus considers content, form, and context (p.282).

Barkhuizen found that positioning analysis enabled a wider view of the narratives in his interviews with an aspiring language teacher, and also answered Pavlenko's (2007) call to go beyond thematic content analysis in narrative research.

Coding

After completing the data collection stage of the study, I transcribed the audio-recordings of interviews, observations, and focus groups using Transana, a platform for storing, organizing, coding, and analyzing qualitative data. Although it was time consuming, transcribing the recordings myself served as an initial round of analysis which enabled me to identify themes and the linguistic rich points directing me to further analysis. I applied different types of codes during this initial round: analytical concepts, data type, participant type, research questions, and themes. A table listing the themes which emerged from coding can be found in Appendix C. Within Transana, I created libraries for each faculty participant which contained audio recordings and transcripts of interviews and classroom observations. In alignment with the research questions which sought to identify big and small stories, collections of these types of stories were placed into separate categories. Big stories were identifiable initially as those told in retrospective interviews wherein the participant reflected on past events as a means of contextualizing or making sense of her or his experience. These stories were longer, often more than 5-10 minutes, and contained elements of Labovian structural criteria for narratives as having an orientation, complicating action, evaluation, and coda. By comparison, small stories were less easily identified. In interviews, small stories often

appeared embedded within big stories as an aside, an allusion to a story, or a deferral to tell. In classroom observations, small stories were more common as a product of turn-taking and conversational discourse. A rule of thumb I came to use in identifying small stories is that such stories were often missing something that required further investigation either into the content or purpose of the story.

Once initial codes and analytical constructs were established, I conducted a textual analysis of how narrative performance is indexed by linguistic choices co-constructed by participants, other participants and the researcher. An excerpt of interview data, adapted from Transana, showing how linguistic forms were identified in coding is presented at the end of the study in Appendix D. A qualification regarding linguistic analysis in narrative research is noted by Barkhuizen whose (2009) study included a textual focus which was not "as fine-grained as positioning analysis, which itself draws on the procedures of conversation analysis, would demand" (p.295). He goes on to argue, however, that a close, line-by-line inspection of interview transcripts does offer the researcher a means to analyzing how linguistic resources of the participant are used to narrate and situate oneself and others within the broader context of the narrative.

At the third level of positioning analysis, I looked participant positions in relation to other people and ideas within the social, cultural and political setting of the narrative activities. An example of this is found in Chapter 4 in the discussion of the broader discourses indexed in small stories told by Martin and his students in a classroom discussion.

Summary of Conceptual Framework: A Series of Choices

This study examines the phenomenon of faculty experience during a time of

contingency and change. In this chapter, I have discussed the “series of choices” I made in examining this phenomenon. The first choice was to explore this phenomenon deeply, not widely, through narrative accounts of faculty in one context as opposed to surveying faculty from across a variety of contexts in higher education. The choice to ‘go deep’ was made for two reasons. The first is to align with the narrative inclination to be ‘in the midst’ with participants and to know their stories better through being a part of their lives. The second reason is more practical. I had existing, strong relationships with a subset of the faculty participants, and in addition to a convenience sampling method, these relationships had provided the impetus for the study itself. I had heard some of their stories and wanted to explore these narratives empirically and systematically. Prior to the study, I knew from experience that the storied activity of teachers is present in multiple contexts and is produced in different ways. There were ‘saga’ narratives kept, told, and retold by veteran faculty. There were also stories that emerged from every classroom, the ones that are shared among faculty in meetings and between students in the dining hall. An effort to capture the experience of faculty would need to capture multiple kinds of stories in different settings. For this reason, the study utilized interviews, classroom observations, and focus groups as its primary means of studying the past, present, and future experiences of the participants. While prior narrative studies have produced fruitful accounts of teachers’ lives through the use of autobiographies and diaries, this study responds to a call from narrative researchers to cast a wider net and to incorporate unconventional narratives which are not subjected to the same smoothing effects which characterize reflective writing. The study also sought diversity in experience among faculty participants so that the analysis would not preclude a cross-comparison between

newcomer and veteran experiences. Ultimately, the study enrolled 10 veteran and 2 newcomer faculty members, yielding a sample that heavily privileges the narratives of veteran faculty. However, the small stories of newcomer faculty also merit discussion. As noted by Green and her colleagues, newcomer narratives were more centrally concerned with praxis and in figuring out problems ‘of the day’. By contrast, veteran faculty grapple with unresolved fractures and ‘faultlines’ in accounts of experience which are otherwise professionally and personally nourishing.

The data set thus includes stories along a temporal spectrum from way-back-when to here-and-now. These stories evoke other tellers and other stories, index social and cultural discourses, and allude to historical and political events. Analyzing narrative data at micro, macro and interactional levels required a framework that attends to each. For this reason, the first round of analysis was informed by Agar’s notion of linguistic rich points. In addition to themes, I noted ‘surprising occurrences’ in language as well as ‘problems in understanding’. A positioning analysis (Bamberg, 2004; Barkhuizen, 2009) was used to examine narratives at three levels: content, form, and context. Through attending to each, the study examines the ‘work’ done by narratives, for participants, and within a context that is experiencing the effects of rapid changes in higher education.

Chapter 3
Bedrocks and Faultlines: Big Stories of Faculty Experience

Abstract

Big stories in narrative research are retrospective accounts which are useful to tellers as they piece together and give meaning to past experiences. They are also useful to narrative researchers studying phenomena which shape and are shaped by faculty experiences. In this study, veteran faculty told big stories about their experience teaching at a small graduate school in New England. In semi-structured interviews about their careers, participants recalled the transformative and transfixing moments which stayed with them. The study reveals two types of big stories which served different purposes for faculty participants. Through telling *bedrock* stories, faculty create and preserve an institutional narrative in the face of rapid change in the landscape of higher education. A second type of story, which I call *faultlines,* are stories of faculty learning, told to make sense of unsettling or unresolved experiences. The findings suggest that narrative accounts of these critical events are underutilized but important sources for faculty learning as they navigate the shifting landscape of higher education.

Introduction

> As researchers, we seem to be doomed to living in a reality constructed from a variety of metaphors. We have to accept the fact that the metaphors we use while theorizing may be good enough to fit small areas, but none of them suffice to cover the entire field. In other words, we must learn to satisfy ourselves with only local sense-making.
>
> Anna Sfard (1999, p.12)

As this study began, metaphor was less on my mind than what was literally right before my eyes. At the time, I was a junior faculty member at Greenhills Graduate School (a pseudonym, hereafter GGS) conducting a narrative study of the place where I worked. To save me from the endless distractions of my own office, I had asked for and been granted a separate office on campus located in a semi-abandoned building near the edge of a forest. The office was large and empty except for two long tables, a chair, and a filing cabinet. I spent the first day clearing dust from the tables and snooping through the cabinet. There was evidence, through Post-It notes and training manuals from the 90s, that someone had once worked there. The abandoned office was just another example of 'restructuring' projects underway at GGS that year. Another campus building which had long served as the community gathering place for the TESOL program had just been declared a fire hazard and unceremoniously shuttered while students were away on their teaching internships. 'Long overdue for repairs' was the word that came down from up high. Depending on who you asked, the school was in disrepair or under repair.

Over the following six months, I interviewed GGS faculty and observed their classes during a time in which the school was on shaky ground. Financial constraints had pushed the school's Board of Trustees to the brink of making difficult, cost-cutting decisions. Of the 25 or so faculty who held positions at the beginning of the academic year, only a handful would have jobs by the end. The purpose of my study was to understand faculty lived experience at an institution which had for many years been a flag-bearer for international educators and experiential education, only to see its role diminish in a higher education landscape altered by sweeping internationalization efforts and fierce competition to attract students from around the world. From the process which

included proposing the study, collecting the data, and analyzing stories at a thematic level, three research questions came into focus:

1) What is the narrated experience of faculty in a small graduate program during an era of rapid change in higher education?
2) What are the big stories told by faculty in this setting? How are they told and what is accomplished in their telling?
3) What are the small stories told by faculty and students in this setting? How are they told and what is accomplished in their telling?

Through the retelling and analysis of faculty big stories, this chapter addresses RQ-1 by way of the big stories that informed RQ-2. In other words, the experience of faculty at GGS can be understood, in part, through stories told reflecting on different aspects of their careers. However, big stories are told in specific ways for specific purposes, often in life history interviews as an “attempt to make sense of some significant dimension of one’s life” (Freeman, 2006, p.133). In this sense, big stories do not tell the whole story. We are likely to tell many more small stories which capture fragments of experience through everyday interactions. For this reason, although the focus of this chapter is on the larger, autobiographical stories told by faculty, I also attend to small stories which are observed assisting the telling of big stories. Taken together, as Freeman noted, big and small stories “represent a promising integrative direction for narrative inquiry” (p.131), a claim that is borne out in Elizabeth and Maria’s stories in this chapter. Observed alongside one another, big and small stories “break new ground” and provoke

"new imaginings" (Gallagher, 2011, p.60) of the lived experience of veteran faculty at GGS.

It is important to note that while big stories *tend to be* told in interviews and small stories *tend to be* told in naturalistic, conversational settings, the focal narrative data in this chapter reveal that small stories appear in interview data for specific purposes: as providers of context, as allusions to other stories, or as deferrals and refusals to tell other stories. In this chapter, I pay particular attention to small stories told in life history interviews which index change and conflict, the central features of faultline stories.

Much of the previous narrative research on faculty experience has focused primarily on professional development of novice or early-career individuals. Typically, researchers at a more advanced stage of their career gather narrative accounts of younger and less experienced teachers. In the field of second language teacher education, language teacher and language learner autobiographies are prominent examples of how narrative has been used as a pedagogical vehicle for professional development. There has been very little attention in the literature on the use of narrative to examine faculty development across a broader arc of the career, especially faculty who have been in the field for many years. There may be an assumption that at some point faculty are fully formed professionals whose stories do not change. In this regard, the stories of faculty in this study serve as a novel and important contribution to narrative explorations of faculty experience.

In this chapter, a central finding is that a predominance of faculty stories can be understood through the following two metaphors:

1. *Bedrock stories:* for learning, told to solidify and pass along institutional culture.

2. *Faultline stories*: of learning, told to make sense of unsettling or unresolved experiences.

Bedrock and *faultline* are my own terms, metaphors which served as "amazingly informative objects of analysis" and "enable conceptual osmosis between everyday and scientific discourses" (Sfard, 1998, p.4). I use them to tell a research story about GGS and the faculty who devoted their careers to the school. However, I also acknowledge the limitation of metaphors "which may be good enough to fit small areas" but not "to cover the entire field" (Sfard, 1999, p.12). The stories shared in this chapter can only speak to a 'small area' of the lived experiences of GGS faculty.

The area never felt small or limited. Faculty shared so many big stories that, initially, I did not know what to do with them. However, through analysis of linguistic 'rich points' (Agar, 2000), the characteristics of bedrock and faultline stories came into view. The tables below provide a visual representation of how the metaphors of bedrock and faultline were constructed from a variety of codes and based on a number of stories told by the 12 faculty participants. The data produced codes for bedrock narratives which were positively-oriented reflections on past professional experience and codes for faultline narratives which indexed negatively-oriented stories of conflict and discomfort.

Table 6 Bedrock Stories

Participants	Titles of big stories	Codes	Metaphor
Darina Kate Sandra Rada Sarah Laura Maria	A citizen of the world Magical mystery bus It just fell into place We hung the garbage Just say yes Bring your kids to work Algerian love interest Lays potato chips	Adventure Aha Belonging Collaboration Magic Nostalgia	BEDROCKS

Martin Annette Karlene Loretta Elizabeth	Crazy about English Trial by fire From straitjacket to liberation Connecting the dots I belong here Something is happening here Staring at a spot on the floor Its own little animal Kenyan-dipity	Opportunity Risk-taking Serendipity Synergy Thriving Wonder	

Table 7 Faultline Stories

Participants	Titles of big stories	Codes	Metaphor
Darina Kate Sandra Rada Sarah Laura Maria Martin Annette Karlene Loretta Elizabeth	Hard caring Blind spots Where the edges are Coming out in Benin Mean girls The ticking time bomb Crisis mode A creepy space to sit in You may think I'm a woman I'm living the old dream Trigger concepts A huggy person Leave your L1 at the door Everything problematized I have to sanitize it Attacked by my own students Brutal feedback	Blind spots Challenge Confusion Conflict Crisis Difference Discomfort Edges Failure Resistance Trauma Vulnerability	FAULTLINES

Chapter Organization

This chapter is organized in three parts. Each part examines the stories of a particular faculty member and how these stories contribute to a broader understanding of faculty experience as well as how the stories represent elements of bedrock and faultline stories. In **Part 1**, I examine Karlene's series of big stories in order to introduce the reader to the research site and to demonstrate how the bedrock and faultline metaphors

were constructed from the data. Karlene's stories reveal the tendency for bedrock storylines to intersect with faultline stories within the same frames of analysis. The first-level thematic analysis used linguistic 'rich points' as an identification strategy, and at this level, I partially address RQ-1: What is the narrated experience of faculty in a small graduate program during an era of rapid change in higher education? As noted above, addressing this question involved a process of "conceptual osmosis" between the events and characters of big stories and abstract, metaphorical constructs which theorize the role these stories play in shaping faculty experience. Through this process, I gather insights into the second part of RQ-2: What big stories are told and what is accomplished in their telling?

Between Part 1 and Part 2, there is an **Interlude** which provides an opportunity to discuss how I collected, analyzed, and theorized the big story data that is presented in this chapter.

In **Part 2**, I examine Elizabeth's bedrock stories of her experience at GGS. As a veteran faculty on the verge of retirement, Elizabeth stood out among participants as someone who relished in the telling of bedrock stories. Elizabeth's stories also contain small story allusions to faultlines, which was a significant discovery in the data analysis, one that would lead me to re-examine other faculty stories for the occurrence of faultlines.

In **Part 3**, I share several stories from another veteran faculty, Maria, who tells stories that bring into sharp relief the contrast between bedrock stories canonizing the culture of the school and faultlines which index conflict in faculty experience and foreshadow the changes that faculty report in working with different students with

different needs. Maria's stories present an avenue toward a larger discussion at the end of the chapter regarding what these stories mean for educators navigating changes in today's shifting landscape of higher education.

Part 1: Karlene's Stories - The 'Old Dream'

Karlene is a veteran faculty at Greenhills Graduate School (GGS). She came to GGS "back in the dinosaur age", as she called it, when graduate faculty and students were not an endangered species. It was the mid-1980s, and in addition to the hundreds of graduate students on campus, there was an undergraduate program and "lots and lots of" language students participating in short-term intensive English programs. Karlene did a little bit of everything: teaching, international student advising, working in the student services office. The presence of so many different students from around the world required a jack-of-all-trades who could run student affairs for the undergraduate students, teach graduate courses, and advise international students, all at the same time. Karlene estimates she was doing two full-time jobs during her first few years on campus. "It was not at all typical of another institution," she tells me as we sit in her office surrounded by piles of books and binders. The graduate and undergraduate programs were designed to be short-term, one or two-semester intensives on campus which prepared students for international field experience and practicums at global sites. With new student groups arriving on a monthly basis, there was a frenzied but exhilarating feel to campus life. "If you didn't like who you had on campus," Karlene explains, "just wait a minute, because they would shift so quickly." Sometimes the mix of students at different stages of life, pursuing different goals, led to conflict.

Story 1: This isn't playtime

> Karlene: (Our graduate students) were learning about how to work with difference, but they weren't always able to practice it. And some of the things that I would see often were things like the graduate students, who were studying and crazy busy, would get really angry about the international students of English because they were 16 to 18 years old and having a life experience in the US. And they were loud and they were scrambling all around campus. And the graduate students would say, 'I've got work to do. This isn't playtime, be quiet.' And so you'd say aren't you learning about intercultural communication and working with difference in your classroom? And they'd say 'yeah that's my classroom, this is my life, I don't want them near me.' It was a challenge.

While the presence of a variety of students on a small campus posed certain challenges, the enrollment boom was also emblematic of the growth and innovation in the field of international education, for which GGS was leading the charge.

Story 2: We hit it just right

> Karlene: The program here hit the field at the moment the field was growing, so it was exactly where it needed it to be. In higher education there has always been degrees for student development professionals, but international education wasn't really a thing yet. You might have been able to find a course or two on education abroad or exchange work, but then we happened to hit it just as the higher education community was starting to look internationally and trying to make connections. All of a sudden, here was GGS. I remember saying at that point I think that IE (international education) is going to be a presence.

In the early 90s, GGS seized on international education's moment to create the first Master's degree in the field. Karlene remembers a strategic planning session at a Holiday Inn conference room, with faculty from different degree areas there to plot the restructuring of the graduate program.

Story 3: Moving everything around

> Karlene: We had huge sheets of flip chart paper and Post-It notes. We looked at courses and content and we looked at numbers of credits, moving everything around. We just kept moving it around for two full days until we came up with a program core that everyone needed to take.

> And it was really interesting because at that meeting at the Holiday Inn, Robert (the MA-TESOL program director, a pseudonym) and I had a conversation about how IE related to TESOL. And Robert said it doesn't really. And I said, it doesn't? Really?

The new Master's degree in International Education (IE) appealed to prospective students who had studied abroad or worked in study abroad offices and were now seeking further credentials. IE was a young field and it drew interest from younger graduate students compared to other degree programs in which the average age was closer to 30. This nascence had implications for IE faculty and their students.

Story 4: More than a little voyage

> Karlene: The IE students had to be more theoretically prepared to stand their ground with colleagues while they were on campus. They had to be able to say, 'international education is more than a little voyage in a magic school bus through Europe.' They had to be able to talk about why what they wanted to do in the field is useful. They needed to understand development theories in order to talk about the role of international education.
>
> And I can say this because none of the faculty who were guilty of this still work here, but faculty from other degree areas would bait the IE students in some of the core classes and just tear them to shreds in front of other students. It was horrible, so we really had to make sure they were all prepared to stand their ground.

Disciplinary turf battles were a byproduct of the school's growth and innovation of the times. With distinct but overlapping degree programs in education and development, there was bound to be some friction. But it was during this time, Karlene believes, that the school also solidified its identity as a home for experiential, international education, and a beacon for students and scholars from all over the world. A large faculty and high enrollment meant program offerings could be nimble and tailored to niche demand and regional trends. When the craze for learning English hit Japan in the

90s, for example, there was an immediate surge in interest in Japan for training English language teachers, opening language schools and starting exchange programs. As an early experiment in campus internationalization, GGS was able to meet this demand by creating a satellite school in Tokyo offering an MA-TESOL program. A similar trend occurred in Europe, where internationalization efforts led to an increase in mobility programs, creating a demand for leadership and management training for the early to mid-career professionals in charge of exchange and study abroad programs. For a time, where there was an edge in international education, GGS was the one cutting it. Karlene remembers it as a time when the school's identity was solidified and important traditions were born.

Story 5: What makes a school a school

> Karlene: The thing I liked about that time period was that it was the only other time that we had a president say, and it was really important to say it, that GGS is its own entity. It needs its own stories. That was when our unique graduation ceremony was born. That was when a common (student) orientation was born. Things that kind of make this school a school.

The heyday of GGS produced a number of stories that were "its own" in the sense that they were shared and remembered by multiple faculty. These stories defined the esprit de corps and culture of the place. As another example, Karlene recalled the time that she was leading a group of international visitors on a tour of campus.

Story 6: Garbage bags

> Karlene: The students were doing a study on campus about our waste, and how much we wasted, and they had taken huge garbage bags from the kitchen and had hung them from the balcony across the second floor of the dining hall. There were like a half a dozen of these huge garbage bags hanging off the bannister, and I remember being so desensitized to that,

> that when the international visitors asked me why there was garbage hanging from the ceiling, I had to step back and say, oh my god Karlene, you've worked here too long, because you don't even see it.

Flash forward twenty years to the present year. Karlene has just finished another strategic planning session at a nearby hotel conference room. There is more flip-chart paper and scattered Post-It notes. An all-hands-on-deck message hovers over the school. GGS is innovating again, but this time it is innovation to stave off elimination. Enrollment has steadily dropped in each of the last five years and there is concern about the financial viability of the graduate school. Karlene thinks GGS may be a victim of its own success, as GGS alumni have gone on to start their own programs in international education.

Story 7: Leave room

> Karlene: (Alumni) have actually taken the market from us, because we have never been committed to going back and taking it to the next step. If you're going to be cutting edge, you need to leave room for your faculty to create and think and make changes and experiment.

A source of dissonance for Karlene is her intro Strategic Planning course that she is teaching at the same time that GGS is formulating and fumbling through its own strategic plan. In the present day, as she is discussing the school's current efforts to re-envision itself, she remembers her strategic planning course from a few years earlier. Michael (a pseudonym) was the provost of GGS at that time who had also been one of Karlene's former students. They had maintained a strong relationship over the years and Michael, in his role as provost, was a regular visitor to Karlene's class. He would come to talk to the students about the GGS strategic planning process. His visits gave students a chance to compare theoretical constructs of organizational development to leadership

initiatives and a strategic plan being developed in real time in the context where they were studied.

Story 8: The old dream

> Karlene: Every year he would come back. How cool is that to have the provost come in with an issue to talk about? So last year, he came in with the GGS strategic planning draft and he said to the students, what do you think? And the students were just beside themselves that they had this opportunity. So (the provost) leaves and one of the students, it was so profound, said: 'This place has amazing faculty, amazing history, and I feel like I'm living the old dream and you don't have the new dream yet. And GGS needs a new vision and not have the faculty relive the old stuff.'

When Karlene shared the story of the student 'living the old dream', it reminded me of a question one of my students had once asked. Knowing that I was an alumnus of the program, she asked if my experience in the program was the same as hers. Has anything changed at GGS? It struck me that the program had changed very little, if at all, in the previous decade, from the orientation activities to the faculty teaching the courses to the readings and assignments for each course. It was the old dream, presented each year to new students. I told Karlene: "And it hit me, yeah, it is the same. Because I loved it. And why change something that I love?" The faculty recognized an 'old dream' for GGS and had been slow to realize and develop the new one. I asked Karlene about the new vision. Where does GGS go from here? Previously she had told me about the meeting from which the IE degree was born. She had wondered aloud about interdisciplinarity, the power of IE and TESOL to overlap, to which the answer had been: they don't. Karlene saw this as a missed opportunity.

Story 9: We shot ourselves in the foot

> Karlene: I still believe that it is important for an IE student to be able to sit around a professional table with someone whose professional vocabulary

> is different than theirs. They have to be able to sit with an ESL teacher, someone who deals in conflict countries, who deals with sustainable development issues, and it's quite possible that all those people will be working on the same project at some moment in their professional lifetime and need to be able to talk with each other, not at each other.
>
> But we have lost our ability as a faculty to have a shared language and shared values, I think. And if we can't do it, you can't ask students to do it. And in some ways, we shot ourselves in the foot by not making ourselves do that.

The 'silo-ing' or separation of degree areas was not a feature of the dinosaur age, the earliest years of Karlene's time at GGS, when everything was in flux and boundaries were more fluid. At that time, faculty like Karlene had their foot in multiple areas of the school as they taught, advised, recruited, managed student services, took on international projects and launched new programs. New students came to campus with such frequency that the old New England expression about the weather -- if you don't like it, wait a minute -- also applied to students. This movement was about people and ideas, and it culminated in GGS offering the first graduate degree in IE. But was this ultimately the formation of a GGS bedrock or the first signs of a faultline? To answer this question and others which arose from the data, I needed a systematic means of analyzing and theorizing the stories my participants told. I take this up in the Interlude below.

Interlude

Karlene's stories were presented in Part One of this chapter to provide a chronological story of the research site as it was experienced by a faculty member who was at GGS during innovative times of growth and who also began to observe the 'old dream' of GGS begin to change. In the Interlude below, I review Karlene's stories in order to describe how I identified and worked with big story data. I also outline the

process by which metaphors emerged from the data and explicitly discuss the theoretical frameworks used in this chapter.

From the Ground Up: Linguistic Rich Points to Metaphor to Theoretical Frames

I have noted previously that the data from faculty interviews produced codes for bedrock narratives which were positively-oriented reflections and codes for faultline narratives which indexed negatively-oriented stories of conflict and discomfort. I would like to pause briefly to revisit the data set and discuss how the codes emerged from analysis. Karlene's stories in the previous section were elicited in two separate semi-structured interviews which lasted a total of two hours. These interviews represent a narrow slice of the larger data set from which the focal big stories in this chapter were drawn. This data is outlined in the table below.

Table 8 Data Sources

Methods	Participants	Quantity	Timeline
Semi-structured interviews	12 faculty	25 interviews = 35 hours of audio-recorded interviews	Initial interviews conducted March-June 2018 Follow-up interviews March 2019-July 2020
Classroom observations	4 faculty 33 students	7 recorded sessions = 10 hours of audio-recorded data	March 2018-May 2018
Focus groups	6 faculty 15 students	2 recorded focus groups = 2.5 hours of audio-recorded data	March 2018-May 2018

This chapter focuses on stories told in the faculty interviews, which were the predominant source of big stories for the study. Interviews with faculty participants were

mostly conducted over a period of one semester, approximately four months. I used what Ellis has referred to as interactive interviews, which involves "the sharing of personal and social experiences of both respondents and researchers, who tell their stories in the context of a developing relationship" (Phoenix & Sparkes, 2009, p.224). This method provided a flexible approach to gathering big stories. While most of the stories were told in sit-down interviews in faculty offices, some were told in more informal spaces such as the campus dining hall, a cafe, and a picnic table at a food truck. As such, interactive interviewing "may also involve participating in shared activities outside the formal interview situation" (Ellis, 1997, p.121).

In the initial analysis of the data, I identified big stories quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitatively, big stories tend to be longer, ranging from a few minutes in length to one that was told over an hour-long conversation. Qualitatively, I identified big stories as narrative activities which were retrospective, generally conformed to a temporal organization, and were frequently the subjects of commentary by the teller. Big stories were also identifiable by what they are *not*, in that they did not fit the criteria for small stories, defined by Georgakopolou (2006, p.123) as: "tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared events, allusions to tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell." Put simply, small stories appear as snippets and fragments "compared to the pages and pages of transcript of interview narratives" (p.123) which are typical of big stories.

In Karlene's interviews, for example, her individual stories follow a timeline which mirrors the growth and decline of GGS. That her stories span several decades was one easy way to identify and code them as big stories. After identifying a big story, I

labeled individual stories by title in order to break down larger stories into component parts. From there, I analyzed stories using Agar's notion of linguistic rich points, which he defines as: "surprising occurrences in language, problems in understanding that need to be pursued" (2000, p.94). Within a given interview and across interviews, I used the linguistic rich points to build a metaphor to understand how these stories serve the tellers and listeners. Codes were drawn from rich points identified within big story activities of each participant. In Table 9 below, I share an initial memo I created from Karlene's interview data.

Table 9 Karlene's Big Stories

Participant	Titles of big stories	Rich points	Codes
Karlene	Hanging garbage This isn't playtime We hit it just right It doesn't, really? Tear them to shreds Its own stories They had no control A creepy space to sit in I'm living the old dream	Cutting edge Birth Stand their ground Shreds The field Hit the field Scrambling Take the market	Belonging Conflict Crisis Difference Discomfort Edges Innovation Unique

This table reveals the process of 'conceptual osmosis' noted by Sfard, in which understanding is built by moving from everyday events to abstract representation through metaphor. The geological metaphors of bedrock and faultline were built through this process and drawn from the language of the participants. For example, Karlene's stories repeatedly evoked images of movement, force, and space:

- hit the field
- cutting edge
- leave room
- scrambling students
- tear them to shreds
- stand their ground
- more than a little voyage
- take the market
- shot ourselves in the foot
- we just kept moving it around

Through attention to the language in Karlene's stories, it is possible to bring "to the fore the social moments and the local economies of meaning that stories . . . engender within the school as a site of engagement" (Georgakopoulou, 2006, p.126). The local economy of meaning in Karlene's stories has much to do with space and ground. Faculty need "room to be cutting edge." This is evident at the meeting at the Holiday Inn in which faculty are 'moving' the curriculum around until pieces fit together and degree areas are demarcated. Karlene laments, however, the lack of room given to faculty to stay on the 'cutting edge' of programming and as a result, GGS alumni have 'taken the market.'

Karlene's stories actively describe GGS as a 'site of engagement' where the narratives of various characters may come into contact, and clash, as a result of different orientations to the world. For example, the English language students are having a life experience and 'scrambling around campus', much to the displeasure of the graduate students who are unable to reconcile the cross-cultural understanding they are practicing in class with the disruption to their private spaces. There are invisible edges, as well, which are 'brought to the fore' by Karlene's orientation to interdisciplinarity. She sees interdisciplinarity as having a shared set of values and language, modeled by faculty for students who will be working at the intersection of several fields. When and where faculty do not see the overlap, the potential synergy of the space where faculty might collaborate becomes, instead, a blueprint for siloes and stasis.

Karlene's Bedrocks and Faultlines

Sfard's (1998) discussion of the usefulness of metaphors comes with a qualification: the "dangers of choosing just one" (p.4). She takes as her central example the acquisition and participation metaphors of learning to argue that while educational theorists may have a proclivity toward one or the other, a danger lies in pursuing one without acknowledging the benefit of the other. Unlike acquisition versus participation, the bedrock and faultline metaphors I advance in this chapter are not in competition with one another for epistemological supremacy. However, there is a risk of using one without attention to the role of the other. While some faculty tended to tell more bedrock stories (see Elizabeth's stories below), in many cases the telling of bedrock stories had a secondary purpose of revealing faultlines. In Table 10 below, I have highlighted two of Karlene's stories which serve as examples.

Table 10 Overlap of Bedrock and Faultline Stories

Participant	Titles of big stories	Rich points	Codes	Metaphor
Karlene	Hanging garbage We hit it just right Its own stories This isn't playtime* I'm living the old dream*	Cutting edge Birth Hit the field Scrambling Moving everything around	Belonging Innovation Unique	BEDROCK
	It doesn't, really? Tear them to shreds A creepy space to sit in This isn't playtime* I'm living the old dream*	A little voyage Stand their ground Shreds Take the market Shot ourselves in the foot	Conflict Crisis Difference Discomfort Edges	FAULTLINE

In the story titled 'this isn't playtime', the story is told as a memory of a campus bustling with students from around the world united by a spirit of international cooperation and intercultural communication. In other words, a bedrock tale of the school. Within the story, however, Karlene voices the annoyance of graduate students cohabitating with English language students on campus. There is conflict and discomfort, but it is not simply a generational dispute between cranky old graduate students and care-free teenagers. Karlene mentions that the graduate students "were learning about how to work with difference, but they weren't always able to practice it." This observation points to a faultline at GGS. At a place where students are being trained as compassionate, interculturally adept communicators, what does it mean when these students cannot practice this in their own lives?

This pattern is evident throughout the data, one in which the two metaphors are in dialogue with each other, and it supports a theoretical line which argues that faculty experience is composed of and complicated by bedrock and faultline stories. It is through this interplay that a central tension of faculty experience is revealed. The faculty at GGS are trainers. They are models of language pedagogy, facilitation, and conflict resolution, and therefore an unstated but central part of their work is 'walking the talk' to provide such models for students. Karlene confronts this explicitly in 'I'm living the old dream.' GGS is the kind of place where the provost comes to class to talk about the strategic plan. Like the faculty, the provost is known by his first name. Everyone is accessible, a bedrock of GGS culture. The actual strategic planning process, by contrast, requires people "to be able to sit around a professional table with someone whose professional

vocabulary is different than theirs.” Yet, as the school faces a crisis and is forced to collectively re-imagine itself, Karlene feels the faculty are not able to do this themselves: “If we can’t do it, you can’t ask students to do it.” A hallmark of a small school, familiarity with one another and an ability to communicate across differences, has become a liability. The bedrock, in other words, is also a faultline.

From the Top Down: A Theoretical Frame for Studying Faculty Experience

Thus far I have described the bottom-up process I used to develop bedrock and faultline metaphors through the identification of big stories, linguistic rich points, and thematic codes. Through this process, I examined Karlene’s stories to partially address RQ-1 and RQ-2:

1) What is the narrated experience of faculty in a small graduate program during an era of rapid change in higher education?
2) What are the big stories told by faculty in this setting? How are they told and what is accomplished in their telling?

To guide and inform the research questions, I also rely on theoretical frameworks from narrative research exploring the experience of educators. In the space below, I briefly trace the evolution of theoretical approaches in narrative research as a means of contextualizing my selection of a framework suitable for this study, and for this chapter in particular.

Clandenin and Connelly, the authors of seminal works in narrative inquiry, stated in 1990 that it was, at that time, “the case that each inquirer must search for, and defend, the criteria that best apply to his or her work” (1990, p.7). They warned of the ‘Hollywood plot’ where everything works out in the end, a tendency also referred to as

‘narrative smoothing’. To address smoothing, they suggest acknowledging that smoothing exists and seeking to balance it with narrative elements which may have been obscured in the telling. “The empirical narrativist helps his or her reader by self-consciously discussing the selections made, the possible alternative stories, and other limitations seen from the vantage point of ‘I the critic’ (p.10).

The phrase ‘*selections made’* is significant to the theoretical framework. The heavy lifting of narrative research is less the hours and days of collecting and transcribing stories. Rather it is in selecting research methods which suit the research goals, fit the research context, and correspond to relevant theoretical and analytical frameworks. Unlike early narrative researchers who needed to search for criteria, the burgeoning of narrative research in the past several decades now require *selecting*, and defending, methods and concepts from an ever-expanding menu. For the sake of brevity, I will not discuss every available option. Instead, I discuss my selections as contextualized by concerns, critiques, and synergies in narrative research.

Concerns and Critiques of Narrative Research

Just telling stories

I was concerned that my data would be vulnerable to narrative smoothing and wary that, as a researcher interviewing his colleagues, the study would be subject to a common critique of narrative research: it is just telling stories (Bell, 2002). The bedrock narratives told by participants suddenly facing the end of their careers could be scrutinized as endeavors in nostalgia. This criticism of narrative research persisted a decade or two after Clandenin and Connelly had acknowledged its fuzzy operational borders. Of the outside perception of narrative research, Bell (2011, p.581) bemoaned:

"Narrative inquiry is still not well understood and is often conceived of as mere storytelling: untheorized and therefore unacademic." Freeman (2015) invoked the metaphor of 'narrative fatigue' to describe the attitude toward proliferating narrative studies. It was 'narrative mania' -- too many narrative studies with too little in the way of rigorous analysis. As Brooks noted, "the very promiscuity of the idea of narrative may have rendered the concept useless. The proliferation and celebration of the concept of narrative haven't been matched by a concurrent spread of attention to its analysis" (as cited in Freeman, 2015, p.23).

Truthfulness

In addition to fretting over external recognition of narrative research, an intra-narrative conflict played out between big and small stories. At the core of this conflict is a debate over the ability to theorize truth from narratives. The criticism leveled at big stories was that they were too distant, too far in the past to be reliable accounts of the truth. Small stories, gathered in naturalistic settings and told in everyday conversation, were the "real stories of our lived lives" (Bamberg, 2004, p.367). In this study, I was less concerned about the factual accuracy of tellers' accounts. I did not, for example, fact-check participants' stories the way a journalist might. Rather, my analysis of faculty stories paid attention to how tellers make sense of stories as opportunities for learning. In this way, my approach toward truthfulness in narrative research aligns with that of Bruner's (1986) differentiation between narrative knowledge and scientific knowledge. Commenting on this distinction, Gabriel notes that "each type of knowledge can be seen as generating its own criteria of truthfulness and validity: where logico-scientific knowledge stresses formal evidence and proof, narrative knowledge stresses the

authenticity of experience and the verisimilitude of its narratives” (2015, p. 286). Furthermore, Ochs and Capps (1996, p.23) argued that while “narrative does not yield absolute truth, it can transport narrators and audiences to more authentic feelings, beliefs, and actions and ultimately to a more authentic sense of life.” In the stories which follow, faculty narratives evidence the power of narrative to move tellers toward ‘novel self-understandings’ (p.23). Through stories, “knowledge is constructed and reflected upon” by tellers (Barkhuizen, 2020, p.188) and this knowledge is available for future action, both for tellers and readers of narrative research.

Rigorous Narrative Research: A Path Forward

More recently, narrative research has taken a formidable turn, aided by a recognition of the value of collecting different types of narratives and analyzing them in different ways, and as narrative scholars have increasingly and publicly worked to find a middle ground. Freeman (2006, p.131) offered a path forward for the co-existence of big and small stories:

> Far from necessarily being a liability, however, the distance that is intrinsic to big story narrative reflection creates opportunities for understanding that are largely unavailable in the immediacy of the moment. Big stories and small stories thus complement one another; taken together, they represent a promising integrative direction for narrative inquiry.

Big story research also benefited from the constructive criticism delivered within its ranks. Pavlenko’s (2007) critique of big stories addressed the litany of diary and autobiographical studies in applied linguistics examining language learners and teachers. Directing her critique at her own previous narrative research, she cautioned that “in the absence of a theoretical framework and a clear methodological procedure, content analysis (of narratives) may result in a laundry list of observations" (p. 167). Through

adopting a theoretical framework, narrative researchers could better "clarify the nature of their conceptual categories and to pinpoint the links between the recurrent themes and conceptual constructs" (p.167). In sum, the concerns and critiques of prior scholars in narrative research have outlined for novice researchers the pitfalls and clarified a path toward doing rigorous narrative research, and I have sought to incorporate these lessons into the present study.

In light of the developments in the field of narrative research, I return now to Karlene's stories. In the previous section examining the recurrence of spatial and geographic imagery in Karlene's stories, I worked from the bottom up to pinpoint the links between recurrent themes and conceptual constructs of bedrock and faultline. At a theoretical level, the work of Johnson and Golombek in second language teacher education offers a lens to understand faculty stories as a means of understanding experience. In their research, Johnson and Golombek use Vygotskyian socio-cultural theory to analyze faculty narratives as a medium of professional development: "We argue that the transformative power of narrative lies in its ability to ignite cognitive processes that can foster teacher professional development" (2011, p.486). Johnson and Golombek see Vygotsky's theorization of language as a mediational tool for narrators to externalize, verbalize, and systematically examine their own practices. Externalization, in particular, allows teachers to articulate and make sense of narratives so that they may be used, in a Deweyan fashion, to guide further action. In this sense, narrative makes available cognitive material that can be used for further development.

This viewpoint, that narrative is ripe for teacher cognition, aligns with a second theoretical framework utilized in this study: Barkhuizen's notion of *narrative*

knowledging. Beyond the activity of narration, Barkhuizen (2015) notes that the entire narrative research process, from posing questions to gathering stories to publishing them, generates knowledge for the researcher, the narrator, and the consumer of research. In turn, the products of narrative research are made available for further 'knowledging' and opportunities for reflective learning.

To further clarify theoretical *selection* for this study, I differentiate between 'development' and 'learning.' While Johnson and Golombek situate teacher narratives in the realm of development, this is a point of departure for my study, in which *narrative knowledging* and *externalization* are used as theoretical constructs to navigate narrative data as sites of learning for faculty. A brief review of the literature on faculty professional development reveals that this scholarship focuses primarily on outcomes for participants in formal professional development (PD) programs, workshops, and seminars. For example, a study by Garson, Bourassa, and Odgers (2016) explored faculty perceptions of a PD program designed to implement intercultural elements into existing curricula in higher education. While such literature is relevant, it does not attend to the central inquiry of my study: What types of stories do faculty tell, why do they tell them, and what do they learn from these stories?

For this reason, theories and research of professional development were not selected as a guiding framework. The term development has a unidirectional connotation: Development moves us forward. Learning, on the other hand, is multidirectional and interactional. It happens formally and informally, externally and internally. The construct of *narrative knowledging* accounts for this dynamism, and the *externalization* which takes place in storytelling makes learning available to tellers and the public. As Johnson

and Golombek stated, externalization allows these activities to "go public" and serve as a "tool for local knowledge-building" (p.501). At a broader level, *narrative knowledging* emphasizes that different aspects of narrative research are available to 'go public'. As Barkhuizen has described it: "the meaning making, learning, or knowledge construction that takes place during the narrative research activities of (co) constructing narratives, analyzing narratives, reporting the findings, and reading/watching/listening to research reports" (2011, p.395). In sum, a shift in focus from 'development' to 'learning' provides a spaciousness to the study, one which attends to learning, wherever it leads, as opposed to a linear focus on trajectory. By going public, tellers make their stories available for their own learning and the learning of others. These stories are the focus of the final two parts of this chapter.

Part 2: Elizabeth's Stories - 'This is my place'

In Part 1 of this chapter, I shared Karlene's stories to narratively introduce the research site. The Interlude provided an opportunity to discuss how the metaphors of bedrock and faultline stories emerged through analysis. I also examined the research concepts, methods, and theoretical constructs which were selected as a good fit for this study, generally, and for the big story data featured in this chapter. In Part 2 of this chapter, I examine the big stories told by Elizabeth in semi-structured interviews. In contrast to Karlene, whose stories focused mainly on her experience as a faculty at GGS, Elizabeth tells stories of how she ended up at GGS, providing a window into a bedrock feature of the school, that it served as a home for renegade educators and outsiders who would define the culture of the school for years to come.

Elizabeth is the most veteran faculty in my study with over forty years of experience. Her stories were selected as focal data in part because they represent the core

characteristics of bedrock stories evidenced across the wider data set. They capture the esprit de corps of GGS as a community of individuals united and defined by adventure, serendipity, and a deep sense of shared belonging to an organizational story. Another reason I wish to highlight Elizabeth's stories is that she also utilizes small stories, often disnarrated events told as asides, which allude to untold stories or stories which ought not be told again. The role of small stories within interview data is evident when juxtaposed alongside the big stories which have a central purpose of preserving the bedrock institutional story of GGS.

Elizabeth and I are sitting in my office in the late spring of 2018, nearly 50 years after she first connected with GGS. She had officially retired the year before but in her role as an emeritus faculty she still teaches a few courses. During her time at GGS, she worked in refugee camps in Thailand, taught intensive English, served as a faculty in the undergraduate and graduate programs, and trained and supervised hundreds of graduate students. Throughout our conversations, she consistently drew upon stories of serendipity and being in the right place at the right time to the point that time became somewhat irrelevant: Elizabeth was simply at the right place. Through analysis of Elizabeth's stories and those of her colleagues, I came to see her sense of belonging as a central feature of bedrock stories. I heard many 'accidental' stories of how faculty ended up at GGS, which led me to see that my initial codes for such stories may be serendipity in name only. Rather, there was something deep within the culture of GGS that served as a magnet for faculty who all ended up at a small graduate school well off the beaten academic path and kept them there for decades. The pattern of serendipity across the wider data set is evident in faculty origin stories displayed in Table 11, below, alongside the linguistic rich

points and codes that pointed me toward this central feature of bedrock stories. Two stories from Elizabeth, ‘This is my place’ and ‘Just say yes’, exemplify this feature and signal a pattern in how GGS faculty viewed their early career experiences.

Table 11 Faculty Origin Stories

Participant	Story	Rich points	Codes
Elizabeth	This is my place Just say yes	A brochure I just showed up What an easy life I didn’t have any hope I could not have done that You just do it	Opportunity Serendipity Happenstance Coincidence Chance
Darina	I belong here	a pivotal moment it dawned on me	
Martin	A remote place	There’s this job a laundry room with a dog barking and a kid playing violin	
Maria	You have no direction in life	A brochure I don’t know what I’m doing	
Sarah	A life-changing moment	It just kind of happened	
Kate	A synergy	I got thrown into it I never expected	

I interviewed Elizabeth three times during the spring, and our conversations covered a time period ranging from the mid-1960s to the present day. Three central questions guided the conversations: 1) How did you become a faculty here? 2) What has been your experience as a faculty member? 3) Looking back, what do you make of these experiences? In our first interview, I began by asking Elizabeth how she became a teacher in the first place.

"I never wanted to be a teacher," Elizabeth tells me with a laugh. In the 1960s, the graduate school and its programs in international development, sustainable development, and language teaching were in their infancy. The school was becoming a hub of international education programming. There were high school and college study abroad programs, receiving and sending students across the world. At that time, GGS also hosted the Peace Corps language and culture training program, a staging ground for American volunteers heading out to posts around the world. There were international exchange programs run by the State Department which brought youth groups to campus every summer. Faculty spent some of their time in New England but were regularly out in the field for education and international development projects. Elizabeth would end up being involved in many of these projects, but she describes her path to GGS as one that occurred through happenstance. She told me that she wanted to be a filmmaker and her goal was to go to USC. She made it out to California as a community volunteer with the VISTA program. But her filmmaking dreams were short lived. Instead, she worked as a volunteer teaching GED courses and then adult English as a Second Language (ESL) courses in Berkeley. In the following story, she describes a carefree entry into the field and how she found her place within it.

Story 1: This is my place

> Elizabeth: I just wanted to hang out in Golden Gate park and listen to music. I was living in the Haight and spending a lot of time out in Berkeley because that was the time of People's Park, and I was having a great time listening to music and protesting and things like that. But I needed a job so I figured out you could substitute teach in adult education programs so I signed up to be a substitute teacher. The first day I came in, I didn't bother to ask who the students were or what was going on. I just showed up to substitute and it was an entire class of Chinese women and all there was was a grammar textbook. I was supposed to stand up at the

podium and read the exercises and have the students repeat. And I thought, what an easy life!

There must have been 40 or 50 students in the class, almost all women. Oh! I know what happened. The person who I was substituting for decided that she wasn't coming back. I didn't have any qualifications at all except that I was there and I had answered the phone when they called at 6:30 to see if I wanted to substitute. So I looked around the classroom and if someone was missing I got the list and I'd call them at home and say, "Oh, you know, you didn't come to class." I thought you had to keep everyone coming in order to keep your job. What I didn't know at the time was that adult ed programs started with 50 students, and then they're happy that they are down to 15 or so. But I was the only person who had 50! (laughs) I only remember one or two women in the class because they would bring me food and sit in the front row, which was basically how I ate for the first semester.

I liked it but I probably realized I wasn't going to get a full-time job because I didn't have a Master's degree. Around that time my sister had been on a GGS study abroad program, and she gave me a brochure about this new language teaching program that was starting. And she said, oh, you're teaching ESL, maybe you're interested in this. And since I didn't have any other hope in my life, and in People's Park they kept arresting more and more demonstrators for tearing down fences. I wasn't sure I wanted to be arrested again and I thought it was time to do something different, and so I applied (to GGS) and the nicest thing was that the person who interviewed me had an office in downtown San Francisco and it was one of those little offices and he said oh let's go downstairs. And we sat down in the middle of this little downtown park, in the grass, and had an interview. And I thought, oooooh, this is my place.

Elizabeth says she was unqualified but happened to answer the call that gave her the chance to teach adult ESL. A brochure was handed to her. There was a fateful meeting on a patch of grass in downtown San Francisco, a sign that it was her place. Humor and humility are central features of her account. She relied on food from her students and 'didn't have any other hope' in her life, characterizations I took as self-deprecating given her current standing as an emeritus faculty.

The distance between now and then in storytelling is significant for the teller's interpretation of events, and this distance connects to issues of truthfulness discussed earlier in the chapter. As Barkhuizen (2011) notes, "When narrators retell stories of particular experiences, they understand these experiences differently each time", and therefore narrative knowledging "recognizes the active, fluid nature of meaning making" (p.396). Elizabeth's memory of her early professional experiences, on the one hand, may have been re-interpreted over time, and therefore have a particular meaning to her at the time of our interview. On the other hand, Ochs and Capps (1999) highlight the prevalence of 'institutionalized master storylines' in certain settings which bend storylines toward a certain arc. In Elizabeth's story, there is an institutionalized storyline characterized by experimentation, growth, luck and chance encounters. In light of Barkhuizen's assertion regarding fluid nature of meaning-making, Elizabeth's interpretation of past events at this particular stage of her career may be shaped to contribute to the master storyline.

Story 2: Say yes

The bedrock characteristic of serendipity is also evident in Elizabeth's next story. She has just started working at GGS when Save the Children, an international development organization, solicits help for a project working with refugees who had left Vietnam and were in camps on an island awaiting transfer to new countries. Embedded in this big 'say yes' story is a small story, an allusion to her identity as a young female from Alabama, which Elizabeth does not elaborate on. When small stories appear, they tend to retreat quickly. They are less likely to be subjected to meta-commentary from the teller, requiring further analysis in terms of the meaning and purpose of such stories. For instance, small stories told in interviews have clues about 'negated narratives' (Baynham,

2011), stories which reference what did not happen or was not told. Additionally, small stories embedded in big stories often index stance and identity which contextualize big story plotlines. Elizabeth's 'say yes' story was selected for closer analysis for this reason. The central features of the story are indicative of bedrock stories told across the data set in that it evidences an institutional storyline of adventure and chance. At another level of analysis, one that attends to the teller's position, the use of a small story is seen giving shape to how Elizabeth sees herself as a character within the story as a renegade trailblazer. My role as the interviewer eliciting the story is also discussed to analyze the influence of context on Elizabeth's framing of her experience.

> Elizabeth: It was in the 80s and around the time of the Vietnamese boat people. And Save the Children had raised all this money for the refugees, but Save the Children, you know everyone is giving them medicine and giving food, we'd like to do something that is more sustainable. And so (the director of Save the Children) came to us and said 'we know you've got an English program. Is there any way we can get an English program going?' because there's all these refugees who are just arriving and they're going to be mostly resettled in English speaking countries, mostly in the US because of the obligation and that was the first huge refugee movement coming from SE Asia to the US. I think that year they must have resettled like half a million or something like that. So the director says, 'I'm looking for someone who has got a passport and can leave tomorrow who can go out to the Anambas Islands.'
>
> Steve: Which are where?
>
> Elizabeth: Exactly, I didn't care (laughs). I've never told you this story? This is my favorite story, this is the 'Say yes' story.
>
> And he said is there anybody who could go? And he's looking of course at all the males. And I'm saying 'Me! Me!' I wanna go. I wanna go. And he's like 'Dan, you want to go?' And Dan is looking down because he doesn't want to go. 'Ted, do you want to go?' 'Harvey, do you want to go?' Every single male he asked and they all said no, and I'm still sitting there with my hand raised.
>
> And so nobody else would go, and I don't think it was so much a sexist thing -- well, I mean I think it was -- because you don't send a sweet

young thing from Alabama off to a refugee camp by herself but since nobody else would go.

I mean, I did have a passport that was valid and you know 2 or 3 days later I was on a plane to Singapore and from Singapore I went out with the woman who was the nutritionist for Save The Children and she and I went out on a cargo ship across the South China Sea to this tiny little island where a lot of refugees were arriving direct from Vietnam.

Steve: And there you were.

Elizabeth: And there I was! And they said, OK you've got to do a needs assessment to find out whether people are starving or whether they could go to the next level of Maslow's hierarchy and get education. And so I don't think it was a very difficult decision to make because there were so many groups bringing in food and shelter, we didn't have to worry about that so much. We said yeah, and we had to find out whether there were refugees capable to be the teachers, assuming that we had one or two teacher-trainers that could come in and help provide materials and things like that. I sat up there and wrote my first proposal that I'd ever written in my life, I was in my mid 20s at the time.

I could not have done that in my mid 20s now because there would've been so many other people who had experience and qualifications, but nobody had ever worked with refugees before. And not many people were jumping at the chance to jump onto this little boat and go off into the middle of nowhere.

I was the boss and I had to set up bank accounts and arrange to rent places. And I just remember sitting at the bank with a big wad of cash in my hand, not speaking a word of Thai with people who did not speak a word of English, setting up a bank account that eventually was going to be for a program of 10,000 students. I remember I was like, what do you do in a situation like this? Well, if you've never done it before, and nobody else was there to do it, you do it. But we set the program up and we stayed out there about six weeks and that was the beginning of the organization's almost 20 years of refugee education work.

Yeah we joined with Save the Children and later with World Education and those three organizations became the consortium and we got our first UNHCR contracts. And I like to say that I got the Nobel peace prize because that year UNHCR got the peace prize for their work with refugees and I was officially employed by UNHCR (laughs). I could tell you many stories about that, we can just leave those for later.

Elizabeth is once again in the right place at the right time when the Save the Children director asks for someone “who has a passport and can leave tomorrow” to the Anambas Islands. The big, bedrock story is one of opportunity and seizing the day, a storyline supported by the image of her sitting in a bank with “a wad of cash” to set up a program for 10,000 refugees. Prolepsis plays a central role in the story as Elizabeth moves between real events from the past and an evaluation of what would not be possible today. Nowadays “there would’ve been so many other people who had experience and qualifications", but at that time “not many people were jumping at the chance to jump onto this little boat and go off into the middle of nowhere.”

Embedded in Elizabeth’s stories from the earliest events of her career is a sense that ‘anything goes’. In her stories of landing an English teaching job, finding her way to GGS, and eventually hopping on a boat to the Anambas Islands, she positions herself as a free-floating renegade operating within an open, somewhat turbulent social, cultural, and political context of the 1960s and 1970s in the US. She describes herself as a hippie who spent most of her time listening to music and protesting at People’s Park. In someone else’s eyes, she might be “a sweet young thing from Alabama” but this notion is countered by what Elizabeth achieves in her 20s, earning a Master’s degree, landing a job at GGS, and then, in jest, ‘winning the Nobel Peace Prize’ for her work with refugees in the South China Sea.

Her stories are marked by macro-level cultural references of the 1960s U.S. counterculture and political strife: Haight, Berkeley, People’s Park, Vietnam, Boat People. Elizabeth’s experience is constructed through these contextual elements, which is a key to understanding her renegade positionality as well as the bedrock story that GGS is

a place for nomads, misfits, and adventurers. As discussed in Chapter 2, analysis of stories at the thematic level does not go far enough. To avoid the common pitfall of a 'laundry list' of observations, Pavlenko (2007) invited narrative researchers to pay attention to contextual reality in their analysis of big, biographical stories. Similarly, Bruner (1990) states that "people do not deal with the world event-by-event or with text sentence-by-sentence" and implored narrative inquirers to observe how "cultures rely upon narrative conventions to maintain their coherence" (2010). The coherence of this bedrock story is maintained contextually through Elizabeth's telling of stories in which uncertainty and instability are characterized as opportunities. Back then, she says, anything was possible: "if you've never done it before, and nobody else is there to do it, you do it." This characterization is strengthened when placed in opposition to what was unlikely, in the past, and what cannot be done today. It was unlikely that a young woman from Alabama with little experience, raising her hand in a room full of men, would get the opportunity, but she did. These days, she thinks, there would be many more qualified individuals for the position.

Attention to contextual reality also involves examining sites where stories are told, the relationship between teller and researcher, and temporality: Who is telling the story to whom, where and when, and under what circumstances? Pavlenko (2007) notes that narrative researchers need to pay close attention to "the context of the interview or manuscript writing, and thus to the influence of language choice, audience, setting, modality, narrative functions, interactional concerns, and power relations on ways in which speakers and writers verbalize their experiences" (p.175). According to Kasper and Prior (2015), while the content of the interview is a "rich resource for understanding the

lived realities of groups or individuals, a detailed analysis of how these stories take shape in the course of their production offers insight into the co-participants' interactional realities" (p.228).

Elizabeth's stories were elicited in research interviews, in my office, during the final months of Elizabeth's career before she retired. As one of Elizabeth's colleagues, our relationship extended beyond the context of the interview. Our offices were next door to each other and over the course of five years of working together we shared many conversations and stories about our lives and our work. I knew she had a library of stories and had heard many of them in bits and pieces. In the interview excerpt above, this relationship is observable in the question, "Have I told you this one before?" In a hallway conversation, this question is an overture to tell or to retell, which can be accepted or qualified by the response of the listener. In the specific context of a research interview, the question is also an overture, but the interactional reality of the listener, as a researcher, is different. My response to Elizabeth and others was often something along the lines of: 'Yes, but tell me again in great detail so that I can understand it in the context of my study.'

Elizabeth also indexes a veteran or 'saga keeper' role (Manley-Casimir et al., 2012) when she presents a particular story by saying: "This is my __________ story". In my role as the listener-research and as a junior faculty with substantially less work experience, I was positioned to receive her stories as lessons. Whether they are lessons for research or professional wisdom is difficult to say. When stories are framed this way, however, a task is created for both participants to interactionally accomplish the telling of a lesson. For example, my few interjections in the 'Say yes' story are short phrases or

questions designed to further Elizabeth's telling. Compared to the stories told in classroom discussions in Chapter 4, there is a relative absence of 'second stories' or stories told in response to another story. In sum, the purpose of Elizabeth's stories, as bedrock artifacts of institutional culture and as lessons shared with a novice colleague, are brought to light through attention to the content and contextual reality of her stories as well as the site in which her stories are told.

Within Elizabeth's 'say yes' story, she mentions the possibility that sexism was involved in selecting who would go to the Anambas Islands.

> Elizabeth: And so nobody else would go, and I don't think it was so much a sexist thing -- well, I mean I think it was -- because you don't send a sweet young thing from Alabama off to a refugee camp by herself but since nobody else would go.

She alludes to gender stereotypes dictating what a young woman from Alabama was allowed to do. She initially downplays the role of sexism in her being picked last, then confirms it may have been at play because "you don't send a sweet young thing from Alabama off to a refugee camp by herself." This is an allusion to another story, a story of why a young woman from Alabama could be treated differently. The small story is germane to the telling of the big story in that it positions her as someone who would not typically be called on to head off to the Anambas Islands. Elizabeth does not dwell on it and instead moves on, likely because her coda in 'Say yes' is related to seizing the moment. She returns to the subject of her identity later in the interview, suggesting that her background is significant in understanding the big story of her experience as a faculty, one in which it was possible for a young woman from Alabama to work with refugees in Asia and then become a professor at GGS. Elizabeth is telling me about her

first year teaching in the intensive English program at GGS when she stops to check on whether I had heard another story of hers.

Story 3: Kennedy English

> Elizabeth: Did I ever tell you that one? I usually tell my students this. I had a group of absolute beginners and this was my first class. Most of them were from Saudi Arabia and they were all there to go on to universities. And after the first hour of class the entire group got up and went to the director's office and said 'We must change our teacher because she's from Alabama and people from Alabama can't speak the kind of English that we want to learn.' They wanted Kennedy English!
>
> Luckily the director said 'Go back to class.' And of course, many of them ended up in the South studying at universities. Of course, at that time Alabama was in the news for a lot of negative things. But I still think it was the idea that southerners can't speak English.

Similar to previous stories, Elizabeth checks to see if I had heard this particular story before moving on. She also indexes political and geographical spaces to situate herself as someone standing between different worlds of her students' expectations (Kennedy, New England) and stereotypes connected to the variety of English spoken in the South. The small story told in 'Say yes' indexing her identity comes back to play a similar role in this story. Because of her gender, youth, and background, she is overlooked and doubted. Yet both stories ultimately characterize an experience in which she overcame these potential obstacles through persistence and the assistance of a director who tells her students to 'go back to class.' It is a time when Elizabeth is agentive. She is symbolic of the change that is happening in the world and the role GGS has within it. In the last story I will share from Elizabeth, which comes from a much later stage of her career, the roles are somewhat reversed. The world begins to teach Elizabeth.

Story 4: I realized I wasn't the queen who knew everything

GGS encouraged faculty to have one foot in the field and one in academia. During

the middle of Elizabeth's career, she was constantly on the move, teaching courses in New England, supervising practicing teachers around the world, and conducting field-based training courses for language teachers in places like Korea and Haiti where English language skills were in high demand. As she gained expertise, her perception of her role as an expert changed through working with teachers in different countries, as well as students within her GGS classes. She reflects on this in the following story.

> Elizabeth: The other thing when I first started teaching, you know, it was the great white father or mother knew best. I could go off and do teacher training programs for the State Department, and I was the one who knew it. I was the trainer. I think through the years it became obvious how much I could learn from a Korean teacher or a Haitian teacher because they knew what the challenges were for their own students. And it became much more 'let's learn together' and figure out how I can share what I do know but with you who also knows so much more. I think that was a big shift to the non-native speaker as an expert.
>
> But going way back earlier than that. We had a student. And it was the year I decided I was going to work on all kinds of groupings. I was going to have a different grouping every time. And so I said for this grouping, "all the men over here and all the women over here." And a student came up after class and said, "You may think I am a woman but I am transitioning now" and that was the first I had become aware of this kind of gender issue. That was such a wonderful year because she told all of her classmates and they not only supported her, they developed t-shirts in support of her. Luckily she didn't immediately go to the dean and demand that I get thrown out because I had not been sensitive to her or him. That's probably been the biggest learning, when I realized I wasn't the queen who knew everything.

In this story, Elizabeth pinpoints two significant areas of learning at a later stage of her career, both framed by the relationship between experts and novices. As discussed in the methodology chapter, a language socialization perspective provides a window into the shift in Elizabeth's learning, one in which the role of novices is blurred as novices take agentive roles in socializing peers and experts. Opportunities to teach and train beyond GGS brought her into contact with individuals who shifted the expert-novice notion from

'great white mother knows best' to legitimizing the local experience and expertise of the student teachers. She comments that this was part of a larger shift in the field of TESOL which had started to identify non-native speaker power issues as central to the profession. As a result, she reframes her perception of knowledge as no longer concentrated in experts' hands but shared between trainers and local knowledge of the trainees. This change aligns with Talmy's contention that "contingency and multi-directionality are inherent in LS given its orientation to socialization as an interactionally-mediated process" (p.621). Contingency is evident in Elizabeth's perception of expertise, which changes as a result of interaction with her trainees in Korea and Haiti.

In the second part of this story, Elizabeth's view of gender fluidity is mediated through a conversation after class with a student who is transitioning. In this telling, she comments on what she learned, how she learned it, and, significantly, what did not happen as a result of what she learned. By learning that her student is transitioning, she also learns that her grouping method of 'all the men over here, all the women over there' needs an update. It was a 'wonderful year' because the students' peers supported her and also, perhaps, because Elizabeth learned this lesson gently, in a conversation after class. Her student politely points out that she needs to rethink any activities which may include a binary view of gender.

In the last line of the story, she imagines an alternate scenario in a small story: "Luckily she didn't immediately go to the dean and demand that I get thrown out because I had not been sensitive to her or him." This is a hypothetical story, one that alludes to something that is not told or did not actually happen in the active story. Instead, Elizabeth is referring to a real incident which occurred a few years ago in which a small group of

students did report a faculty to the dean, but she does not elaborate. I interpret that this deferral to tell is based on my prior knowledge of the incident, and that it remained a source of unresolved angst for the faculty for quite some time. In other words, it was an 'untold' story in the context of the interview in the sense that we both knew it and may not have wished to rehash it again.

Toward the end of my last interview with Elizabeth, I followed up on the themes of opportunity, serendipity, and learning that run through her stories. I wanted to know what she made of the entirety of her experience, and so I paraphrase Seidman's (2013) question for phenomenological interviews: Given what you have said about how you arrived here, and given what you have said about your work now, how do you understand this experience? What sense does it make to you?" (p. 22).

> Steve: There's something about serendipity, being in the right place at the right time. You've told stories that hinged on a chance meeting or encounter.
>
> Elizabeth: There's the chance meeting, the funny encounter, but there's something that underlies it. I think most of it is a willingness to take a risk and say who knows what's going to happen but I am going to try it. A lot of people have had those chance encounters but they haven't necessarily used them. Now, is this a place that brings those people together?

She ends with a rhetorical question. The stories shared by Elizabeth and other faculty members describe GGS as a place where risk-takers converged and opportunity was available to those who raised their hands. This is a bedrock feature of the big stories told by GGS faculty. They are stories *for* learning, to preserve and pass along the culture and esprit de corps of GGS. However, Elizabeth's stories also allude to change and unresolved conflict. Faultline stories, which I define as stories *of* learning, point to

incidents in which faculty encounter change brought about by interaction with a wide variety of students. Through learning that comes from faultline stories, faculty adapt, reflect, and in some cases, become resigned to the fact that some issues will remain unsolved. As we will see in Maria's stories below, faultlines can emerge in the telling of bedrock stories.

Part 3: Maria's Stories - 'Excuse me, what?'

Maria is also a veteran faculty who spent most of her 40-year career at GGS. Like Elizabeth, Maria was involved in many projects associated with and beyond GGS related to teacher education and international development. Also similar to Elizabeth, Maria is a playful provocateur, a renegade who found a home at GGS among like-minded progressive educators. I focus on a particular story of Maria's, 'The magical mystery tour', because it is a story that was shared with me many times, by multiple participants, both informally and during interviews. I came to see it as the quintessential example of a bedrock story. Yet, in Maria's telling, 'The magical mystery tour' also comes with a qualification in the form of a small story aside, one which foreshadows changes to GGS and, perhaps, higher education in general. In other words, the magical mystery tour may be coming to an end.

I interviewed Maria in my office a few weeks before the end of the spring semester. Many years earlier, Maria's path to GGS began much in the same fashion as Elizabeth's.

Story 1: The flock

> Maria: I never pictured myself being a teacher. I never pictured myself being anything. I really couldn't figure out what I was going to be. I remember my older brother saying to me, you have no direction in life. And I said yes, I do -- south.

> I had spent some time in Hawaii and in Europe, and I decided I wanted to be a permanent expatriate. Something was happening in Iran or Iraq, and I was disenfranchised. So I decided to get a degree in applied linguistics at the university where I was working and could get free tuition. And I took one course in linguistics and I was just dying, falling asleep. I couldn't stand it.
>
> My goal was to get a Master's degree in TESOL so I could go back overseas and live permanently as an expatriate. One of my study mates said, you know, I think this is the program for you. And she gave me a brochure that came from GGS and it had a picture of a woman standing among a flock of sheep. It was a black and white photo.

There must have been something special about the GGS brochures. Like Elizabeth, Maria had been somewhat aimless, disaffected by U.S. military involvement in foreign countries. She had a hazy purpose of living as an expatriate until she came across an image that shepherded her to GGS to be with her flock. That fall she came to GGS as a student and two years later was hired to teach a section of one of the MA courses. The director who hired Maria told her, "This is a bit wild, you just finished your degree, but I think you understand what we're doing here." Once again, serendipity and opportunity are part of the big stories of faculty coming to GGS. There is a sense of belonging, confirmed by the director who can sense that Maria "understands what we're doing here."

Maria was around during the heyday of GGS, the "era of big classes coming" when enrollment in each of the degree programs was bursting at the seams. Karlene had described this as a time period in which the school was 'becoming its own entity' and writing its own story. She gave as examples of this story the common orientation for all graduate students and the school's tradition of having an outdoor graduation ceremony, a stage surrounded by flags perched on top of a hill with a wide-angle view of the valley below. Karlene also told the story of becoming immune to the sight of garbage hanging

from the balcony overlooking the dining hall, a symbol of the idealistic students and faculty lobbying for a greener campus.

In Maria's bedrock stories she talks about the GGS tradition of skits and pranks. As a student in the program, I had seen a few of these myself. There was one skit the faculty called 'The Lawnmower Skit' which lampooned the tendency each spring, when the weather would warm up, for the groundskeepers to drown out the sounds of teachers as they roared by the classrooms in riding mowers. Skits were held in a shared space (the same one that would later be condemned during my data collection), where faculty and students gathered for community meetings. In the Lawn Mower Skit, a faculty member would stand up as if she were addressing the class and begin to relay some very important information about an assignment when suddenly the sound of a lawn mower would blare from the speakers in the room while the faculty member continued to mouth the instructions. Then, once the 'lawn mower' would pass by, another faculty member would stand up and start talking about the Master's portfolio. The lawn mowers would drive by again. The skit always had the room in stitches. As a student who had once watched Maria and Elizabeth perform the Lawn Mower Skit, my recollection is not only that it was funny. It was also: Look at how much fun *they* are having. These were professors in a graduate school, most of them in their 50s and 60s, and it looked like they were having the time of their lives. I had never seen teachers, much less professors, act this way.

Maria shared other stories from this canon. For example, there was a faculty member who was a notorious prankster, and well-known for holding onto students' papers for long periods of time. One year, students decided to steal his computer and left a ransom note, holding it hostage until he returned their papers with feedback. But there

was one particular story of Maria's that stood out. When it came up in our interview, I asked her to tell it again. I had heard versions of it but the interview setting provided me with a chance to hear the full story and ask Maria what she made of it many years later.

Story 2: The magical mystery tour

> Maria: At that time we didn't have as many institutional commitments, there weren't all these committees. In a sense we had ourselves and our students and we were doing what we wanted to do with our time. So much less of this, 'Oh my god it's time for another meeting.' When I needed to leave with my kids to go home and make dinner or pick them up from school, I just did that.
>
> As a program we were kind of our own little animal, doing its thing. You know, go rent a bus and go on a magical mystery tour. You know, classes are canceled! Climb on the bus! Off we go. It was part of folklore.
>
> The one magical mystery tour, I still remember the shoes I wore that day. It might've been as early as 1990, I'm not sure. Spring came, and we had this feeling that everyone had been working hard, the spring slump hit, people were pissed off at each other. And you kinda just think OK, people need a break.
>
> So we organized a special meeting, and students reported to the auditorium in the morning, and we gave them 15 minutes to run back to their dorms and drop off their books and get some comfortable shoes on.
>
> And then we pulled up in a bus and (the students) all got on the bus and we went over to the dam where they did an activity outdoors.
>
> One group of faculty had gone to the dam to do the activity and a few of us were in the recon group. After the activity the students came back and they were coming down the road in the bus. And a bunch of us were there along the road, wearing animal costumes that we had rented from the costume ladies.
>
> So (two other faculty) and I were dressed up like squirrels and chipmunks and what have you, and we had left tables in the ditch on the side of the road. And so, before the bus came, we pulled out the tables, we opened them up, and we had ice cream and chocolate sauce, and we were standing in the middle of the road dressed up as chipmunks and squirrels. When the bus came, we flagged it down.

> Here's the thing. Within a year or two after that, we started to experience that we had students who couldn't handle that. There would be people who would go 'Excuse me, what?' So there was a change in a collective culture of surprise, and people who just couldn't handle anything that was surprising. Of course nowadays everyone would get totally freaked out.

The magical mystery tour typifies a central bedrock of the school: the people at this school are different and things are done differently here. Students hang garbage from the dining room balcony and hold faculty computers for ransom. Faculty perform skits, take students on mysterious trips, and dress up as chipmunks and squirrels. Maria describes the magical mystery bus as a stress reliever, but there was often a pedagogical purpose for such activities. Students routinely were asked to do things outside of the classroom, then come back together to reflect on the experience.

A good example is an activity that faculty facilitated during the orientation each year. It was called ‘The Raging River’. In the activity, students are led out to a grassy area on campus and presented with a task of crossing an imaginary river during a storm. To cross, the students must rely on each other and six magic stones (2x2 squares of cardboard). If a student accidentally stepped into the river while crossing, a stone would be taken away, making the task more difficult. Year after year, students would figure out creative ways to get everyone across. After the activity, students reflected on their experience and considered group dynamics and their own preferred role in a group. It was the perfect activity, it seemed, to model experiential learning.

However, the raging river activity, like the magical mystery tour, is a bedrock story that also reveals faultlines. As Maria said, “We started to experience that we had students who couldn’t handle that. There would be people who would go 'Excuse me, what?” Maria learned that the activities needed to be tweaked and reevaluated based on

the students who came to campus over the years. It was an activity that required physical contact between students as they helped each other across the river. More and more students decided to opt out of the activity and simply observe. There were also ability and disability issues that came to light over the years. For example, one of the rules of the raging river was that if a student stepped in the water they would be blindfolded, adding another degree of difficulty to the task. This rule changed when students pointed out that this may trivialize the real challenges faced by a blind person. The raging river activity had originally been presented as a task to get across the river during a hurricane. One year, students provided feedback that the activity might trigger traumatic memories for anyone who had actually experienced a hurricane.

Much in the same way that Elizabeth learned to be aware of gender fluidity through a grouping strategy, interaction and feedback helped Maria to learn about the changing needs of students. Some lessons from students were less easily learned. In discussing critical moments in her career, Maria talked about several students who stayed on her mind for years. Challenges appeared when students bumped up against the GGS ethos of risk-taking and cross-cultural understanding. This clash between embracing and dealing with difference is part of the final sequence of Maria's stories below. The stories were told in a long, uninterrupted segment of our interview, and so I present them below in their entirety, reserving discussion for the end. Titles are given to the start of each story sequence in order to refer back to individual stories in the discussion.

It will help the reader to have some background about the stories told within the following excerpt of the interview. Maria and I are talking about what she learned from her students over the years. I was curious about unresolved issues or conflicts with

students, as this had come up in many of my interviews with faculty and in my own work. Maria first tells a story in which a single comment on a student's paper turns into a prolonged cold war and a realization from Maria that she had a desire to be liked and respected by all of her students. Maria then builds on the first story by sharing another in which she felt, initially, that she had built a meaningful connection with a student who had a very different worldview, only to see it fall apart when Maria "revealed her true colors" in a rowdy faculty skit. Maria and I then exchange a series of small stories which allude to other students who have stayed on our minds. Through this exchange of stories, a faultline is revealed and a central tension for faculty comes into full relief.

Story 3: I wanted to be liked

> Steve: I'm interested in these 'aha' moments that we have as teachers. Sometimes they happen in the classroom, not always. Things that remain in our memories for different reasons.
>
> Maria: I'm still not entirely sure why this story is so important except that when I think about something that shaped me, it still comes to mind.
>
> This was maybe my fourth or fifth year on the faculty. Somehow I said something to a student in a comment on a paper at a time when I was still using pencil and writing in margins by hand. I said something about her having a learning style that I thought required some different support. She was a little bit older than our average students. And she took great umbrage at this and she felt like I was telling her there was a problem with her learning style. Perhaps I said it unskillfully but she took it as a statement that she was deficient in some way.
>
> After that she wouldn't even look at me. She wouldn't talk to me. She wouldn't respond to me if I walked past her, she would give me sort of googly evil eyes. And it went on and on and on. Every time I saw her, I felt attacked by her. I lost sleep. I wondered if there was something that I could or should do. She had put up this blockade that didn't allow me really any access.
>
> So I just remember walking into the graduate building that day, and she did that thing to me again. Her eyes just glaring at me and I said, "Would you please come to my office right now?" And she reluctantly followed.

But she came. And I shut the door, and I said like a half a sentence and then I burst into tears and said, I don't know what I did but I am so sorry. If what I said has offended you this deeply that you're carrying it until now, that was never my intention. I'm just trying to help you learn about yourself. And I was sobbing because I was all pent up.

And you know, the look on her face was one of just complete shock. She just couldn't believe that her behavior had had that much of an impact on me. I think she saw that it had been a power differential somehow and I being the professor had labeled her in a way that she didn't want to be labeled. And you know there was a couple of weeks left in the spring and by the end we were fine.

I think the learning from that was that, as teachers, I felt the pressure of the role and I felt like I was supposed to be acting a certain way in that role. And so rather than just admitting at the very beginning that I was uncomfortable, or that I hadn't been skillful, if I had taken the stance of really humbling myself to the situation, I could have spared myself and probably her weeks if not months of discomfort.

Steve: Why do you think this hurt so much?

Maria: I mean, I think I wanted to be liked. And respected. So it's one of those classic things where there were 42 students who liked and respected me but this one didn't.

You know, I grew up in the Midwest. We're nice. If we don't have to give negative feedback, we'd rather not. And I didn't feel like what I'd said to her was negative but she really took it that way. But yeah, I think that was my dilemma, was that I just wanted to be liked.

Story 4: True colors

One of the most interesting cases that I still think about, because I wonder if I held this person well and did a reasonable job or not. This was a student who was an Evangelical Christian and he was from the US, maybe from somewhere in the south. I think I was teaching a culture course that year. And one of his most significant life moments was the moment when he found the lord and made that conversion from not believing to believing and accepting Jesus as his personal Christ and savior.

And we talked a lot, because I grew up in a Christian background so I understood a lot of the theology that he was talking about. I just wasn't evangelical so I wasn't absolute in the way that those belief systems tend to be in that paradigm. In the spring he wrote a paper about how do you

survive in a world view, in the GGS world view, which is that this faith pattern is as significant as any other, and we're not going to place one faith system in some kind of superordinate position. We're saying they all have relevance. It was a challenge of maintaining a single point of view in a situation that embraces multiple perspectives.

Steve: How to play the believing game [Peter Elbow’s idea of entering into someone else’s way of thinking] when you're pretty sure about your own beliefs?

Maria: When you're absolutely sure. When the definition of faith is complete and unadulterated belief and then somebody's asking you to entertain other perspectives.

Steve: It sounds like he was introspective about that.

Maria: He was but he couldn't really handle it. His papers were often about the fact that he couldn't do that. If he were to entertain another point of view, he would be crossing over the line in terms of what faith means, that faith is by definition unquestioned.

Steve: And it extends to everything that you might do or think about.

Maria: To say ‘I'm not sure, let me think about that’ was already treading on his belief.

Steve: So you remember him as an interesting case.

Maria: Well we did the car wash skit at the end of the spring and I was the narrator.

[In the skit, performed during the closing ceremony of students’ one year on campus at GGS, faculty lead students through a makeshift car wash in two stages. In the first stage of the skit, it is the beginning of the year. Faculty are dressed as angels, offering scholarship money, helping students find their books and accommodating their needs. In the second stage of the skit, it is the end of the year. Faculty change to biker gear, sunglasses and headbands. The Queen song ‘Another One Bites the Dust’ is playing. Faculty are rowdy, throwing student papers in the air.]

Maria continues: And you remember the second part of the car wash skit is when the bad guys come out and they're wearing black jackets and smoking cigarettes. And I went from this melodic voice about the beauties of the program, to a really snarling, nasty person.

And in the course of my diatribe, I swore. I can't remember what I said. I swore and I think I took the lord's name in vain. I might've said god dammit. And the minute I said it, I thought, I have just blown whatever credibility I've managed to attain with this guy.

And so the next day I sought him out. We were having a picnic, it was the final afternoon, and I said, I apologize, I know that I offended you yesterday. And he said, yeah, you did. He was gracious, but I had been so careful in our formal conversations to not do anything to denigrate his perspective, and then in the course of a silly skit I kind of lost it and revealed my true colors.

Steve: You were so sensitive to his perspective on things. Do you think that was something that was unique to this place? I don't mean to overgeneralize the educators of the 1980s or 90s but I could see other places being, 'the teacher's gonna be the teacher and the student has to adapt.'

Maria: I think it was part of the culture of this place in that we were surrounded by a lot of people who thought very carefully about that kind of thing. You know, not assuming that people were going to eat this or that, but we still made a lot of ongoing faux paus. Like it was assumed for the longest time that we'd have alcohol at every event, it didn't dawn on us that we'd offend certain Muslim students but I think at that point we also didn't have any of the really conservative groups coming here so there wasn't an awareness of that. There may have been a growing awareness about food differences. It took us a long time to figure out gluten free. I think I was sensitive to the Evangelical guy because I had grown up in a Christian family and I understood how important faith was to people that were around me. I also knew I had moved in my own direction and that I was not really representative of what I had grown up to be and do.

Story 5: Accommodation doesn't demand growth

Steve: Even in my short time here, there's one theme for me, dancing that delicate dance between wanting to understand and respect what students are bringing and engaging with that, but also being afraid of the faux pas. And feeling a bit restrained and confused. Not like I wish I could curse all the time in my class. You know I remember (a student) from a few years ago.

Maria: Oh he loved to swear.

> Steve: He would curse at himself. I remember two other students giving me feedback, a little upset with me. Like, why are you allowing this? This is an offensive word to me. Why are you allowing it to be in the classroom?
>
> Maria: I think about all of that and FERPA and so many of the things we are asked to be aware of, you know. In the past, students wouldn't have been identified on being on any kind of autism spectrum because that awareness wasn't even available. If people were uncomfortable being on the (magical mystery) bus, they just wouldn't show up and we wouldn't say anything. It was like, oh come on, this is fun, we're doing this for you. You're stressed out, have some fun, have a beer. I really do wonder about being so dialed in to those specifics and whether or not we are always really serving people's fundamental needs or not. I feel that accommodation doesn't demand growth, maybe.
>
> Steve: Yeah when you think about (another past student).
>
> Maria: I know. How much growth?
>
> Steve: We were all still under the influence of a couple of years ago, thinking that if we don't accommodate this person he's going to ruin it for everybody.
>
> Maria: I would see him walking around the parking lot and I would be thinking, you know, 'ticking time bomb.' This guy's gonna come in and blow people's faces off. I mean, that's the kind of thing we also have that happening in our culture. Do not press people to be anything other than what they fundamentally are because who knows what's lying underneath that surface.

Summary of Findings

In arguing for the value of big stories in narrative research, Freeman notes that "the distance that is intrinsic to big story narrative reflection creates opportunities for understanding that are largely unavailable in the immediacy of the moment" (2006, p.131). Narrative enables tellers to externalize experience and 'make it public' for their own reflection and growth (Johnson & Golombek, 2011). Years removed from the moments in their stories, what do faculty understand about those events now? In the discussion below, I revisit the bedrock and faultline stories told by faculty to make sense

of change in their long careers and learn from the conflicts which accompany these changes. This summative discussion addresses two of the research questions for this study:

1) What is the narrated experience of faculty in a small graduate program during an era of change in higher education?
2) What are the big stories told by faculty in this setting? How are they told and what is accomplished in their telling?

The Old Dream

The formative years of Karlene, Elizabeth, and Maria's experiences are characterized by a busy, active campus teeming with students from around the world studying English, international education, TESOL, and intercultural leadership. The high enrollment was a boon for the school and meant opportunities for faculty who were starting their careers at a time when internationalization efforts were fully coming to fruition in the 1980s and 90s. Short-term undergraduate and graduate programs meant that GGS was a revolving door for students who would commune on campus for short periods of time and then scatter around the globe continuing their work as teachers, trainers, and activists. The presence of English language programs also brought younger groups of students for short term stays.

Karlene's story witnessed the birth of the first Master's degree in International Education and saw the development of traditions that made GGS a place unto itself. It was a nimble moment in her career in which she took on multiple roles working with international students and teaching courses across disciplinary areas with different ways of talking about complementary aspects of international education: advising, teaching,

and strategic planning. As she leads a group of international visitors around campus, she gets a question: Why is there garbage hanging from the balcony? Karlene reflects on this later as a sign that to be immune to this sight she must have been at GGS for a long time.

Elizabeth came to GGS by way of protesting in People's Park, serving as a VISTA volunteer, and teaching adult ESL in the Bay Area during a politically charged time in the late 1960s. A brochure for a tiny graduate program in New England catches her attention and within a few years she has her degree and raises her hand for the opportunity to develop English language programs for refugees leaving Vietnam. It was a time when opportunities were plenty if you were willing to 'say yes.'

Maria set out to find an expat life and found one circuitously at GGS, where the director of the program immediately identifies her as someone who understood what the place was all about. It was a place where Maria and her colleagues defied traditional notions of university professors as they constantly sought to push student growth through experiential activities. Pranks, skits, and surprise trips were woven into the fabric of the program to keep things light and the community on their toes. Maria thinks that performances like the lawn mower and car wash skits were only possible because of the program's commitment to intercultural understanding and close interpersonal relationships with students. In a small program, trusting relationships built on time spent together made the program's moments of levity possible.

This was the old dream, a bedrock story of the school composed of a hundred stories like the ones that Karlene, Elizabeth, and Maria told me. Serendipity, opportunity, and camaraderie defined the formative years of a small school with outsized dreams and personalities. A paradox of the bedrock story is that this period was also described by

faculty as one of instability, but of the variety that spawned creativity. There was always something new in the works: a satellite campus in Japan, training projects with the State Department, a certification program for public school teachers. Through all of the programmatic iterations, the one thing that remained constant at GGS was the faculty, guardians and tellers of an institutional bedrock story that was slowly changing through exposure to the elements.

A New Reality

The old dream did not die. Through some traditions, it persisted to the point that some students observed that they were experiencing the same show that had been put on for many years. In faculty stories, change appeared more tangibly in faculty stories through interactions, faux pas, and conflicts.

One of the faultlines in Karlene's story traces to the identification in her stories that not everyone at GGS was speaking the same disciplinary language. The planning meeting at the Holiday Inn, for example, reveals the origins of silos between the International Education and TESOL programs. With the birth of a new degree area, there was an opportunity for synergy and overlap, but it ends with disciplinary lines drawn in the sand. Karlene also observed that she needed to train her students in the language of international development theory so that they could hold their ground with faculty from different degree areas. She notices, too, that her students were limited to the classroom in their ability to practice intercultural understanding. When it came to understanding the boisterous English language students on campus, they drew their own line in the sand, saying "this is our lives. This isn't playtime." Ultimately, for Karlene the failure of faculty to demonstrate that they can find a common language across their fields is a

disservice to students who need to find common ground in their professional lives: “If we can’t do it, we can’t ask students to do it.”

Elizabeth’s faultline can be traced to a shift in the role she takes within her stories at different stages of her career. In the early years, she is the one challenging stereotypes. In her busiest years, Elizabeth has one foot on the ground at GGS and another training English teachers through State Department grants in places like Haiti and Korea. Her exposure to and interaction with students and teachers from around the world creates opportunities for her to reflect on aspects of her evolving identity. As a young woman from Alabama, she moves from the periphery of a male-dominated world of development to an expert sent to train teachers in developing countries. Through field experience she is challenged by notions of expertise when she comes to see teacher-trainees as experts in their local contexts of teaching. This reformulation of her professional role is further informed through the classroom where a transitioning student lets her know that things aren’t always what they seem to be, and a faux pas in a grouping activity serves as a new understanding of gender fluidity. In the end, Elizabeth concedes, in jest, that she is no longer the queen who knows everything.

The faultlines in Maria’s stories are visible in wounds that do not easily heal. Maria wanted to be liked and respected. This is something she is able to achieve with nearly every student, yet it is the few students with whom she loses credibility that remain on her mind many years later. She feels attacked by a student and loses sleep over one fraught relationship among many she has with her students. In retrospect, the story carries a lesson for Maria that she wished she had “humbled herself to the situation” much earlier rather than letting it get the best of her emotionally. In the story of the

Evangelical Christian student, a bond she has forged with someone whose dogmatism is at odds the pluralistic culture at GGS is squandered when she participates in a skit in which she takes the lord's name in vain and exposes her "true colors." For her this story remains with her as an example of a fine line she has walked as an educator.

> Maria: It was just another moment of recognizing how we carry these really tenuous balances. For me, the challenge of being a good teacher is hardly ever about content. It's about the tenuousness of the relationships we have with our students.

At a small school like GGS, where students call their faculty by their first names and classrooms rarely have more than 15 students, Maria comments that "it's hardly ever about the curriculum." Instead, relationships *are* the curriculum. As enrollment numbers continued to decline at GGS, the importance of strengthening these tenuous relationships became paramount as strained threads suddenly posed a greater threat to the fabric of the smaller community. An issue such as Elizabeth's faux pas with a transitioning student, which was settled with a quick conversation after class, might now become a concern of the entire community or even the dean. At the same time, Maria worries about whether the inclination to accommodate students has the effect of discouraging the kind of growth she feels that her students need.

Conclusion and Future Directions

The lack of space and 'accommodations' experienced by faculty in recent years has run parallel to expectations that faculty should make students as comfortable as possible, even if it means sometimes not pushing academic and personal growth for certain students. Therefore, the ultimate faultline, and implication for faculty in the changing landscape of higher education, is the potential that further strain will be placed on the tenuous relationships between faculty and their students. How might future

research play a constructive role? Gallagher (2011, p.59) argues that the research story is "a place to begin inquiry, not a place on which to settle meanings." This study has contributed to an underexplored area of faculty experience by examining how veteran faculty see the bedrock characteristics of the formative decades of their career. It has also revealed the faultlines of this experience, stories in which the tellers reconcile an institutional story of opportunity and adventure with changes encountered through working with a variety of students. Change also occurred from beyond as small schools like GGS fought to remain an attractive option for students in a competitive landscape.

Big stories told by faculty at GGS often had an indestructible feel. They were told and retold with a clarity that made me think these events happened yesterday, preserving a collective culture that bolstered the school for many years. Small stories embedded in the big stories, on the other hand, provided insight into the tenuous nature of institutional narratives at GGS.

This is the place where new inquiry begins, one in which the old dream is transitioning to the new one. What will the new dream of higher education look like? What programs, practices, and pedagogies will engage contemporary students in the same way that GGS faculty did for so many years? For the new dream to be realized, future research needs to turn the page by telling new stories of how faculty engage with students, promote meaningful learning opportunities, and serve as models for students by practicing what they preach. Future big stories in educational research will also shed light on the effects that large workloads have in stretching faculty time thinly across commitments. A narrative approach may also yield stories of innovation, perseverance,

and opportunity of faculty working at small colleges, in particular, as these schools carve out a new niche within the shifting landscape of higher education.

Chapter 4 The Moral Geography of Small Stories

Abstract

Compared to well-ordered and smoothed over big autobiographical stories, small stories are atypical narrative fragments told in everyday conversation and classroom discussions. This chapter focuses on small stories drawn from a larger narrative study examining the experience of faculty at Greenhills Graduate School (a pseudonym, hereafter GGS), a small graduate program offering degrees in international education, language education, sustainable development, and conflict transformation. In this chapter, I begin by demonstrating the occurrence of small stories in naturalistic classroom observation data and, less frequently, in semi-structured interviews. By sharing several small story excerpts, I establish how small stories play different roles in interaction: as glue for social cohesion, to ratify one's own story through linking it to another, to inject levity into serious or awkward moments, and to allude to shared stories and experiences.

After outlining the multiple functions of small stories, I examine in depth a focal excerpt from a classroom discussion in order to elucidate a valuable pedagogical role played by small stories. The focal excerpt begins with a story told by Martin, a veteran faculty member, during a class discussion about a student in a youth program coming out to his peers. Martin's retelling serves as a means for graduate students to enter a storyworld and map out a moral geography of a salient and sensitive issue through the co-constructed telling of additional stories. Within the storyworld created by Martin's story, participants tell their own small stories in order to evaluate their beliefs as educators and

to plan future action in scenarios in which these beliefs will be put into practice. Of particular interest is how faculty utilize small stories to talk with students about contemporary and oftentimes sensitive issues. The study has implications for faculty and international educators as they attempt to create a stable ground for difficult discussions to take place.

Introduction

The landscape of higher education has been shifting, a big story which has drawn the interest of researchers looking at change at the institutional level (Thelin, 2017; Altbach & Knight, 2007). Additional research has surveyed faculty opinions on internationalization and examined faculty curricular design to meet the needs of diverse groups of students (Dewey & Duff, 2009; Kreber, 2009). However, as Trahar notes, in spite of faculty's "pivotal role ensuring the quality of student learning" (2011, p. 47), the story of faculty in higher education remains mostly untold. In the literature, and in the media, the stories are told in broad strokes: the rise of the neoliberal university, the wave of campus internationalization, and the adjuncting of the academy. Narrative research has illuminated large, autobiographical accounts of teachers somewhat generally. Biographical and autobiographical accounts of faculty experience (See: Canagarajah, Johnson & Golombek, Braine, Norton & Early) provide a closer look at faculty practices and perspectives.

However, considerably less attention has been paid to the stories in between the larger narratives, those told in everyday educational settings such as classrooms, offices, and meeting spaces which constitute and promote learning for faculty and their students. As a result, there are relatively few small stories of the faculty experience in this rapidly

changing era for higher education. Barkhuizen (2008) calls these ‘small with a capital s’ stories, those that emerge in conversation and class discussions. These small stories stand in comparison to the institutional context of a ‘Story’ and a STORY, the broader sociocultural context within which faculty operate. For example:

- story: a conversation between a faculty member and two of her students about an anti-racism training
- Story: a university’s decision to hold anti-racist trainings and curriculum redesign workshops
- STORY: a national reckoning with racism after the death of George Floyd

This study gives voice to the small stories which make up and give life to faculty in their work with students. Georgakopolou defines small stories as “a gamut of under-represented and ‘a-typical’ narrative activities, such as tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared (known) events, but also allusions to tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell (2015, p. 255). Prior scholarship has brought attention to stories told, for example, among adolescents (Georgakopolou, 2007) and within research interviews about aging (Phoenix, 2009). I aim to make a specific contribution to the growing body of literature which explores how small stories are used as positioning devices and sense-making tools by faculty and students in a graduate program for international educators. To analyze the stance-taking observed in small stories told by faculty in dialogue with their students, I use linguistic anthropologist Jane Hill’s concept of moral geography (1996). Hill theorized that narrators index moral stances through geographical references. Together, the method of small stories research and concept of moral geography served complementary roles in providing insight into the third research question for the study:

- What types of small stories are told by faculty and students at GGS? Why are they told and what is accomplished in their telling?

The study builds on small story research in educational settings by examining how a faculty member uses small stories as a pedagogical tool to invite small story activities among his own students. Recent research (Taylor, Khan Vlach, & Mosley Wetzel, 2019; Ives & Juzwick, 2015; Barkhuizen, 2009) has revealed the power of small stories as a tool for understanding complex or conflicted aspects of educational experience. Unlike big stories, small stories need not promote “a harmonious consensus” (Keane, 2011, p.167). Instead, the ‘clash of voices’ evident in small stories provides texture to the moral landscape of the classroom and allows tellers to take stances and evaluate beliefs. Small stories “become rehearsals for later action more than reconstructions of the past” (Georgakopoulou, 2006, p.127) and reveal what “people are doing when they tell stories, and therefore, what stories are designed to do” (Stokoe & Edwards, 2006, p.57). According to Taylor and her colleagues (2019, p.24), small stories are “often counter-stories illustrating tensions experienced by the teller.” These tensions, I will argue in this chapter, evidence the negotiation within classroom discourse of a moral geography in which faculty help graduate students navigate future challenges in their work as educators. Attention to small stories, therefore, enables a critical view of faculty experience that big stories may not fully explicate.

Organization of the Chapter

The chapter begins with a brief review of the methods used for the larger study which produced the subset of data that is the focus of this chapter. I will also outline the

conceptual framework which informed my understanding and guided analysis of the focal data presented in this chapter.

In **Part 1**, I briefly orient the reader to the research site and then examine how and where small stories appear in the data set to establish how small stories assist and complicate the co-constructed performance of stories-in-interaction. Through highlighting several small story examples in interviews, focus groups, and observations, I look at how stories operate somewhat differently depending on the context of the telling.

Part 2 is devoted to a focal excerpt of data which caught my attention during the analysis: a series of small stories told during a 15-minute section of a class taught by Martin, a veteran GGS faculty. Among the many hours of classroom observation and interview data in the wider data set, I highlight this brief excerpt for two reasons. First, the conversational turns in this excerpt produced a number of small stories, each with its own purpose in facilitating, furthering, or contesting aspects of the discussion. Another reason I focus on this excerpt is that the stories demonstrate alignment with Hill's (1996) concept of moral geography, an act of narrative positioning which indexes stance through referencing geographical and physical spaces. In addition to an understanding of faculty experience afforded by the big stories elicited in interviews, I designed and carried out this study with a goal of better understanding faculty experience on the ground level. The concept of moral geography provides a means to see experience unfold at a local level, and this micro perspective is well enabled by the focal data that is explored in depth in the second part of this chapter.

Methods and Participants

The qualitative research design for this study utilized phenomenological

interviews (Seidman, 2006) to elicit life histories and in-depth discussions of faculty experience at a small graduate school in the northeast of the U.S. Twelve faculty at the Greenhills Graduate School (a pseudonym, hereafter GGS) participated in the interviews. Over the course of an academic semester, I interviewed faculty approximately three times each, and the interviews typically lasted around one hour. Aligning with Seidman's phenomenological interview structure, I planned to conduct three interviews: the first to elicit a life and professional history from each participant; the second to discuss the faculty's experience at GGS; and a third to reflect on prior interviews and classroom observations when relevant. In some cases, due to time constraints or out of convenience, the three-part interview was condensed into two longer interviews. Additionally, I observed four of the participants' class sessions multiple times. I audio-recorded the classes, and the recordings include a mix of whole group faculty-student discussions and small group student breakout discussions. 33 students consented to have their classes observed and recorded. Of these 33 students, seven appear in the data excerpts used for analysis in this chapter. Lastly, two focus groups were held, one with a subset of four faculty participants and another with a group of one faculty member's students. Over the course of the year that followed the initial data collection period, I conducted follow up interviews with several of the faculty participants to check and enhance my understanding of their accounts. A summary of methods and the participants who appear in this chapter are presented in Tables 12 and 13 below.

Table 12 Methods for Chapter 4

Methods	**Participants**	**Data**
Semi-structured	12 faculty	25 interviews =

interviews		35 hours of audio-recorded interviews
Classroom observations	3 faculty 33 students	7 recorded sessions = 10 hours of audio-recorded data
Focus groups	6 faculty 15 students	2 recorded focus groups = 2.5 hours of audio-recorded data

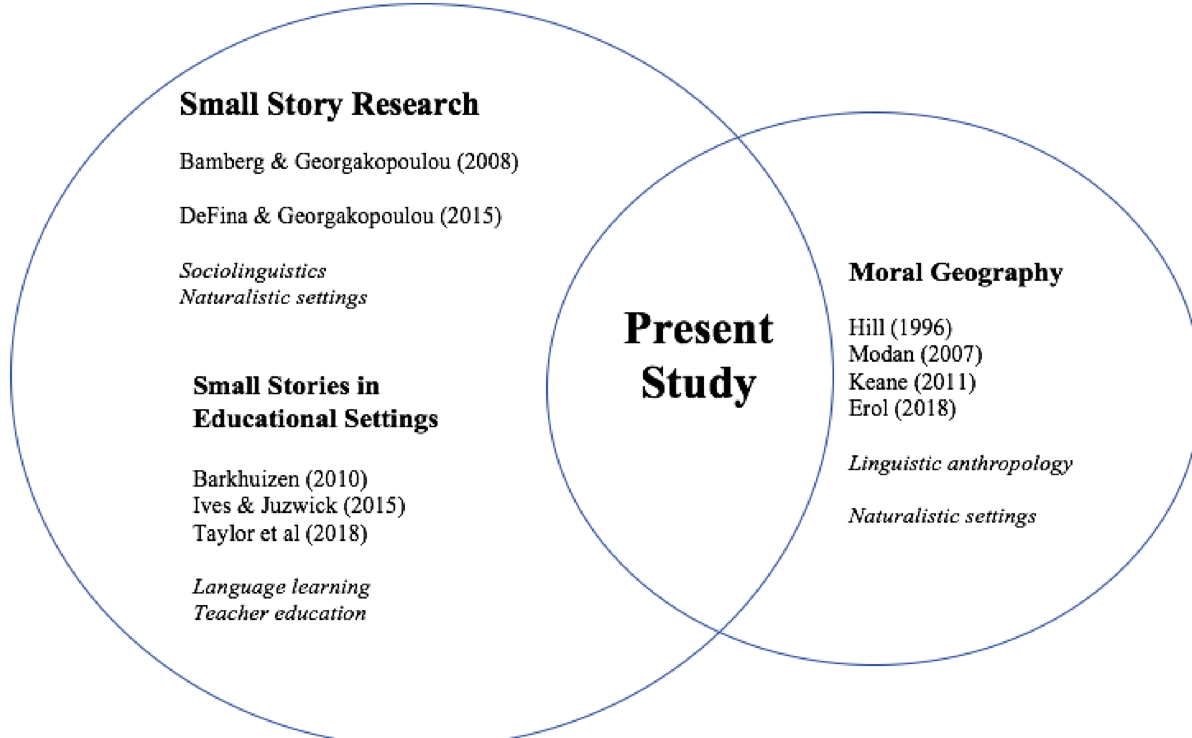
Table 13 Participants appearing in Chapter 4

Participant	**Role**	**Degree Area**	**Nationality**
Sandra	Faculty	TESOL	North American
Ava	Sandra's student	TESOL	Eastern European
Ling	Sandra's student	TESOL	East Asian
Sarah	Faculty	International Education	North American
Darina	Faculty	International Education	Eastern European
Elizabeth	Faculty	TESOL	North American
Loretta	Faculty	Intercultural Leadership	North American
Charles	Loretta's student	International Education	North American
Allison	Loretta's student	Intercultural Leadership	North American
Martin	Faculty	Conflict Transformation	North American
Jacky	Faculty Martin's Guest	Conflict Transformation	North American
Amanda	Martin's student	International Education	North American
Caroline	Martin's student	Conflict Transformation	North American
Vivian	Martin's student	International Education	European
Sally	Martin's student	Intercultural Leadership	East Asian
Madeline	Martin's student	Conflict Transformation	North American

Conceptual Framework

As a guide to answering my research questions, three interrelated concepts and bodies of scholarship were especially useful. The three areas of scholarship, small stories, small stories in educational settings, and moral geography, are displayed in the figure below. A key overlap is that all three areas are approaches to studying oral narratives.

Figure 2 Conceptual Framework for Chapter 4



To examine atypical stories told in naturalistic settings and research interviews, I rely on small story research (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Georgakopoulou & DeFina, 2015) which has gained significant traction and visibility among the wider field of narrative research. Small stories are small in two ways. Literally, they "tend to be brief" and are situated within "the analytic turn toward the micro" (Taylor, Khan Vlach, Mosley Wetzel, 2018, p.24). Turning to small stories research helped me to identify and distinguish between the types of stories told by participants in the study. However, in order to understand the purpose of the stories, and the work that the stories perform in interaction, I had to account for the context in which these small stories were told in my study: within classrooms and during interviews. To shed light on how small stories are told and analyzed in educational settings, I rely on the scholarship of Barkhuizen (2009),

Ives & Juzwik (2015), and Taylor, Khan Vlach, and Mosley Wetzel (2018), all of whom used positioning analysis to examine how small stories are told in these settings vis-a-vis other storytellers and interlocutors. These scholars were among those who answered Pavlenko's (2007) call for narrative studies to move beyond thematic coding and attend to stories at textual and contextual levels. Recent small story research in educational settings also responds to Georgakopolou's desire to know whether there is "anything systematic about the occurrence of small stories other than that they frequent ordinary conversations" (2006, p.124). The incorporation of positioning analysis in my conceptual framework enabled me to go beyond thematic analysis of the stories and consider the stances displayed by storytellers and their purposes for telling small stories. The question of systematic occurrence is one that will be taken up in Part One.

Data Analysis

Thematic Content and Linguistic Rich Points

My initial data analysis was conducted in three rounds: thematic content analysis, identification of small stories, and a search for linguistic rich points. The first round relied on thematic content analysis (Polkinghorne, 1996) to gain an understanding of what the stories told in the discussion were about. I also identified stories that appeared to match Georgakopolou's labels as stories which were hypothetical, future-oriented, allusions, deferrals, and refusals to tell. After coding for themes and searching for small stories, I reviewed the small stories to look for what Agar (2000) has called 'linguistic rich points'. A list of codes generated from the initial analysis and a transcript excerpt with notations is included in Appendices C and D. Agar writes that with linguistic rich points, "the researcher looks for surprising occurrences in language, problems in

understanding that need to be pursued" (p.94). The nature of these surprising occurrences may hold clues for how to proceed with further analysis of the data. Rich points in small story data included what is told and, occasionally, what is alluded to or not told at all. For example, in Part One, there are examples of stories which are cut short or disnarrated because there is sufficient contextual background for the teller and listener to know why the story need not be elaborated or should not be repeated. In Part Two, the focal data excerpt, the linguistic rich points evident in Martin's classroom revealed that Martin and his students drew upon physical metaphor and geographical indexing in their small stories in order to evaluate how they would manage talking with youth groups about a difficult issue.

Positioning Analysis

The initial analysis included thematic coding, the identification of small stories, and attention to linguistic rich points. I then use positioning analysis (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p.385) to account for the work that the stories perform in interaction, the positionality of the tellers, and the broader context in which the stories are told. Thus, positioning analysis occurs on three levels (p.385):

> Positioning level 1: Who are the characters and how are they relationally positioned?
> Positioning level 2: What is the interactional accomplishment of narrating?
> Positioning level 3: How do the participants position themselves vis-a-vis dominant discourses?

Barkhuizen (2009), building on this framework, provided an exemplar for the analysis of small stories told in the settings of educational research. He simplifies the constructs as a

means to consider the content (level 1), form (level 2), and context (level 3) of small stories. Using Barkhuizen's work as a model, and in keeping with the general conventions of small story narrative research in naturalistic settings, I display the small story data in this chapter in a line-by-line format. In the excerpts of data from interviews with Martin, I display the data as an inset, a common convention in reporting of stories told in interviews.

A limitation in this study regarding linguistic analysis is similar to the one noted by Barkhuizen whose small story analysis included a textual focus which was not "as fine-grained as positioning analysis" and which "the procedures of conversation analysis would demand" (p.295). He goes on to argue, however, that a close, line-by-line inspection of interview transcripts offers the researcher a means to analyze how linguistic resources of the participant are used to narrate and situate oneself and others within the broader context of the narrative.

Part 1: Types of Small Stories

In Part 1, I begin with a narrative description of the research setting to provide a contextual backdrop for the small stories which follow. I then highlight multiple examples of small stories and discuss how each accomplishes a different interactive purpose. The exploration of the versatility of small stories in Part 1 sets the stage for analysis of an excerpt of classroom discussion in Part 2, in which I observe small stories playing a dynamic role in helping faculty and students navigate challenging topics in the classroom.

Small Stories at the Research Site

Greenhills Graduate School (GGS) is not your typical graduate school. For the past five decades it has served as an international way station for aspiring,

internationally-minded scholars and educators-in-training to plan a course of action for themselves and the world beyond them. Among each cohort that comes to campus annually are a large number of returned and future Peace Corps volunteers, Fulbright Scholars, as well as activists, advocates, and agitators for many progressive causes. A young woman from Afghanistan sitting in class next to a retiree from Oklahoma pursuing a second career is not an uncommon scene. Very few lectures are given and most classrooms do not have any tables, just chairs arranged in a variety of amoebic forms. There are big round circles for whole group discussions, smaller oblong constellations for breakout groups. Sometimes a few rogue students sit beyond the circle, typing away on a laptop. Some sit on the floor doing yoga stretches while others float in and out of the classroom for bathroom breaks.

A few months earlier, with snow blanketing the northeast, GGS faculty received ominous-looking certified letters in the mail: Citing financial concerns over declining enrollment, GGS leadership announced the closure of its on-campus programs. In spite of a growing awareness of the financial challenges, the decision to close the on-campus programs came as a shock to the faculty. GGS had a long history of weathering previous storms as faculty survived cycles of budget cuts, unrealized strategic plans, and administrators who came and went. This time, however, seemed to be different. A multimillion-dollar organizational deficit continued to grow and the Board of Trustees had run out of cost-cutting options. Many of the faculty would lose their jobs at the end of the spring semester. In the meantime, faculty tried not to let the pall of closure diminish the experience of their current students.

The minutes are ticking down in Sandra’s final class of the semester. It is also

getting late. The class is held at night to accommodate students from across degree areas who have a shared interest in teacher training. Sandra has taught in higher education for over 30 years and has been at GGS for 20 of those years. The prior year, as she neared retirement, she volunteered to accept a severance package from GGS as part of an initial round of budget cuts so that none of her colleagues would lose their jobs. She stays connected to GGS by teaching several courses per year as an adjunct.

Tonight, she is teaching a course called Becoming a Teacher Educator, a popular course for aspiring teacher trainers. Sandra and her students are seated in a circle. The class has been busy, active, and full of spirit, but presently there is a somber mood hanging over the room as students prepare to share their final reflections on the course. There are flowers in a vase in the middle of the circle; a stuffed cat sits on the carpet next to the vase. “Does everyone remember the four tenets of Way of Council?” Sandra asks. A chorus of a few students begin to shout out the tenets but Sandra shushes them. “One at a time!” One-by-one the tenets are produced: speak from the heart, listen from the heart, speak spontaneously, be lean of expression. Someone adds a fifth: only speak when you are holding the ‘cat.’ And then, from another student: What happens in the circle stays in the circle! Then Ava, a graduate student and teacher from Eastern Europe interjects:

> Ava: Can I just say a story, not a story, but a very small memory of what happens in the circle stays in the circle? There was a group of Fulbrighters in Las Vegas [the class erupts in laughter at this opening]. And when they got back one of them was emailing us, just exchanging information or incidents which happened to them in Vegas. Then one of them wrote, what happens in Vegas remains in Vegas. And the wife of one of the Fulbrighters asked ‘What happened in Vegas?’ [More laughter]

Ava said this was “not a story” but it does conform to criteria of traditional stories. It has characters, a setting, a complicating action, and an ending. In the context of

the moment in which the story is told -- a circle formed for students to reflect on their learning in a course -- the purpose of Ava's story is not to share a past experience. It is therefore not a 'big story' that attempts to make sense of past experience. Instead, it has currency in the interactive thread of the classroom. In this way, it is a small story which has a performative purpose of adding a dose of levity to a heavy moment when the class is preparing to say goodbye.

This was not the first example I had seen in which participants used small stories to perform a range of functions in collaborative interaction. Students and faculty told stories, alluded to stories, and deferred tellings of stories in order to connect, elaborate, take stances, tell jokes, repair awkward moments, and build on a prior story through 'second stories'. Earlier in the class, for example, Sandra and her students had been discussing different ways of providing feedback to teacher trainees. Students were placed in groups for role plays in which a trainer was tasked with providing feedback to a novice teacher based on the style of feedback listed on a card that Sandra had given them. The trainer in the role play would give facilitative or authoritative feedback to a teacher trainee. Afterward, the whole class reconvened to reflect on the activity and talk about how it felt to give and receive certain types of feedback. One student mentioned that if she were giving feedback in English, her second language, it would be more direct because "English is a very direct language." But if she were giving feedback in her native language, it would be more facilitative. Ling, a student from East Asia, responded:

> Ling: Yeah I was working for an organization and I organized the training so there was direct feedback in English for the trainee, but there was really nothing meaningful. But after class we went to a restaurant for some nice food and drink. After some alcohol, we just spoke Chinese and there was some really good feedback. [Class laughs].

Ling's story is a connective thread that contributes to a team performance around a common topic (Norrick, 2019). She does not tell it as a means of making sense of past experience, the way that a similar story told in a life history interview might do. Rather it serves a purpose of validating a prior student's remarks and lightening the mood with humor.

Shared Stories

Cohesive small stories such as those discussed in the previous section function as contributions to collaborative group performances in classroom settings. Within one-on-one interviews, there are also 'shared stories' which reference shared knowledge or experience. These stories build rapport, demonstrate empathy, or promote harmony between the interviewer and interviewee. Several of the faculty I interviewed made overt connections with me through relating stories of earning or not earning a doctorate. For example, during my interview with Sarah, we were discussing how she became a full professor at GGS after spending many years at the school. In the process of talking me through this journey, her long struggle to finish a doctoral degree came up.

> Sarah: It took me 12 years to finish my doctorate, Steve. It was humbling. I'm yelling at my students, "What's taking you so long with this capstone, just do it." And of course, in the back of my mind, they don't even know it took me 12 years to do my doctorate. I found I could handle two big things but not three. It's one of the reasons that I wanted to support you because I've been there.

Here Sarah detours slightly from a chronological story to divulge how long it took her to finish her degree. In doing so, she empathizes with my own lengthy PhD journey and understands the impostor syndrome that comes with nudging our students toward completion of their degrees.

Second Stories

Another collaborative function of small stories is observed most readily in focus groups, where the participation structure invites turn-by-turn contributions which build upon storied activities in prior turns. These 'second stories' often have a similar function of building rapport or expressing empathy, but they are also told to ratify a teller's own experience. Through second stories, "Tellers legitimize, firstly, their tellings by tying them back to the previous story and, secondly, their stance by positioning themselves in view of the stance displayed in the previous story" (Siromaa, 2012, p.525). By telling stories which resonate with their peers, the social cohesion of the group is reinforced (Siromaa, 2012; Du Bois, 2007). The two stories which follow demonstrate the resonance and cohesion that can be achieved through small stories. The tellers are students, and the stories are told during a focus group discussion about their professional teaching experience.

> Vivian: When I taught in the Gambia, I realized how much I completely changed my work based on the students. When I would take a storybook, like the Hungry Hungry Caterpillar and try to read it to my students, and every page I'd have to stop and explain what every single word was because that wasn't in the Gambia. Like cake. No idea. Certain fruits and vegetables. No idea. I was spending more time trying to explain the content of the story than getting to the actual point of the lesson.
>
> Madeline: I think that really speaks to my experience teaching at a school in Indonesia. I had been given a curriculum to work with but I had students from several different nationalities in my classroom, all of whom weren't represented in the curriculum or stories and didn't see themselves reflected in anything I was teaching. And so I just completely tossed out the curriculum so we could find ways to be researching and bringing the students into it.

Another student, Amanda, then follows Madeline by saying: "I have another adaptive story." Through lexical means ("that speaks to my experience"), the group

slowly builds a cohesive narrative that is built on stories of being challenged as teachers in new contexts and how they adapted to this challenge. Although Siromaa (2012, p.542) notes that second stories may also be used to reject previous stories or provide counterexamples, I did not see examples of this in focus group stories.

Disnarrated and Unnarratable Stories

In interviews and classroom discussions, small stories are told which allude to conflict or a negative event. In these cases, tellers were less likely to elaborate, comment on, or complete these stories. Instead these small stories were allusions to tellings or outright refusals to tell. In Lambrou's (2019) narrative interview research, he observed that stories of conflict, possible conflict, and negative experience tended to be disnarrated or 'unnarratable'; tellers initiate stories but may not complete them. By comparison, "disnarrated experiences were not present in *happy* or *funny* experiences that produced positive experiences where nothing bad happens to the narrator or to anyone else" (emphasis in original, p.59). When faculty discussed challenging students, for example, they sometimes did so by alluding to difficulty but not elaborating. Not surprisingly, these allusions to untold stories were more frequently told during interviews, where perhaps it was safer to allude but not necessarily safer to elaborate. For example, both Darina and Elizabeth initiated small stories (in separate interviews) about challenging students.

> [1] Darina: You know I had an interesting experience with W, about two weeks ago. You may have heard about him. Well… yeah, the students here are different.
>
> [2] Elizabeth: One of the challenges I have here is you know sometimes we just let people pass. You know T? Did (another faculty) warn you about him? I don't want to poison the well.

In both cases, a small story is initiated as examples of problematic students, yet Darina and Elizabeth ultimately defer by reframing the story (the students here are different) or explicitly stating that a story won't be told (I don't want to poison the well). Allusions to conflict were also evident in classroom scenarios marked by awkward pauses or silences. For example, in Loretta's class, a group of three students began to share the results of a group project when it became clear they may not have been on the same page.

> Allison: Well I guess we are going to shift away from that for a moment. Charles has a few slides he has made. We had a little meeting issue but we're not going to get into that.

In this case, 'the little meeting issue' is a story that understandably does not get told. Allison raises the story to contextualize an abrupt shift in the presentation plan, but defers the actual telling of the story. Later in the same class, the energy level has dropped and Loretta, the faculty member, is unsuccessful in eliciting further comments from the group.

> Loretta: Maybe I should ask if you all have questions, something that was piqued? Without coffee. Come on, anybody? The coffee place was closed this morning.

Loretta deals with an awkward silence by attributing it to the lack of coffee. The fragment of a story is alluded to, one in which Loretta went to get coffee for the students but the coffee place was closed. The story seems minor, but fills in nicely as a substitute for blaming students for a quiet classroom. Thus, it addresses awkwardness and preserves group cohesion at the same time. The lull in conversation is not the students' fault, the story tells us; it's the lack of coffee.

Summary of Types of Small Stories

Thus far I have provided examples of some of the small stories which appeared in the larger data set of the study in order to demonstrate how tellers use small stories for different purposes. In naturalistic classroom discussions, small stories are told to tell jokes, lighten the mood, and to express harmony and resonance with other stories. Together the stories assist faculty and students in performing a collaborative and cohesive discussion. In classroom discussions, small stories also work to distract from awkward moments and attempt to repair minor breakdowns in communication. Interviews evidenced more occurrences of shared stories that indexed or contributed to the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee. There were also instances of 'unnarratable stories' around problematic students. In such cases, tellers raised the possibility of telling, but decided not to elaborate, perhaps reflecting an avoidance on the part of the tellers to badmouth their students in a recorded research interview. Table 14 below provides a representative sample of small stories told by faculty and students.

Table 14 Small Stories Across the Data Set

Role	Data Type	Participant	Small Story	Subject	Narrative purpose
	Interview	Elizabeth	Just keep your eye on him	Difficult student	Allusion
		Darina	You may have heard of him	Difficult student	Allusion
		Sandra	I stuck to my guns	Difficult students	Allusion
		Sarah	It's a struggle	Impostor syndrome	Shared story
		Elizabeth	You worked without a PhD?	Different standards	Shared story

Faculty	Observation	Sandra	This is the last time I'll be teaching this	The school is closing	Refusal to tell / Shared story
		Loretta	It doesn't seem you are disagreeing	Group conflict	Allusion / Repair
		Loretta	The coffee place was not open before class	Group energy	Refusal to tell
		Martin	A very right-wing senate	What can be done	Positionality
		Martin	"there are no gay people in Iraq"	What can be said	Pedagogical
Students	Focus group	Amanda	That speaks to my experience in Indo	Curriculum reform	Second story
		Caroline	To go off that, when I was in Japan	Different teaching styles	Second story
	Observation	Ava	What happened in Vegas?	Keeping stories private	Humor / Levity
		Charles	We had a little meeting issue	Group conflict	Allusion
		Ling	After some alcohol, both gave really good feedback	Good feedback	Humor / Levity

Part 2: Small Stories and the Moral Geography of Martin's Classroom

Having demonstrated the frequent occurrence and versatile roles of small stories in the wider data set, I turn now to a focal excerpt of discussion in Martin's classroom in which Martin and his students consider approaches to facilitating conversations around sensitive topics with multicultural youth groups. A small story told by Martin at the beginning of the discussion has a pedagogical purpose of inviting his students to navigate

a challenge they could face in their work. The stories also enable discussion participants to take stances, raise hypothetical scenarios, and imagine counter-scenarios through their own small stories. Together the stories create a moral geography within which Martin and his students evaluate beliefs and plan future action.

This study was conducted 'in the midst' of faculty and students' lives. As Clandenin and Connelly have written, participants' "lives do not begin the day we arrive nor do they end as we leave" (2000, p. 64). Narrative researchers must accept the fact that we are only capturing part of our participants' stories, and at the same time trust that the stories enable a deeper understanding of the tellers and the site where stories are told. Therefore, the experience conveyed through the stories below should be considered partial. In the discussion which follows the presentation of the focal transcript, I identify different uses of small stories by Martin and his students to accomplish a shared goal. Through stories, they talk about how to talk with students when sensitive issues enter the classroom. Lastly, I share implications that these stories may have for educators who wish to have critical dialogues with students in their own classrooms.

Martin, a veteran GGS faculty who had been at the school for over 30 years, was one of 12 faculty who participated in my study. During the spring semester, I interviewed Martin and observed his classes. Our first interview took place outside at a picnic table next to a barbeque food truck at the bottom of the hill where the GGS campus is perched. It is the middle of April in New England. The wind is lifting and tossing napkins off the table and blowing them around like paper airplanes. As someone who has led these programs for nearly 30 years, Martin's experience enables him to see the inevitable bumps and potholes coming up in classroom discussions. Often these

bumps appear around language, specifically around certain words. Martin uses the example of ‘border’ as a word that will incite a passionate discussion.

> Martin: So in the youth programs, working with diverse groups has been more about how to work with conflict and how do you build relationships. How do you learn how to work with cultural complexities of their conflict, which includes language, which includes words you can't use, trigger words, because you know you can't say, in some conflicts 'border'. We think, oh, there's a border between Greek and Turkish Cyprus, there's a border between Israel and Palestine. “No there isn't, and you better not say it.” But somebody from outside says, “when you cross the border”. “There's no border”. Boom. You get into it.

In describing what happens when sensitive topics come up in classroom discussions, Martin used the word ‘boom’, a figurative phrase which conjures up physical imagery of an explosion. Instead of running away from the ‘explosion’, Martin then says “You get *into* it.” In other words, rather than pushing away or dividing his students, the conflict is an invitation for participants to get into a space, together, where they have an opportunity for further discussion. I became interested in Martin’s story for several reasons. As a teacher educator who had experienced the challenge of navigating sensitive topics and interpersonal conflict in classroom discussions, I was interested in how Martin used storytelling in his classroom as a pedagogical instrument. I was also struck by how Martin’s stories, and those told by students in his class, were frequently linked to physical and spatial imagery, indexed by geographical locations, and connected to other cultural, social, and political ‘big’ stories beyond the classroom. These stories, full of physical and geographical images, appeared to be doing some kind of work on behalf of the tellers to help them take stances on uneven ground.

The 18 students in Martin's class came to GGS with experience as educators in the fields of youth leadership and language teaching. The students had at least a few years of experience leading youth programs or as teachers primarily in the field of TESOL and in this sense would not be considered pre-service teachers, a stage in teacher education which has been the focus of previous narrative studies (Taylor et al, 2018; Watson, 2007). Rather they were teachers who had stories of working in the field. As we will see, stories of previous experience allowed Martin's students to engage with sensitive topics and plan future action for working with their own students. In my visit to his class, Martin and his students talked about facilitating conversations with multicultural youth groups about sensitive issues. Martin framed the class discussion around several key questions:

- What approaches are likely to have the most impact in issue-oriented youth programs?
- How much should adults structure youth activities as opposed to letting the youths lead the activities themselves?

It is the fourth and final hour of a class that runs from lunchtime to dinner and the energy in the room is starting to wane until Martin steers the discussion toward facilitating difficult conversations around gender, gun violence and racism with diverse youth groups. Martin's colleague and co-trainer, Jacky, is also attending the class to share her experience. Martin begins by recalling a youth program consisting of US, Iraqi, and Turkish teenagers that had come to GGS several years earlier. He then asks his students to consider how they would navigate such a discussion when youth groups come from cultures with different understandings and ways of talking about homosexuality.

Additionally, as an underlying principle, Martin poses the question of how involved adults should be in setting up and managing these conversations. Several scenarios from past youth programs are displayed on a screen at the front of the classroom, and the students in Martin's class read the scenario before the discussion begins. Below, I present the transcript of the 15-minute excerpt, and then return to segments for the purpose of analysis and discussion.

A note to the reader: The transcript is rather lengthy, spanning five pages. I share it in full below in case the reader prefers to read it in its entirety. However, it is also possible to skip ahead to page 160 where the analysis and discussion begins. For each section of the analysis, I provide focal excerpts from the larger transcript so that there is no need to continually refer back. Feel free to read through or skip ahead depending on your preference.

Table 15 Participants appearing in Martin's classroom discussion

Participant	**Role in the classroom**	**Area of teaching/ study**	**Nationality**
Martin	Faculty	Conflict Transformation Youth Leadership	North American
Jacky	Faculty Guest	Conflict Transformation Youth Leadership	North American
Amanda	Graduate student	International Education	North American
Caroline	Graduate student	Conflict Transformation	North American
Vivian	Graduate student	International Education	European
Sally	Graduate student	Intercultural Leadership	East Asian

Transcript

1	Martin	There was that group from Turkey
2		and one of the kids from Turkey was trying to come out
3		he was trying to stay in the US
4		or find a way that he did not have to go home
5		and there were some very unhelpful guys in the group
7		A very tough situation
7		We can talk about what you would specifically do in the dialogue group
8	Vivian	As someone who used to do LGBT 101 trainings
9		I don't know the answer to this
10		If someone comes to me and says
11		"I don't get this thing, what's this gay thing, I don't get this"
12		and is wanting to talk to me I can talk to them
13		but I don't know how to address someone who is on the other side
14		I have found in my experience and my reading
15		that the biggest change is when somebody gets to know someone who is LGBT
16		and that's what changes their mind
17		but as a facilitator in this situation I don't know.
18	Amanda	does the facilitator have a general knowledge
19		of culture and expectations of both groups?
20	Martin	Well some but the facilitator's probably gonna be an American
21		and you might have an Iraqi facilitator
22		but it's usually gonna be an American, you might have two
23		let's assume you have one of each
24		and let's assume that you have another dialogue session after this one
25	Caroline	Maybe that's where we have a conversation about what is going on in the circle
26		I take that back
27		First what I'd like to do in my fifteen minutes
28		is take ten of that and have two affinity groups
29		and trusting my co-facilitator to check in and use their insider lingo
30		and then also check in with that US student
31		who is probably feeling all sorts of ways
32		and just checking in and seeing what they need
33		Because potentially this could be really triggering for them
34		so then having five minutes to come together and
35		asking what are some general takeaways that you have from your 10-minute check in
36		“what are some things you are thinking about?”
37		And then coming back for the second part of the dialogue
38		like what have we done in the past 6 days
39		I don’t know how to put it into words

40		I am thinking a lot about labels
41		“in the last 6 days and 5 dialogue sessions
42		there's been an incredible amount of trust and
43		you've learned and respected your colleague up until right now
44		when you learn about this one label and
45		how much power this one label has and
46		how dehumanizing that is
47		thinking how painful that can be for someone”
48		But I don't really know
49	Amanda	I have another question
50		is there something in place for the facilitator
51		to ensure the safety of all the participants in this dialogue?
52		I don't want any sort of
53		I don't want the student who came out to fear any bullying or marginalization and
54		I don't want the Iraqi students who come from a different understanding and background
55		to get any backlash from the US students
56		who are being maybe protective of this person
57		who is revealing and made themselves vulnerable
58		so I'm wondering if there's a policy in place
59		or make sure that safety is there for everyone
60		not just the person who came out
61		because it’s something that needs to be honored in everybody
62	Caroline	You mean like guidelines?
63	Amanda	Yeah, policies, procedures, guidelines norms
64	Martin	I think it’s important to go back
65		and say we've built a lot of trust in the last 6 days
66		but there are norms
67		but now you have this ‘boom’
68		people are like, 'what? there are no gay people in Iraq'
69		they're like completely, it’s out of their, they can't even conceive
70		and even though we do assume they have a very supportive group
71		it's like they've just landed from Mars
72		They can’t even go there.
73		Maybe let Jacky say more about that.
74	Jacky	what I'm remembering about this and the ways that we try to talk about this as staff
75		I think what we did was, we went right to lunch (laughs)
76		First we talked about cultural hegemony
77		like this idea that, yes, we need to respect the fact that
78		we are learning in community with people who come from a different way of seeing sexual orientation, gender
79		one of the things I had to work on a lot in my work with international dialogues

80		was not expecting them to take on the cultural beliefs or assumptions or value systems that I have
81		in this situation what we worked really hard on
82		was not alienating anyone, right?
83		because if there was a reaction from the US students who are saying
84		what do you mean you think you don't have gay people in Iraq?
85		that's not what happened
86		but there could be that narrative that goes around with the US students
87		then it creates more divisiveness, right?
88		so what I remember is we spent a little time talking about different cultural perspectives
89		but then we also tried to couch that in humanity and human rights
90		while honoring that there are different cultural perspectives
91		but I have to say what I remember is that it was really a struggle for us
92		because I don't think staff felt like they could say
93		we really need to learn about homophobia in this dialogue
94		we really need to learn about LGBTQ in this dialogue
95		I think we didn't feel like that was appropriate
96		I think going back to norms and
97		talking about how do we understand that within this community
98		there are different ways that people identify and live in the world in these different cultural contexts
99	Martin	the broader program context is
100		and we have debates
101		is this our responsibility to educate people about LGBTQ issues for people whose cultures don't accept it?
102		and where it isn't even legal?
103	Vivian	And people die in those countries
104	Martin	Yeah, and the one thing with Cyprus was that it was transitioning
105		Cyprus got into the European Union
106		they had to legalize homosexuality to get into the European Union
107		and we had the group that year
108		so we said 'they just legalized it'
109		and they legalized it with horrible language
110		sort of like 'well, as long as it's not too public'
111		we've only been criticized twice by the state department for our work
112		and they were both about gay rights issues
113		One was a program with gay and lesbian teenagers at that time and the state department was not happy about it
114	Amanda	what were they not happy about?
115	Martin	That we did a session
116		even though that we all knew this was legal
117		It was a very right-wing senate in the US Congress at the time
118		The other time we were criticized was
119		we had Irish teenage boys
120		and when we do open mics

121		they always like to dress in drag
122		I don't know why they do, they just do
123		And they sent an observer who thought it was funny and it was lovely and it was fun
124		And he went back to DC and he called me and he said
125		"Uhh I told them about this in Washington and they said you can't do that anymore"
126	Amanda	Whaaaat?
127	Martin	so I said you need to tell them they need to get out more
128	Sally	were there conversations about appropriating drag culture?
129		because that's a very real thing
130		and I 100% agree, we don't want to appropriate drag culture and like honor that
131		it's a huge piece of LGBTQ community and culture
132	Martin	yeah that was so beyond what they were talking about
133		they're like, "boys can't dress as girls"
134		you're talking about the days of Jesse Helms and Strom Thurmond
135		I mean there's still guys like that in Washington
136	Sally	I can imagine with the LGBT session
137		that even if it's been legalized in Cyprus
138		that's always the thing with those top down laws
139		if it didn't get started in the community
140		the atmosphere can still be very . . .
141		that's why like Japan has legalized gender equality
142		because the Americans forced them to put it in the constitution
143		but it is the most gender divided industrialized country
144	Martin	yeah and the church is still against it even if they put in the constitution
145		so you're going up against this huge cultural barrier
146		and what's our responsibility here?
147		and what we do believe here?
148		we have to let them know about the culture where they are too
149		so I think we've gone on that side of, they're here, they need to learn about this
150	Jacky	you're right, we've had to be really clear about what our programs are about
151		it's forced us to be transparent
152	Martin	but this a triply tough situation
153		it's the end of your dialogue group and you have 15 minutes
154		the program isn't usually over
155		you still have a few weeks together
156		so how do you keep the safety of the group and
157		think that you don't have just 15 minutes
158		you've got another week or 2 or 3 weeks
159		how are you gonna move this in 15 minutes
160		you don't have to solve it but you do have to keep people feeling safe and connected

161	Amanda	I understand that there's been a community that's been built
162		but I don't want any of that progress that’s been made to start to backslide
163		because of the tension that exists in the group because of different understandings and different backgrounds
164	Martin	yeah it's a dangerous moment for the group
165	Jacky	I think that's a really important priority list
166		what would be really important is to be able to come back to it
167		and to be able to talk about and remember the work that's been done and the trust that's been built
168		that might be the way that you could end saying
169		we really need to come back
170		and to really check in with the student that has now shared his identity
171		and so there's ways that we'd do that too
172		We would have staff that would check in
173	Martin	maybe private check ins and build some things so that you’re ready
174		so that people don’t get hurt
175	Jacky	You just don’t go to lunch. Lunch comes to us today
176	Martin	Thank you guys for diving in so much
177		I know you want so much more expertise
178		but the only thing I knew 100% was that Donald Trump could not be president
179		so I've got nothing that I am sure about anymore
180		we're all trying to figure out these complicated issues and
181		we have to figure them out on the spot
182		I was figuring these things out when I was closer to your age
183		so maybe I have more experience now but you don't necessarily have that experience when the situation comes to you
184		I think it really helps to get perspectives from each other
185		and being able to respond effectively in these complex situations

Positioning Analysis Level 1: Characters and Content

I began my analysis of the discussion in Martin’s class by making a list of characters in the discussion, noting their roles within the story, and identifying small story activities. Level 1 pays “close attention to the ways in which the constructed/represented world of characters and event sequences is drawn up” (Bamberg, 2006, p.145). The discussion in Martin’s class is a rich and expansive storyworld in which characters from the past interact with tellers in the present setting who imagine stories yet-to-be-told. Martin is the present-day teller of a small story about a participant

in a past youth program at GGS: "one of the kids from Turkey was trying to come out, he was trying to stay in the US or find a way that he did not have to go home" (lines 2-4). Gay rights are not the explicit focus of the youth program, which is focused more generally on youth leadership and development, but awareness among the youth about the Turkish student's decision to come out has created an opportunity for the youth group to discuss gay rights. Within Martin's story, there are American, Turkish, and Iraqi teenagers participating in the youth program who may have different views about the Turkish student's decision to come out. These varying perspectives are the basis for a central conflict for Martin's graduate students to consider: How will you manage different views among international youth about homosexuality while at the same time respecting different cultural beliefs within the group?

Martin's story serves as a point of entry for other tellers. Amanda, Vivian, Caroline, and Sally, four female graduate students, gain the floor and begin to build a web of interactive small stories. As a way of positioning themselves within Martin's story, the graduate students bring in characters who are not present and, in some cases, not real. For example, Vivian imagines a youth group participant "who comes to me and says 'I don't get this thing, what's this gay thing" (line 11). Similarly, Caroline imagines a co-facilitator who would have specific knowledge of Iraqi cultural norms and "insider lingo" (line 29) to help her navigate a complex issue. In positioning themselves in relation to these characters, the graduate students envision future scenarios in which they must establish their own footing on unstable ground.

In a later sequence of the discussion, an additional set of characters and events come into the storyworld through a small story which appears at first to be a sidebar but

unfolds into a broader story of the institutional constraints on the youth programs. Martin raises the question of whether the youth program has "a responsibility to educate people about LGBTQ issues for people whose cultures don't accept it and where it isn't even legal?" (line 94), and this prompts another small story. Martin says GGS has "only been criticized twice by the State Department for our work and they were both about gay rights issues. One was a program with gay and lesbian teenagers and the State Department was not happy about it" (lines 104-106). Martin then tells the story of the second time the youth programs ran afoul of the State Department:

119	we had Irish teenage boys
120	and when we do open mics
121	they always like to dress in drag
122	I don't know why they do, they just do
123	And they sent an observer who thought it was funny and it was lovely and it was fun
124	And he went back to DC and he called me and he said
125	"Uhh I told them about this in Washington and they said you can't do that anymore"

The response from Martin's students is a collective gasp. One student says, "Whaaat?" to which Martin adds further clarification, that this was a time when there was a very "right-wing Senate" in the days of Strom Thurmond and Jesse Helms, two Senators known for their conservative views of social issues. In this small story, the norm-flouting Irish teenage boys, the State Department observer, and 'right-wing Senate' enter the scene as characters which provide contextual information, and constraints, relevant to how youth programs get funded and overseen. The characters are part of a narrative landscape "which allow us to explore the significance of social spaces not just for the here-and-now of the telling activities but also for the taleworlds invoked in the participants' stories" (Georgakopoulou, 2015, p.258).

The table below summarizes a list of characters who appear in the excerpt. In positioning analysis Level 1, I have listed them and briefly touched on their temporal location and general role. In Level 2, I consider the means by which Martin and his students interactively co-construct small stories in order to map out a moral geography of facilitating difficult conversations. In the analysis which follows, I examine how these characters interactively accomplish the task of creating a story (level 2, form) and how they connect small stories told within the classroom setting to broader, social discourses (level 3, context).

Table 16 Positioning Analysis Level 1

Character	**Role**	**Temporal location**	**Moral Position(s)**
Martin	Faculty	Present Past	Problem poser
Jacky	Faculty Guest	Present Past	Problem poser
Amanda Caroline Vivian	Grad students	Past Present Future	Problem examiner
Iraqi teenagers	Youth group participants	Past	Conservative view of homosexuality
American teenagers	Youth group participants	Past	Progressive view of homosexuality
Turkish teenager	Youth group participant	Past	Risk-taker
“Someone who comes with a question”	Youth group participant	Hypothetical	Innocent questioner
Youth program staff	Program assistants	Past Hypothetical	Holding things together
State Department employee	Observer of funded program	Past	Enforce program goals
Irish teenage boys	Youth group participants	Past	Unapologetic norm-breakers
‘Right-wing’ US Senators	Government officials	Past	Conservative funders of programs
Japanese government	Government entity	Past	Reluctant implementer of gay rights

Cyprus government	Government entity	Past	Reluctant implementer of gay rights
Donald Trump	U.S. President	Present	Erased notion of 'expertise'

Positioning Analysis Level 2: Interactive Performance

The second level of positioning analysis examines "the interactive accomplishment of narrating" (Bamberg & Georgakopolou, 2008, p.379). At this level of analysis, through attention to how speakers collaboratively perform small stories in a classroom setting, I explore Keane's question: "How are we to understand the linguistic phenomena captured in our narratives and interactions in ways that transcend individual moments of stance-taking or style-shifting?" (as cited in Roth-Gordon & Mendoza-Denton, 2011, p. 160). An initial finding is that the storytellers use linguistic strategies which enable different types of small stories. These stories are told in a series of turns and collaboratively create a moral geography of talking with young people from different cultural backgrounds about gay rights. A secondary finding is that different small stories have a shared goal of providing stable footing for sensitive discussions to take place. Conversely, the tellings and retellings also reveal what Martin and his graduate students hope to avoid: a situation where things fall apart, in which the disparities between cultural views on a certain topic undo the goals and previous work of the youth program to bring diverse groups of young people together on stable ground. Maintaining this security is important for Martin and his students because the participants in youth programs come from conflict-torn places in the world such as Northern Ireland, Turkish Cyprus, and Iraq. In the first small story below, Martin creates an opening for students to enter the storyworld.

Small Story 1: Entering the storyworld

"A very tough situation"

1	Martin	There was that group from Turkey
2		and one of the kids from Turkey was trying to come out
3		he was trying to stay in the US
4		or find a way that he did not have to go home
5		and there were some very unhelpful guys in the group
6		A very tough situation
7		We can talk about what you would specifically do in the dialogue group

Martin's story begins in line 1: "there was that group from Turkey." In my analysis, I coded this sequence as a small story because it did not have an "easily identifiable endpoint" (Georgakopoulou, 2015, p.258). That the story ends without resolution and Martin's use of a hypothetical construct, "what you would specifically do" (line 7), is a way to invite his students to enter into a moral geographic space, one in which listeners are placed into the "nexus of morally organized past, present and possible experiences" (Ochs & Capps, 1997). The past experience is Martin's, a summer program with youth groups from the US, Turkey, and Iraq. A moral element comes into the story just after a Turkish teenager decides to come out. He is searching for a way to stay in the US, to avoid going home. Here we can see a moral demarcation of 'safe to come out' in the US for the Turkish student and 'not safe to come out' in Turkey. The story is further complicated by some 'very unhelpful guys' about which Martin does not immediately elaborate but are taken up by students in subsequent stories. Although the story concluded sometime in the past, Martin's use of past progressive in lines 2-3, "he was trying to come out" and "he was trying to stay in the US" signals an unfinished, complicating action which creates an opening for narrative activity in a new storyworld,

one with a pedagogical purpose, and in which his students can place themselves as central characters.

In this way, Martin's small story connects past, present, and future stories, one in which professional and personal identities "are negotiated and constructed during the process of both living in the storyworld and the telling in the discourse world" (Barkhuizen, p.31, 2016). This aligns with Wortham and Rhodes (2016) argument that narratives must be considered across multiple contexts, tellings, and retellings in order to see the trajectory of narrative events. As such, the individual tellings of faculty and students in the classroom "depend on information about other events, models, and stances outside of the focal event itself" (p.161). Martin creates a 'storyworld' for his students which serves a pedagogical role of evaluating beliefs and actions among his students. In evaluating their beliefs and possible actions, students evoke other narrative events within other storyworlds. An example of this is below, from Amanda, whose small story enables her and others to imagine how Martin's unfinished story could go in multiple directions.

Small Story 2: A disnarrative

"Backlash"

The discussion in Martin's class continues. He has asked his students how they would handle a young person coming out in a multicultural group during a youth program in the US. Martin's students ask probing questions to map out their own stances: Who am I facilitating this discussion with? How much time do I have? Does my co-facilitator have a general knowledge of the cultures of Iraq, Turkey and the U.S.? Amanda, a student from the US, takes the floor.

49 Amanda I have another question

50	is there something in place for the facilitator
51	to ensure the safety of all the participants in this dialogue?
52	I don't want any sort of
53	I don't want the student who came out to fear any bullying or marginalization and
54	I don't want the Iraqi students who come from a different understanding and background
55	to get any backlash from the US students
56	who are being maybe protective of this person
57	who is revealing and made themselves vulnerable
58	so I'm wondering if there's a policy in place
59	or make sure that safety is there for everyone
60	not just the person who came out
61	because it’s something that needs to be honored in everybody

In her turn, Amanda assists the performance of the collaborative story, at first through cohesion. She takes up the moral line of safety Martin had raised earlier, asking “is there something in place for the facilitator to ensure the safety of all the participants in this dialogue?” (lines 50-51). With this question, she evokes a scaffolding, *something in place*, to support the storyworld youth group as it begins to tread in rough water. In doing so, she sets some parameters to the relatively open moral landscape created by Martin’s small story. What might happen without this support and without any parameters? She is worried about the Iraqi students, “who come from a different understanding and background” (line 54) of homosexuality, getting “backlash from the US students who are being maybe protective of this person” (lines 55-56).

In this sequence, Amanda creates what Prince (2003) has described as ‘disnarrative’ or “the elements in a narrative that explicitly consider and refer to what does not take place” (p.22). The listeners in Martin’s class envision a scenario, perhaps a verbal confrontation, in which the Iraqi students face ‘backlash’ from the US students who are presumed to be protecting the student who has come out. After Martin’s

narrative creates the initial storyworld and introduces the main characters, Amanda imagines how the characters in this storyworld might interact. She also provides the characters with a moral stance, the American students as protectors of gay rights who may also be critical of the Iraqi students who "come from a different understanding" about homosexuality. Through these moves, she positions herself as a central character in the story, managing conflict between two groups and holding the ground steady by putting *something in place* for the safety of all participants. Amanda's disnarrative has a performative function of allowing "the depiction of characters as living in an uncertain world of possible events" (Dannenberg, as cited in Lambrou, 2019, p.23). It is a means to stretch the moral geography of talking about facilitating difficult conversations with her graduate school peers and talking about homosexuality with multicultural youth groups.

In this case, Amanda's 'backlash' small story may also help her manage a similarly complex moral space in her work with youth groups. In addition to knowledge this may bring to the teller, Sugiyama (2001, as cited in Bietti et al, 2019) notes the benefits for the listeners. Storytelling can "create representations of the world that can substitute for firsthand experience via trial and error, which is often laborious and dangerous to acquire" (p.713). Recall that Martin labeled this story a "difficult situation", one that may stand out both because it is rare and also somewhat 'dangerous' to the central characters in the story in different ways. It is dangerous for the Turkish student to come out, for the Iraqi students to speak from a different understanding, and for the facilitators to manage the situation in a way that respects various viewpoints. In the storyworld of Martin's classroom, these dangers can be manipulated by Martin's

students in ways that stabilize the shaky ground. As Norrick (2013) notes, in stories where the tellers (Martin's students) are vicarious participants, a moral stance can be formed or taken with less risk since the teller bears no responsibility for what actually happened. "Tellers use (stories of vicarious experience) as illustrations and they draw conclusions from them" (p.391).

The distance provided by vicarious stories are particularly useful for Martin's students, who mostly have not yet faced the 'dangers' posed by discussing sensitive topics with multicultural youth groups. They can face the dangers vicariously and consider, as Amanda does in line 63, how to alleviate them through "policies, procedures, guidelines, norms." They can also rely on the first-hand experience of Martin and Jacky, who were present in the original story. Jacky, Martin's colleague and youth program co-facilitator, shares what she did to put 'something in place' for the safety of the participants: "what I remember is we spent a little time talking about different cultural perspectives but then we also tried to couch that in humanity and human rights while honoring that there are different cultural perspectives" (lines 88-90). In classroom discussion, Jacky helps the group's collective effort to solidify the shaky ground of the storyworld.

Up to this point, Martin's narrative has stayed within what feels like a manageable realm. The Turkish student wants to come out to a multicultural youth group. As a youth leader, he asks, how would you handle this? Amanda expresses a concern about different viewpoints. What about possible backlash? Narratives help the group plot a moral territory around what they would do. But what happens when a moral

line is crossed? We see an example of this in Martin’s response to Amanda in the next excerpt.

Small Story 3: A clash of voices

“It’s like you’ve just landed from Mars”

Martin responds to Amanda’s question about protecting everyone in the group. There are norms, he says, guidelines which have been set by the group and the facilitator around respecting different perspectives and different ways of living in the world. These norms seem to provide soft and flexible edges to moral geographic lines. They give permission to have differing opinions. But the norms may not be enough. Martin says:

64	Martin	I think it’s important to go back
65		and say we've built a lot of trust in the last 6 days
66		but there are norms
67		but now you have this ‘boom’
68		people are like, 'what? there are no gay people in Iraq'
69		they're like completely, it’s out of their, they can't even conceive
70		and even though we do assume they have a very supportive group
71		it's like they've just landed from Mars
72		They can’t even go there.

Martin takes us to the climax of his story, where the Iraqi students learn that another student has come out to the group. He characterizes it as an explosion, ‘BOOM’, that rocks the classroom of the storyworld. It shakes the moral ground on which everyone is standing and creates a wide chasm. Martin uses a geographical reference to Mars as a way to show how distant and alien the idea of homosexuality could be to the Iraqi students. Using ‘Mars’, a far-away place, also gives Martin’s graduate students a sense of the challenge for the youth leaders in bringing the voices together. In response to Martin, Jacky stresses that her role as a facilitator was to prevent this sort of alienation (lines 85-87): “what we worked really hard on was not alienating anyone, right? That’s not what

happened but there could be that narrative that goes around with the US students (which) creates more divisiveness, right?" Martin and Jacky, through the retelling of the story, use language that brings to the forefront the central conflict, the possibility that the topic of homosexuality will create a divide between the young people that have ostensibly come to GGS in search of common ground.

Managing conflict, real or imagined, is the 'interactive accomplishment' of Martin, Jacky, and the graduate students' narrative activity. The conflict of the storyworld appears when Martin takes on the voice of an astonished Iraqi teenager: "What? There are no gay people in Iraq", a voice which contrasts with the those of the Turkish student and his would-be American supporters. This 'clash of voices' (Keane, 2011) or multivocality (Ruth-Gordon & Mendoza-Denton, 2011) is fertile ground for evaluation, a flexible space which can be taken up in different ways (Hill, 1995). Keane (2011) has argued that taking on these different voices is itself a process of moral formation. "The clash of voices both draws on existing social figures and can help consolidate them, by sharpening and sometimes stabilizing their distinctions. These processes . . . can help push a person's tacit moral intuitions to more explicit form" (p.167). In a pedagogical sense, creating a narrative space for tellings and retellings of small stories allows students to test and practice these moral intuitions. These stories are shaped not only by what occurs in the storyworld of the 'coming out' story, but also by events which occur beyond this storyworld. These events are the focus of positioning analysis level 3 below.

Positioning Analysis Level 3: Dominant Discourses

Positioning analysis level 1 explored the characters and content of the small stories told in Martin's classroom. In level 2, the analysis focused on the interactive

performance of co-creating a moral geography for discussing homosexuality with youth groups. I proceed now with the final level of analysis, which seeks to account for contextual elements which tellers use to take moral stances within their stories. At this level, I explore the following question: How do the participants position themselves vis-a-vis dominant discourses?

To address this question, I draw upon Barkhuizen's small story research to inform the level 3 analysis of this data excerpt. In Barkhuizen's (2009) small story study, he uses positioning analysis level 3 to examine how Sela, a Tongan English language teacher in New Zealand, "transcends the story content and the interactive storytelling in relation to broader discourses in the world out there . . . in order to reach a more comprehensive understanding of Sela's identity positions" (p.291). Through this analysis, Barkhuizen finds that Sela positions herself within and between dominant discourses of immigration and language teacher education and imagines a 'better life' for herself, her family members, and her students. At this broader contextual level, Barkhuizen proposes "extending the range of data for analysis, if available" to include "the historical, political and cultural circumstances of the narrator's story evident in the big narrative data" (p.291). In attending to these broader circumstances, the level 3 analysis attempts to answer Keane's question:

> How are we to link these fleeting social judgments to larger characterological figures that transcend the time of an individual utterance or semiotic act and that are recognized as forming part of the world which social actors orient? (as cited in Roth-Gordon & Mendoza-Denton, 2011, p. 160).

What you can and cannot do

Historical, political, and cultural circumstances were evident in the interactive small story narratives told in Martin's classroom. One example is Martin's story about the teenagers from Northern Ireland who came to GGS for a summer youth program and liked "to dress in drag" for open mic night. Questions of what can be done, what cannot be done, and what should be done play out on multiple scales. Within the small story of the Turkish student coming out, Martin and his students reimagine, through their stories, a space that is safe for all participants. But as we can see from the story of the Irish youth group, the facilitator is not the only person who influences youth programs. There are broader discourses which must be considered.

111	Martin	we've only been criticized twice by the State Department for our work
112		and they were both about gay rights issues
113		One was a program with gay and lesbian teenagers at that time and the State Department was not happy about it
114	Amanda	what were they not happy about?
115	Martin	That we did a session
116		even though that we all knew this was legal
117		It was a very right-wing senate in the US Congress at the time
118		The other time we were criticized was
119		we had Irish teenage boys
120		and when we do open mics
121		they always like to dress in drag
122		I don't know why they do, they just do
123		And they sent an observer who thought it was funny and it was lovely and it was fun
124		And he went back to DC and he called me and he said
125		"Uhh I told them about this in Washington and they said you can't do that anymore"
126	Amanda	Whaaaat?
127	Martin	so I said you need to tell them they need to get out more
128	Sarah	were there conversations about appropriating drag culture?
129		because that's a very real thing
130		and I 100% agree, we don't want to appropriate drag culture and like honor that
131		it's a huge piece of LGBTQ community and culture
132	Martin	yeah that was so beyond what they were talking about

133 they're like, "boys can't dress as girls"
134 you're talking about the days of Jesse Helms and Strom Thurmond
135 I mean there's still guys like that in Washington

The narrative activity in this excerpt provides a larger context to the Turkish student coming out to his peers, and connects the main story (coming out) with broader social, cultural, and institutional contexts. From a practical point of view, since the State Department funds many of the youth programs at GGS, ostensibly it has some leverage on what happens in the program. When the observer from the State Department visits GGS and watches the Irish teenagers dressed in drag, it was "lovely and it was fun" in the eyes of the observer but not his superiors in Washington D.C. who relay the message that "you can't do that anymore" (line 125). The interactional turn between Martin and Sarah (lines 127-135) connects the Irish teens dressing in drag and the government's response to the broader discourses of 'international exchange' and 'LGBTQ culture' and how these discourse communities may influence what can and cannot be done in youth programs. It reveals an ideological difference in what types of activities are allowable in youth programs, a 'clash of voices' on a broader discourse level. Martin voices the State Department, "they're like, 'boys can't dress as girls'" while signaling his own approval of the Irish teens by telling the State Department that "they need to get out more". Sarah qualifies this permission by asking, "Were there conversations about appropriating drag culture?" In this question, she takes a stance between supporting the act of dressing in drag but not doing it to appropriate LGBTQ culture. Another contextual factor is the role of GGS in discussing gay rights in youth programs. Martin, Jacky, and Vivian consider this role in the excerpt below.

91	Jacky	but I have to say what I remember is that it was really a struggle for us
92		because I don't think staff felt like they could say
93		we really need to learn about homophobia in this dialogue
94		we really need to learn about LGBTQ in this dialogue
95		I think we didn't feel like that was appropriate
96		I think going back to norms and
97		talking about how do we understand that within this community
98		there are different ways that people identify and live in the world in these different cultural contexts
99	Martin	the broader program context is
100		and we have debates
101		is this our responsibility to educate people about LGBTQ issues for people whose cultures don't accept it?
102		and where it isn't even legal?
103	Vivian	And people die in those countries
104	Martin	Yeah, and the one thing with Cyprus was that it was transitioning
105		Cyprus got into the European Union
106		they had to legalize homosexuality to get into the European Union
107		and we had the group that year
108		so we said 'they just legalized it'
109		and they legalized it with horrible language
110		sort of like 'well, as long as it's not too public'

Keeping people safe and protected

Vivian, a GGS student, once again raises *danger* as a constraint acting on the storyworld: “people die in those countries”. We do not know which countries she is referring to, but her comment alludes to places where homosexuality is not tolerated. It also raises the stakes for facilitators of youth groups to navigate this landscape with care. Jacky reveals that it was a struggle to decide whether to use this as an opportunity for participants to learn about homophobia and LGBTQ issues or leave it be. While this struggle is evident in the immediacy of the events unfolding in the storyworld, it is better understood through the broader contextual analysis that level 3 affords. In the foreground, we see facilitators trying to create a safe, stable environment for important discussions and grappling over whether to have these discussions. There are young people from a variety of cultural backgrounds with different, evolving perspectives on social issues. In

the background, there is the State Department, depicted as permitting certain kinds of exchange but not others; LGBTQ culture, which according to one student should be honored but not appropriated; and, from lines 104-105, Cyprus (in the story, this is Northern Cyprus, a territory claimed by Turkey), the home of the student who wants to come out, with a government that reluctantly legalized gay rights. In their narratives, Martin, Jacky, and the students position themselves vis-a-vis these broader discourses in order to effectively and safely facilitate a discussion. To underscore this point, Martin says "You don't have to solve it but you do have to keep people feeling safe and connected" (line 160). Amanda, who by the end of the dialogue is now fully engaged as a vicarious character in the storyworld, reinforces the goal of maintaining a stable ground: "I understand that there's a community that's been built but I don't want any of that progress that's been made to start to backslide" (lines 161-162).

I know you want so much more expertise

Martin wraps up his class with a coda on expertise:

176	Martin	Thank you guys for diving in so much
177		I know you want so much more expertise
178		but the only thing I knew 100% was that Donald Trump could not be president
179		so I've got nothing that I am sure about anymore
180		we're all trying to figure out these complicated issues and
181		we have to figure them out on the spot
182		I was figuring these things out when I was closer to your age
183		so maybe I have more experience now but you don't necessarily have that experience when the situation comes to you
184		I think it really helps to get perspectives from each other
185		and being able to respond effectively in these complex situations

Martin does not profess to know all of the answers. He assumes his students want "so much more expertise" but jokes that whatever he thought he knew was shaken by the

2016 election: “I’ve got nothing that I am sure about anymore.” He concludes with an affirmation of experience, “figuring things out” and relying on one another for perspectives in dealing with complex situations.

A few weeks after the class, I met Martin at the barbeque stand down the hill from GGS, I asked him about his role in the middle of challenging conversations, in the story of the Turkish teenager who wanted to come out, and in his other experiences working with graduate students and youth groups. Do students want him to be an expert?

> Martin: I think the main thing is that you have to evolve collaboratively, and that’s part of our field in conflict is that we don’t understand everything from our point of view. As a professional you’d always want to get advice, and yet we realize there are some things nobody knows the answers to. We’re making the answers up as we go, they’re cutting edge. So how do you bring all the principles we’ve developed and the sensitivities and try to apply them to a new situation that we haven’t dealt with before and almost nobody has dealt with.

In his words, Martin is still ‘figuring it out’ and ‘making up answers as we go’. As an example of evolving collaboratively, he talks about the evolution of gender identity and how it has factored into roommate placements at summer programs for youth groups. In some cases, students have told Martin that they identify as a different gender than what their parents have listed on the program registration forms. Martin says this led GGS to develop a policy which allows students to choose their self-identified gender and select which dorm they would like to be in. But this leads to new questions and sensitivities they had not previously encountered.

> Martin: What’s your obligation to tell the roommates? Students are experimenting. They’re going to change their gender a few times. It’s a new world. You used to have summer camps, you’d have the boys dorm and the girls dorm. It’s not clear anymore. You wouldn’t say “Is it OK for you to have a black roommate? Maybe in Alabama in 1962, they might’ve said that. But now we have a box to check asking are you OK to have a

transgender roommate. The students are OK with it. But for us who are older, it's hard to know how to ask.

It is a new world, as Martin says, and figuring it out requires at the very minimum educators who are willing to admit that they are figuring it out. In Martin's classroom, we see how faculty and students simulate 'figuring it out' through small stories. The effect of Martin's pedagogical story is that it invites many more stories which carve out avenues of possibility and constraint within the storyworld. Put another way, I observed small stories carving out a moral geography in which what can and cannot be done is negotiated through indexing people and places from real and imagined stories. Through this activity, Martin's graduate students envision future scenarios in which they will play a lead role in managing difficult conversations around sensitive topics with diverse groups of students. The interactive performance between Martin and his students reflects the view of Clandenin and Connelly that "education is the construction and reconstruction of personal and social stories; teachers and learners are storytellers and characters in their own and other stories" (1990, p.2). In spending time with Martin and in his classroom, I came to see that their education is inextricably tied to the stories they tell about themselves and others.

Summary of Positioning Analysis

I utilized a positioning analysis (Bamberg, 2004; Barkhuizen, 2009) to examine small stories told in a Martin's graduate school classroom. Through the initial telling of a story of a youth program in which a student wished to come out to his multicultural peers, Martin created a storyworld for his students to enter and map out a moral geography of how to effectively discuss a sensitive topic in their work as youth program leaders.

The level 1 positioning analysis examined the characters and events present in the transcript. At this level of analysis, the focus is on “the content of the story, who the characters are, and how they relate to each other” (Barkhuizen, 2009, p.284). This analysis revealed that Martin’s storyworld was expanded by many other past, present, and hypothetical characters and events evoked by various tellers in order to take stances and begin to map out how they would manage a similar situation in their work as educators and youth group facilitators.

The level 2 positioning analysis focused on several small stories which, taken together, revealed an interactive performance focused on how to maintain a secure environment for youth group participants and avoid a dangerous outcome in which students faced a ‘backlash’ for holding different cultural views. The performance was achieved through cohesion, disnarrative (imagining events which did not take place), and a ‘multivocality’ which enabled participants to make their moral stances explicit through presenting a ‘clash of voices.’ Taken together, we can see the pedagogical value of providing graduate students a space to tell stories of vicarious experience which allow them to consider a ‘dangerous’ experience without experiencing it firsthand (Sugiyama, 2001).

Lastly in positioning analysis level 3, I examined how small stories told in the classroom linked to broader social, cultural, and political discourses. In positioning their possible actions alongside and against these discourses, tellers expanded the moral geography and considered what should be done among the possibilities of what can and cannot be done. This level of analysis explores “the significance of social spaces not just

for the here-and-now of the telling activities but also for the taleworlds invoked in the participants' stories" (Georgakopoulou, 2015, p.258).

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, as a means of viewing experience at the ground level, I have explored the various roles small stories played in interviews, focus groups, and classroom observation data. In Part One, I provided examples of how students and faculty used small stories to facilitate group cohesion, add levity to serious moments, build rapport through shared experiences, and mitigate the effects of an awkward silence or moment. In Part Two, I focused specifically on an excerpt of discussion from Martin's classroom in which Martin shares a small story of a Turkish youth coming out to peers. The telling of this story has a pedagogical purpose. It invites Martin's students, who are international educators in a Master's degree program, to tell their own stories and imagine stories which did not take place in order to take stances and envision how they might handle a challenging situation in their own work. Through the telling of stories, Martin and his students map out a moral geography of what can be said and done in such scenarios. Acquiring real experience facilitating difficult conversations may be difficult terrain to navigate which involves the management of the here-and-now of classroom discourse and larger cultural and political discourses which appear through characters and events within tellings. Therefore, creating opportunities for educators-in-training to use stories as a vicarious means of experience is seen as an effective means of providing experiential learning through entering and dwelling, even momentarily, within an alternative storyworld.

Future Directions for Research

Small story research has only just scratched the surface in terms of what could be explored through a narrative lens focused on naturalistic talk in educational settings. This study contributes to this growing area of research by further elucidating how small stories perform social and individual tasks within classroom discourse. However, there are limitations to the present study which could provide openings for further research. For example, the classroom observation data was initially conceived as having a complementary role to the big story data from interviews and there was relatively less classroom discourse data to analyze. That I found a great deal of small story activity within this data leads me to believe that additional research in higher education settings could fruitfully explore naturalistic talk in classrooms with a primary focus on examining small stories.

In addition to classroom settings, future research might also explore the use of small stories in naturalistic educational settings such as tutorials, office hours, and conferences to see how small stories perform additional functions within more intimate settings. I found that within interviews, small stories mainly served as a means of rapport-building or indexing shared knowledge between the interviewer and interviewee. Would a setting in which learning, mentoring, or tutoring is the central aim yield different types or uses of small stories?

Another limitation of the present study is that even though the participants were multilingual faculty and students representing some diversity in nationalities, the focal participants in the data set were native or near-native speakers of English who had spent nearly a year together communicating primarily through English as the lingua franca and medium of instruction. Do small stories, like other storytelling traditions, vary depending

on which language the story is told in? In a superdiverse, translanguaging environment, there is the possibility that small stories are told in different ways depending on the shared matrix language of interlocutors. These questions and curiosities represent exciting new avenues for small story research in educational settings.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

In the final chapter, I share several implications of this dissertation for faculty experiencing change in higher education and the narrative researchers exploring this change. Similar to the bedrock, faultline, and moral geography metaphors I used to examine big and small stories, in this chapter I draw conclusions through the use of spatial metaphors. I highlight the contributions of the study to existing literature and, lastly, identify limitations as a means of pointing toward directions for future research.

Although I did not revel in this at the time, it is fitting that I lost my faculty position at Greenhills Graduate School (GGS) during a time that I was researching stories of change in higher education. It is also not just a convenient research storyline that, following my departure from GGS, my next faculty position would be as a contingent, contract faculty at a large U.S. university which had recently expanded its footprint through the establishment of a global campus in Asia. As a novice faculty in search of stability, I was positioned at the confluence of the big stories of contraction and expansion in higher education. While larger institutions leveraged resources to extend their global reach, internationalize their faculty and curriculum, and widen the scale of disciplinary offerings (Kreber, 2009; Altbach & Knight, 2007), small institutions such as GGS faced financial constraints brought on by increased competition and declining enrollment (Hudzick, 2020). Small schools in the U.S. whose budgets relied on full-paying or fully funded international students also took a double hit during the Trump

administration as visa restrictions and anti-immigrant sentiments (Hudzick, 2020) diverted potential students to schools in more accessible and welcoming countries. In addition to the decrease in international students, any regional advantage GGS may have enjoyed in recruiting domestic students from the New England area may have also diminished as digital options for graduate degrees provided additional pathways for prospective students. A 2015 ICEF report noted that while "some smaller colleges historically thrived by serving place-bound students, increased online education and student mobility are eroding that advantage."

As I noted in the introduction chapter of this dissertation, it is difficult, and not a central aim of this study, to draw straight lines between shifts in higher education and the stories of faculty experience at GGS. Instead, the narrative research design sought to capture a contextualized view of faculty experience. I used life history interviews to gather stories of how veteran faculty had come to GGS and what they had experienced over several decades at the school. The interviews also gave participants a chance to externalize their experiences and 'make them public' (Johnson & Golombek, 2011) for their own learning and the 'narrative knowledging' (Barkhuizen, 2011) that is generated for wider audiences by narrative research. Classroom observations yielded small stories which complemented big stories in providing a view of faculty experience at the ground level.

Expansion and contraction are evident in the stories of faculty in this study, but compared to the macro-level movements in higher education, space manifests in different ways. Big stories talk about space as a luxury that has faded over time as demands on faculty time increased even as the number of students on campus decreased. For Maria,

the bedrock era of spaciousness meant more time spent away from work. GGS provided room (literally, hotel rooms) for the faculty to innovate and create. Small stories render a view of classroom space in which the stories themselves work as cohesive devices and learning opportunities. In addition to the unique window these stories provide into faculty experience, there are also implications for educators managing, negotiating, and protecting spaces within their professional lives.

The End of Spaciousness

Maria prefaces her telling of the Magical Mystery Tour story by placing it within an era in which there weren't as many institutional commitments and when faculty "were doing what we wanted to do with our time. So much less of this, 'Oh my god it's time for another meeting.'" The birth of the International Education degree came at a similar time for Karlene. A sense of spaciousness enabled faculty to gather together to innovate, plan new directions, and map out program offerings. It was a busy, creative, and synergistic space without the disciplinary boundaries that would come to hamper further innovation. Ironically, the most spacious time for GGS faculty may have also been during a time when the campus was full of students. As enrollment declined, meetings and committee work piled into the void.

In the modern landscape of higher education, spaciousness is dwindling further, leaving faculty with little time to breathe in between commitments to their research, students, and institutions. Debra, a faculty participant in Hockings' study of change in higher education, describes a space in which the only 'space' is between what she wants to do and what she is able to do given the various demands on her time.

> The workload is so huge that it's difficult to feel that the institution places much value on student experiences. I can only give students time and

> attention or put effort into lesson preparation or marking at a cost to myself. This creates a gap between my principles/commitment to the students and how, at times, I actually do feel about them (2009, p.489).

Compounding matters for faculty such as Debra, a non-tenured lecturer, is that their effort to balance competing responsibilities may not be supported by a permanent position. As universities rely on a workforce composed of a larger proportion of non-tenured faculty (Morton & Schapiro, 2015), the burden of juggling work responsibilities and the high-wire balance of managing life is not just the exclusive performance of tenured faculty. Contingent faculty, representing 70% of the non-student workforce in 2019, are increasingly bearing crosses of expansion for larger well-funded universities embarking and survival for small colleges closing at a higher rate from 2015-2018 (Seltzer, 2018). This strain resulted in a forecast for "deep stress and existential questions" for small schools such as GGS (Seltzer, 2018). Given what we have learned from Karlene, Elizabeth, and Maria's stories, it is now becoming clear what 'deep stress' might actually look like.

A Different Kind of Accommodation

'Accommodation' in higher education now has a very specific meaning of providing appropriate measures of support for students with disabilities. However, in Maria's stories, she uses the word more generally to refer to instances where she felt she needed to provide convenience, make compromises, or reconcile differences with challenging students. She worries that in a program designed to nudge students outside of their comfort zones, "accommodation doesn't demand growth, maybe." As a result, Maria must bargain between a deeply held principle of encouraging growth and a fear of pushing a student too far. 'Deep stress' could manifest, somewhat lightly, as a desire to

be liked by all students or a fear of losing a grip on the tenuous relationships Maria has with her students. These days, Maria thinks, pressing someone "to be anything other than what they fundamentally are" is potentially quite dangerous because "who knows what's lying underneath that surface." While fearing students may sound extreme, it is worth noting that for Maria, it only took one fraught relationship with one student to cause her to lose sleep.

In addition to compromise, 'accommodation' can also refer to a temporary space for lodging. I use this definition loosely as the basis of an existential question facing higher education: In an era in which faculty are overloaded, how much space is afforded to faculty to step back from the frenzy of day-to-day responsibilities to attend to future-oriented planning or self-care? A 2003 report in The Chronicle of Higher Education reported on the numerous commitments which 'hijack' the time of faculty, noting that women and faculty of color are particularly vulnerable to the perils of full plates (Fogg, 2003). In 2020, The Chronicle published a similar story, only this time examining how the COVID-19 pandemic had wreaked havoc on an already tenuous work-life balance. The latter article notes that experts (still) "worry that without proper intervention, faculty careers could be destabilized for years to come, especially those of women and people of color" (Pettit, 2021). Female faculty participants in this study by no means had an easy ride compared to their contemporary counterparts. Elizabeth's stories, for example, allude to the gender bias she overcame to secure certain opportunities. However, Maria's bedrock characterization of GGS reflected on the ability, at a certain time of her career, to leave work and go home to be with her family. There was an unstated accommodation to attend to important matters in their lives. Additionally, there were professional spaces

created for faculty to plan for the future before emergencies demanded it. In Karlene's stories, for example, she described a meeting held at a Holiday Inn in which faculty had the space to imagine future directions for the institution. Much later in her career, the entire faculty would gather again for an emergency strategic planning session to avoid the closure of the school. "If you're going to be cutting edge," Karlene told me, "you need to leave room for faculty to create and think and make changes and experiment." Ironically, the emergency meeting was also held at a hotel conference room, an accommodation that was provided too late.

Holding the Room Together

Another recent article in the Chronicle of Higher Education addressed the challenge of managing challenging conversations in the classroom, a challenge more fraught in the age of disinformation and multiple versions of the truth. McMurtrie (2021) asks whether "higher education is prepared to teach students how to navigate this terrain?" An affirmative answer can be found in the excerpt from Martin's classroom, where Martin and his students practice the art of navigating sensitive terrain through the use of a number of different small stories. The performative nature of the small stories in Martin's classroom have implications for how higher education might prepare future faculty in managing difficult conversations with diverse groups of students.

The term 'safe space' is commonly used to describe the need for academic spaces to be places where one can share vulnerabilities or express opinions without fearing reprisal or the backlash which Amanda mentioned. How to create such a space, one that provides safety for all participants, is less clear. What emerges from the analysis of Martin's classroom is a sense that a safe space may be elusive. It is hard to predict when

a 'boom' is going to strike. However, it may be possible to create a space in which contested and clashing viewpoints are held together by maintaining community, on the one hand, and preventing a 'backslide' or 'boom' scenario from escalating. Doing so requires attention to what is happening in the moment as well as awareness of the broader forces which shape classroom discourse. Pennycook wrote that "there is often a tendency to view classrooms as isolated spaces; classrooms are 'just classrooms'. I want to suggest, by contrast, that classrooms are socio-political spaces that exist in a complex relationship to the world outside" (2000, p.90).

A central challenge observed in Martin's class is that even experts like Martin, who have worked in conflict zones and with youth groups for years, are still 'figuring it out'. Continual changes to the use of language to describe conflict, to name issues, and to self-identify will require educators to constantly learn from students in order to manage the classroom space and navigate complex interplay between larger discourse and classroom discussion. In the study, I observed pedagogical and hypothetical stories work together with disnarratives to create a storyworld where it is safe to make mistakes, try out possible interventions, and plan future actions. Martin and his students also allude to the importance of holding the room together, maintaining group cohesion, and respecting cultural differences. Martin's students suggest various means for providing stability in a situation that could result in a productive conversation such as setting norms and reframing the conversation around cultural differences. Securing the room is the first imperative. The consequences of not doing so could lead to what Martin calls a "dangerous moment for the group", one in which there could be an explosion of conflicting views.

Given these stakes, and the complexity of managing discussion of sensitive topics with diverse students, questions of expertise become central. How can a facilitator effectively manage challenging conversations? What can be said? What cannot be said? In other words, how can the moral geography of the classroom be created and managed in a way that allows for contentious, at times competing storylines and also preserves the safety of the participants in a dynamic, interactive space? These questions need to be at the heart of teacher education programs which seek to instill facilitation skills and to promote critical discussions with diverse groups of students.

Strengths and Contributions

This study makes several contributions to the growing body of scholarship utilizing narrative approaches to study educational spaces. It heeds a call from the second wave of narrative researchers (Bell, 2002; Pavlenko, 2007; Barkhuizen, 2009) to move beyond thematic coding and pay close attention to what is happening at the textual level of biographical stories told in research interviews as well as how these stories connect to contextual factors which shape tellers' storyworlds. Through the use of positioning analysis, which attends to the interaction between a story's characters, events, and broader discourses, this study builds on existing narrative research exploring the experience of educators situated in historical, cultural, and political spaces (Sayer, 2012; Hayes, 2012).

Chapter 3 of the dissertation makes several unique contributions to the literature. First, the focal participants in this chapter are veteran faculty nearing the end of their careers. Previous narrative research of faculty experience has focused on entry into academia (Cole, McGowan, & Zerquera, 2017; LaPointe & Terosky, 2016) and how neoliberalism comes to bear on the work of novice faculty (Jubas, 2012). Similarly,

narrative research of language educators (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, 2011; Rugen, 2010) has focused primarily on participants' professional development in teacher education programs. As such, narrative research of educators has largely been conducted by veterans about novices. In this study, the roles are reversed as I, a novice faculty and researcher, elicited stories from veterans which span a broader arc of their professional careers. This allowed me to turn the focus away from 'professional development', a subject on which there is a great deal of prior research, and toward what faculty know and learn through telling their own stories. Capturing experiences across the life-span of faculty careers also enabled a view of change over time, and how change occurred as a result of veteran faculty's interactions with diverse groups of students.

Furthermore, this study is one of the first to examine faculty experience at a small, practitioner-focused institution offering specialized degrees in international education. In fact, there are very few institutions in the United States structured like GGS which, at the time of the study, only offered graduate degrees in niche areas in conjunction with undergraduate study abroad programs for students from other universities. In light of the fact that GGS was undergoing significant restructuring at the time of the study, a final contribution is in capturing the stories of a place that offered a form of graduate education which was unlike any other for a long period of time.

The small stories featured in Chapter 4 build on empirical small story research of Georgakopolou (2015) and Bamberg (2006) which were part of a foundational change in narrative research which sought to represent less typical narrative activities in naturalistic settings as stories in their own right. Taylor et al. (2018) advanced the work of small story research by bringing it to bear on the context of in-service teacher education. The

unique contribution of this dissertation is two-fold. First, it accounts for a broader range of small story uses than what has previously been researched in educational settings. Specifically, I found that small stories in classrooms are a performative device which provide cohesion in a wide variety of ways. From injecting levity into a discussion to ratifying a comment to defusing an awkward moment, the tellers of small stories in my classroom observation data demonstrate a versatility to small story use previously unreported in the literature. Furthermore, building on Barkhuizen's work (2009), the present study teases out a singular role of small stories in interview settings to allude to uncomfortable and unresolved stories to which tellers allude or defer to tell.

Lastly, along similar lines, the study fully embraces Freeman's call for big and small story researchers to see the complementary role each can play in the exploration of narrative phenomena. The design of the dissertation is such that big stories are the focus of chapter 3 and small stories are the focus of chapter 4. However, small story data enhances the analysis of big stories in chapter 4. Likewise, the small stories under study in chapter 4 are contextualized by big stories which influence the telling of small stories. This is the one of the first studies to fully integrate big and small stories through the use of data gathered in interviews and classroom observations.

Limitations and Future Directions

A limitation for the larger study raised in the methodology chapter relates to my positionality as a colleague of the faculty participants. Although these pre-existing relationships facilitated an easier entry into the research site, the interviews I conducted are likely to have been influenced in some way by a general willingness of the participants to share their stories, knowing that in doing so they would be helping me to complete the study. Although the interview questions were designed in a way that

naturally elicited participant stories, there were some instances in which participants asked if "this is the kind of story you want". I viewed these types of questions mostly as an unproblematic and normal negotiation of roles between an interviewer and research subject. However, I cannot discount the possibility that stories that participants told were selected to meet an expectation, stated or alluded to, on my part that I was looking for a certain kind of story, and that the bedrock and faultline stories are partially a product of this expectation. In future research of faculty experience, it would be useful to collaborate with a research colleague who is not known to the participants, as a means of comparing how stories of experience are told to close colleagues, acquaintances, or strangers.

An additional limitation relates to the limited sample size of classroom observation data. Although the observation data provided enough of a sample to examine how participants use small stories in classroom discussions, the findings regarding the versatility of small stories would be more robust if they were observed playing such roles with greater frequency. Additionally, a central finding of chapter 4 is that small stories assisted Martin and his students in their discussion of sensitive topics through the creation of a storyworld in which tellers carve out a moral geography of a salient issue through taking stances and proposing hypothetical situations. While I am confident in asserting that small stories played a pedagogical role for Martin's students in helping them consider how they would manage an explosive situation, it is important to clarify that the sensitive issue was being discussed vicariously through the examination of a story which took place in the past. Therefore, it is difficult to make any claims as to the value of small stories in a contested or sensitive discussion which is happening in real time. This provides an opening in future research interested in the management of

difficult conversations to devote a larger amount of time to classroom observation so that there is an opportunity to see how small stories are utilized by tellers in a less controlled environment than the one I observed in Martin's classroom.

Lastly, the strength of narrative research in dwelling deeply in the lived experience of participants in a given space is also a limitation in terms of drawing general conclusions applicable to contexts beyond the research site. In telling the stories of faculty participants in this study, I have attempted to situate these as stories unique to the tellers and unique to the setting of Greenhills Graduate School. While the broader contextual factors of internationalization, contingency, and small schools are relevant to the stories, I do not make any claims that these stories are empirically correlated as the interview questions never asked participants to comment on such broader phenomenon. Future research of the larger stories of higher education may be specifically designed to study measurable details of such changes, for example by looking at trends in campus internationalization or examining in finer detail through specific interview questions or survey instruments the challenges faced by contingent, non-tenured faculty.

Conclusion

This study used a narrative approach to examine veteran faculty experiences at a small graduate program under financial duress during an era of change in higher education. Big stories revealed institutional bedrock stories which captured a culture of opportunity, serendipity, and experiential learning for faculty. I found that bedrock stories were told to preserve the unique spirit of a place which brought like-minded progressive educators together and created a bond which endured for decades. These same big stories evidenced faultlines, which I describe as changes and sources of learning and reflection for faculty. These faultlines were discovered through the process of externalizing and

making sense of past experience through storytelling. More specifically, the faultlines revealed that growth and change often came as the result of interaction with the diverse groups of students who came to GGS over the years. The study also examined small stories told in interviews and classroom discussions, revealing that atypical stories have versatile, performative roles in providing cohesion to a group, telling jokes, diverting attention away from discomfort, and changing the subject. In the exploration of Martin's class, small stories are observed playing an invaluable role in creating space for students to talk with each other about challenging issues. This dissertation makes an important contribution to the vibrant space of narrative research by combining a big and small story approach to examine the experiences of veteran faculty at a time of great change for them and the field of higher education.

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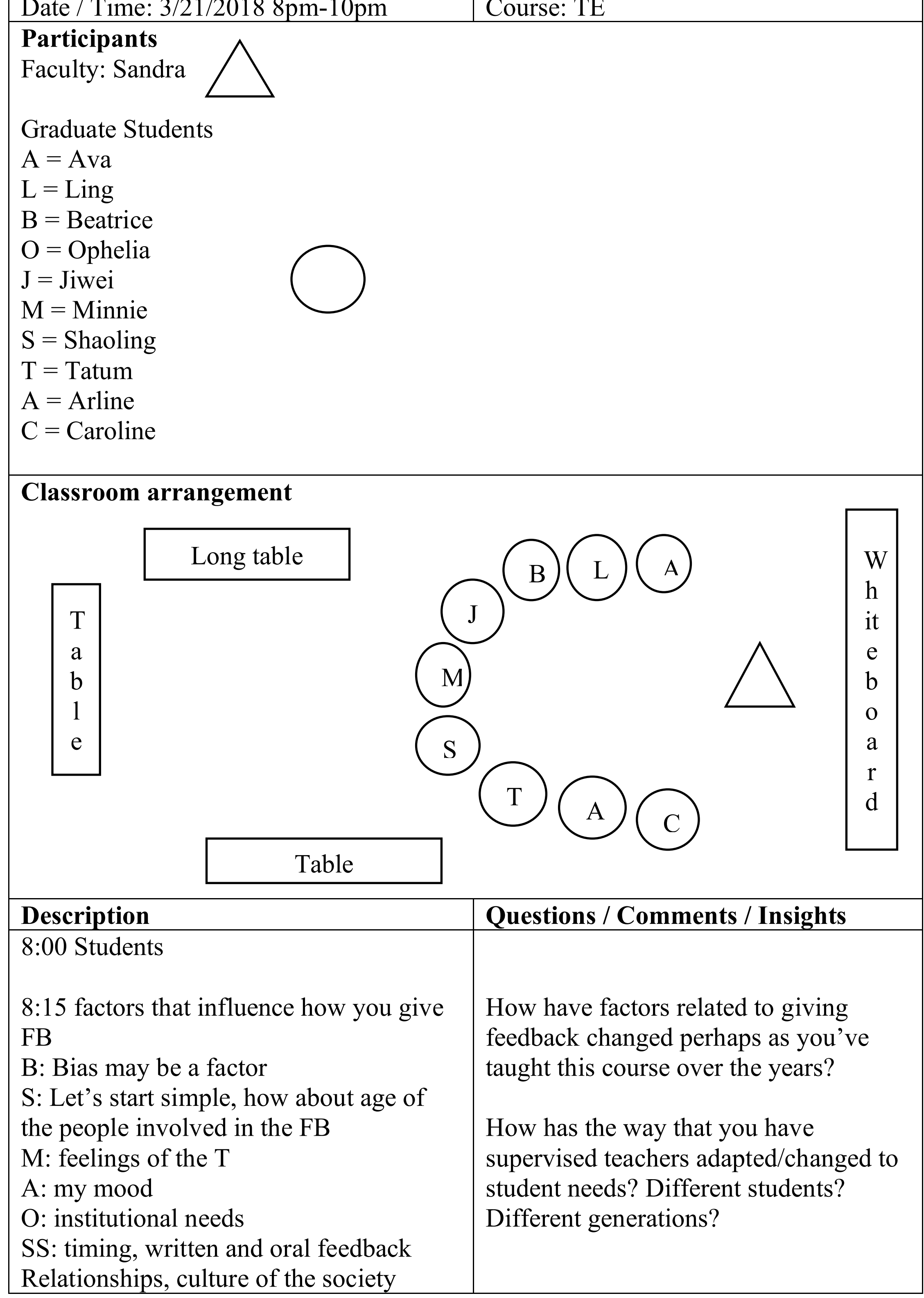
Appendix A. Field Notes Template

Date / Time:	Course:
Participants Faculty: △ Students: ○ Furniture: ▭	
Classroom arrangement Whiteboard	
Description	**Questions / Comments / Insights**

Appendix B. Sample Classroom Observation Field Notes



Date / Time: 3/21/2018 8pm-10pm	Course: TE
Participants Faculty: Sandra △ Graduate Students A = Ava L = Ling B = Beatrice O = Ophelia J = Jiwei M = Minnie S = Shaoling T = Tatum A = Arline C = Caroline	
Classroom arrangement	
Description	**Questions / Comments / Insights**
8:00 Students 8:15 factors that influence how you give FB B: Bias may be a factor S: Let's start simple, how about age of the people involved in the FB M: feelings of the T A: my mood O: institutional needs SS: timing, written and oral feedback Relationships, culture of the society	How have factors related to giving feedback changed perhaps as you've taught this course over the years? How has the way that you have supervised teachers adapted/changed to student needs? Different students? Different generations?

B: the goals the teacher has, the person you are observing S: gender, education, outcome of L: the language being used to 8:25 – Role plays A trainer gives feedback to a teacher. There is an observer who will comment on what she sees. The 'trainer' says she is nervous to be the trainer and play this role. Role play is about the 'teacher's' students being quiet on a particular day. 'Trainer' reflects on her experience trying to unpack quietness of class. 8:45 groups break into role plays. Recording on O (trainer), S (teacher), L (observer). 9:20 feedback on the role plays. What insights do you have?	Are you seeing different kinds of teachers with different needs in various stages of your career? Has the relationship between teachers and trainers changed? How about the types of feedback? S noticed that B changed seating arrangement so that she was sitting next to T. There is a theme of status, horizontal relationship between teachers-trainers. Have students/trainees from different places had different interpretations of this dynamic, or expectations that were different than what you were providing? What does it mean to train an 'international' teacher or work with him/her in a way that honors best practices and reconciles different expectations? Question for A: What has your experience been at GGS compared to other places you have been a student? You are asked to do role plays as part of this course. Is this common? Age/experience/status appears to be a major factor in the discussions about trainer-trainee interactions. S: you have to deal with a lot of feeling. Interesting – is this part of the learning experience here?

           9:40 final closure way of council Ss sit in circle Flowers in middle Teddy bear talking piece Ss reflect on final paper and key insights New methods to run a class Ways of giving feedback Categories Seeing one's experience in others How social justice fits in	Something about being straightforward or direct O: do you think this would be easier in your first language? (to give feedback to another teacher) L: I have a different personality when I speak in different language. I can't play with the words in English, I can do that in Chinese and Tibetan. Language may determine how you give feedback. English would be more direct T's comment related to high-context, low-context cultures, and that will affect how I give feedback Ling: setting makes a big difference. Nothing interesting in the written feedback but over dinner and drinks that's where the real feedback comes out. Ling: cultural norms of feedback (giving and receiving) Final class – somber mood gives way to laughter with Ava joke Students brought different purposes to the course, to expand their own repertoire, address issues they've encountered. How do students select electives? Do they vision forward or reflect back

Appendix C: Analytical and Thematic Codes from Data Analysis

Analytical Concepts

Personal stories

Positioning analysis

Barkhuizen/Bamberg: Analysis which examines content/characters of a story, the interactive performance of a story, and positions which are agentively taken by tellers

Questioning

questioning and curiosity form the basis of stories and learning

Second Stories

Told in response to another participant's story, acting as cohesion or means to take a stance

Sites

Sites refers to the social spaces in which narrative activities take place and captures the conglomerate of situational context factors ranging from physical (e.g., seating) arrangements to mediational tools that the participants may employ. Sites allow us to explore the significance of social spaces not just for the here-and-now of the telling activities but also for the taleworlds invoked in the participants' stories. Georgakopoulou (2015)

Small stories

from DeFina: a gamut of under-represented and "a-typical" narrative activities, such as tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared (known) events, but also allusions to tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell. (Georgakopoulou 2006:130)

Technology

Pax talks about technology and teaching

Tellers

Georgakopolou (2015) A study of small stories and identities is incomplete without attention to the actual tellers, as participants of a communicative activity and as complex entities: as here-and-now communicators with particular roles of participation; as characters in their tales; as members of social and cultural groups; and last but not least, as individuals with specific biographies, including habits, beliefs, hopes, desires, fears, etc.

Tools

Facilitating learning of language, teaching, or personal reflection and experience

Untold stories

Disnarration – a story about something that does not happen

Ways of telling

Ways of telling refers to the communicative how: the socioculturally shaped and more or less conventionalized semiotic and, in particular, verbal choices of a story. Georgakopoulou (2015)

What can be done

Participant mentions what is allowed to be done in a given context or activity

What can be said

Mentions what is allowed to be said

Data Type

Classroom Observation

Data recorded during faculty class periods containing natural talk of faculty and students

Focus Group

Panel of participants, students or faculty, answering questions posed by Steve

Interviews

Interviews with faculty

Participant Type

Newcomers

Faculty who have worked at the institution for less than 10 years

Old-timer

Faculty who have worked at the institution for longer than 10 years

Students

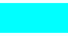
Students of faculty participants

Research Questions

RQ-1a - Big stories

1. What is the experience of faculty working with diverse groups of students in an internationally-focused graduate program?

a. What are the 'big stories' of this experience as told by faculty in retrospective and present day accounts?

RQ-1b-Small Stories 

1. What is the experience of faculty working with diverse groups of students in an internationally-focused graduate program?

b.What are the 'small stories' of this experience observed in day-to-day interaction?

RQ-2a - Sociocultural Phenomena

1. What social, cultural and political phenomena are present in these stories?

a. How do faculty talk about these issues with students and their colleagues?

RQ-2b - IZN

What social, cultural and political phenomena are present in these stories?

b. Is the phenomenon of internationalization present at the research site? If so, what implications does internationalization have for participants?

RQ-3-Change/Adaptation

Do faculty adapt or change their practices and/or language as a result of working with diverse groups of students? If so, how and in what ways does this change manifest itself?

Themes

Accessibility

Activism

Pax mentions student activism around certain issues

Adaptation

Refers to adaptation in regards to ways of teaching or thinking about their work

Age

Pax discusses age as a factor in story

Aha moment
: Moments when faculty realized a transformative change or moment had occurred

Autonomy

Beliefs
: References faculty make to their teaching beliefs

Belonging
: Stories where participants discuss affinity to a place, group of people, as a way of demonstrating a feeling of belonging

Blind spots
: Often revealed through interaction with students or other faculty

Challenging students

Change
: A moment of change for faculty in their careers

Class activity
: Pax mentions class activity as part of story

Co-constructed learning
: Participants discuss values of co-constructed and emergent learning

Collaboration
: Collaboration with colleagues as a means of professional development or camaraderie

Coming out
: Stories of or about coming out

Conflict
: Teller refers to conflict in classroom and draws upon this for learning

Crisis
: Pax discusses crisis

Culture
: Pax discusses teaching culture or culture as part of story

Curriculum

Difference
: Mentions difference among students or faculty

Disability

Discomfort
: A participant mentions a feeling of discomfort experienced by her/himself or students

Discourse
: Mentions ways of talking writing

Dominant discourse

Edges

English as gate/gatekeeper

English as opportunity
: Mentions of English as a pathway, an opportunity, as empowering

Expectations
Faculty references to expectations they have for students

Expert
Participant mentions expertise

Failure
Stories of unsuccessful teaching or learning experiences

Feedback

First opportunities
Stories about faculty getting a chance to do something new, something they may not have felt qualified to do but were given the chance due to circumstances or someone else's belief that they could do it

Foreign experts
Situations where faculty served as, were imagined to be experts coming in to give trainings in international locations

Gender
Pax mentions gender as part of aha moment or learning in part of experience

Grades
Grades mentioned as part of a story

Gun violence

Inclusion / Exclusion
Stories about inclusion and exclusion

Inspiration

LGBTQ
Data which refers to LGBTQ issues, stories, learning, or change

Language
Mentions the significance of explicit language analysis as part of growth and learning

Learning needs
Pax discusses students learning needs and how he/she met them or changed to meet them

Listening
Participant mentions listening as part of a story

Making it
Finally getting to where you wanted to be

Making sacrifices
Moments in which participants discuss a sacrifice made in their career arc, giving up one thing for another at a turning point

Metalanguage
Use of language to describe language

Moral geography
Pax discusses zones of comfort and discomfort in talking about certain issues in class

Multilingual
Stories about multiligual settings

Naming

New era of faculty

Online low-residency

Online teaching learning
Pax mentions online teaching and learning as part of a story

Ownership
Story ownership, telling your own stories

Pedagogy
Pax mentions style of teaching

PhD
Pax mentions getting or thinking about or needing a phd as part of career development

Physical contact
Mentions physical contact

Physical space
Pax mentions arrangement of room, chairs

Political event
A reference to a political event which influenced or in some way came into the classroom

Professional development
Pax mentions prof deve

Putting together, Giving back
Moments in which participants put pieces together and apply past experience or learning to a new situation

Refugees
Stories about working with refugees or migrants

Research
discusses research as a way of learning, understanding, change

Resistance
Stories of faculty resisting a practice or way of doing, or students resisting faculty practices or course content

Resources / no resources
pax mentions use of or lack of resources as central to story

Risk taking

GGS magic

Self-positioning
Moments in stories where participants position themselves in the world or vis-a-vis others in order to make sense of their stories and pathways

Sensitive topics
Faculty stories which involve the discussion of sensitive topics in or beyond the classroom

Separable/Inseparable

Serendipity
Pax mentions chance as a factor in stories

Sexual assault harassment

Pax mentions story containing sexual assault or harassment

Stories We Tell
A call up of a favorite story, one that seemingly has been told many times before. Often preceded with a phrase such as "Did I ever tell you that one?"

Student demographics
Pax mentions types of students

Student numbers
Pax discusses number of students in cohort or class as a factor in experience

Supervision
Pax discusses supervision of teachers

Synergy
Pax discusses how different experiences combined to form better education or learning

TESOL field
Pax discusses the field and how it is evolving

Teacher as hero
Instances in which teachers come in to save the day, change things, and how they interpret the work that they did within new communities

Technology
Pax mentions technology as part of a story

The Good Old Days
Stories of nostalgia, possibly times which sound challenging but are remembered fondly

Thriving years of TESOL
Pax mentions a time when many more opportunities or different kinds of opportunities were available

Training teachers
Training teachers

Trauma
Mentions violence or trauma as part of story

Trigger words
Pax mentions use of words that trigger difficult/sensitive subjects

Unpacking

Vulnerable
Pax mentions stories involving vulnerability

Walking the talk
An instance in which participant discusses the ability of GGS to practice what they preach, or not

White privilege
Mentions white privilege in a story

Winging it
Making things up on the spot or as you go along.

Appendix D: Interview Excerpt with Linguistic Rich Points

S: Steve
M: Maria [red box] = linguistic rich points

(0:18:53.2)

S: It sounds like there's a huge element of those years connected to mentorship, apprenticeship, and getting feedback from colleagues. So many students and a larger faculty, how did make time to do that, and why did it go away?

Codes / Rich points

M: It hasn't gone away completely. Part of the thing was, you could check with L who has a robust and accurate memory for a lot of things than I do. I tend to create a pastiche view of things. Part of it was, during that period of time, (our program) was criticized and lauded for it, we were over in the auditorium and our offices were in that basement. There was an emerging graduate faculty assembly, it wasn't fully formed, P was part of trying to establish that as a governance unit, but it really meant that (the program) was kind of its own kind of little animal, doing its thing. You know, go rent a bus, and go on a magical mystery tour, you know, classes are cancelled, climb in the bus! Off we go with M at the helm.

accuracy and truth in story
Do the details matter?

'You know' = way of doing, no longer done

We didn't have as many institutional commitments, there wasn't a library committee, there wasn't an academic affairs committee, there wasn't a (governance body), in a sense we had ourselves and our students and we were doing what we wanted to do with our time, that's kind of how I remember it. So much less of this kind of, oh my god it's time for another meeting. I also remember that when I needed to leave with my kids to go home and make dinner or pick them up from school, I just did that. I organized my classes so I'd be done, and I'd go home, pick up the kids and go home.

Negation. What wasn't happening greatly affected what could happen instead.

'oh my god' – voicing herself from present day

S: There was some spaciousness. (0:22:32.9)

Space / spaciousness

Was that around the time of the magical mystery tour?

M: It had happened previously. And it was part of folklore, for somebody's birthday, probably M birthday, they actually did it with M2 where they brought people to all these different spots in the woods and there'd be drinks in this place, and games in this place. M was the king of hijinx, what are we gonna do now, what are we gonna do now.

institutional narrative? "it had happened previously" / "part of folklore