ORAL HISTORY AND QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGIES

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

EDITED BY THALIA M. MULVIHILL AND RAJI SWAMINATHAN

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Oral History and Qualitative Methodologies: Educational Research for Social Justice examines oral history methodological processes involved in the doing of oral history as well as the theoretical, historical, and knowledge implications of using oral history for social justice projects.

Oral history in qualitative research is an umbrella term that integrates history, life history, and testimony accounts. Oral history draws from various social science disciplines, including educational studies, history, indigenous studies, sociology, anthropology, ethnic studies, women's studies, and youth studies. The book argues for the further development of a pedagogical culture related to oral history for educational research as part of the effort to diversify the range of human experiences educators, community members, and policy makers incorporate into knowledge-making and knowledge-using processes.

Early career researchers, novice researchers, as well as experienced researchers are invited to join social science educational researchers in developing their own oral history projects using all of the tools, dispositions, and epistemologies affiliated with qualitative inquiry.

The book will be of use in courses on qualitative research methods, history, anthropology, women's studies, and education disciplines as well as by community organizations who want to use oral history to preserve the history of communities and advance social justice projects.

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Educational Research for Social Justice

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Participants (past and future) who entrust their stories to researchers are the heart of any oral history project and our first note of gratitude is dedicated to them.

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And finally, a note of thanks to our students who inspire and motivate us to elevate our pedagogical practices in order to prepare them. As the next generation of researchers, who will bring forward new knowledge aimed at deeper understandings of human experiences, they help us continually learn even as we teach.

—Thalia M. Mulvihill and Raji Swaminathan

SECTION 1

Introduction to the theories and methods of oral history for qualitative researchers

1

INTRODUCTION TO THE ART AND SCIENCE OF INTERDISCIPLINARY ORAL HISTORY

Thalia M. Mulvihill and Raji Swaminathan

Oral History according to Linda Shopes

> is a maddeningly imprecise term: it is used to refer to formal, rehearsed accounts of the past presented by culturally sanctioned tradition-bearers; to informal conversations about "the old days" among family members, neighbors, or coworkers; to printed compilations of stories told about past times and present experiences; and to recorded interviews with individuals deemed to have an important story to tell.
>
> *(Shopes, n.d., p. 1)*

The Oral History Association operationally defines oral history as

> both the interview process and the products that result from a recorded spoken interview. . . . Despite the flexibility inherent in such an interview method, nevertheless it is the result of "thoughtful planning and careful follow-through of the agreed-upon process."
>
> *(The OHA Principles and Best Practices, 2019, p. 4)*

The OHA includes all types of recordings and documentation including audio, video, note taking. Oral history interviews depend on memory of those being interviewed as well as the ongoing collaborative relationship between the researcher and the narrator, making the product one that is co-crafted. Although the process is usually led by the researcher through the asking of interview questions, it is equally within the purview of the narrator who may choose to lead the interview in a particular direction through relating experiences that are of relevance and meaning to the narrator.

We have designed this book for novice researchers, early career researchers, as well as experienced researchers who may be new to oral history, and community

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educators interested in learning to design and carry out oral history projects. The book is meant to be used primarily in higher education classrooms in a variety of disciplines that use oral history (e.g., qualitative research methods course, history, anthropology, women and gender studies, education), by interdisciplinary social science researchers, as well as by community organizations who want to use oral history to preserve the history of communities and advance social justice projects.

Oral history methods, when not identified solely within the domain of "history," are often subsumed under broad categories in qualitative research methods books, and therefore few resources exist that delve into the topic enough to assist novice qualitative researchers increase their confidence as they undertake an oral history project. Oral history methods are increasingly significant for qualitative researchers as they seek to delve deeper into human experiences in diverse contexts. In this book, we offer qualitative researchers the span of possibilities available when considering using oral history methods for their research. We will showcase how various researchers explore differences between qualitative research interviewing and the use of oral history for interviews and how categories invented for themes of interviewing can be reimagined. Oral history projects designed and carried out by qualitative researchers are bringing forward important new knowledge and deeper more nuanced understandings by employing a series of interdisciplinary methodological moves that are woven through the arc of a research project including new collaborations related to data collection, interpretation, representation, and dissemination. Novice qualitative researchers will benefit from learning the range of methods involved in oral history (traditional and more contemporary forms) that can help them co-create and document stories and experiences, understand experiences of marginalized populations, connect individual experiences with systemic barriers, and engage in collaborative projects for initiating or enacting social change.

Oral history is increasingly used in qualitative research and encompasses a variety of methods. It is an umbrella term that integrates history, life history methods, and testimony accounts. It refers to the process of data gathering as well as to the product of such research. Oral history draws from a variety of social science disciplines, including educational studies, history, indigenous studies, sociology, anthropology, ethnic studies, women's studies, and youth studies. Any book that examines oral history today necessarily needs to discuss both the methodological processes involved in the doing of oral history and the theoretical, historical, and knowledge implications of the product. Oral history processes have been notably impacted by digital and technological innovations with regard to documentation, data storage, and data sharing. The very language used to describe these processes changes with each advancement in technology. For example, the use of terms like *QR codes, digital narratives, online repositories*, or most recently *Zoom interviews (providing audio and/or video recordings accompanied by artificial intelligence (ai) simultaneous transcriptions, etc.,* all demonstrate the way the field of oral history is evolving and how researchers practicing oral history have adapted. The rich possibilities for oral history to be more widely and continuously shared via new media and digital storytelling mediums will also be addressed in the book.

Qualitative researchers focused on education (formal and informal), who have been working within a social justice praxis arena, have been documenting the challenges faced by K-12 teachers, higher education faculty, their students, and community members. These educational spaces forge dynamic discourses combining individual and group narratives of great interest to educational researchers who have found the spectrum of oral history methods expanding the ways they bring focus to understanding the complexity of peoples' experiences.

For example, issues concerning undocumented students, the fight for safe spaces in schools against bullying, free speech and freedom to assemble peacefully, creating institutional policies to combat racism are all stories, documenting and preserving history and herstory, etc., all represent areas of concern to qualitative researchers focused on social justice. More exposure to, and a deeper understanding of, oral history methods and the range of ways in which oral history projects can be approached, interpreted, represented, and disseminated will allow the bridge between oral history and qualitative research methods to be strengthened. We recognize that oral history has been used by disciplines in different ways and it is our intent to draw on the variety in order to meaningfully differentiate between the various uses of the term.

Technologies in use today allow for a greater breadth and depth of oral history exploration alongside new ethical issues to consider. For example, we discuss talking circles, storytelling, using visual data to augment oral history narratives, the use of video in oral history, as well as the ethics and politics of gathering oral histories. In addition, we discuss oral history theory. Some of the chapters are focused on oral history methodological concerns or opportunities, others on exemplars of oral history to animate social justice narratives. Other sub-themes will include educational oral history or oral history of educators, immigration narratives, oral histories of critical events, and oral histories of marginalized communities and peoples.

Oral history is an expanding field of research that encompasses various social science fields, such as history, narrative, sociology, and education. Different fields have utilized oral history to record aspects of history that are unwritten. Oral history interview methods ought to be centered on an interaction between the researcher and the participant. The series of interactive encounters or dialogues makes up the storytelling aspect of oral history research. Central to this endeavor is relationship building. Reciprocity is an important dimension of oral history encounters and as a relationship concept needs to be deeply contemplated by researchers. In the interactions between researchers and participants, where dialogue, debate, and disagreement as much as agreement and listening and sharing of stories may occur on both sides, the goal is to create a glimpse of a time and place that is alive and resonates with the narrator or participant, one that is complex rather than simple, multilayered, at times respectfully contradictory producing a collage of experiences narrated not always in a linear fashion. This is not to say that chronology is not often an important dimension of oral history and at times a compelling structure from which to narrate, but chronology does not always need to act as a strict organizer of a narrative. For example, oral history in many respects may evolve as

performance art in the narration. Audience, or perception of audience, may influence what is shared and the manner of the telling. Further, the forms of reciprocity at work in such exchanges between the participant and the researcher does not mean that both parties are giving and receiving equally at all moments but rather, as Foucault asserts, within such narrative constructions, power circulates, moving from one to the other making it crucial for the researchers to be hyper-aware of their own positionality and power dynamics, and ultimately the part it plays in the process of creating oral histories. One concrete example of where power is negotiated has to do with questions and terms of authorship and/or agreements to share the results of the oral history with others. These negotiations include confronting the power dynamic realities inherent in knowledge production and in questions of whose interpretation is valued.

Oral history methodologies can help uncover the roles played by individuals in particular historical events or trace the history of objects. This chapter gives a brief introduction of the ways in which oral history has been used over time, from testimonials and eye-witness narratives, storytelling, and historical memory accounts to the uses of oral history as a political device such as in the case of Truth and Reconciliation initiatives. Various terms are outlined by which oral history has been referred to within different disciplines, such as biography, autoethnography, interviews, storytelling, memory collections, and life history, as well as how oral history relates to qualitative research along with differentiating between terms and explaining disciplinary origins of various approaches. The scope of the book is explained in this chapter and it sets the stage by clarifying how central terms are operationalized. As qualitative researchers who conduct oral history projects, we place ourselves in the same stream of thinking developed by Janesick, Leavy, and Shopes and then create a new tributary serving educational researchers employing interdisciplinary oral history methodologies.

Janesick (2007), for example, believes that when people are experiencing a significant life transition it is an optimal time to conduct an oral history interview. Janesick, a student of Eisner's, is noted for many advanced contributions to conceptualizing qualitative inquiry for educators, including constructing a methodology of oral history for qualitative researchers. And, importantly she conceives of oral history as a social justice project. Janesick operationally defines oral history as "the collection of stories and reminiscences of a person or persons who have firsthand knowledge of any number of experiences" (p. 2). She unapologetically asserts that oral history projects are taken up by many disciplines in addition to history and are comprised of many approaches and types. Janesick offered 11 points of intersection between oral history and qualitative research (see Janesick, 2007, pp. 6–7) paraphrased below:

1 The "basic techniques" and evidence used by oral historians and qualitative researchers are the same, such as interviews, observations, documents, photographs, videos, drawings.
2 The researcher is the research instrument through which the data is filtered and interpreted.

3 Oral historians and qualitative researchers help evoke peoples' stories through remembering key events and focusing on their lived experience.
4 Ordinary language is used to convey the story.
5 Multiple reasonable interpretations of the data can exist simultaneously.
6 Oral historians and qualitative researchers engage in "describing and explaining" recollections of experiences.
7 Oral historians and qualitative researchers "fashion a narrative to represent the lived experience" of the participants.
8 Oral historians and qualitative researchers are often focused on people "generally excluded from research."
9 Oral history and qualitative research "validate a public pedagogy" whereby others can learn, question, and explore the experiences of other ordinary people.
10 Oral history, like many forms of qualitative research, "cannot be resold as some marketable product."
11 Oral history and qualitative research projects may serve to "raise uncomfortable and troublesome social questions that may ultimately affect social policy."

Leavy's definitional work is complementary to Janesick's work. She distinguishes between oral traditions that are stories handed down from generation to generation and oral history that is a "method of collecting narratives from individuals for the purpose of research" (Leavy, 2011, p. 4). Leavy points out that oral history has at times been mistakenly assumed to be a feminist method because feminists have tended to use oral history as a way to include disenfranchised and marginalized groups in a qualitative research process as well as talk back to positivist research. Leavy explains that feminist researchers have contributed to broadening the scope and ways of doing oral history by seeking out marginalized groups to include in the research process, by creating a collaborative researcher–participant relationship and by incorporating an activist component to the research project. In this sense, they have contributed to an understanding of oral history as scholarship and as a tool for social change. Leavy suggests that feminist researchers have developed certain tools for oral history interviews that are widely used by researchers today regardless of their standpoint as feminists or otherwise. Leavy describes the different ways in which disciplinary perspectives have an impact on the focus of the oral history projects. For example, the discipline of history may result in a researcher interested in filling in gaps in historical knowledge making archives and issues surrounding the collection, storage, or preservation and related permissions a central focus in the research process. Similarly, anthropology scholars may look for meaning and culture while sociologists might be interested in the micro–macro linkages. Feminists may seek to empower voices of those who are marginalized. Research goals may range from that of exploration to theory building or social change. Leavy explains that while qualitative research can be conducted from a variety of perspectives ranging from positivist or post-positivist to feminist, in oral history, what is centralized is the process of research itself. In other words, researchers participate actively during the research process and it is throughout the collaboration where meaning is generated

including during the process of analysis and interpretation. Like most qualitative research, the interview process in oral history is inductive and researchers need to be attentive to their positionality. A reciprocity in the interview process is ideal.

According to Leavy, qualitative interviews and oral history interviews may differ in several ways. Leavy's work helps parse out some traditionally common distinctions between qualitative research interviews in general and oral history interviews in particular. The chart below helps explicate part of the continuum of ways interviews are conceptualized and structured in order to ponder these distinctions.

Qualitative Research Interviews	*Oral History Interviews*
Interviews comprise "personal narratives, memories of events, attitudes, values and beliefs and opinions, perspectives" (Leavy, 2011, p. 9).	Span several interview sessions with each participant over time.
In-depth interviews tend to be issue or topic focused.	Tend to involve fewer participants and at times only a single participant.
Limited lines of interview inquiry focused primarily on the research topic. Semi-structured interview protocols are common.	Depth is sought and interview protocols may vacillate between semi-structured and unstructured.
	Inductive open-ended interview models that use questions and prompts to create environments for in-depth story telling is key.
	Interviews cover an extensive part of the participant's life often linking individual experiences with larger contexts (how and why people have lived the way they have and what thoughts and ideas guided their behavior—(Patel, 2005).
Biographic narrative interpretive method (Jones, 2003) or minimalist biographic interview (Leavy, 2011) with gestalt as theoretical principle.	**Oral History Interviewing involves biographic in-depth interviewing.**
Minimalist passive interviewing technique with two interview sessions per participant	Interviews are interactive with the researcher taking on an active role.
Non-interruption during interview process.	Interviews involve questions, clarifications and sharing of experiences and memories.
3. **In-depth interviews**	
Topic focused, one interview session 45–75 minutes. Larger pool of participants than oral history interviews. Open-ended interviews.	Interviews are life focused or event focused in the participant's life with a small pool of participants. Open-ended interviews are the convention.
4. **Structured interviews**	
Follows interview guide, larger pool of participants. Breadth is valued over depth.	Semi-structured or open-ended interviews and depth is valued over breadth.

Shopes, a renowned oral historian, claims that oral history projects ask critical questions about social life that intersects with participants' lives (Shopes, 2002). According to Shopes (2012), oral history is a deliberate, planned conversation between two people, even if it takes the form of an interviewer and a participant. The conversation is about some event or aspect of the past that both consider significant in some respect. Dialogue therefore lies at the heart of oral history. What influences the telling of the story is the context. What questions are asked, how prepared the interviewer and participant are as well as the particular relationship dynamics or rapport between the two all influence the oral history narrative. Listening is a key and central aspect of oral history narratives as well as being a skillful interviewer. Shopes (2012) explains that the quality of the questions, the right nudges, and critical observations can draw from the participant their thoughts connecting the meaning of events and experiences in the past and present, the differences or similarities and the interconnections between the two interpretations. The nature of the dialogue may take many forms—they could be lectures on history or a dialectical back and forth, a debate, or a nostalgic journey down memory lane or a confessional tale. Scholars find oral history narratives valuable because they not only tell us about the experiences of people whose voices might be less prevalent in traditional history, they open the door to contemporary interpretations of lives lived through particular contexts and circumstances. They offer new and complex interpretations of the past. For historians, oral history narratives that are central to topics in social history are significant. While oral history narratives may focus on narrower topics such as memories of a single event historians may be less satisfied with such histories. Shopes (2012) points out that oral history participants at times tend to overstate individual agency over structural barriers by offering stories of how they overcame difficulties or challenges.

Shopes approaches oral history from the stance of a historian. In this sense, she is concerned with the broader brush strokes of history that are revealed through the personal narratives of individuals who have experienced events or witnessed them that reveal layers previously obscured. Shopes also points out that participants in oral history are often an articulate group recalling the ways they lived through and overcome challenges. In our work on oral history, we discuss the methodological dilemmas this type of self-selection produces, and offer some ways to address through additional nonverbal arts-based data gathering. Like Shopes, we consider oral history accounts as a source that needs to be evaluated and problematized rather than taken literally as full truth. In our intersections of oral history with qualitative research, the stance of "partial truths" plays a role in how we interpret and analyze oral history narratives. Qualitative researchers trouble the issues of truth and veracity as they analyze data from their research interviews. Oral history interviews and data are subject to similar questioning; however, qualitative researchers learn participants about their role in events, how they grappled with circumstances and what they consider significant and think about why some interpretations might be different now than before. People remember events and

their roles differently depending on how times change. Oral history is therefore an act of memory and it is important to consider how people remember events and their roles. Oral historians can benefit from the approach qualitative researchers use by looking at interviews as interpretations rather than as evidence not needing interpretation. Shopes (2012) offers some questions that qualitative researchers also ask while analyzing data. The questions are—who is the participant, who is the interviewer, what are the conversations about, and the reasons for which they are having the conversation.

We build on the work of Janesick, Leavy, and Shopes, specifically the ways they have broadened understandings of oral history, to be able to create a bridge between oral history and qualitative research in the context of education. Our aim is to encourage researchers to examine stories, interpret them from interdisciplinary perspectives, and assist those who wish to create and/or make use of oral histories for advancing educational and social justice projects. We discuss why we refer to oral history as an art and science, how oral history is history and narrative, and crosses over several disciplines, what the role of oral history is in qualitative research, and what qualitative researchers can learn from oral history. We point out that while journals articles, book chapters, and other representations of a project often reflect the public face or the finished product of science, they do not record the events and living exchanges and messy interactions among those participating in the project. The backstage stories of oral history projects can be captured through narratives that help us understand the multidimensional process in rich detail. In addition, we present an introduction to the key concepts around oral history methodologies and methods as they intersect with qualitative inquiry, showcase several key thinkers and writers, and lay out the overall structure of the book.

Oral history as an art and science

Ethical dilemmas within any research paradigm are opportunities for deep thinking around alignment between values and how they materialize within all aspects of the research process. And often dilemmas can be the stage for important thought experiments, innovations, understanding prior mis-steps, reassessments of the structure and function of particular research methods, and a reckoning with the artful and scientific dimensions of a research approach. While Chapter 2 will delve into the range of ethical issues researchers face when engaged in oral history projects, here we introduce the necessity of understanding the synergy between the art and science of research creation. First we turn to Elliott Eisner's proclamation of the ten distinctions between art and science when applied to qualitative inquiry (Eisner, 1981) to help interrogate how oral history projects can be served by identifying and dwelling in these spaces. The chart below elucidates Eisner's proclamations, offers a brief summation for each tenet, and provides space for researchers to jot notes about the possible relevance of each tenet for their own oral history project using the prompts provided.

Eisner's List	*Brief paraphrased summation*	*What relevance might this tenet hold for your oral history project?*
The forms of representation employed	Scientific modes seek to codify and arrive at claims substantiated by evidence. Artistic modes seek to use the human senses to deepen awareness, insight, and evoke new understandings.	What forms of representation will you employ?
The criteria for appraisal	Scientific criteria center on the relative strength of the evidence provided and reduction of bias. Artistic criteria are more concerned with authenticity of perspective and the ability to persuade others to consider other perspectives.	What criteria will you adhere to?
Points of focus	Scientific focus is most often trained on the observable, countable, measurable, and behavioral. Artistic focus is often more communal whereby the emphasis is placed in increasing empathy as it expands or alters conceptions held by others.	How will you focus your oral history project?
The nature of generalization	Science is often interested in studies designed to extract knowledge about a sample (with particular inclusion and exclusion criteria) that will render the results generalizable beyond the sample to the larger population. Artistic approaches are more interested in the idiosyncratic.	To what degree will your project produce "generalizable" outcomes?
The role of form	Science has traditionally prized standardization of form including the order in which a research report is written, whereas artistic approaches gravitate to a wider variety of forms to convey the outcomes of the research.	In what order or form will you arrange the results of your oral history project?
Degree of license allowed	Science is often equated with being "objective" and "fact-based" while art invites "subjectivity" and "fiction".	What position will you take as it relates to these dichotomies?
Interest in prediction and control	Science prizes the ability to portend and predict, while art seeks to explore multiple and pluralistic possibilities.	What will your oral history project be most interested in?
The sources of data	Science often constricts the sources of data while art accepts and seeks a wider variety of data sources.	What sources of data will you rely on and why?
The basis of knowing	Science embraces different epistemologies than art.	Can you name and describe the epistemological beliefs that are guiding your inquiry?
Ultimate aims	Science is on a quest for "truth" while art is seeking meaning.	Ultimately, what do you hope your oral history project will reveal?

In the final analysis, Eisner's exploration helps researchers think about the degree to which their research project adheres to both an artistic and a scientific approach to knowledge generation and further to what degree strict confinement to tradition has muted one or the other when researchers assemble a research report, verbally or visually share the outcomes of an inquiry project, and/or think about the short- and long-term implications of the work. Experienced qualitative researchers will notice how groundbreaking Eisner's 1981 work was in helping to make space for new modes of research and for foregrounding the decades of work since that time that have moved the educational research community to the present moment where more advanced and diverse approaches to research have proliferated. Next, we offer a few case examples to help illustrate the questions educational researchers can generate from oral history projects.

Case examples

The following intriguing case examples illustrate the rich set of questions researchers can ponder when preparing for an oral history project. Questions such as:

1 What is considered a repository for oral history projects? Who should own and make rules about them? Should access ever be embargoed? What rights do researchers and participants have related to their data?
2 What parts of the oral history project should be open and shared? Who benefits and who is disadvantaged from "open science"?
3 How important is the audio dimension of an oral history? What additional analytical possibilities emerge when orality is centralized?
4 How do oral histories function as important acts of community commemoration?

Case example 1: Say nothing: a true story of murder and memory in Northern Ireland by Patrick Keefe

This acclaimed book by Patrick Keefe (2019) chronicles the impact of an oral history project that illustrates the pluralistic ways a narrative investigating the phenomenon of political violence can be interpreted and the related ethical dilemmas involved. The opportunities and the pitfalls of navigating a project where the revelations brought forth are potentially dangerous to many and force a reckoning of a new kind. The Belfast Project was an archived collection of oral histories related to the activities of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the ongoing conflict in Northern Ireland between working class Roman Catholics seeking a unified Ireland and working-class Protestants pledging allegiance to Britain. The oral history archive was created and housed at Boston College under the direction of Robert O'Neill, the head of the John J. Burns Library of Rare Books and Special Collections.

The recorded oral histories were from people who were engaged in the freedom fight some of whom were involved in instigating violence. Anthony McIntyre, a former member of the IRA who was imprisoned for over 16 years for murdering

a parliamentary soldier, who then went on to earn a doctorate in political science was asked to conduct the interviews based on his insider experience, his ability to encourage participation by former freedom fighters, and his acumen at building rapport with those interviewed so that the experiences shared would be detailed and nuanced. He conducted interviews with 20 people from 2001 to 2007 believing the identities of those interviewed would be protected. What unfolded, however, became a case for those doing oral history to study. An article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* posited the following provocative questions generated from the case:

> What obligations do oral historians and their colleges have if someone reveals sensitive information—perhaps even a crime—during an interview? Who is allowed to hear the tapes and when? Do interviewees understand what might happen to their stories once they speak into the microphone? . . . Some universities have concluded that oral-history projects should be subject to review by institutional review boards, or IRBs, in the same way as scientific research on human subjects, a view that troubles oral historians. (Boston College now requires IRB review if oral-history archives are to be made public, but the Belfast Project began before those protocols were in place.) The historians say that interviews don't raise the same ethical questions as medical research and would be overly confined by the protocols, such as vetting questions in advance. (*The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2014)

This case drives home the importance of asking questions such as: What is considered a repository for oral history projects? Who should own and make rules about them? Should access ever be embargoed? What rights do researchers and participants have related to their data?

Case example 2: Utrecht University's open science program

Utrecht University has committed time to a wholesale reexamination of the principles of open science including the open educational resources (OER) movement, the practices of sharing research data for interrogation by all, including reusing data by other researchers, and the ways universities evaluate and reward faculty engaged in research activities. This case helps raise questions such as: What parts of the oral history project should be open and shared? Who benefits and who is disadvantaged from "open science"?

Case example 3: Sound and orality in oral histories

Alessandro Portelli, a universally revered oral historian from Italy, reminds us how pervasive the practice of ignoring the sound of an interview is within most research practices. And, he claims, this neglect or "disregard of the orality of oral sources has a direct bearing on interpretative theory" (Portelli, 1981, p. 97). To

illustrate what the transcript alone renders unavailable to the researcher Portelli point out:

> It has been shown that the tonal range, volume range, and rhythm of popular speech carry many class connotations which are not reproducible in writing (unless it be, inadequately and partially, in the form of musical notation). The same statement may have quite contradictory meanings, according to the speaker's intonation, which cannot be detected in the transcript but can only be described, approximately.
>
> *(Portelli, 1981, p. 98)*

This case instigates questions such as how important is the audio dimension of an oral history? What additional analytical possibilities emerge when orality is centralized?

Case example 4: Oral histories and community commemoration

The National Council on Public History reports on a commemoration project of the Stewart Indian School which operated from 1890 to 1980 in Carson City, Nevada (see: Centering Indigenous voices at the Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum (https://ncph.org/history-at-work/centering-indigenous-voices-at-the-stewart-indian-school-cultural-center-museum/). Recently, in January 2020, the Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum opened on the school grounds.

> Since the boarding school's closure in 1980, former students and their families had urged the state of Nevada to commemorate alumni experiences as a means of recognizing their trauma and need for healing. After decades of Indigenous advocacy, the Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum addresses these concerns and shares the history of the school through the voices and perspectives of boarding school survivors . . . the museum thus has a dual mission of ensuring that alumni are heard and contextualizing this history as it relates to broader patterns of U.S. colonization.
>
> *(Jones et al., 2021)*

The Steward Indian School Trail was also established as a self-guided walking tour of the grounds (https://stewartindianschool.com/walking-trail/) encouraging visitors to listen to the recorded oral histories of the alumni of the school as they walk the land. The audio can also be listened to on the website for those who cannot make a physical visit. Commemoration projects centering oral histories are plentiful and growing and this is just one powerful example of the work being accomplished.

These cases demonstrate the active evolution of the role oral history is playing in stretching qualitative inquiry methodologies, in the development of new knowledge, in community commemoration activities, and in other related areas. Likewise, our edited collection includes exemplars of oral history along with methodological and pedagogical notes that can be considered case examples. The authors of these chapters are a group of innovative teacher scholars working at the intersections of educational research, qualitative inquiry, and social justice projects. Each section name serves to draw a loose categorization around the collection of particular chapters simply meant to highlight a prominent dimension of the included projects while not precluding the interdisciplinary and multi-categorical dimensions of each project.

Section 2*: Educational Biography and Life History*, for example, includes five chapters demonstrating the breadth of possibility for projects framed as educational biographies and/or life histories related to educators and/or educational issues.

Chapter 3: Recording history as lived and experienced in the CSRA: Oral history, methodological considerations and educational opportunities (Nicoletta Christodoulou, Darla Linville, and Molly Quinn)

Chapter 4: "Bone by Bone": Re(collecting) Stories of Black Female Student Activists at Fayetteville State Using Oral History Interviews with a Life History Approach (Francena Turner)

Chapter 5: The Need for Action: Oral Histories from The Oklahoma Teacher Walkout (Rhonda Harlow and Lucy E. Bailey)

Chapter 6: La Familia Ortiz: Parental Influence on the Pursuit of Higher Education (Rosalinda Ortiz)

Chapter 7: COVID-19 Oral Histories of Academic Leaders, Faculty, and Students in Higher Education (Sunaina Asher)

And Section 3*: Archival and Secondary Data Analysis* shifts the focus to ways archival sources can be created, curated, analyzed for meaning as well as for preservation and commemoration.

Chapter 8: The Layers of Oral Histories at Memorial Museums: Chronicles About Who We Are and Who We Are Likely to Become (Roy Tamashiro)

Chapter 9: Irene Bishop Goggans: Community Historian of African American Life Using Scrapbooks (Agnes Williams)

While Section 4*: Arts-Based Educational Research* offers two exquisite treatments of social justice projects using arts-based approaches to participatory oral history.

Chapter 10: Teachers and North American Migrants' Oral Histories Concerning the 'School for All' Arts-based Project (Sergio Madrid)

Chapter 11: Oral History of Civil Rights Leader Using Music and Dance (Kendra Lowery, Sybil Jordan Hampton, Susan Koper, and Rebecca Lomax)

And finally Section 5*: Digital-storytelling, Podcasts, Vlogs, and Social Media* showcases two projects innovatively using visual and audio methods:

Chapter 12: My Story, My Voice student podcasts examining oral histories on diversity in East Central Indiana: A Photojournalism Project (Gabriel B. Tait and Rebecca A. Schriner)

Chapter 13: Engaging Participatory Visual Methods in Oral History Research (Robin Phelps-Ward)

The book concludes with Chapter 14 providing an epilogue focused on the methodological and pedagogical challenges as well as opportunities for those engaged in oral history projects. We hope the readers will feel invited to join social science educational researchers in developing their own oral history projects using all of the tools, dispositions, and epistemologies affiliated with qualitative inquiry. We argue for the further development of a pedagogical culture related to oral history and qualitative methodologies for educational research in an effort to diversify the range of human experiences educators, community members, and policy makers incorporate into knowledge-making and knowledge-using processes.

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2

THEORETICAL, METHODOLOGICAL, AND ETHICAL ISSUES IN ORAL HISTORY PROJECTS

Raji Swaminathan and Thalia M. Mulvihill

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical, methodological, and ethical issues surrounding oral history for qualitative researchers including an examination of various types of oral history projects, participants, power issues, issues of researcher–narrator–participant relationships in oral history, and Institutional Research Boards (IRBs). We start with characteristics of oral history, examine how theories of the self impact oral history approaches, and discuss the meaning of intersubjectivity. We also concentrate on the meaning of orality in oral history, oral history narration as performance, the concepts of neutrality and objectivity, and what it means to adopt a critical perspective as a researcher. Theory, methods, and ethics are intertwined in oral history research, with each having an impact on the other. While it is true that oral history has at its center, the interview or the communication between researcher and narrator, the central act of interviewing encompasses the hows and whys of the doing. For example, the ways in which the narrator or participant tells the story, the types of stories they choose to tell or use as examples are then heard by the researcher who goes on to interpret and analyze the stories. We are also interested in the meanings of intersubjectivity and its central role in oral history narratives. Theories of memory and how we remember is an essential part of oral history and the methodological issues surrounding the ways in which we do oral history. Therefore, this chapter tackles memory as a key element of narrative. While those conducting oral histories may be rooted in particular disciplines, they are often compelled to operate from an interdisciplinary perspective that affords them a wider array of tools for thinking, interpreting, and sharing the lives of those engaged in the oral history project. The ethical questions surrounding oral history including disclosure and reciprocity are important areas of consideration. Oral historians have ethical obligations that are wide ranging as they walk the line between creating conversational spaces and adhering to particular methodological and ethical practices specific to other disciplines.

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Oral narratives have occupied a central place among historians' search for eyewitness accounts of significant events. In the nineteenth century, however, the shift to archival sources marginalized the oral history narrative to some degree that was once more revived after World War II in the twentieth century. The ease of portable tape recorders contributed to the oral history narrative efforts. In 1948, Allan Nevins organized among the first oral history projects at Columbia University that recorded male elites. The recording of personal experiences produced rich narrative content not always captured in surveys. The gaps in understanding subjective experiences as well as hearing from those voices who have been previously ignored or silenced was now possible with oral history interviews. Many oral historians began to see the opportunity to bridge the gaps in the recorded experiences of poorer people and people of color. They began to record the experiences of the working class, women, Blacks, Latinx and Native Americans as previously unheard voices in history. This led to oral history beginning to challenge previously held assumptions, and bringing about changes to the content of history as narratives brought to light new knowledge about people's experiences. Consequently, oral historians were committed to involving participants in the co-creation of history through the use of their narratives. Such historians were also committed social activists who found themselves trying to defend oral history from the critique of those who regarded memory as an unreliable source.

Oral historians began to draw from different disciplines for their own criteria and parameters around what could be considered oral history that can be defended against critiques of unreliability that veered toward nostalgia. Some oral historians (Passerini, 1987; Frisch, 1979) argued that the subjective experiences of oral history narratives were its strength and that it gave the reader and listener a sense of what it was really like.

Passerini and Portelli (1979) identify several characteristics of oral history that distinguish it from other types of research methods. He identifies orality, narrative, subjectivity, credibility, and objectivity as some of the key characteristics of oral history. Each of these is different from other qualitative research methods. We explain these terms in the context of current understandings of oral history. For example, orality or dialects and speech patterns are important sources in oral history that help build context in terms of class and gender. These cannot be faithfully reproduced in transcriptions of the interviews. Intonation can also indicate whether a comment is positive or negative and is often lost in verbatim transcriptions. The insertion of punctuation marks may follow conventional rules of grammar and may not follow the pauses of the participant necessarily. Transcripts are therefore already one level of abstraction beyond the oral interview source. While we can read transcripts, several scholars of oral history urge us to listen to the actual recorded narratives to get a deeper understanding of the conversations.

The narrative is another characteristic of oral history. Narrative can be of different types, chronological, or built around events that the narrator considers memorable, or the narrative could also comprise recounting conversations that the narrator considers significant. A third characteristic of oral history is subjectivity or

the emphasis on the subjective experiences of the participant. It can also include the subjective experiences of the researcher as they listen to the stories. In oral history, the subjective experiences add the dimension of the meaning of the event. A fourth characteristic is the credibility of the stories being told on the basis of the subjective experiences of the participant. Credibility in this case is not merely about fact checking but more about the psychological states that are experienced as truth by the participant. Beliefs, imaginings, a fifth characteristic is objectivity or acceptance that oral history is not an objective account. Oral history accounts are the result of the researcher's interjection of questions, pauses, and reciprocal conversations with the participant. Besides these, the collaborative nature of oral history interviewing emphasizes the co-construction of the interview. Intersubjectivity emerges from the idea that both the researcher and participant bring an element of subjectivity into the interview, thereby collaboratively constructing a meaningful joint narrative that is the result of multiple subjectivities interfacing. The context and culture of the participant and interviewer play a key role in the interpretive process.

As we have said in Chapter 1 and as showcased in the rest of the book, interviewing is central to oral history. In qualitative research interviews, researchers are often reminded to ask open-ended questions, to be attentive, listen deeply, and to try to allow the direction of the interview to be led by the participant. Oral history researchers have pointed out that interviewing depends upon cultural contexts and that researchers need to familiarize themselves with the different modes and structures of communication in different communities to be able to understand the nuances of the conversation. The locations (real, crafted, and/or imagined) are important to consider and actively engaging in place-reflexivity can be highly productive (Swaminathan & Mulvihill, 2019). Further, it is important for researchers to be sensitive to different norms regarding communication in different societies before their interview. For example, it might be culturally insensitive to ask probing questions in a cultural context where deference to elders or to authority figures is the norm. Similarly, it might be the norm to refuse to speak of or refer to negative experiences or speak of personal family issues with those outside of the family. In other cultures, a group interview might be more fruitful if people are used to speaking frankly in groups about the issues with workplaces or family. All this points to the importance of cultural awareness for the oral historian who conducts the interviews. Feminist oral historians have long pointed out that the turn-taking style of interviewing common among men may not always work with groups of women where an interactive conversational style might be more natural to the rhythms of speech and communication.

Oral historians have discussed the role of memory in the collection of data. While early scholars of oral history were subjected to criticism with regard to the role of memory in oral history narratives and mainstream scholars dismissed oral history as being inaccurate and unreliable, it was in the 1980s and 1990s that the theories of memory began to shift. Scholars began to shift from seeking affirmation of historical events or what they considered accurate renderings of experiences and instead began to understand that the shaping of stories by memory was important for meaning making by the participants. An event collectively remembered as a

heroic act was important in terms of meaning making for the group and the process by which an event then became a particular memory told researchers more about the motivations and helped them gain a deeper sense of what was important for the group or individuals. Memory and theories of memory began to shift from a focus on unreliability to learning to pay attention to the ways in which memory worked to preserve certain tellings of events by certain groups. In the following sections we discuss theories of subjectivity and intersubjectivity, memory, and oral history.

Meanings of intersubjectivity in oral history narratives

Two theories of self are central to social science and history and are relevant to oral history: identity theory that frequently references and focuses on roles (Stryker, 2007) and social identity theory that references social groups (Hogg, 2001). Both theories link the individual to the social world as the self comprises various identities. There is a third identity that is also important for oral history researchers to consider and that is personal identity. Personal identity focuses more on individual autonomy. Sociologist Goffman (1956) distinguishes between three types of identity: social identity or the characteristics that a person might be seen to possess, individual identity that can be linked to the person as in a name, and ego identity or the sense of self that has continuity. Identities are linked to how a person experiences events, how they narrate stories and their analysis of what is important and congruent with their personal or private and their public selves.

As stated earlier, subjectivity is the standpoint brought by the individual through an identity informed by individual perception or experience rather than through an objective or neutral standpoint. Oral historians point out that both researcher and participant bring their subjectivities to the interview. What emerges from their collaborative conversation is an intersubjective narrative. Abrams (2016) argues that there are many identities in the contexts of culture and society that can comprise the self whether it be the researcher or the participant. She refers to these as "emotional baggage" while at the same time going far beyond what the term might imply by suggesting that these form part of the core identities of people. These identities may or may not be revealed fully to the researcher at any given time. The narrator and researcher have subjective identities related to their gender, race, class, language, and privilege, all of which represent a version of the self being presented during the interview and can influence the interview. Such a definition of subjectivity is a structuralist interpretation. Over time, however, the way subjectivities have been understood has moved from such structuralist interpretations to emphasizing individual agency. The debate with regard to subjectivity and the degree of freedom of the individual can be summed up in the different ways that Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1991) saw the individual and agency. Bourdieu emphasized that the habitus of human beings or the conditioning of humans that causes them to act in particular ways is a result of the structures of society. They internalized the class or race structures in which they were situated. Giddens was less agreeable with such an interpretation where human behavior was deterministic to such an extent

and instead placed emphasis on human agency or the ability of human beings to respond to structures in diverse ways. Poststructuralist theories have influenced oral historians to regard structures as everyday ideological constraints that need to be uncovered and exposed. Abrams (2016) points out that along with subjectivities shaped by social structures, the emotions of the narrator or researcher can equally influence the interview. Oral historians have in recent times defined subjectivity as fluid (de Lauretis, 1990) and explained that subjectivities are not fixed and can change depending on different factors, of which the interview is only one context. A theory that can be used to explain the formation of subjectivities is symbolic interaction theory, often used in qualitative sociological research.

Symbolic interaction theory

Symbolic interaction theory can explain how subjectivities are formed in interaction. Anthropologists and sociologists, notably, Mead in the 1930s and Goffman in the 1950s discussed the self or selves that emerge in interaction with others. Goffman went on to argue that individuals presented a self in relation to others, a dramatized self. Oral history interviews represent a dialogue between three parties: the participant reflecting within themselves; the conversation between the participant and the researcher; and third, the dialogue between the participant and cultural practices.

Oral historians draw on two concepts to inform the stories that are narrated by the participants. The first is the idea of cultural circuit and the second is the idea of composure. Cultural circuit is the process by which personal memories intersect with public versions of events. Composure refers to the act of aligning or the effort on the part of the interviewee to bring a sense of subjective composure or a version of the self that is comfortable with the social self or the social world within which one is situated. Neither the researcher nor the participant can control fully how they are perceived and received. Despite their best intentions, researchers can be viewed as powerful, or as problem free or as not having anything in common with the people whom they interview. Researchers too may find that in their research interviews they may not hold similar views as their participants. Katherine Blee (1991), who interviewed women of the Ku Klux Klan, or Elizabeth Harvey (2003), who interviewed German women who sympathized with Nazi occupation, found themselves in tension with their own beliefs of interviewing and their standpoints on the views expressed. Blee was surprised to find that the women assumed a sense of commonality with Blee because of her race which put her in a difficult position. Further, in order for interviews to be successful, a rapport was necessary. Elizabeth Harvey found that there were obstacles to the interview proceeding smoothly when she questioned some of the actions or beliefs of the women. The need for a good interview was in conflict with her disagreement with the views expressed in the interviews. Both women felt the tension between their own individual beliefs and the views expressed by the participants.

Several arguments exist on whether it is more desirable to be an insider or an outsider in oral history. While insiders can garner trust leading to greater depth of data, there is also the danger of assuming a shared knowledge that can leave areas

either unexplored or unexplained by the participants. The assumption of a shared culture on the part of the researcher can lead to an unintentional glossing over of the participants' actual experiences which might be similar only on the surface. In the cases described earlier, the participants viewed the researchers as sharing their race or gender and assumed a commonality with them while both researchers wanted to distance themselves from such an assumption due to the stark differences in their belief systems. Assumptions can be made by researchers or by participants and requires researchers to listen with intent to be able to understand the differences as well as similarities between the researchers and the participants.

Memory

Memory can be a key element in the structure and flow of an oral history. Narrative order matters. One of the key strengths of oral history is to record the eyewitness narratives of participants about events of the past. As we have discussed in the previous section, memory is central to the narratives of oral history. The Popular Memory Group in Birmingham, UK, proposed a theory of memory by discussing the process of memory making and the interactions of public and private memories. Composure, as we have mentioned earlier in this chapter, is a term used to indicate the process by which we compose or construct memories that can bring about a sense of "composure" or an alignment with past and present. Past memories need to integrate with present identity, so that there is public acceptance. Private memory becomes a part of public memory only after they are made or remade to bring about a sense of accordance with one's present identity. Traumatic memories, for example, might be revisited repeatedly because of their lack of safety or if one has not resolved the traumas or a lack of synchronicity with current circumstances or sense of identity. Friedlander (1975), in his oral history research on the emergence of United Automobile Workers, pointed out that he had to rely entirely on his participant's memory since there was little documentary evidence.

One of the early critiques of oral history pointed to the possibility of distorted memories or memories tinged with sentiment that may not be objective or present a single truth. However, oral historians talked back to such criticisms by adopting new guidelines that would combine memories with other documentary sources from history even while reminding the critics that documentary evidence was just as likely to be selective or one-sided as was oral history narrative. It was in the 1970s that oral historians began to argue that memory and its particular interpretations or distortions were a strength rather than a weakness of oral history. Such mistaken memory might indicate a meaning for the participants that is significant to how they experienced the particular historical moment. Frisch (1979) argued that oral memory should be centralized in oral history narratives so that we can examine what happens to experience as it becomes memorialized into historical events. Further, in the 1980s and 1990s different disciplines began to use life history, autobiography, and biography to examine memory and relationships to identity and experiences and ways to interpret oral narrative and testimony.

At the same time, historians practicing oral history have pointed out the dangers in assuming that oral history narratives are pure or untouched versions of history, an assumption that ignores the mediated narratives of participants. Further, oral history should not be considered as a way to merely fill in the blanks of history nor compensate for lack of information or merely seen as a version of giving more details or more substance about a topic. Such beliefs obscure the co-creation process of oral history, a process in which both the narrator and the researcher collaborate. Questions regarding memory need to be considered carefully in oral history. For example, is the narrative an expression of an ideology through a form of testimony? Who speaks or who is the narrator and what is their position in terms of social location or their political position in relation to the event they describe? Race, gender, and class need to be taken into account as we examine memory and narrative in oral history. Women narrators, for example, as feminist researchers have found, rarely put themselves at the center of events, understate their own importance or their accomplishments and instead put the accomplishments of their family members ahead of their own. At times, women might use their family and personal events as anchors in their description of historical events. A family celebration might be the memory that structures a historical event like a walkout or strike. Similarly, people in different roles or belonging to different classes can remember events differently or from contradictory standpoints. A worker in a mill might remember a strike differently from a manager. Further, similar time periods may be seen and experienced differently as well. A worker who might lose her job because the factory might move overseas experiences the closing differently from the managers who might simply be transferred to another country with higher wages and might view the move as exciting. It is important to understand what the ideologies are that contextualize experiences as narrators tell us their life stories. What memories or what types of images are acceptable, and which are uncomfortable? What was acceptable to talk about and what narratives shaped their lives? The ways in which stories are told also can reveal how participants interpret their experiences. For example, women often discuss the good old days when it was safe to walk on the streets at night, alone and the absence of violence while at the same time, discussing the current threats of violence faced by women today. However, the truth about the good old days also hides an uncomfortable acceptance in society about harassment in the workplace, often considered inevitable. While narrations can be of different types, with the participant recounting stories about people and events or experiences, we next turn to oral history as performance.

Orality

Oral history as performance is part of the field of oral history as theater. It is at the intersection of narration and interpretation. In performance, the transcripts are performed or enacted and interpreted to give new meaning to the words for a new audience. In oral history as theater, dialogue and scripts based on interview transcripts are used to craft new works. By performing oral history theater, the audience is expanded to include new listeners. Roms and Edwards (2011) discuss oral history as a site-specific performance. They make a distinction between *performance art* and

performing arts and explain that performance art evolved from artists who pushed the boundaries of art by shifting from producing objects to producing events. They point out that in oral history, place and performance are all interconnected. In their study of the early history of performance art in Wales, they centralized place and held several oral history conversations in different places with the goal of locating the memories of audiences. They point out that oral historians share a common interest with performance scholars since both are invested in oral narratives, dialogue, and life histories. They ask whether it is possible to stage these oral history performances in different ways to allow for different historical interpretations or a deeper understanding of events and experiences. They offer different ways of staging, or performing, historical performances with an emphasis on place. Public dialogues, or witnesses being asked to gather at a particular site in groups for a conversation, enacting or re-enacting performances at sites where particular events took place. Such site-specific performances deliberately choose spaces that can at times blur the boundaries of audience and performers by using the streets, offices, monuments, or parks as background or context for the oral history narrative performance. Further, by inviting the audience members to participate in the interview space the audience becomes a co-presence and has a witnessing effect. Other performative oral history narratives addressing themselves to future audiences include the presence of an imagined audience in what becomes a narrative with high sensitivity to temporal conditions. In situ interviews (Roms & Edwards, 2011) involved taking artists back to the place where they had created or witnessed the creation of a performance for a conversation about their memories. At times, a single site can evoke memories of other sites of theater performances leading to a richer oral history narrative. Further, in situ performances revealed the interconnectedness of space, place, institutions, and individuals as well particular contexts. Such in situ interviews and performances can also serve as audio guides for future visitors to such places. Other scholars such as Friedman and Trouillot (2008) and Pollock (2008) also argue that oral history is a performance that takes place from both the interviewer and the narrator or participant as co-participants at a particular time and space. Given the increasing emphasis on oral history as performance, scholars are turning to recording oral histories of theater. Oral historians are turning to ways of telling stories or recording oral history narratives through performances by co-constructing scenes, and through dramatic storytelling that takes into account the audience who might at times participate as well. Several scholars have arrived at oral history via performance making them especially sensitive to the nuanced story telling possible via drama leading to self-reflexivity within performance methodologies.

Ethical considerations

Whether there is a right way to do oral history is a question that has come up several times in the methodological literature (Thomson, 2007). For example, one observation regarding oral history methodology was whether or not it was appropriate to use Western interview techniques in non-Western cultures. While early oral history

approached the interview from a positivist angle, and used questionnaires to conduct the interviews, and further tried to limit the conversational aspect of the narrative flow, to create a more neutral presence, such limiting methods gave way over time to wider and more flexible methods. Oral historians admitted that in practice, the methods and techniques of data gathering differed from one context to another and even from one participant to another. Instead, they began to consider establishing rapport, ask open-ended questions and listen carefully while allowing for silences and pauses. Even such advice, however, needs to be carefully examined as what might be appropriate for one group might be inappropriate for another. Oral history interviews that ask probing questions, for example, may not be appropriate in cultures where a respect and deference to the elders might clash with the question asked and might offend or breach cultural norms of politeness and respect.

Slim and Thompson (2002) point out that it is important for oral history researchers to take into account the local norms regarding hierarchies in groups, when it is appropriate to speak in terms of turn-taking and learn about any rituals associated with storytelling. Further, the question of whether the interviewer should preferably be an insider needs to be considered so that participants are comfortable sharing their stories. Such awareness is as important for oral historians who examine their own societies as insiders as it is in looking at cultures that are different from their own.

Oral historians need to acknowledge the power differences between the researcher and the narrator. Ethical considerations may also include questions about disclosure and reciprocity. Several scholars have pointed out that while detached objectivity is not desirable in interview relationships, a false claim of equality based on women interviewing women is also misleading. Feminist historians have pointed out that privilege cannot be erased by re-naming relationships of unequal power. Confidences gained or narratives explored are shared by participants and elicited by historians who are in their professional roles as historians and not as friends in an equal exchange of power.

In analyzing interviews or the data narratives, oral historians may find themselves at odds with the way in which their participants interpret issues and events. For example, an event and its analysis might contradict the self-image of the participants and they might disagree with the interpretation. For example, women who are paid poorly might reject terms like exploitation since it clashes with their own self-image. In such cases, the ethical question of whose interpretation gains precedence remains. While oral historians might intend to share power by ensuring that the voices of the participants are central to the narrative, keep any confidences shared and maintain a dignity while writing about their lives, it is also true that when interpretations are not congruent, it is the oral historian's power that comes to the fore. Further, it is also the oral historian's role to think about the ways in which participants might describe their own part in an event in history. It is possible that they forget their part in the event, they may remember only the ways in which it is related to a personal event, and some might even choose to downplay or hide their roles. Such narratives reveal not the lack of importance participants might give to an event and instead might be indicative of their social role in society and their power or lack thereof.

Larson (2013) points out that there are two discussions pertinent to ethics and oral history methodologies. The first is legislative or legal, in other words, what a historian is permitted to do and the second is personal ethics, or what an oral historian will choose to do. The first or legal limitation is a consequence of IRBs or Institutional Review Boards at universities or the legal rights of people in different countries as dictated by the laws of that country. The second is dependent on how the oral historian relates with the participants and their cultures, the extent to which the historian respects and affirms the experiences of the participants. This includes the process in which the participants are drawn into the research, the ways in which they are empowered to participate, the stories they tell, and whose voices are elicited through these stories.

One of the issues that surfaced for oral historians was the IRB standard regulations and oversight that covered all oral history in ways that were antithetical to the goals of oral historians. For example, one issue that surfaced was the insistence on camouflaging identity of persons and places even if the participant did not request or desire that level of confidentiality. This insistence was a result of the confidentiality clause that was in the federal document that governed IRBs regardless of the type of human subjects research being conducted. Although camouflaging by way of pseudonyms was desirable in cases where potential for harm or danger to participants existed or was perceived to exist, in most cases oral historians and their participants preferred to keep identifying names so that erasure of people and places was less likely to occur. Indeed, the context of oral history was linked to narrators' identities, both of which are necessary for most oral history projects. The Oral History Association (OHA) drew up best practice principles along with the American History Association (AHA) and the Organization of American Historians (OAH), which all addressed the issue of confidentiality in a way that was aligned with the goals of oral history. They pointed out that context and individuality required names of narrators while in cases where identity camouflage was desirable for the protection of participants, such confidentiality would be negotiated in advance between the researchers and the participants, including the use of pseudonyms for names and identifiable places, and occasionally negotiating embargo timeframes dictating when part or all of the recorded interviews could be made available to others. Eventually, the federal Office of Human Subject Protection determined that if the principles of the Oral History Association were followed, IRB oversight would not be required. Yet a contiguous part of the federal-level decision was that "oral history" would no longer qualify under the federal definition of "research" which created widespread concerns among researchers. The OHA has been tracing the historical developments of the relationship between oral histories and the IRB process and it is available for review on their website, including a July 2020 update. Below please find an important summarizing section:

> Revisions to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services "Policy for Protection of Human Research Subjects" (known as the Common Rule)

> in 2019 now exclude oral history from IRB review through a strict definition of research. The exclusion is related in the final regulations under section §46.102: Research means a systematic investigation, including research development, testing, and evaluation, designed to develop or contribute to generalizable knowledge. Activities that meet this definition constitute research for purposes of this policy, whether or not they are conducted or supported under a program that is considered research for other purposes. For example, some demonstration and service programs may include research activities. For purposes of this part, the following activities are deemed not to be research: Scholarly and journalistic activities (e.g., oral history, journalism, biography, literary criticism, legal research, and historical scholarship), including the collection and use of information, that focus directly on the specific individuals about whom the information is collected. The Office for Human Research Protections, which oversees federal policy on human subjects research, has offered additional guidance. Oral history is excluded as long as it falls under the category of "scholarly and journalistic activities that collect and use information about specific individuals themselves." On the other hand "studies using methods such as participant observation and ethnographic studies, in which investigators gather information from individuals in order to understand the beliefs, customs, and practices, not only of those individuals, but also of the community or group to which they belong" would represent "generalizable knowledge" and therefore not excluded from IRB review under these new rules."
>
> *(www.oralhistory.org/information-about-irbs/)*

A second area of ethical practices in oral history are the permissions (release clauses) from participants that allow oral history recordings, narratives, and sometimes other artifacts to be stored in archives. As oral history methods have developed, the types and number of signatures required for release and acceptance by oral history archives have changed. For example, in the 1970s, it was acceptable for whoever had possession of the documents to release them to archives. However, in the 1980s, participants came to be recognized as the narrators of their own stories, the signature required changed to that of participants. In time, the dialogic nature of oral history meant that both narrators and historians needed to sign off on the forms to be able to donate the recordings or photographs to the archives. However, the signatures often also mean transfer of copyright to institutions, a point that has made oral historians somewhat uncomfortable since this entails transfer of the copyright from participants who tell their stories to institutions. Newer methods like the Creative Commons License allow narrators to retain copyright while also permitting oral historians to disseminate the research.

Further ethical issues include whether to make oral history interviews (that were conducted prior to the digital or web age) available online. This involves the question of what the original narrator intended when giving over copyright or releasing the interview to the local or university archive not realizing that in

future such interviews might be available at the click of a mouse. The Oral History Association has suggested that archives make a good faith effort to contact the participants before putting such interviews online even if legally they had the right to do so.

Larson (2013) points out that typically, archives adopt one of four ways to disseminate and share oral history interviews that took place prior to the digital platform availability. One way is to consider the ethical right to be equivalent to the legal right and make all interviews available online in its entirety. A second way that some archives have adopted is to make only excerpts of interviews available online. A third way has been to let potential researchers know what is available through finding aids and keep the interviews themselves offline. A fourth way has been for archives to contact as many of the participants and researchers as possible to get new consent for wider dissemination of their stories.

Issues of privacy have been raised regarding the ease of access to online repositories. As people have become more used to having a digital presence via social networking sites, the phenomenon has also introduced a more casual approach so that participants are less concerned about having their interviews available online. However, several historians have argued that at times, participants might consent to having their stories online even though it might be detrimental or even harmful to them. In such cases, oral historians have argued that it is part of the responsibility of the researchers to protect their participants. However, other oral historians have disagreed, suggesting that such lengths on the part of researchers is paternalistic towards participants and demeans their independence. Attention to ethics in oral history research is part of the researcher's ongoing work as new issues arise with new technologies and access that can give rise to new questions regarding the best way to balance confidentiality and protection of participants with a wider dissemination of knowledge.

Charting an oral history research project

In this section we examine the different ways in which oral history is carried out. We will discuss talking circles, types of interviews, storytelling, consensual research, and ways to use secondary data, primary data, journals, diaries, documents, artifacts, archives, and repositories. We discuss the use of new technologies that further animate methods that support orality and interviewing as central methods of data gathering. Digital technologies used to produce video, audio, and intentional photography are more accessible and shareable via multiple platforms. In addition, the various ways podcasts and vlogs are used by participants and researchers have expanded and changed the ways data are collected, analyzed, and disseminated in order to amplify and make findings more accessible. By offering multi-format digital recordings of interviews that capture the sounds and sights, as well as the voices within the setting the resulting narratives are more richly nuanced. Recording the rich sound, color, and space that the participants inhabit opens up analytic possibilities. Issues regarding visual data that blur boundaries of disciplines have created

new roles for oral historians and are worth further exploration. Dissemination of data through digital storytelling, video ethnographies, or digital documentaries offer us rich terrain from which to raise new methodological questions and lead to more intentional explorations of the possibilities. Another fruitful dimension is related to what data may materialize in the context of creating oral histories may go beyond the immediate research questions. Further considerations need to be carefully thought through regarding what to do with the afterlife of the media gathered?

We point out the need for greater collaboration and shared decision making across multiple stakeholders: the archivists, the researchers, and participants to create a database that is usable over time. The relationships between researchers and participants form the crux of this chapter as different methods and approaches suggest a range of partnerships, collaborations, and cooperation between the interviewer/interviewee, the listener, the narrator, the third audience who reads the narrative or the audience who views the narration in performance. A variety of data gathering, data analysis, and data displaying methods are discussed along with an explanation regarding making decisions about choosing among methods to use and evaluating best fit. The choice of methods will impact the types of data gathered in oral history including the type of narrative structures that are possible. Strengths and weaknesses of different approaches, challenges that arise and how to deal with barriers are explained in this chapter.

Researchers need to be cognizant of the ways in which ethics play out in these interdisciplinary forms of research and the guidelines different oral history organizations offer can be instructive.

Oral historians often need to think through the different ethical implications of copyright versus privacy of participants. The different steps of the research process from setting up the interviews to the possible use and access of data gathered are all spaces where ethics need to be considered. Ethical questions of power sharing during the process including the ways in which voices of narrators and researchers are included or excluded in the narratives, and what happens to the data in terms of preservation, decisions regarding public and private use are all issues that are important to be addressed.

Talking circles

Talking circles are an example of an innovative methodology. Fickel (2005) gives an example of a study which combined oral history narrated by Elders of a rural Alaskan village with talking circles that were used for shared reflection by the researchers and participants together. Talking circles were typically comprised of everyone in the village and served as a time and space for reflection on the research activities as well as everyday experiences of the community of people. Talking circles were times when participants and researchers sat in a circle and shared their experiences and impressions with the group. The circle allowed for a more egalitarian structure of sharing as anyone could start the circle and everyone listened

deeply. For oral historians, talking circles are an opportunity for reflection and for listening deeply and to slow down the pace of research and bring some space into it. In addition, this approach showcases the benefits of conversation in shaping a story. Talking circles, however, need the cooperation of all members participating in the research and this may prove to be a limitation depending on the group of people involved.

Types of interviews

Some scholars discuss oral history methodology as drawn from feminist methodological frameworks, where the emphasis is on the meanings of events for the participants. The meaning of events includes memory, emotions, feelings all of which are usually described in an oral history interview. In oral history, the links to networks, friendships, and families are also made apparent as the narrator weaves them together in the storytelling. Some scholars make a distinction between qualitative interviewing and oral history interviews. The former are seen to be focused on a particular event while oral history interviews can encompass the life story of the participant although interactional in its form. The interactive interview can be based on some loosely structured questions or can, alternately, be open-ended enough to have just a topic as a reference point. The latter is led by the participant and is referred to as phenomenological interviewing (Reinharz, 1992).

Oral history encompasses the process of interviewing, transcribing, editing, analyzing, writing, and disseminating with each step being reiterated or revisited as the researcher gets deeper into the story. Collins and Bloom (1991), in their research on accountancy, argued that oral history can be used to supplement other types of documentary research. Others (Martin, 1995) have suggested that oral history highlights the spaces where little to no records exist and marginalized voices unheard. Oral history with its emphasis on telling not writing, the focus on subjective and not objective accounts, can be used not merely to supplement written accounts or other documentary evidence but also to challenge official accounts. The researcher/researched relationship in oral history is often designed to be more intentionally collaborative than in traditional interviewing.

Storytelling

Storytelling can be of different types: first, one that is persuasive and uses stories to communicate or gather cooperation for a policy (Rotman, 2005); a second form of storytelling is referred to as the learning story or one where success stories are recounted to avoid mistakes (Janda & Topouzi, 2015) and a third form of storytelling is one that is of particular interest to oral history researchers and centers around the personal stories of individuals to illustrate or illuminate an issue (Darby, 2017). Storytelling is a way to access strategies for coping with situations. Goodchild et al. (2017) offer an illustrative example of using storytelling as oral history to gather the experiences of the ways in which home heating has changed over time. In their

oral history, they gather the narratives and stories of participants that interconnect memories and association of heat and comfort, the influences of childhood and concepts of energy conservation on how people make decisions regarding home heating in England.

Oral history in the archives

Oral history in the archives usually consists of collections of oral history that are deposited in the archives often seeking to supplement other narratives and data. Tapes, digital recordings, and transcriptions are all usually available in archives. Some recordings or transcriptions are accessible by permission only while others are open access. Oral history artifacts extend beyond recordings to handwritten notes, letters between people, scrap books, photographic albums, and personal diaries. Private collections of diaries or scrapbooks that serve as records of events and people in the community are primary sources that can inform the oral history of a community.

New technologies and oral history

Technology advances have impacted the work of those conducting oral history projects.

Transcription has been aided by improved artificial intelligence software (such as otter.ai) and other technology tools such as those provided within Zoom that provide automatic real-time transcription. And those with a smartphone have a high-quality recording device at the ready.

As an example, Klaebe and Foth (2006) discuss a community history project in Brisbane using oral history and new technologies. The project, named the "Sharing Stories" project, used a range of methods to create a historical archive of memories of living in the Kelvin Grove Urban Village community. The project combined public history with digital storytelling and life writing. It also raised awareness of the role of a public historian in contemporary society. The history included a website that served as a living archive of memories of the site from its early days of settlement history to the contemporary times. The aim of the project was to create community memory that is meaningful through the use of new media.

Personal narration, life writing, and digital storytelling are all methods by which to gather oral history data. Portals can be created where participants in communities can share their stories and upload narration through mobile devices. These can be embedded on the site and accessed by the public. Several scholars (Frisch, 2000; Morris-Suzuki, 2005) have pointed out that it is important for oral historians to explore and document the use of new media for oral or community history and to discuss the tools and opportunities as well as communicate the practice of these methods. Oral historians need to create toolkits or resources and share them so that other oral historians can use the new methods for collecting and disseminating oral and community history.

Challenges in conducting oral history

Oral history projects generally have common challenges that are useful to consider at the outset. Although the challenges are many, here, we share some key issues that come up often in oral history projects.

Gaining access

While qualitative researchers often discuss the aspect of gaining access in texts relating to research methodology, there is little to guide the oral historian with regard to gaining access to participants. How do early career oral historians interested in specific contexts go about finding participants to interview? Access issues can also be tied to funding and other needed support. Not all oral history projects require funds, but all require resources. Developing a comprehensive plan for an oral history project means having a detailed list of the resources you will need to successfully carry out the project. When time (as a resource) is in short supply for the researcher and/or the participants it might be useful to consider a version of Rapid Photovoice (RPV), as articulated by Luescher et al. (2021). Authors argue it is an "emancipatory" research methodology that, when performed in some contexts, can "retain the politically emancipatory potential" (p. 2) of the more time-intensive method generally associated with photovoice projects. Further, the authors claim that rapid photovoice projects can contribute to the creation of "artifacts of collective memory" (p. 2) while responding to time and funding constraints (p. 13).

Silences and pauses in interviews

In interviewing participants, there is a shared conversation, a back and forth that takes place during the conversation. However, during interviews, it is also true that there may be places where the participant is reluctant to address some question or part of a question, may gloss over an event or an experience. The challenge for the oral historian is to balance the wishes of the participant with an attempt to understand the event or the experience. Pauses and silences might indicate discomfort for a variety of reasons leaving the researcher wondering how best to navigate the next question, whether or not to probe or whether or not to circle back to the conversation later. Layman (2019) refers to these silences as "reticence" in oral history interviews that limit the dialogue or conversation around some topics.

Rapport with participants

One of the greatest challenges for an oral history researcher is the importance of needing to create a rapport with the participant. If there is no rapport between the researcher and the participant, the central and most important part of the

oral history interview falls apart. Some scholars have discussed the importance of pre-interviews that can support the building of rapport prior to the oral history conversations. The pre-interview can serve as a warmup session in which the researcher and the participant can size each other up and learn a little about each other that can ease the interview process and lead to a greater comfort in interaction.

Sharing authority

Although oral history researchers are committed to sharing authority and to creating an egalitarian power structure, nevertheless maintaining equity in relationships requires diligent alertness throughout the process of research. It is at times difficult to share authority if the participants belong to a vulnerable population or in places where they have less freedom to participate or share authority freely. Rouverol (2003) gives an example of oral history in a correctional facility that ran into challenges of authority. Despite these challenges, the benefits of oral history are far greater and promises to open new horizons of understanding related to social justice issues. Recorded and preserved historical narratives can serve to directly challenge and greatly expand our limited knowledge of the collective human experience.

Theoretical, methodological, and ethical issues are clearly intertwined when engaged in oral history projects and all need to be carefully considered by researchers as they deploy a plan for their work. As we transition into the next sections of the book, the chapter authors provide personal insights into how they navigated this intertwining and what it taught them about methodological processes and pedagogical possibilities they believe might enhance the work of others going forward.

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SECTION 2

Educational biography and life history

3

RECORDING HISTORY AS LIVED AND EXPERIENCED IN THE CSRA

Oral history, methodological considerations, and educational opportunities

Nicoletta (Niki) Christodoulou, Darla Linville, and Molly Quinn

Introduction

The Central Savannah River Area Education Oral History Project (CSRA-EdOHiP) documents educational experience in Augusta and the surrounding communities through times of change. We used oral history to record lived experiences and personal reflections of events and their causes and effects (Creswell, 2012; Plummer, 1983) in the form of *testimonios* (Beverley, 2005) and personal stories. *Testimonios*, the Latin American Spanish word for testimonial narrative, was used by Beverley (2004, 2005) as a lens to advocate for Latin Americans. As Creswell (2007) reminds us, "narratives may be guided by a theoretical lens or perspective" (p. 55), such as testimonio and feminist lens, among others. In CSRA-EdOHiP we applied a testimonial narrative lens, as a more broad and inclusive perspective.

Some of the lived experiences and personal reflections of events recorded for our oral history project were chronologically connected (Czarniawska, 2004), while others departed from this structure as participants guided the direction of their oral history recounting in relation to their unfolding purposes. Participants such as Michael Searles who taught African American history at Augusta State University for 20 years talked about their life experiences, education, and activism in various communities. As Searles (interview April 2016) recounts:

> Yes, um quite a few years ago, maybe it's thirty years ago I started doing research and discovered there were Black cowboys. I always taught, I had been teaching Black history for a long time but I didn't really know much about Black cowboys. And once I discovered there were Black cowboys um, again I began to do research, collect materials and artifacts, and various items.

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> Um, and affected a cowboy dress. I got my cowboy hat and bought some cowboy boots and working clothes etc. and I began to do presentations. I began doing presentations at elementary schools, middle school, high schools and then eventually universities on the Black West. And as I would go out to do these presentations I would introduce myself as Cowboy Mike. In fact, there are a lot of people who only know me as Cowboy Mike.

Following, we present methodological considerations, sometimes in the form of challenges, concerns, and choices, accompanied by participants' narrations to explain or highlight these reflections. In particular, first, we present the project and consider the desire of the researchers to learn about the topic, that is, to become students of those who witnessed particular history or historical events and the way they perceived them. Second, we take up the question why oral history, rather another kind of qualitative narrative inquiry. Third, we raise the issue why this history matters and for whom. Fourth, we present the issue of who and what is included or excluded, and why. Fifth, we talk about defining key notions; in this case, we deal with the notion of education and experience. Sixth, we illustrate the ways we presented and shared the knowledge generated in this project. Finally, we consider whether who the researchers are matters or not, and the issues of trust, bias, and knowing some historical background relevant to the topic.

The project, the theme, and the researchers' interest

CSRA-EdOHiP started from the desire of us, the researchers, to learn from the people themselves about particular events that shaped their life histories, record these narrated stories, and make them available to others. Particularly, we wanted to learn about the educational and (mis)educational opportunities of the people in the American south, and institutions that existed to offer such opportunities, and how these shaped the future course of their lives.

We also wanted to generate material for educational and research purposes: to be used by students at all levels of education, including higher education and in a variety of education and social science disciplines, by student teachers and teachers, in classes where oral history accounts could become useful and valuable material. Also, to be used by researchers in order to be analyzed as research data in many ways and from multiple perspectives, including critical theory, education, history, sociology, anthropology, ethnic studies, and women's studies. Student teachers also could use such data in order to advance their research, inquiry, critical thinking, analysis, and synthesis skills, that is, as a product or as a method and way to develop skills. Also, it could be used by community organizations that wanted to use oral history to preserve the history of communities and advance social justice projects.

Methodologically we had to make important decisions: who to interview, who to leave behind, what to in/ex/clude, how to analyze, and how to present the data and in what formats in order to reach as many people as possible. What theoretical underpinnings to use, including critical theory, race studies, women's studies, or

historical perspectives, was something else to consider; yet rather than worrying about the perspective per se at the time of the interview, it is best to focus on the breadth and depth of what participants say. One can be more specific about the perspective at the stage of analysis and presentation of the data.

Researchers' interest in a topic and desire to learn about it is very important. It is their interest that becomes some sort of calling to become students and learn about it. Those doing oral history have dealt with diverse topics. For example, examining recent works and past there are families' stories on the issue of migration, educational trajectories, and educational pioneers, among other topics that students in an oral history methods class chose to gather (Pak et al., 2017), stories that portray motherhood (Isay, 2010), personal histories from, of, and for coal miners, cultural conflict and communication between social groups and classes in industrial societies (Portelli, 1991), stories relevant to the industrial revolution (Portelli, 2019), the massacre of unarmed civilians by the Nazi occupation forces in Rome (Portelli, 2007), stories of the Chinese immigrants who left poverty-ridden villages in China to try for a better livelihood in America (Nee & Nee, 1973), and people talking about what they do all day and how they feel about what they do (Terkel, 1974), to name just a tiny range of the countless topics that exist (i.e., see also Perks & Thomson, 2016). Some are diachronic such as the notion of motherhood and some others are dense and loaded with history, biases, assumptions, and struggles.

The stories told in this oral history project are relevant to our initial interest and desire and important for us. First, as outsiders to this place we felt that we needed to know more about Augusta, beyond the Masters Golf Tournament for which it is predominantly known. This sporting event with its own challenging White supremacist, racist history experiences the spotlight as the major happening in Augusta, especially as the tournament-opening season approaches every year, overshadowing the great history that this region has. For example, we were delighted to realize that colleagues of ours, like Judy Carter, participated in brave acts of resistance back in the segregation era.

Judy Carter (interview March 2016), a leading educator in Augusta, grew up in a segregated town, McCormick, South Carolina. Her mother was a maid, and she never dreamed of attending college. Her Black elementary and high school teachers, however, saw her potential, and pushed her to apply and get accepted to Paine College. After she received her teaching certificate, she applied to teach in the Black, segregated schools of Augusta. The superintendent suggested she could teach in a White elementary school, however, as the first wave of integration happened. She accepted, wanting employment and eager to work. Immediately, she faced harassment from a parent, who called to say, "Why are you teaching in our school? You are a nigger and I don't want any niggers teaching my child. And, uh, you need to go to a nigger school." This parent tried to use her privilege to keep her child from being taught by a Black teacher and to disrupt the new knowledge being created by Black teachers taking positions of authority in schools—as teachers fit to teach all students, perhaps "the best teacher your child will ever have."

Second, as teacher educators in Augusta, Georgia, we struggled to engage students in conversations that expanded or complicated discourses claiming that racism is no longer present, and others that claim that racial segregation is part of the Southern culture and heritage and monuments to this history should stand uncontested. Each of these discourses can be found in the language of our students, and in the media presentations on questions of discrimination and prejudice. We wanted to use the history of the region to intervene in this conversation and elaborate on the regional story about what is important in Augusta, and why that history matters to our understanding of educational institutions today.

Why oral history?

CSRA-EdOHiP is a qualitative narrative inquiry project embracing oral history as a narrative research practice. Oral history stands alongside other forms of narrative research practice such as biographical study and autobiography (Ellis, 2004) and life history (Denzin, 1989). Told by a witness or protagonist, oral histories involve narrations of socially significant experiences and often represent others who have lived through similar situations but rarely express them in writing (Zimmerman, 2004). According to Italian historian Alessandro Portelli (1998), what separates oral history from other sciences that use oral testimonies, such as anthropology, sociology, and ethnography, is that it emphasizes the narrative type and combines it with research to connect biography and history, that is, individual experience with social changes.

Creswell (2007) emphasizes the variety of forms found in narrative research practices (see, e.g., Casey, 1995) and makes the distinction among the several forms. "A biographical study is a form of narrative study in which the researcher writes and records experiences of another person's life" (Creswell, 2007, p. 55). Autobiography is written and recorded by the individuals who are the subject of the study (Ellis, 2004). A life history portrays an individual's entire life, while a personal experience story is a narrative study of an individual's personal experience found in single or multiple episodes, private situations, or communal folklore (Denzin, 1989). An oral history consists of gathering personal reflections of events and their causes and effects from one individual or several individuals (Plummer, 1983). Narrative studies may have a specific contextual focus, such as teachers or children in classrooms (Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002), or the stories told about organizations (Czarniawska, 2004).

Because we were interested in gathering personal reflections of events and their causes and effects from one individual or several individuals (Plummer, 1983); in recording socially significant experiences narrated by a witness or protagonist, and often representing others who have lived through similar situations but rarely expressed them in writing (Zimmerman, 2004); and because we were not interested merely in recording experiences of another person's life nor just portraying an individual's entire life, but, rather, we were interested in the social significance of it, and because we were doing narrative inquiry, we dwelt on oral history. The

following quote by Robert Jones (interview March 2016), a revelation he had from the era of segregation, illustrates how we understand the meaning of "socially significant experience," which is "narrated by a witness or protagonist."

> I remember when I was 15 years old and I wanted to take a bus from Augusta to Athens, Georgia and I went down to the Greyhound Bus Station and then a ticket from Augusta to Athens was only about five dollars, cheap (laughter). And, I gave the guy at the bus station a ten dollar bill, the White clerk behind the cage, and he gave me the ticket and I said, "Sir, where is my change?" and he said, "Change? You don't get any change." and I said, "I gave you ten dollars, sir, and the ticket is only five dollars." And of course he blew up and said, "You callin' me a liar blah, blah, blah, so and so and so!?" And a White cop was the guard at the bus station walked up and put his hand on his gun and said, "Boy you better get out of here and stop challenging the world of White men before I blow your Black ass," and that was my first stark in your face encounter with segregation and race. And then I realized because the difference between who I was and everybody else was in the terms of the sixties and it made me determined to find a way to achieve as much balance as I can between the realities of what segregation was and my existence.

As we ponder the question why oral history, we suggest that one may indeed need to be cautious about the form of narrative research practice chosen. The reason is that when the purpose of the project and the direction given by the form coincide, it becomes easier for the researcher to conduct a meaningful project and analysis, thereafter.

Why does this history matter and for whom?

Augusta, Georgia, is located in the American south. It was founded in 1736 as part of the British colony of Georgia, under the supervision of colony founder James Oglethorpe (Robertson, 2002). It was the colony's second established town, after Savannah. Native Americans first used it as a place to cross the Savannah River, because of Augusta's location on the fall line (Cashin, 1998). Today, Augusta is the second largest city in Georgia and the largest city of the wider area known as Central Savannah River Area (CSRA). CSRA is a trading and marketing region in the states of Georgia and South Carolina in the USA, spanning 13 counties in Georgia and five in South Carolina. The term was coined in 1950 by C.C. McCollum, the winner of a $250 contest held by *The Augusta Chronicle* to generate the best name for the area. Today the initials are so commonly used that the full name is not known to all residents. The region is located on and named after the Savannah River, which forms the border between the two states. The largest cities within the CSRA are Augusta in Georgia and Aiken in South Carolina.

The American south suffered from slavery, colonization, and racial discrimination (Our Georgia History). While slavery was originally banned in the colony by

Oglethorpe, it soon became an integral part of Georgia's history. Under Georgia's new constitution, a new political structure was laid out in 1777; Augusta's parish government was replaced by a county government, Richmond County, named after the Duke of Richmond. This is part of Augusta's history; old, yet important. There is more recent history, too. From the Colonial Augusta to the American Revolution to the Civil War to World War II to Consolidation. Augusta's golden age is positioned somewhere mid-twentieth century followed by difficult times toward the last decades of the century and then revitalization efforts at the end of the century and beginning of the twenty-first century, which, at some level, continue up to date.

Because of the history and the role of this small city, Augusta, and the CSRA in key historic events (see also Harris, 1998; Bostick, 2013; Chandler, 2014; McCord, 2019), and because sometimes people want to forget traumatic life experiences (anonymous, refused to participate April 2016), and because we acknowledge the importance of remembering as a foundation of both forgiving and expanding (Papastephanou, 2003; Zembylas & Bekerman, 2008)—forgiveness has been understood as one way to take charge of our individual power to create (Church, 2018)—we considered revisiting this history of great importance. We did so from an educational stance. This means that we were interested in how people experienced education, what educational institutions were developed using these key events as foundation, as well as what we can learn from it.

The project involved interviewing community members who contributed to educational institutions and aspirations in this small city, with a population of 196,939 (2018), in the South. The current demographic breakdown of Augusta is 56.7 percent Black or African American, 37.5 percent White, 0.2 percent Native American, 1.8 percent Asian, 0.2 percent Pacific Islander, 1.3 percent other race, and 2.5 percent two or more races. Hispanic or Latino people of any race are 4.8 percent of the population (United States Census Bureau, 2018). Stereotypes as more racist than the rest of the USA, the South is often described as monolithic (Williamson, 1984), behind the times, and conservative (Griffin & Doyle, 1995). As has become more apparent to white Americans since 2016 presidential of Donald Trump, these attitudes and prejudices previously linked to southern Whites can be found in populations across the USA.

As one ponders over the question of which history matters, one knows that this history matters now, it mattered before and it will matter every other time in the future. For example, it matters to know that during the 1950s and 1960s, as the Civil Rights Movement grew across the USA, and notably at lunch counters, in railroad cars and city buses, and in schools, students at Paine College and in Augusta's insulated neighborhoods began to participate in actions to challenge the segregation of their own city and public institutions. As Robert Jones (interview March 2016) recalls:

> One of the things that—about the local movement is that at the height of it or as it started to reach its crescent and level out late 1960's, I wasn't here

> in Augusta. I wasn't here, for example, I missed one of the most significant events in Augusta's racial transition, the 1970 riot here and the fact that Paine College was shut down, there were armed policeman—I wasn't here. I wasn't in Augusta and I missed all of that, my mother told me about it and the most significant things as far as confronting segregation here- I did sit in the desegregation of Fatman [restaurant].

Yet, it matters now more than ever as violent acts and police killing of Black people happen currently and which have sparked movements such as #BlackLivesMatter in 2013 (https://blacklivesmatter.com/) and protests across the USA in early June 2020—when George Floyd, an unarmed Black man, died after a Minneapolis police officer kneeled on his neck for almost 9 minutes as he told them "I can't breathe" (Mee, 2020). This history also mattered in 2016 when we started the project. Every history, in every era, matters, either because of the sociopolitical context at the time, or to record a segment of history before eyewitnesses from the older generation pass away, or to get a glimpse and an understanding of how people experienced a phenomenon or a notion. There is never a single story of history, because from every piece of history there is learning, and thus every topic and segment of history matters and is worth recording and sharing. The only constraint is the number of hands, ears, eyes, and interested and available persons out there, from diverse communities, to record various segments of history.

Who and what is in/ex/cluded?

Another point of interest in an oral history project is who and what is included and excluded. In our project, we wanted to be as inclusive as possible. Particularly, in the consent form and the participant recruitment documents we extended an invitation as following:

> Dr. Niki Christodoulou invites you to participate in a research study about individuals who have contributed or played some significant role in the educational arena of the Central Savannah River Area (CSRA). The goal of the study is to create a collection of digital oral history interviews for researchers and others interested in enhancing their understandings of what and how has contributed to the shaping of education in CSRA, including movements, transformation periods, crises, changes, and heydays. This collection of oral histories will be from individuals who have directly contributed or played some significant role, or have living memories, or somehow were part of important history making, as actors themselves, leaders, followers, believers, supporters or opponents in the educational developments in the area. It will include stories of black and white people, women and men at different capacities—students, teachers, principals, administrators, parents, observers, others—in any level of education or educational setting, formal or informal, during the selected historic era.

> The stories will become material to read, analyze and use in educational settings for learning and research purposes.

Beginning in spring 2016, 23 people were interviewed. They were identified using snowball sampling and participant self-identification. There were 12 men and 11 women, 10 African American, and 10 White people, as well as three people who are immigrant adult arrivals to this country, two from Greece and one from India. All worked in some capacity in education, including art museums, as working artists, and in religious settings. Each of the three researchers conducted interviews. The interviews were conducted in a single year, each lasting for one to one-and-a-half hours. Stories narrated by these 23 participants were video- and audio-recorded and have been transcribed, minimally edited, and archived.

We sought stories from people who knew the historical significance of places, buildings, peoples, and events in the Augusta area. Having secured permission for research from our institutional review board, and with approved recruitment and consent forms, we asked colleagues at our university campus about potential interviewees and contact information. There were three colleagues of ours, professors at Augusta University, that everyone directed us to, in order to link us to people in the community.

Dr. Paulette Harris,[1] a White woman with historical knowledge about Augusta, founded the Literacy Center at Augusta University. Dr. Judy Carter, an African American woman and the interim department chair in Teacher Education at Augusta University, was the first Black teacher at her school during the desegregation era. Dr. Lee Ann Caldwell, a White woman, was the Director at the Center for the Study of Georgia History, and the author of many history books of Augusta and Georgia. All three of them knew the history of the place very well, developed educational centers, or participated in circumstances directly relating to schooling, school education, teaching, and learning and had an important story to share themselves besides connecting us with others. Thus, starting from people who knew the history of Augusta, they easily pointed out to different directions, sites, sources, resources, and people who had some kind of engagement and participation in the education happenings in Augusta and the CSRA.

In fact, not only did they help us, but they helped others, too. Nancy Glaser (interview June 2016), Director of the Augusta Museum of History, having moved to Augusta for her job position had to turn to people who could provide her resources about Augusta and the CSRA:

> Oh, I've had to. Oh, Yeah. I've had—I've been—fortunately, there was a curator here when I arrived, Gordon Baker, who introduced me to the world quite a bit. I've had—there's Dr. Edward Cashin, who used to be a Professor of History at Augusta University. I guess then, Augusta State. He was incredibly helpful, and I have all his books. One of the people, my go to people, is Dr. Lee Ann Caldwell, who is an Augusta University Professor. So, there are people out there that I've been very fortunate to have as an access,

> and being able to introduce me to this world here in Augusta, this region, really. Because the museum covers not just Richmond County, but also the history of Burke County, of um Columbia County, of McDuffie County on this side of the river, on the other side of Edge Field, and Aiken. It's what they call; the acronym is the C.S.R.A.: Central Savannah River Area. And that is our mission: to preserve and present the history of the C.S.R.A.

Regarding what and who was excluded, while no voice and no person who wanted to participate was excluded, simultaneously we feel that we excluded many voices due to limited time and funding. Also, there were persons who, for reasons out of their control and will, could not, or, more precisely, refused to be interviewed and share their story. In particular, a renowned artist in Augusta, an older Black man, told us that

> I have taken a great deal of time to consider your offer and, at this time, I must decline. The ordeal of going through the experience is too painful for me to bear. However, I hope this does not preclude me from future projects of yours in which I may be a help and have the capacity to participate.
>
> *(anonymous, refused to participate April 2016)*

Nevertheless, we would argue that besides time and funding, issues of power, voice, trust, relationship dynamics between the researchers and research participants were confronted. We did this as we, researchers, kept discussing about and challenging our assumptions and practices; such, were up and open for negotiation and discussion, since we recognized that, even if not apparent, they could still have an effect or simmer in the background.

Defining key notions

In our project, the notions of *education* and *experience* were very important, as we wanted to enhance our understandings of what and how has contributed to the shaping of education in CSRA, including movements, transformation periods, crises, changes, and heydays.

The concept of *education* was defined broadly in this study. Drawing from adult education theories, we recognized education as all kinds of experiences, events, and circumstances that allow people to see things differently, as they gain new perspectives. This is about the transformation of experiences in ways that enable new perspectives and insights (see Peter Jarvis, 2009; Illeris, 2009). We also recognized education as "that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience" (Dewey, 1916, p. 76). Such transformation and reorganization of experiences shaped the way we understand education. Through their autobiographical narratives we got glimpses of the importance of things, opinions, views, and happenings in the Augusta area, as well as how education and

society influenced each other. Corey Rogers (interview April 2016) at the Lucy Craft Laney Museum of Black History, while describing Ms. Laney's contribution, painted the abovementioned relationship:

> Ms. Laney was born in an era in which African Americans were second-class citizens. She saw education as a vehicle to pull them out of the mental shackles of slavery, the physical shackles of slavery, and pull them out of this whole notion of being second-class citizens. Education was that doorway they would create—this balance—within American society.

Defining or not defining the terms, but rather be open in letting participants guide you in defining them, is another methodological concern. In our project, framing and defining education, educational opportunities—or miseducation that often "represents a larger history of Black education (or miseducation) tied to economic and social policies in which they have had very little say" (Pak et al., 2017, p. 78)—and experience was important for the selection of participants and for the questions posed during the interview. Nonetheless, we defined the terms very broadly in order to not constrain the sharing of experiences into narrow categories.

As argued, it is imperative to "construct meaningful but open-ended questions" (Ritchie, 2003, p. 84). In our project, the main, opening question posed to the participants during the interview was broad: "What is your contribution to the area of education at the CSRA? What was the occurrence? What do you remember about this era? How did you contribute?" Additional triggering questions were included in the semi-structured interview protocol, so as the story was unfolding, to depict (a) the personal connection to the occurrence: "Why did it matter to you? Why it was important for you?" (b) the details about it: "Tell me more about the event. . . . What else do you know or remember? Were others involved? How? Are there any artifacts connected to this story/event/era? Can you show them to us and talk briefly about them?" and (c) feelings, directions and consequences: "How did you feel back then or how do you feel now? What difference did your contribution make? How would things be without your efforts?" There was also a closing question: "Is there anyone else we should talk to or get in touch with about this? Why is this person or this person's story important? Is there anything else you would like to add?" Depending on how the story unfolds, the interviewer could pose any of the questions above or additional ones along the same or similar lines.

Through these questions, we hoped to gather personal stories about (mis)educational opportunities in a place where residents suffered the legacies of slavery, colonization, racial discrimination, segregation, atrocities, and pain. These are all distinct, yet similar forms of oppression, loss, devastation, and suffering. And whereas there is beauty and value in allowing participants to respond to a broad question, there is also the challenge of how you put these responses together, how you make sense of them, how you analyze them, and by which theoretical

underpinnings. CSRA-EdOHiP is an example of how we used multiple perspectives and theoretical underpinnings from such rich data, and presenting them in various ways (i.e., digital archives, academic papers, readers theater) depending on what we were looking for each time and the spectrum of people we hoped to reach.

Presenting and sharing the knowledge

Analysis is another important issue to consider as it goes hand in hand with ways of presentation of oral histories. Based on the analysis, one may categorize the oral histories thematically or with certain coding. And based on this, one may decide which oral histories to publicize at different venues for different purposes. In our project, analysis was conducted using deductive coding, that is, starting with a predefined set of codes (Saldaña, 2015), in which we identified several ideas that emerged from conducting the interviews and engaging with our theoretical frame, and closely reading the transcripts for evidence of those ideas and themes, and counter-examples. Additionally, we read for other emerging themes using descriptive coding, which summarizes in a word or noun the basic topic of a passage of qualitative data (Saldaña, 2015). Each researcher individually coded and then the others read their coding for consistency across transcripts. These interview recordings and transcripts are publicly available on a university website (www.augusta.edu/education/teaching-leading/oral-history-project/index.php).

Findings were formed as the investigation proceeded (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Schubert, 1986, 1997). For this purpose, we embraced transactionalism, subjectivism, and social reconstructionism, wherein *inquiry*, *knowledge*, *values*, *ethics*, and *voice* are important constructs. Inquiry facilitated critique and transformation, the knowledge provided structural and historical insights, values and ethics allowed understanding and reconstruction, and voice became a facilitator of multivoice reconstruction (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Presenting and sharing the knowledge generated in an oral history project are overly significant. As Ritchie (2003) mentions, "your oral history project is really not over until you have made an effort to publicize the existence of the collection" (pp. 79–80). Further, oral histories can make their way to the radio, a stage, or the Internet (Ritchie, 2003), besides libraries and other archival places, as radio podcasts or radio documentary, or stage productions (Perks & Thomson, 2016), respectively. This is the best way for oral historians "to return their material to the community from which it came" (p. 243), whereas university press publications usually reach a predominantly academic audience. In Nancy Glaser's description (interview June 2016), history is education and "the most important thing for me is to share all this. That's what's most important. There's been too many great stories, too much great stuff. What's most important is to share it."

In our project, we created an archive, few short documentary videos, a reader's theater performance, conference presentations, and paper publications where we discussed the project and the stories collected. The reader's theater performance

showcased real stories on education, race, and place and CSRA's historic changes. The audience had the opportunity to hear the voices and experiences of local educators who led advances and changes in educational settings in the area. In any case, the researcher needs to have in mind how much of publicity needs to give, and of course the more one does the more publicity it will get, which really is the purpose of oral history projects, that is, to become as widely and publicly available as possible (Ritchie, 2003).

Final words: the researchers and our transformative experiences

The three authors are outsiders to this place. We did not grow up in Georgia, and only one of us grew up in the South. One of us grew up outside of the USA. We all are White. None of us arrived with the specific historical knowledge that our participants have shared with us, nor have we read about it anywhere since the beginning of this project. Many texts in our fields, curriculum studies and foundations of education, focus on educational contexts that are not in the South or that do not have the same specific history that this region does. We feel it is imperative to share this information with our students, as well as with others, who, although many of them grew up here, do not know or do not speak of this history either. As teachers, researchers, leaders, or everyday people in this region, and elsewhere, they need to know how to contest colorblindness, and "acknowledge race-related patterns in achievement and the potential role of racism in the underachievement of students of color" (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006, p. 40). They need to learn to tell the stories that counteract stereotypic images that have been used to maintain power over oppressed groups (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, 2006). They need to learn the specific ways that African Americans in Augusta, Georgia, and the CSRA have fought for and won access to education over centuries, in order to be supporters of parents, students, teachers, researchers, and community organizations still engaged in that fight.

As we think of our experiences conducting this study we focus on the educative power of experiences of humans and what others can learn informally and formally, lead to transformative experiences, and add to the variety of knowledge bases in the world. And while providing an overview of the methodological and pedagogical implications related to our study, we delved the curricular and educational worth of such knowledge base, and we deemed it important to turn attention to questions educators should be asking persistently: How can we better engage voices of people, in general, and of color, in particular, in our daily lives, teaching, and practice? How can we teach empathy? How is it that colorblindness, love for all, keep posing questions and imagining a better world in children fade? These questions bring to our minds the first of the ten curriculum questions of worth as explicated by Schubert and his colleagues (2002), that is, what can be done to increase meaning, goodness, and happiness in the lives of young people—of us all?

We then return to the persisting issue of whose knowledge should be emphasized and who can collect it. As researchers collecting fresh knowledge through this study, we share some of the lessons learned pertaining to this. First, while the tendency is for people to trust an insider (Heyl, 2001), the question of how much of an insider the researcher needs to be to be trusted still remains. Second, researchers may be unbiased or biased for a number of reasons, so it is good to explicate their whereabouts and biases or sources of biases if they want to really contribute fair knowledge to the community. Finally, researchers need to do their homework, be prepared (Ritchie, 2003), study the context, its history and potential controversies, because even if they know key events there may always be something they don't know, and at the very least they truly need to be students who ask everything that they, and others, may want to know. As a matter of fact, "oral history should be collecting not what is already known but information, observations, and opinions unavailable elsewhere" (Ritchie, 2003, p. 47).

In CSRA-EdOHiP we did that by talking to key people, including historians and museum directors, who also wanted to share with us the important history of the area and key resources to look into, study, and learn more. Paulette Harris, Lee Ann Caldwell, Nancy Glaser, Kevin Grogan, Director of the Morris Museum of Art, and Christine Miller-Betts, Executive Director of the Lucy Craft Laney Museum of Black History, among others, became important sources and resources in our oral history research journey.

Finally, we have learned that tirelessly highlighting important history through the voices of otherwise neglected people is important for uplifting transformative experiences that arise through stories of loss, pain, race, and education. The stories told in this oral history research project highlight the brave acts of educators and students in many settings: teachers who took the first steps to create meaningful educational experiences for their newly desegregated classrooms of students, community educational efforts in which media distortions and omissions were countered through forms of public pedagogy, and student responses to experiences of new and hostile school environments. In addition, they remind us of the costs of these efforts, as well as the gains achieved. They also remind us of the slippery forms of resistance that open the way for discrimination that continues asserting itself.

Note

1 We use real names with the consent of the project participants. These data are also electronically accessible on the website and stored digitally in the Reese Library Special Collections and online on an Augusta University Libraries' controlled website.

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4

"BONE BY BONE"

Re(Collecting) stories of Black female student activists at Fayetteville State using oral history interviews with a life history approach

Francena F.L. Turner

Introduction

I entered graduate school already feeling deep loss. I was keenly aware of the passage of time and felt that there would not be enough of it to make sense of my reactions to the things and the people I learned. I was already academically wounded. Not by my P-16 experiences exclusively, but by implicit and explicit societal messaging that made it possible for me to be an annoyingly inquisitive Black girl who dissociated the wealth of knowledge in my home community from the scholarly world I entered daily. Such a dissociation meant that I beat myself up for not already knowing widely accepted exemplars among Black women while intentionally diminishing the awe-inspiring Black women in my hometown.

Perpetually impervious to "a child's place," I knew a lot about the women in my community. I knew because I felt compelled, in moments of silence, to ask. I remember how often the, "Girl, stop being so nosy!" look turned into gazing into the distance as if they could see themselves then—again. I never stopped feeling a bit emotional when I saw their look change to shock that anyone asked them the question in the first place—as if they did not realize how much they mattered. This compulsion to know the Black women around me—to know why or how they came to be who they are—profoundly informed my dissertation research and my interest in oral and life history methodology. Older Black women often speak in parables and riddles that only time and the listener's experiences can make clear.

My earliest understanding of higher education was housed in a series of brick buildings a couple of blocks from my childhood home. As I was born and raised in Fayetteville, NC, Fayetteville State University (Fayetteville State) was the only college I saw for much of my childhood. At a young age, I decided I would become a Bronco and, eventually, I did. Young Black women, most often members of Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLOs) or other social organizations, did a great deal

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of volunteer work in my childhood neighborhoods. I had no way of knowing that Fayetteville State students organized towards fundamentally altering both the city of Fayetteville and Fayetteville State's campus. I had no way of knowing that Black female collegians heavily participated in those efforts.

I am interested in Black women's stories of their participation in historical social movement work because I either founded or participated in a number of grassroots organizing efforts in both community and college campus environments over the better part of the last two decades. Few of the masternarratives organizations construct for themselves will include me. I know something about the erasure of Black women's work. In this chapter, I provide a study overview and my rationale for conducting oral history interviews with a life history approach. After sharing what I found, I close the chapter with my reflections on the process and some methodological and pedagogical notes in an effort to show some of the challenges of conducting oral history interviews using a life history approach.

Glasrud and Pitre (2013) argue that "we are still some distance from a convincing synthesis of national, or even regional, strategies and factors embodied in the history of the civil rights movement in this country" (p. 2). Historian Brian Suttell (2007) explored the Sit-In Movement in downtown Fayetteville and situated Fayetteville State students as integral actors in those protests in his master's thesis. The study's laser focus on 1963 glosses over Fayetteville State students' desegregation efforts in 1960 and minimizes the stories of Black female student activists. While evidence exists—hidden in plain sight in institutional, local, state, and national reports on student protests—of Fayetteville State students' participation in Civil Rights/Black Power Era activism, no attempt at a synthesis of the students' experiences and larger local and national movement scholarship exists (Operations Permanent Subcommittee on Government Investigations, 1969). Mine is the first comprehensive study of Black Power Era activism on Fayetteville State's campus.

Fayetteville and Black education

Fayetteville, located in Cumberland County, is the sixth-largest city in North Carolina and is a neighbor to the largest military base in the USA—Fort Bragg (United States Census Bureau, 2019). However, the county was just beginning to experience a population boom sparked by the growth of the base and several annexations of neighboring townships during the period under study. This population surge significantly increased Fayetteville's Black population while also drawing the attention of Black North Carolinians from neighboring rural areas interested in leaving agrarian lives.

The city began as Campbelltown in 1762 and got its current name in 1784. Situated at the "farthest inland point of the Cape Fear River," Fayetteville was a bustling port for the cotton industry (Corbitt, 1951). It is of no surprise, then, that the proximity to water and forestry led to the town also becoming a center of North Carolina's textile industry. Due to Fayetteville's urban nature, owners of enslaved folk often hired them out as an additional income source for both the

enslaver and the enslaved. This arrangement allowed previously enslaved folk to purchase their own freedom and it allowed for meetings and organizing efforts among enslaved and free folk. Despite de jure and de facto rules for both enslaved and free folks that meant to curb their freedom of movement and thought, Black Fayettevillians built community and educated their own.

The city's Black church and Black education formed and grew together beginning with the work of Henry Evans, a free Black man, shoemaker, and Methodist Episcopalian preacher who founded Evans Metropolitan Church. He led a biracial congregation until his death in 1810. The next Black church leader, African Methodist Episcopalian Zion (AMEZ) Bishop James Hood assumed control of the church from 1866 to 1868. The church was a center of Black organizing in Fayetteville. Hood found Black people from Fayetteville and the surrounding areas not only hungry for literacy and meaningfully useful education but also ready to control the same. His appointment as North Carolina's Assistant Superintendent for Public Instruction meant that Fayetteville had a strong ally in the state capitol when requesting fiscal educational assistance (Brown, 1961; Hood, 1895).

The Howard school

The American Missionary Association (AMA) was a protestant abolitionist organization that funded Black schools and sent teachers educated outside the US South into states that previously sanctioned the institution of slavery. This organization originally sent a White couple to head the education efforts in Fayetteville after the Civil War ended in 1865. Illness took them both and Fayetteville's Black community lobbied heavily to have a Black replacement. Ohioan Robert Harris was selected due to his Fayetteville roots in the Black elite, his record as an effective educator, and his experience organizing against slavery at his prior post in Virginia. Robert and his brother Cicero cited experience teaching enslaved folk in Fayetteville as their teaching experience on their AMA applications (Huddle, 1997, p. 141). Cicero Harris headed the Phillips (Elementary) School and Robert headed the Sumner (Secondary) School.

While the schools were founded and controlled by Black educators, Robert secured some degree of funding for the schools from the Peabody Fund. In North Carolina, this philanthropic organization, founded in 1867, was instrumental to the early funding of Black elementary education and to the creation of free-standing normal schools (Brown, 1961). Realizing that white philanthropy came with stipulations that might thwart the Black communities' goals for their own education, Robert set about fundraising from within local Black and White communities. Black grassroots philanthropy and Black teachers created the Phillips and Sumner Schools and such philanthropy was directly responsible for their 1867 consolidation into the Howard School. David A. Bryant, Nelson Carter, Andrew J. Chesnutt, George Grainger, Matthew Leary, Thomas Lomax, and Robert Simmons raised and pooled $136 to purchase two lots of land from two Black men, Simmons and Henry McNeill. On this land, they constructed a new building and the Freedman's

Bureau contributed construction funds (Murphy, 1960). A cohesive and literate free antebellum Black community provided the basis of a robust focus on literacy and the postbellum pursuit of a full education. So much so that the Howard School served as the model for White public schools in Fayetteville (Murphy, 1960). Such was the rich context under which the precursor to Fayetteville State came into existence.

In 1877, the state legislature allotted $2,000 for the creation of a Black normal school. The assembly explicitly called for the establishment of a normal school

> in connection with one of the colored schools of high grade in the State, or otherwise, for the teaching and training of young *men* of the colored race, from 15 to 25 years, for teaching in the common schools of the state for the colored race.
>
> *(Murphy, 1960, p. 83)*

Prior to 1877, the Harris brothers were well known due to the quality of their school and they were already producing Black teachers inasmuch as the more formally educated were able to teach the less educated (Huddle, 1997, p. 141). After much consideration, on May 31, 1877, Fayetteville's Black leadership—with the assistance of Bishop Hood—successfully secured Fayetteville as the location of the state's first free-standing normal school (Murphy, 1960). To keep with the letter of the original decree, the school's principal, Robert Harris, made entrance exams for girls and women harder than those for boys and men. The move did not keep Black girls and women out of public normal education and, by 1879, the General Assembly corrected the language to explicitly include female students (Murphy, 1960; Noble, 1930).

My family and Fayetteville

Melton (2019) reminds me that "my hometown's history is not fixed, nor is my experience of my hometown. Rather it shifts every day as I encounter and re-encounter a place I think I know" (p. 310). In my understanding, and due to the sheer number of my immediate family members who reside in Fayetteville, the city has always been my family's home and it comprises a big part of my identity. A simple conversation with my parents showed me the tenuous nature of my memories. While the Great Migration of Black folk out of the South and into the Northeast and Midwest is relatively common knowledge, we are apt to forget the number of Black families that moved in large numbers from rural areas to more urban areas within the same Southern states in search of access to better employment options and higher-quality schools for their children. The two arms of my family were within that lineage. My paternal grandparents, Eddie Dean and Patricia Ophelia McGirt, moved to Fayetteville from the Latta, South Carolina area in 1962 or 1963 when my father, Frank, was 5 or 6 years old. Eddie Dean wanted to escape the sharecropping life and, I suspect, he wanted better opportunities for

his children. He was originally from Maxton, a small rural town relatively equidistant between Latta and Fayetteville. My maternal grandparents, Cleo and Dorothy Idora Council, were both from Shannon, North Carolina and after they separated, my grandma moved her children along several years of a serpentine route. My mother, Dianne, was 10 or 11 years old in 1967 or 1968 when they arrived in Fayetteville. My parents met when both families ended up in the same neighborhood. They married in 1976 and I was born in December of the same year. That both of my parents moved to Fayetteville during years pivotal to my dissertation study—the Sit-In Movement protests of 1963 and the Black Campus Movement protests of 1967–1968—does not escape me. They were five years old during the Sit-Ins and 11 or 12 years old when Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. In my experience of Fayetteville and the communities in which I lived, we passed down stories from generation to generation. I lost each of my grandparents well before I even contemplated graduate school and dedicated time to exploring my historical curiosities. Because my parents were young children at the time, I lost any opportunity to discuss familial nuances of living in Fayetteville during the time period under study. Because I know this loss of possibilities and history intimately, I found it important to conduct my study and preserve the stories shared with me.

Study overview

I explored and shared experiences of Black women who attended Fayetteville State from 1960 until 1972 with particular attention paid to their participation in organizing and Civil Rights/Black Power Movement activism. In the following section, I provide a brief sense of the relevant contexts in which Black women in North Carolina pursued higher education and I provide a brief historiography of student protests at the state's Black colleges and universities.

Black women's higher education experiences in North Carolina

North Carolina's six private historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs)—Livingstone College, Bennett College, St. Augustine's University, Johnson C. Smith University, Barber–Scotia College, and Shaw University—were strategically located in or near cities or towns with heavy Black populations. The five public universities Fayetteville State, Elizabeth City State, Winston-Salem State, North Carolina Central, and North Carolina A&T Universities, were equally strategically placed (Brown, 1961; Murphy, 1960). During the 12 years under study, Black collegiate women were just beginning to experience choices in academic majors. Fayetteville State was a normal school until the 1930s when it became a teachers' college. In 1964, the institution began offering majors outside education and, in 1969, it earned the university designation (Murphy, 1960). The careers most open to Black women were teaching, nursing, social work, and library sciences (Evans, 2007; Height, 2003; Hine, 1989a; Phinazee, 1980; Tucker, 1998). My study shows that Black women who attended Fayetteville State did so because it was affordable,

because it was close to their hometowns, or because they had friends or family who attended the institution. Due to racist, sexist, and classist hiring practices, the vast majority of Black college-educated women taught in elementary or secondary schools at some point in their career—regardless of major (Evans, 2007; Wilson, 2006). Most of the women in my study majored in elementary education or earned teaching certificates coupled with other majors.

Black college activism in North Carolina

North Carolina's 11 historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) render the state fertile for the study of Black student activism. Scholars of student activism at HBCUs most often focus on using broad strokes across multiple campuses and multiple states to get a macrohistory of the time (Biondi, 2012; Rogers, 2003; Turner, 2020). Scholarship specific to North Carolina focuses on student protest efforts at North Carolina A&T University and Bennett College located in Greensboro and Durham's North Carolina Central University (Benson, 2010; Bermanzohn, 2003; Brown, 2013). This focus makes sense as Durham and Greensboro were North Carolina's Black economic centers during such protest efforts. Only studies of Bennett College centered Black collegiate women's experiences or told broader stories from their vantage point and sought to correct the masculinized masternarratives of the Southern Sit-In Movement in Greensboro (Brown, 2013). A read of these previously mentioned studies might convince one that they have learned all that they need to learn about the histories of activism at Black colleges broadly and within the state. Broad surveys of student protest would not be possible without microhistories, social histories, and case studies of individual campuses (Benson, 2010; Bermanzohn, 2003; Brown, 2013; Forman, 1968; Lefever, 2005; Kinchen, 2016; Norrell, 1985; Pitre, 2018; Suttell, 2007). These focused studies allow for a nuanced view of student experiences by location, college type, and student body demographics. Therefore, I chose to study the experiences of Black women at one historically Black college in one Southeastern town across two submovements within the larger history of the Civil Rights/Black Power Movement. I draw from sociologist Belinda Robnett's (1997) argument that:

> a gendered analysis of movement activities provides a much-needed understanding of leadership within African American communities in particular and mixed-sex social movements in general. All previous accounts lack a sense of the interactivity of relationships: the symbiosis on the one hand and the conflict on the other.
>
> *(p. 4)*

In this essay, I discuss the findings for two research questions: How did Black women participate in the Civil Rights/Black Power era activism while students at Fayetteville State? What family, community, and/or educational experiences shaped their involvement in organizing and activism while enrolled at Fayetteville State?

Methods

I grounded this study in the historical and contemporary struggles of Black feminist intellectuals to bring Black collegiate women's actions and strategies into conversation with extant accounts and scholarship that omits them (Rodriguez, 2001). I believe in the inherent value of Black women's lives and, by extension, their stories. I felt a triple kinship with the stories Black women shared with me in this study; we shared Black womanhood, experiences in the town of Fayetteville, and the experience of walking the halls of Fayetteville State as students. This sense of connection, in some ways, complicated and, in other ways, drove the research (Turner & James-Gallaway, in press). I remained anxious that I might disappoint narrators that I saw as my elders (Yow, 1997). These feelings drove the research by fueling me to diligently develop more thoughtful questions based on our triple kinship.

Using an array of traditional and digital archives, I found that even when Black female collegians held the pen, they often wrote themselves out of their own protest stories. Institutional records such as Board of Trustee Minutes provided me with one list of male and female student leaders for a protest in 1971. There was no way for me to explore the ways women experienced student activism without conducting interviews and I chose to conduct oral history interviews in order to (re)collect their stories for posterity's sake.

Mackay et al. (2013) define oral history as:

> primary source material collected in an interview setting with a witness to or a participant in an event or a way of life and is grounded in the context of time and place to give it meaning. It is recorded for the purpose of preserving the information and making it available to others. The term refers to both the process and the final product.
>
> *(p. 11)*

Dougherty (1999) further posits,

> We intentionally label our field oral history [as opposed to simply oral interviewing] because we draw upon diverse analytical traditions to point out how the stories we hear are not merely anecdotes, but rich sources with which we may better understand the significance of the past. (p. 722)

Ritchie (2003) names those stories "memories and personal commentaries of historical significance" that we "collect through recorded interviews" (p. 19).

Mulvihill and Swaminathan (2017) suggest that "the terms respondent, narrator, oral author, and participants all show a degree of closeness and the development of a relationship between the interviewer and the narrator" (p. 74). I use the term narrator due to the storytelling aspect of my work. My narrators discussed their experiences at Fayetteville State with their friends, family, and fellow alumni. My narrators told me as much. However, current and future student organizers and

activists could all benefit from hearing about these historical choices, concerns, or methods to ground their contemporary efforts. Alice Walker (1983) explained that

> A people do not throw their geniuses away . . . if they are thrown away, it is our duty as artists, scholars, and witnesses for the future to collect them again for the sake of our children . . . if necessary, bone-by-bone.
>
> *(p. 92)*

Perhaps the stories I share have not been "thrown away," but dominant Civil Rights/Black Power historiographies overlooked or obscured them (Barnett, 1993; Robnett, 1997).

Over a seven-month period, I interviewed 18 men and women who attended Fayetteville State between 1960 and 1972 and each interview lasted between one and three hours. I found narrators using a purposive snowball method. I began with prior student activists that I knew from my matriculation through Fayetteville State and the names I found in student and local newspapers and Board of Trustee minutes. Each narrator suggested other narrators. I also found narrators through the use of social media. In these ways, I was able to "simultaneously capitalize on and reveal the connectedness of individuals in networks" as it relates to student activism at Fayetteville State (Bryman, 2012, p. 424). While I conducted exhaustive archival research to provide the historical, political, and social contexts for the years under study, I grounded the project in the oral history interviews I conducted and, in the student-authored newspaper accounts of their organizing and activist efforts.

Life history approach to oral history interviewing

My introduction to life history research was housed in a journalism course entitled *Immersion Journalism*. Professor Leon Dash guided our class through the extended interview process (abbreviated for our course) he used while conducting research for two of his books—*When Children Want Children: The Urban Crisis of Teenage Childbearing* (2003) and *Rosa Lee: A Generational Tale of Poverty and Survival in Urban America (2015)*. Dash conducted embedded ethnographic research over many months for a longitudinal view of a community and its members. This "immersion" into the community's story allowed Dash to build rapport with his narrators as well as a connection to and understanding of the communities that shaped and were shaped by the narrators. Because of this rapport and his consistency, his interlocutors gave him a considerable amount and depth of access to the stories of their lives. He conducted many interviews with the same people over a longer expanse of time than that most common in the oral history interview process.

Within the course, Dash instructed us to conduct several topically based interviews for a couple of reasons. The numerous interviews allowed us to build rapport and they allowed time for the narrators to begin to trust our process. This trust building led to, perhaps, more open and honest life stories than there would have been in just one interview. I found his research style incredibly helpful for this

study and I abbreviated his longitudinal interviewing process and referenced it while constructing my interviewing style. While my major research questions concerned the narrators' experiences while students at Fayetteville State, I knew from personal experience that the fabric of our childhood profoundly influences our experiences in college and beyond. I wanted to begin to understand my narrators' experiences—particularly with schooling, community, segregation, Jim Crow, and spirituality—as parts of the conversations we might have about their experiences with student activism while college students at Fayetteville State during the Civil Rights/Black Power Era(s).

Dash's style intersects at investigative journalism, anthropology, sociology, and history. He asked probing open-ended questions about key milestones in one's life such as adolescence, adulthood, schooling, and religion. Life history research also crosses disciplinary boundaries but must connect to "additional stories, theories, context, and interpretations which add richness" (Wright, 2019). While I did not engage my narrators for extensive lengths of time, I did construct my interview protocol to include pointed redirection prompts around their childhood communities, schooling and educative experiences, religions, family education and work lives, and the racial climate in their childhood home communities.

Mulvihill and Swaminathan (2017) showed that studies like mine often cross back and forth between "oral history, formal narratives, personal narratives, and life stories" (p. 61). In a word, Mulvihill & Swaminathan describe critical approaches to research—such as life history research—as "messy" (p. 11). The messiness they described refers to the choices researchers make in how they construct the histories, but there is also a messiness—perhaps necessarily so—to how we attempt to construct and describe the study. I collected oral history interviews for posterity. My interdisciplinary training made articulating my research design and methodology a bit complicated. I knew that I might not be able to triangulate the stories my narrators told. I conducted the study because Black women were silenced and sometimes silenced themselves in the archives. Asking that I corroborate their stories with written records, then, is a bit wrongheaded. Because my goal was to explore and understand Black women's experiences during two components of a longer social movement arc, I needed to explore how they came to understand community, rights, education, and their gendered selves prior to college. Only a life history approach to oral history interviews could both provide a record for posterity and provide historical stories for such exploration.

Life history methodology makes use of multiple kinds of data including oral history interviews, additional interviews, and analysis and comparison across interviews and sources (Mulvihill & Swaminathan, 2017). The life history interview is considered a different form of in-depth interview (Berg & Lune, 2012). I loosely structured my interviews around the following three broad life prompts and I supplemented each prompt with more detailed guiding questions as the participants told their stories: (1) Tell me about your experiences at Fayetteville State; (2) Tell me about your experiences prior to Fayetteville State; and (3) Tell me about your experiences after Fayetteville State.

What I found

Black women were active participants and leaders during the student protests of the Sit-In/Black Campus Movement(s) at Fayetteville State. Gendered social norms, however, mediated their participation. Raymond Privott discussed a key gendered social rule that interrupted Black female leadership options. He said,

> We [the men] could come and go at will. Women had to check in and out. When we got ready to go down there [to protest], we just caught the bus and went downtown. But they [the women] had to sign out of the dorm, sign in the dorm, and then at night they had curfews. We didn't have that.
>
> *(2019)*

Annie Chavis, a former Ms. Fayetteville State who took part in several campus protests, remembered heavy gendered surveillance. She said,

> The Dean of Women called me in once. I had run across the grass, rushing to get to class and someone saw me and, of course, reported it. She said, "Annie, I understand that you were running across the grass going to class. You can't do that. You are a lady. You represent every lady. You are Miss Fayetteville State."
>
> *(2015)*

Strict residence hall curfews and social norms meant that female students who lived on campus could not take part in leadership planning meetings in person even though they found ways to make sure their needs were considered by the male leaders and spokespersons. Black women made up most of the student body and students collectively made decisions about boycotting classes, lists of demands, and other protest efforts. When asked how protest leaders organized students during the Sit-In Movement, commuter and student leader Jeanette Council replied, "Personal power. Personal power and working through those guys. We had an ability to communicate with each other and we widened the circle. And gave power to others. We let them stand and lead the meetings and we just shared the spotlight" (2019).

While the student body chose Black men as its spokespersons, each leader I interviewed understood Black women to be integral to their positions and important in any decision-making. Robert Steverson remembered,

> I think being at Fayetteville and being in a predominantly Black institution, you automatically saw women in strong roles. It wasn't a surprise because I grew up with women in strong roles, so I expected them to be in positions. And I'm thinking that some of the more outspoken people at Fayetteville were female.
>
> *(2019)*

Between 1963 and 1972, the Student Government Association (SGA) served as the central sociopolitical voice of the student body. As such, the SGA president served as the community and campus leader for Fayetteville State students' organizing and activism activities. Black female students were central in selecting campus leaders. James Nesby, an SGA president during the Black Campus Movement, noted,

> Let's put it this way, when we decided to run for student government, there were like four or five female dorms and two male dorms and we understood the influence that women had over men and where the votes were. (2019)

The simple act of being and growing up Black in the USA radicalized my narrators. Several narrators recalled microaggressions and less subtle acts of racism in their childhood that affected, if not drove, their desire to push for societal change while students at Fayetteville State. Jacqueline Mathews experienced one of many quotidian events that showed her some of the layers and the absurdity of racism and segregation when she was 6 years old. She said,

> It was like sitting at the lunch counter. My mother wouldn't sit there. I said that I wanted to sit and eat my hot dog because they would let you order, but you couldn't sit. And, a lot of times, we knew the cooks behind the counter. They didn't take the money, but they did the cooking and we knew the people. I sat down and Mama said, "Come on honey, I am going to buy you something," Trying to get me away from them. And I just said, "I want to eat right here." But again, I didn't know, and she didn't try to explain that it was because of my color. She didn't want to tell me.
>
> *(2018)*

My narrators' membership in organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and their childhood and adolescent connections to faculty and community members who were politically educated also aided in the students' forays into grassroots organizing and activism.

Brief reflections

Time, relationships, social standing, economic class, and intergenerational respect matter—for both the researcher and the narrator—in life and oral history research in places we consider home (Beoku-Betts, 1994; Hurston, 1942; Rodriguez, 2001). I study moments fraught with physical, psychic, and emotional pain. In order to collect these kinds of deeply retrospective stories, a researcher must devote a significant amount of time to building relationships and developing rapport with narrators (McDougall, 2014). I conducted two interviews in person, one by video conference call, and the rest of the interviews by phone. While I recorded them all, I believe I may have missed important contexts by not being able to see my narrators' embodied responses during our interviews (Friedman, 2014). Further,

the US media and the Academy often misrepresent Black women's lives and words. As a result, Black women often resist being studied or recorded in person, much less over the telephone (Hine, 1989b; McDougall, 2014). Because I had limited time to build trusting relationships, I know that the life histories I collected pale in comparison to the richness of my narrators' experiences. Nevertheless, eight Black women and ten Black men agreed to spend time talking to me about their lives. They discussed the ways they lived and contested the Jim Crow South. They each gave me some form of advice about the doctoral studies process, about being a student parent, and about conducting this kind of research. While I believe that this occurred, in part, due to the purposive snowball method I used, I also believe that this occurred because my elders recognized me as their progeny. The experiences that formed the core of my study were but a relatively small fraction of the many hours of narrator interviews—enough to tell some of the tales, but not enough to satisfy my original hopes. This study, then, is a beginning to a project that might more fully chronicle the movements under study at this institution. As Mulvihill and Swaminathan remind us, "Just because the project is complete does not mean all the sources are exhausted" (p. 45). While my potential narrators and I live, I continue to build relationships and pursue and conduct interviews that expand what we know about this institution and its students.

Methodological and pedagogical notes

My study and my experiences conducting the study have several practical and methodological implications. Those desiring to undertake life history research using oral history interviews with survivors of sometimes violent or traumatic social movements must secure research travel funding so that they might conduct each interview in person. This removes faceless technology as an intimidating factor that may convince narrators to decline an interview. I also encourage interviewers to video record the interviews to capture key embodied responses that an oral historian may miss with an audio-only recording.

Next, my study focused on Black women's experiences. Generational differences in beliefs around gender and social norms, when addressed without care, also threaten to disrupt trust-building in interviewing (Turner & James-Gallaway, in press). I had to remain open to broadening my target population. Each named movement or campus leader was an intentionally placed Black man and this cloaked archival connections to Black female student activists. I could have missed important facets of Black women's experiences—experiences some of my female narrators minimized by redirecting the focus to the communal nature of the campus—had I maintained a narrow view of prospective narrators. Council, when asked if she experienced things at Fayetteville State that she wished had been different, said,

> The only thing . . . Looking back, I know that we adopted the philosophies that we were more supporters of guys. There weren't that many of them.

> There were more women than men, but we were more supportive because that's how we were brought up. That women supported the men. That's what it was in the [Black] community, so, it wasn't strange. It wasn't. It was just kind of accepted. So, you may have a group that is made of mostly women, but the leaders would be men.
>
> *(2015)*

Further, it is vitally important to conduct careful and thorough background research on each narrator. Several of my narrators served on the university's Board of Trustees and held local and state political positions. One narrator served an eight-year term as the university's chancellor. A thorough historical overview of the place of the study—be it the researcher's hometown or a place unknown to them prior to the study—is necessary as well. The institution, the city, and the proximity to Fort Bragg Military Base all contributed to the historical moments in which my narrators' stories took place just as much as the people involved in their stories. By this, I mean that the military base's proximity to and economic impact on the city and the university mediated local and campus response to Black student activism and allowed the city to maintain a mythology of progressive race relations (Suttell, 2007; Turner, 2020).

Lastly, if our narrators are the center of our historical explorations, then we must continuously interrogate and revise our preconceived notions of their stories. We may declare some immaterial things pertinent and miss other key facets of the overarching tale. I experienced this early on in my study when I asked direct questions about gendered differences in student experiences. While I was interested in how Black women may have experienced the Sit-In and Black Campus Movements differently than Black men, my female narrators' stories coalesced around themes of communalism and family. Even when Black male narrators easily described the differences I sought to explicate, they insisted that gender did not matter. SGA president, Willis McLeod, indicated that he did not consider gender an issue while he led the Sit-In Movement. He said,

> No, it wasn't. No, it wasn't. Because the women on campus stepped right up front and we had more women involved in the marches and sit-ins than we had men. I could depend on more women than I could men when it came to organizing the marches and staging the sit-ins downtown. Certainly, people like Dr. Council, but um . . . she was one of dozens [of women].
>
> *(2018)*

Of the campus protests during the Black Campus Movement, Steverson recalled,

> I don't believe we got caught up in gender because we needed everybody. And so, you looked to who had that idea, who were strong leaders at the time, and it didn't matter whether you wore a dress or didn't. (2019)

In short, a researcher conducting life history interviews should be open to adjusting their questions or aims based upon the stories they collect. Oral history research using a life history approach is always an iterative process.

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5

THE NEED FOR ACTION

Oral histories of the 2018 Oklahoma teacher walkout

Rhonda Harlow[1] *and Lucy E. Bailey*

> *"It was an educator movement, but it was so much more than that. It was people really putting validity to the work that we were doing because we care about students and the message was the right message. We're doing this for our kids."*
>
> *(Walkout Participant)*

Introduction

This chapter draws from an oral history project (Harlow, 2020) focused on capturing, preserving, and exploring the accounts of 22 people who participated in the April 2018 Oklahoma Teacher Walkout (hereafter, Walkout).[2] Through a variety of creative approaches, the chapter also contributes to development in oral history and educational biography methodology and analysis. The Walkout was one of many mass teacher actions occurring in the USA in recent years (2012–2018), from the 2012 Chicago strike (see Nuñez et al., 2015; Rodriguez, 2015), to actions in Los Angeles, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Arizona (see Blanc, 2019). Teachers voiced their concerns through collective bodily protest. Oklahoma's Walkout started on April 2, 2018 (Pearce, 2018), lasted nine days, and included local actions, social media activism, a 110-mile march from Tulsa to Oklahoma City, and a mass gathering at the state Capitol. In this essay, we focus on 12 teachers' accounts to highlight dimensions of their experiences surrounding the Walkout that collectively underscore the power of individual oral histories to preserve personal accounts of teachers' experiences as well as to provide insights into historical events. Teachers' activist accounts offer powerful insights into their educational biographies as teachers.

We first describe forces that led to the Walkout to contextualize how teachers' accounts cumulatively illuminate concerns about education and educators' lives at this historical moment, situating our study in literature on teacher walkouts. We

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FIGURE 5.1 Signs of protest.

Source: Photograph by Doug Folks with OEA.

emphasize the valuable critical theoretical framing of conceptualizing teachers as advocates, activists, and historical agents (e.g., Freire, 1970) who can shape the material conditions of their lives. Third, we describe our methodology situated in contemporary qualitative developments salient for expanding the data collection processes and analysis of oral history and, in turn, educational biography. We then crystallize three themes from teacher accounts. We conclude with significance for both oral history as a craft and the Walkout as an activist initiative for public education.

Context of the study

Widespread education reform is rarely in the hands of teachers. As scholars have emphasized, teachers "typically don't have access to the megaphone, platform or airwaves to be heard" (Nuñez et al., 2015, p. xiii). Yet teachers have agitated for social change through their classroom teaching practices (Picower, 2012; teachersinthemovement.com) and local community activism (e.g., Montaño et al., 2002). In fact, some consider teacher attrition from the profession a form of "silent protest" (Glazer, 2018). One important form of activism has been work stoppages (Blanc, 2019; Nuñez et al., 2015; Uetricht, 2014; Weiner & Asselin, 2020). Historians note that over 3,000 teacher strikes have occurred in the USA since the 1960s on behalf of a range of issues affecting education. Although teacher strikes declined overall in the 1980s and 1990s, in 1990, Oklahoma's teachers converged on the Capitol for four days to urge the governor to sign a bill that would increase funding and teacher pay along with other needed changes.

Weiner and Asselin's (2020) meta-analysis of scholarship on teacher labor actions notes that "teachers' job actions were responsible for the highest number of workers on strike in 2018 since 1986" (p. 229). During 2018, walkouts occurred nationally—one of the largest in Oklahoma (Weiner & Asselin, 2020, p. 231). Blanc (2019) described these events as a "red-state revolt" (p. 5) reflecting widespread frustration among educators in conservative states. Participants protested the assault on public education through funding cuts, inadequate salaries, deskilling, increased testing, bureaucracy, and class sizes, pension changes, market-based reforms, and the culture of teacher blame saturating national rhetoric. In late February 2018, West Virginia led that recent wave of national action with a strike that resulted in promising gains inspirational for educators elsewhere (Blanc, 2019). The Oklahoma Walkout, which occurred in April 2018, was an important effort for teachers to voice their concerns.

Both common national worries and local forces contributed to the Walkout. A culture of financial austerity has reigned in Oklahoma for decades. Beginning in 2008, Oklahoma's cuts to tax revenue ultimately resulted in profound challenges for schools including reducing per-pupil funding by 24 percent as well as a ranking of 49th nationally in average teacher pay (McHenry-Sorber, 2018). Since 2008, year after legislative year, teachers navigated funding cuts, broken promises of pay raises, and senseless education reforms that impeded teaching. Further, the state faced for years what McHenry-Sorber (2018) called a "critical teacher shortage" as many decided to leave the profession or relocate to improve their quality of life. In 2017 alone, the state awarded over 1,200 emergency certifications (McHenry-Sorber, 2018) and by the end of the 2017 Oklahoma legislative session, educators felt burdened financially, emotionally, and physically.

In September 2017, Governor Mary Fallin called a special session to address a budget shortfall for three state agencies. Education stakeholders watched dynamics closely because the order included a possible pay increase for K-12 public school teachers (Blatt, 2018). Due to the state's restrictive supermajority requirements to pass revenue, the special session did not provide a solution to the budget crisis. A second special session (December 2017) ran concurrently with the 2018 Oklahoma Legislative Session. A coalition introduced a plan that furnished a variety of revenue sources including the intent to provide a $5,000 teacher pay increase (Blatt, 2018). Yet the proposed bill again failed to meet the required supermajority. Given the long history of cuts, concerns about additional cuts to education continued. Discussions began for an end of April work action.

In late February 2018, grassroots social media groups questioned the Oklahoma Education Association's (OEA) combined decision with the Oklahoma Education Coalition to begin the Walkout at the end of April. In early March, OEA President, Alicia Priest, held a press conference to publicly place legislators on notice about a potential work action and to clarify their goal was not to shut down schools but to properly fund education. She stated that teachers would walk from their classrooms on Monday, April 2, 2018, if the legislature did not provide a teacher and support employee pay increase, additional classroom funding, and a cost-of-living allowance (COLA) for retired teachers (OEA, 2018).

Later that month, legislators passed the first teacher pay raise in over 10 years by increasing the state minimum salary schedule an average of $6,100 (Fay, 2018; McHenry-Sorber, 2018) in hopes of deterring the Walkout. Governor Fallin's comments infuriated teachers when she stated, "I hope [the teachers] can come up here and say, 'thank you' on Monday and go back to the classroom" (Panne, 2018). However, lacking transparency regarding funding sources and without increases for support employees, COLA, or classrooms, stakeholders were not ready to congratulate the legislators. As one narrator in our study expressed,

> Over the past ten years, we've tried everything possible to change the direction of our legislature in cutting back and cutting back and cutting back more and more and more. This was our last option and it was a radical option, but it was one that the students and the children of Oklahoma entirely deserved. Otherwise, we would be a party to their neglect.

In a conservative, right-to-work state, many referred to the event as a walkout rather than a "strike." Typically, the word strike carries revolutionary connotations tied closely to union membership. In a right-to-work state, state laws make union membership optional which is a practice that results in an overall weaker union presence. This weaker presence intrudes on the ability to easily mobilize for mass action (Blanc, 2019). Further, the word "strike" does not reflect all Walkout participants' understanding of their actions. The Walkout involved diverse stakeholders, including higher education and K-12 educators, administrators, parents, students, community members, labor organizations, and teacher organization employees, with diverse political party affiliations, who participated for varied reasons.

We see teachers as embodied agents capable of shaping the material conditions of their work lives and those of the children they serve (e.g., Freire, 1970). This study's oral histories are key vehicles for capturing voices rarely heard in public deliberations. They have emancipatory potential in highlighting teachers' voices who constantly fall to the shadows in public theorizing and participatory dialogue about school vision and orchestration. As scholars have emphasized, "Teachers have been noticeably absent from the debate over the direction and the future of public education" (Nuñez et al., 2015, p. xiii). Too often, politicians, state agencies, and superintendents command center stage in public dialogue, spearheading reform, and educational histories. Like others (e.g., Gardner, 2003; Goodson, 1992), we recognize the value of preserving teachers' memories and accounts for "democratizing the production of history" (Gardner, 2003, p. 175). Few studies focus on teacher walkouts, particularly oral histories contributing to educational biography. Further, although Oklahoma has a rich history of resistance and activism on civil, social, and labor rights (e.g., Joyce, 1994, 2007), we have found little scholarship (excepting Blanc, 2019; Lynn, 2018) on state teacher activism. This study expands the sparse qualitative work on teacher walkouts historically and regionally (Eden, 2020; Harlow, 2020).

Methodology

Contemporary developments in methodology can enhance the craft of oral history. This study, which began in May 2018, focused on eliciting, preserving, and analyzing extended accounts of events before, during, and after the Walkout. Oral history provides a vehicle to collect and preserve oral accounts that cumulatively offer a broader portrait of historical phenomenon (Sheftel & Zembrzycki, 2013). It is also a key democratic practice for centering ordinary people's perspectives. In the case of this study, it centers on teachers' memories and meaning making. Yet the process of conducting oral history can transcend its orientation to preservation through its profoundly relational nature, providing opportunities for Walkout participants to process experiences reflexively with an empathetic listener and fellow participant, and researchers and readers, who, in turn, process their emotional, educational, and activist experiences. Both authors are advocates for education in Oklahoma. Also, Rhonda works in the organization, Oklahoma Educational Association (OEA), which provided financial and logistical resources for the Walkout, and participated throughout the event. The oral history process can also be creative; we used photo-elicitation (Harper, 2002), photographs of protest placards (Slocum et al., 2018), and diverse analytic approaches attending to embodiment, images, and sound (Bailey, 2012; Ellingson, 2017; Gershon & Applebaum, 2018) to make meaning. We worked collaboratively in analysis, interpretation, and writing.

Rhonda, the first listed author, used her networks across the state to recruit narrators through purposeful and snowball sampling. This sampling approach relies on narrators,' rather than only researchers, notifying others who also might be interested in participating. A total of 22 narrators from varied school districts participated. The oral accounts represented 6 counties of 77 located centrally and in each quadrant of the state and equally represented sparse and dense populations. Narrators agreed through written consent to use their first names. For this article, we focused on 12 narratives from those teaching during April 2018 who were directly impacted by the Walkout's financial and classroom implications. Ten teachers identified as White while two identified as Native American. Their ages ranged from 30 through 60, with nine females and three males. Six worked in suburban school districts, three in rural, and three in urban. Seven worked in secondary education, grades six through 12, and five worked in elementary, grades pre-kindergarten through fifth grade. Seven certified through traditional education programs and five through alternative routes. Of the 12 narrators, nine identified as parents with children ranging in ages of 3 years to college-aged. Although the number of narrators did not meet the threshold for oral history's goal of representing a phenomenon broadly, such as in this case, representing all counties or demographics of Walkout participants in the state, the narratives reflected the perspectives of experienced educators affected directly by state fiscal austerity and the promise of change the Walkout represented.

Rhonda interviewed each narrator once using an open, semi-structured interview protocol focused on eliciting Walkout stories in detail. Most interviews were

face to face. Participants selected interview locations which included coffee shops, classrooms, pubs, Skype software, and restaurants. Consistent with oral history's orientation to collecting extended accounts, the conversations invited stories through general open-ended questions, rather than a rigid protocol, such as "tell me about the events that led up to the Walkout," and "what was it like for you during the Walkout?" During the later stage of the interview, the researcher introduced photos to prompt memories of the event. Photo-elicitation is a visual method that researchers use in diverse qualitative traditions (Harper, 2002). Whether using participant-produced or researcher-provided photos, the method of photo-elicitation involves visual prompts to expand interview dialogue (Harper, 2002). For these photo-elicitation methods, Rhonda selected photographs gathered from online news and social media sites along with personal archives of Walkout events. These 14 photos offered a range of Walkout activities that occurred inside the Capitol building, as well as outside on the Capitol's grounds. Photos represented the crowds inside and outside of the Capitol engaged in activities such as singing, carrying signs, and interacting, as well as varied groups that participated. This creative approach notably enhanced the experiential and emotional dimensions of narration and analysis in this study. We describe our analysis processes later in the essay.

Teachers' oral histories: findings

Inductive analysis produced insights into the contextual and personal threads of teachers' experiences that crystallized into three interconnected themes: first, dynamic conceptions of relationships and community among those participating in the Walkout; second, the role of body politics and embodiment during the Walkout (Bailey, 2012; Ellingson, 2017; Snowber, 2016); and third, the intense emotional engagement related to Walkout events, its symbolic meanings, and its affirmation of teacher value. These themes were illustrated throughout accounts.

EXPANDING COMMUNITY: DIVERSE AND FLUID CONCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY

Teachers' accounts reflected dynamic conceptions of community salient for understanding teachers' sense of isolation and hunger for affirmation at the historical moment in which the Walkout occurred. Analyzing within and across teacher accounts organically surfaced varied articulations of communities to which teachers belonged or they cultivated within the Walkout's intense visual and embodied landscape. Accounts reflected a shifting emic sense of a "we," a community based on common interests, identities, or causes.

Teachers signaled affinity groups by using the pronoun "we." They included "we" who are teachers, "we" who are parents and/or children of educators, and "we" who are like-minded citizens gathering to protest. These fluid conceptions of community included fellow educators in their schools along with educators they had never met in other districts across the state and nation. These conceptions of

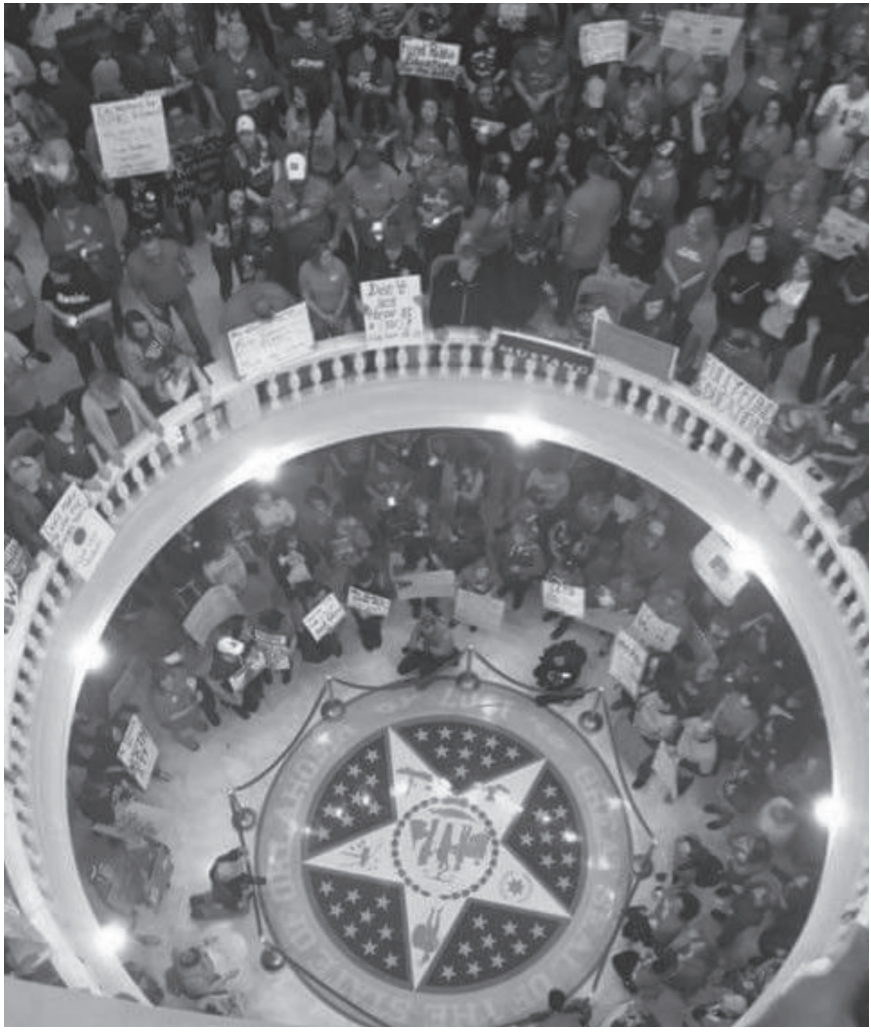

FIGURE 5.2 Teachers occupying Capitol Building.

Source: Photograph by Doug Folks with OEA.

"we" never included legislators. Anderson's (1983) concept of "imagined community" is salient to some conceptions of the "we" that appeared. This concept captures Anderson's analysis of such forces as print-capitalism that lead people to imagine themselves and others they will never meet as members of an "imagined political community" (p. 6) that nourishes nationalism. Although accounts did not mobilize an American sense of nation-ness, they evoked a sense of an "imagined educational community" with those both familiar and unknown as Anderson outlined. In Capitol gatherings, attendance averaged 35,000 participants daily and media capitalism (newspapers, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) expanded the full

scope of Walkout supporters. Importantly, the participants narrated connections to others in the state they had never seen, an imagined community of workers, teachers and Oklahomans who supported education.

"We" who are teachers

One conception of community was a strong identification with other teachers. Kevin, a high school AP English teacher, for instance, emphasized teacher collectivity when using the Walkout as a teaching tool. He described events leading up to the Walkout to his class, "every morning we'd wake up to some new development and we have to add that to the information we already know and try to decide whether or not to do this walkout." The "we" visible here is teachers working together to make decisions while also teaching students about the process.

Similarly, narrators described their connections to fellow educators from their own district and/or from across the state. Matt, a high school AP History teacher, said,

> I visited with a teacher all the way from Guymon, Oklahoma way up in the Panhandle. I didn't know them. And I spent like 20 minutes just talking about what has been going on there in Guymon and in my home district. And realizing that commonality, you know, we are separated by great distances and the same is true when you speak to teachers from the metro areas. We all came across the same problems, the same struggles over the last several years due to the lack of funding. Just to reinforce, you know, it's not just me. I am not alone. I am not the only one.

The interaction solidified his sense of community in action: "we are all there for the right reasons." Kandee, a library media specialist from a rural district, recognized the Walkout's broad value when she said, "All teachers in Oklahoma and all school employees benefit from what we did." The common goal was "to improve everything for teachers." April, an elementary teacher, mobilized teachers' experiential connections when she shared, "I always liken teachers to war buddies because we know what we go through and nobody else does." Letitia, a high school teacher in a rural community, summed up communal connections by stating, "I think it showed teachers we could all stand . . . together and support each other and get to know each other." In this sense, participating both reflected and forged relationships.

"We" who are parents and/or children of educators

The "we" also included teachers' cross-generational familial connections. April emphasized her family's role in education: "My father was in education for about 44 years and so I was raised as a teacher's kid." She then extended this familial

community when speaking about her own daughter: "I brought her [to the Walkout] because she wanted to come and to be able to share that with her because not only am I her mother but this year I was her teacher in [her] classroom." Jeffrey, a high school teacher in a large urban district, allowed his daughter to participate in the Walkout with a family friend, telling her: "you need to get your red shirt and your sign—And she was all like excited. [I couldn't go] So I sent her out in my stead." Cheila, an early childhood educator, said that attending with her daughter "was really an empowering event." Similarly, Letitia's daughter was "able to talk to someone from the legislature . . . to see there can be a way to fight what you need to fight without violence. That was really, really good for her." This vision of a family "we" collectively advocates for education.

"We" who are like-minded citizens gathering in protest

As the narratives unfolded, participants spoke about the "we" represented by the stakeholders who gathered as like-minded citizens of the political process to protest the lack of Oklahoma's education funding. This visible collective was deeply affirming. This broader sense of "we" transcending teacher and family identity is visible when Matt said, "it wasn't due to a vocal minority that was doing this. It was a state-wide effort of teachers, administrators, parents, and community members, members of the clergy, all types of Oklahomans" who gathered. He emphasized, "They don't know one another but they are all there for the same reasons. And not everybody here is an educator." Supporting the Walkout involved a diverse collective (citizens, labor organizations, parents, students) who gathered to advocate for Oklahoma's children and education system.

The awareness of widespread support through a "we" was vital after feeling ignored by state legislators for years. Jennie, an elementary teacher from a suburban district, expressed, "had the community and state not rallied in support of us, I may not be a teacher anymore." Similarly, April acknowledged the presence of labor union supporters, "that was really neat to have the support of not just the Teamsters but the steelworkers there and watch them sit out." Kevin also appreciated the involvement of like-minded groups, noting, "I think that's the other thing that (pause) that can't be (sigh) undersold. That every single one of those groups that decided to take an action like that faced legitimate reprisal for it." Other workers' display of solidarity with educators left a marked impression. Carrie, a middle school teacher, said,

> just seeing support from the public [and] people, like the Teamsters [because] as a teacher, *you* know students are our future . . . seeing all these people come together to support us. We knew we were in the right.

These accounts of the "we," both visible and imagined communities, testified to the community valuing teachers' work in the absence of legislators' support who had ignored teachers' voices for decades.

BODY POLITICS

The second theme that surfaced in accounts focused on descriptions of the body and embodiment that shaped Walkout events. The multidimensional concept of body politics is useful here. It refers to a site of political action of a unified group of people that stands in for the needs of a greater political body. It is also a place of theorizing how bodies become in/visible in different initiatives and spaces despite their centrality to human rights. The body is a site of political action, as well as a site in which political issues play out.

Feminist scholars have long demonstrated (see Fonow & Cook, 2005; Lather & Smithies, 1997) that the body is an important site of social and cultural theorizing that researchers have too often overlooked in inquiry. In terms of the researcher body, Western epistemologies have long focused on the mind as somehow separate from the body and normalized an invisible, masculinist, omniscient researcher that has erased the situated and fleshy body as the site through which researchers produce knowledge (e.g., Haraway, 1988). As a result, researchers have not attended to nuanced bodily engagement in the field, or their participants' bodily experience, descriptions, and metaphors as key forms of information, data gathering, and avenues of analysis. Yet, as Ellingson (2017) and Snowber (2016) remind us, the body, as the site of apprehending and engagement remains a key "place of inquiry, a place of learning, understanding and perceiving" (Snowber, 2016, p. xiii).

Varied threads focused on the body emerged, including 1) the embodied costs of funding cuts to teachers' lives; 2) the mass of bodies gathering at the capitol as physical representation of protest; 3) sensory elements of embodiment during the Walkout; 4) the symbolic and physical role of bodies standing in for other bodies

FIGURE 5.3 Oklahoma City Capitol protest.

Source: Photograph by Doug Folks with OEA.

who could not participate or for those the Walkout was ultimately intended to serve; 5) participants facing different embodied circumstances.

Bodily metaphors

Some teachers protested the state's funding cuts through bodily metaphors to emphasize the forces compelling their participation. As Jeffrey noted, "real education funding just kept disappearing . . . we were just getting choked and starved." This fierce language evokes a collective assault on teachers' real bodily needs for "shelter, health care, and food" (Butler, 2015, p. 10). In response to bodily assaults, teachers used their bodies as vehicles for advocacy for education. One narrator remarked that participating in the Walkout is a clear form of embodied action: "we're out there trying to make a point and get things done and we weren't just sitting at home sipping Pina Coladas." In this sense, action means placing bodies strategically in particular visible spaces; action happens when bodies are "out there" rather than "at home."

Embodied affirmation

The power of the "we" articulated in theme one echoed through narrators' accounts of the robust physical mass of people who participated. Bodily presence was a symbolic representation of mass voice, action, and support on behalf of teachers and public education. In several emotional exchanges, for instance, Jennie shared, "the first day was so inspiring just to see. To be a part of a mass movement. I don't think I've been a part of something that big before so, that was very energizing." Similarly, Denise, a middle school teacher, emphasized bodily density: "I was just right in the middle of a massive crowd. It eventually got to where it was just packed . . . just couldn't see the concrete. I mean it was just *people*."

Accounts described the textured, colorful, noisy crowd that through sheer embodied presence testified to attendees' profound concerns about education (see Figure 5.3). Media images broadcasted those concerns to regional and national audiences. As Kandee noted, "I think [the Walkout] brought education more to life for the public in Oklahoma." Teacher voices rarely take center stage in politics; one teacher hoped the Walkout represented teachers' potential political power: "my most ardent wish is that we can show them that you can only push us so far and are actually going to show our political muscle." Noise and presence represented teacher *voice*.

Multisensory dimensions

Accounts surfaced sensory elements of teachers' experiences. Teachers described sounds, sights, temperatures, bodies, and color. As demonstrated in Figure 5.2, the Capitol scene was a sea of red. Narrators referred to multi-sensory dimensions, what Ellingson (2017) calls "the sensorium" (p. 14), the ocular, aural, vocal, tactile, kinesthetic, and proxemic aspects of moving and experiencing the world in fully embodied ways: group chants, calling out to each other, hearing horns honk

in support, singing, holding signs, laughing about witty placards, and sounds of moving toward, inside, and outside the Capitol building. Support was sometimes audible (Gershon & Applebaum, 2018) rather than visible: "something as simple as the horns being honked" as cars drove by people gathered on street corners or on the highway overpasses near the Capitol ground. Also, as April noted, supporters collaborated vocally: "People were singing. We were walking around the building. There was community. We are here to stay and that's it."

Others noted the press of bodies and sounds within the Capitol; April said, "there were people at the very top that would yell down to the third tier who would yell down to us." These sensory dimensions underscored the physicality of the protest through the sounds of presence. April emphasized, "[the sounds represented] that sense of community . . . wow, this is really happening because *we're here* [emphasis added]." Voices and bodies disrupted business as usual among legislators within the Capitol. For Katie, an elementary teacher from a rural district, "it was so packed inside the Capitol and it took us forever to get in there and they were yelling and the chants that were going on." Being inside the Capitol, Cheila reflected,

> this was really unbelievable to me. It was the power of the people. The chanting that was going on and just the atmosphere. It was just like—this is important—hear us—hear what we're saying and you're here to do a job for our state.

In this account, narrators used metaphors of voice and hearing to describe people advocating for recognition. These accounts accompanied the resounding vocal and aural dimensions of the Walkout and narrators describing how participants physically worked to be heard.

The bodily demands of gathering for multiple hours and days were also palpable in accounts. Denise noted, as did others, the sheer physical demands of being present, whether through traveling to the capitol, the energy required to gather, or the demands of negotiating the crowd. She said, "We walked. I walked so much I was exhausted just from all the walking and standing and you don't get to sit unless you sit on the curb." Some described carrying food and water, the need for bathrooms, and food delivery from random supporters. As Denise noted, gifts of food testified to recognizing and supporting bodily needs: "There were people giving away peanut butter and jelly sandwiches. You did *not* go hungry, so I really didn't have to pack food." She also prepared for her bodily comfort to the extent possible. She said, "things that I needed to be accessible for standing out in the cold (pause) having layers that you can then shed like a little roll-up jacket for the rain." The weather was also incredibly variable throughout the protest, adding to the embodied demands (see Figure 5.3).

Representing bodies

Also visible in accounts was that some bodies stood in for other bodies. The bodies present in the Walkout—moving, singing, shouting—represented the needs of the greater body politic. Some supporters simply could not attend because of

job responsibilities or their school districts explicitly forbade them to participate. Cheila noted her relative economic safety in choosing to participate. She reflected,

> For me it was knowing that there were other people out there that wanted to fight and I'm in a position a lot of other people aren't in. I've got that second job that pays very good. I could survive on that and I have a husband who has a good paying job. So, I was in a position where I could stand up and I could go and represent and if I didn't get my paycheck, I would have been okay with that.

Others, such as Letitia, sent representatives because she needed to return to school. She shared, "[when] we were back in the classroom, we sent delegates and we sent a group of teachers who really wanted to go."

In a primarily rural state, others lived too far away or faced corporeal circumstances that prevented participating in a demanding daily protest. Still others were children who represented other students and those part of an "imagined community" for whom protesters were advocating. Further, some did not support the Walkout. Yet, those present affirmed the reality that not all bodies could be present. Both Matt and Katie referred to classroom "substitutes" so they could participate while remaining connected at home. Matt reflected, "I attended for the two weeks. I was staying in touch back home so I could know what was going on locally from the teachers who couldn't' make it down to the City every day." Judith Butler's (2015) theorizing of the politics of assembly underscores the representative power of bodies in our analysis. She writes,

> There is an indexical force of the body that arrives with other bodies in a zone visible to media coverage: it is *this* body, and *these* bodies, that require employment, shelter, health care, and food, as well as a sense of future that is not the future of unpayable debt; it is *this* body, or *these* bodies, or bodies *like* this body or these bodies, that live the condition of an imperiled livelihood, decimated infrastructure, and accelerating precarity.
>
> *(pp. 9–10)*

In this sense, teachers' bodies gathering in protest echoed the increasing precarity in the body politic. Teachers' bodies also stand in for the educational needs of the children they represent.

Forms of participation

Those who participated did so differently based on their embodied circumstances. Just as Cheila noted her relative economic freedom to participate, another narrator noted her economic constraints. Carrie, a single mother, commented on the expense of driving and the gratitude for the district's provision of charters to transport people to the Capitol. Similarly, Jeffrey had undergone surgery and could not

travel. He sent his daughter and protested locally instead. One powerful account conveyed the varying abilities of those participating in the Tulsa to Oklahoma City 110-Mile March. Susanna, an elementary, special education teacher in Tulsa recounted,

> I think it was (pauses as she begins to cry) the turtle teachers which just started out. They didn't do the right thing with those shoes and they had like dollar-sized blisters on their feet and they just kept going. The turtles wouldn't stop until the doctor told them that they had to stop. They were crying because they had to stop.

The "turtle" teachers on the march could not go as fast as others; yet they persisted until advised otherwise. People participated in varied ways to show their support of the Walkout.

Emotional landscape

The third theme extends the embodiment focus through exploring teachers' emotional engagement in the Walkout. Emotions surfaced in teachers' accounts about feeling de/valued, recounting embodied events through photo-elicitation, and in researcher-teachers' reliving events during interviews, transcription, and analysis. Numerous feminist scholars (e.g., Fonow & Cook, 2005; Lather & Smithies, 1997) have noted the emotional contours of conducting research as a resource in meaning making. For these narrators, emotions accompanied the wear and tear on the body, the contrast between the energy high during the intense protest then the "coming down," as one narrator described how she felt at the end, along with the emotions of the legislators' steady dismissal of teacher concerns. Teachers expressed a wide range of emotions, including sadness, anger, frustration, and ultimately, hope, as they looked to the future.

One feeling that surfaced was the desire to "matter" as professionals. Flett (2018) who studies the psychology of mattering, stated, "Mattering reflects a person's need to feel significant in the eyes of other people" (p. 31). Several discussed their rage and frustration from encountering nonresponsive legislators before and during the Walkout. With marked emotion, Carrie spoke of sitting in the Capitol gallery a month before the Walkout listening to debate on a teacher pay rise: "That was shot down so fast. Our state representatives got up and spoke so poorly of education and teachers. I was so angry I wanted to cry (pause) saddened that no one had faith in education anymore." Teachers felt that their labor simply did not, and should, matter. In describing her reasons for participating, Cheila reflected, "they (legislators) had made some progress and just basically backed out of it." Katie similarly urged her colleagues to participate: "They (legislators) don't respect you. You will get that fire." Matt echoed the desire to matter when he stated: "This is our state. This is our priority and we need to make sure that those who represent us; they need to understand they need to be doing what the people want."

Feeling like one does not matter is profoundly emotional (Flett, 2018). As Jennie said, "I don't think I've ever felt so drained and the draining part was definitely going in and trying to talk to lawmakers (pause) being insulted and demeaned was so hard." She felt "silenced." Kandee discussed legislators' inaccessibility during the Walkout: "They kept the doors to the chambers closed and they kept the doors down the hallways to their offices closed." Although several lawmakers were less than welcoming, Letitia noted that "the legislators couldn't ignore them when they were inside." Kandee stated, "I think our legislators just thought they could wait us out and then we'd quit . . . and . . . there were more and more and more people involved just about every single day." Teachers wanted their educational labor to matter.

Reliving emotions

During the interviews, 11 participants cried or displayed marked emotions when they described the Walkout. As Susanna spoke about the Tulsa teachers' 110-mile Tulsa March, she took several pauses and cried throughout. Both the visual and tactile aspects of photo-elicitation were particularly powerful in this regard, bringing forth sights, sounds, and feelings associated with the Walkout. Most touched the photos and paused reflectively before speaking. One interview photo, often the first selected, showed members of the Teamsters union, which evoked strong emotion. Kandee said tearfully, "It was so amazing that other groups were willing to back us up. They knew what we were going through, and they wanted to help us." Cheila became visibly emotional when simply looking at the photos. Through halted speech and long pauses, she whispered through tears, "The kids (long pause) the students (long pause) the students that stood up for their teachers and for themselves." Letitia also fought tears and employed long pauses when looking at the photos. She simply stated, "They are all really powerful."

Researcher emotion

Another nuance that surfaced during interviewing, then transcription and analysis, was the Walkout's re-embodiment through the process of reflecting and meaning making. In conducting the interviews, Rhonda often re-lived the Walkout alongside participants' interviews. She was heavily involved in event logistics and experienced "standing for hours on concrete . . . waving my arms to direct (traffic) . . . raising my voice . . . blisters and chapped lips . . . and the unpredictable Oklahoma weather." Hers was an exhaustion "that seeps into your bones and radiates over your entire body." Several interviews brought her to tears as she connected with the narrator and reflected on her own emotions associated with the Walkout. Lucy similarly recalled exhausted protesters in her classes, frustration among those who did not or could not participate, and widespread anger with legislative dismissals of teachers' requests.

Similarly, revisiting accounts through the embodied process of transcription also evoked emotion. For both researchers, listening to the recordings and revisiting the images, literature, and accounts two years after the Walkout and during the

COVID-19 pandemic underscored the importance of the physical Walkout and reminded us of the fragility of democratic assembly and the necessity of teacher voice. Mass protests have health implications during shelter-in-place orders, constraining a key vehicle of democratic action. These emotional contours reflected the realities of teachers' working lives and oral history as a fully embodied process.

EMBODIED MEANING MAKING

The photo-elicitation, images, and analysis techniques enhanced the craft of oral history and surfaced how narrators' accounts were sensory and embodied events. Our meaning making processes relied heavily on embodied collaborative approaches. As

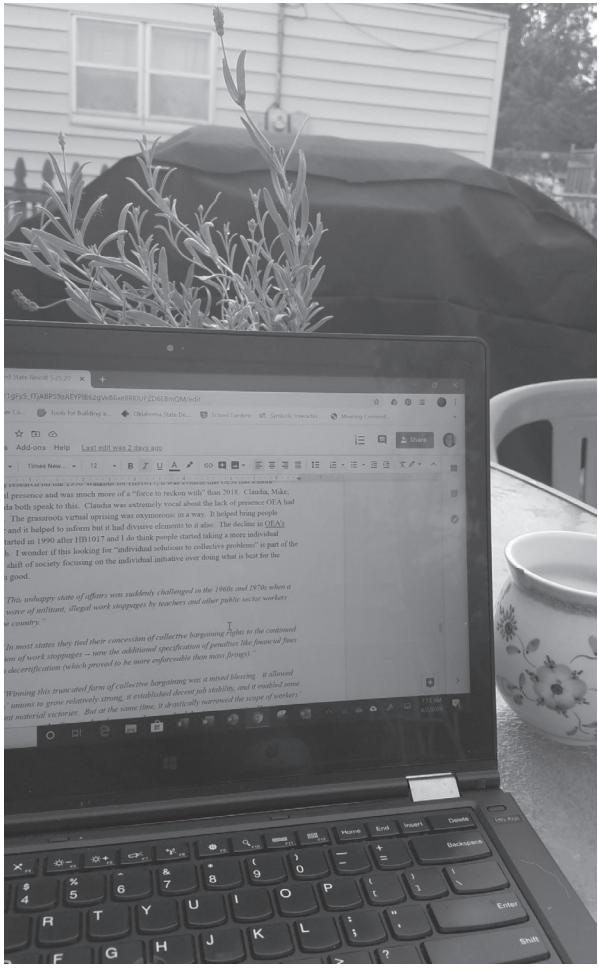

FIGURE 5.4 Backyard analysis.

Source: Photograph by R. Harlow.

noted previously, scholars (e.g., Ellingson, 2017) describe how researchers downplay their bodies in the process of engaging in qualitative work, particularly in relation to analysis. But analytic processes are thoroughly embodied, sensory, and in place (Bailey, 2012). Listening during interviews (Wong, 2013), sonic engagements through replaying recordings, tactile sorting through and marking transcripts, wandering while processing, and drawing and mapping connections are fully embodied processes. Analysis involved listening, talking, driving, replaying, and writing.

Meaning making unfolded during sunny afternoons, at computer screens, with piles of paper on tables, at coffee shops, and along Oklahoma highways (Bailey, 2012) in driving between work responsibilities, fueled by the sensory rhythms of Oklahoma places in which "we" as teachers, and "they" as teachers, moved. Bailey (2012) has called this a form of place-based mobile analysis—a type of "Oklahoma processing." Recordings sometimes reflected children's laughter or classroom noise as teachers prepared for interviews. Moreover, because both authors are deeply embroiled in theoretical and political issues salient to public education, as teachers and activists, our dialogue catapulted understanding. Oral history can transform those who narrate, participate, or bear witness.

We used drawing and data displays to make sense of the accounts and attended to the discourses of the signs teachers used in the Walkout (Slocum et al., 2018). For instance, as we processed conceptions of affinity emerging in the data leading to our first theme ("the we"), we both envisioned an image of concentric circles radiating around each teacher as they imagined connections with others. We began to sketch and color this image in red shades to help process the relational proxemics accounts reflected, and Rhonda produced the final image as in Figure 5.5. This color represents the social movement, #RedforEd, a social media

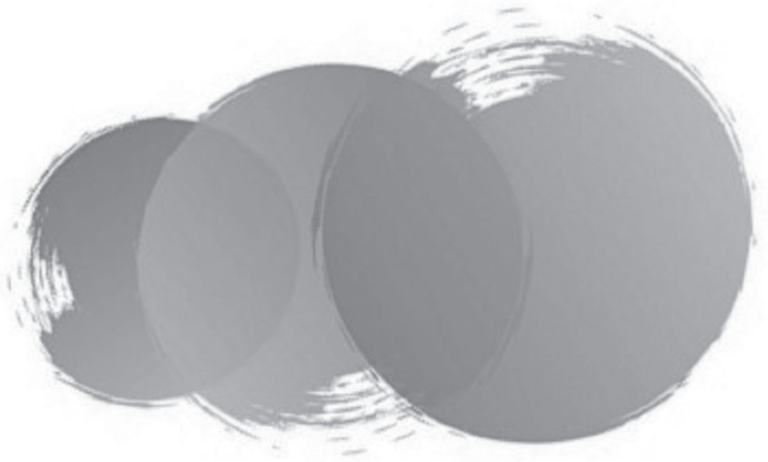

FIGURE 5.5 Expanding community.

Source: Visual representation created by R. Harlow.

rallying cry for teacher activism (Burnett II, 2018). In turn, this drawing resonated with a key photograph of protestors occupying the floors in the concentric circles within the Capitol building (Image 2). This image fittingly centered teachers in state functioning.

Another significant analytic force was the quarantines that emerged nationwide in spring 2020 in response to the COVID-19 global pandemic. Analysis occurred before and during this period, eventually overlapping with the 2-year anniversary of the Walkout. Surrounded by spring growth and glimmers of hope was also our awareness of the weight of human suffering globally. Particularly striking for us was the embodied memory of educators gathering en masse in testimony of the power of democracy's right to assemble juxtaposed against the sheer weight of shuttered schools and people's absence in the wake of a deadly pandemic. No crowds could gather safely at the Capitol to represent educators' collective voice. This profound contrast underscored that democratic protest cannot be taken for granted.

CONCLUSION

In capturing teachers' accounts of protest, these oral histories also enhance educational biography as a craft. Narrating teachers' experiences of collective action for education amplifies understanding of teachers as multidimensional historical actors working both within and outside the classroom to change the conditions of their, and students', lives. Others conducting educational research might find such methods as photo-elicitation and visual analysis important in surfacing varied aspects of narrators' work and activism. As we found, both the *tactile aspects* of holding and sorting images and the *visual aspects* of these methods elicited teachers' memories and emotions, and in turn, expanded the dimensions of educational biography. For instance, photograph prompts might enhance narrators' access to memories for educational biographies focusing on a broad swath of time such as a life of teaching or activism. Similarly, using visual displays and collaborative analysis can also enhance meaning making. Such methods might also be meaningful for researchers who are members of the group or phenomenon under study as a way of working with, rather than on, participants (Lather & Smithies, 1997).

As noted earlier, feminist scholars have often critiqued the erasure of the researcher's embodied presence in the inquiry process and in research reports. Foregrounding the researcher's embodied participation and analyses—in *place*—also renders their central contextual role in meaning making visible throughout (Ellingson, 2017; Lather & Smithies, 1997). Others might consider how the *places* of data collection and analysis shape meaning making. Doing so can underscore that researchers, too, are grounded in particular sites of labor and life, affected by their research, and contributing to their own educational biographies through carrying out the inquiry. Moreover, oral histories are oriented to collecting and preserving substantial individual accounts. In this study, we collected both extended individual accounts while also linking commonalities among teachers' experiences.

This study also contributes to scholarship on teacher activism by exploring the April 2018 Oklahoma Teacher Walkout through the voices of teachers. Their oral accounts reflect embodied components of their participation as well as fluid, shifting, conceptions of community that both reflected and were further forged through Walkout interactions. It also contributes to the sparse scholarship regarding teacher walkouts historically and regionally. Teachers rarely feel able to engage in mass collective action, wield economic power, or visible outlets to narrate their experiences. The witty placards, use of social media, and the sheer turnout at the Capitol protest were vital forms of voice for Oklahoma teachers at this historical moment.

Although part of the 2018 red state revolt, the Oklahoma Walkout was decades in the making (Blanc, 2019). The last major Oklahoma Walkout occurred in 1990. In 1992, voters passed a state question that required the supermajority to increase taxes and created the political stage to impede new funding for education. Yet teachers continued to shoulder Oklahoma's educational needs while legislators prioritized other funding initiatives. After 30 years of legislative neglect and uncertainty of the extent of public support, teachers collectively hit a boiling point. They gained confidence in the wake of West Virginia's collective action to join "ongoing . . . social and political movements . . . whose action and inaction demand a different future" (Butler, 2015, pp. 74–75). That is a future still in the making. For a short time, the Walkout affirmed teachers and raised the visibility of their concerns. It also resulted in nearly half a billion in new funding with teachers and support employees receiving a pay increase along with an additional $50 million in classroom funding (OEA, n.d.). Its long-term effects are less clear, particularly amidst the context of COVID-19.

In a limited timeframe, with OEA's help and financial backing by the National Education Association (NEA), stakeholders from the state mobilized. Teachers' vacancy from classrooms, with many districts pausing instruction, testified to the importance of their embodied presence. Their absence in the classroom and their presence at the Capitol also speak to the importance of their willingness to take tangible action for their profession. Gathering both reflected and fueled their connections to a broader "imagined community" and the prevailing hope for legislators and the public to see and hear their serious concerns about education. As Flett (2018) reminds us, "someone who feels like she or he doesn't matter is that they have encountered people who have minimized, denied, invalidated, or ignored their feelings and emotional experiences" (pp. 40–41). It is also worth noting that the narrators, by participating in this study, may have gained feelings of significance for themselves as individuals as well as a collective sense of significance for their profession. Essentially narrators participated in further action by reflecting on and sharing their Walkout experiences for this study. This act underscores oral histories along with educational biography as a valued research approach. All accounts reflected the emotional landscape of voicing their role in this historically significant Walkout and the importance of embodied assembly in representing that their jobs, Oklahoma's children, and education *matter*.

Notes

1 The equal sign between the authors indicates equal contributions to the manuscript. Harlow conducted all the oral history interviews for this research.
2 This chapter draws from Harlow's (2020) oral history dissertation as noted in the reference list, advised by the faculty co-author of this manuscript.

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6

LA FAMILIA ORTIZ

Parental influence on the pursuit of higher education

Rosalinda Ortiz

I'm a first-generation Latina from Texas. When I began my doctoral program at a PWI in the Midwest, it was apparent that I was an anomaly in the Black/White binary research my peers engaged in. Divergently, I wanted to research my culture and my people to promote higher education access and persistence. Fortunately, I was surrounded by amazing professors that supported this endeavor. Unfortunately, the academic journals/books that the university library held on Latino epistemologies/frameworks were dismal. Thus, my seminal qualitative research projects used frameworks from the traditional Eurocentric perspective.

Researching the "White" way got me through my courses, however, it did not always reflect my research agenda. Luckily, during the last few years of my degree (and the ability to covertly infiltrate library databases, i.e., I borrowed my son's library account at his university in Texas), I was introduced to scholarship which more appropriately reflected my research intentions. In doing so, I was able to reimagine all of my previous research projects in the context of my Chicana roots. Once an analytic auto-ethnography, this book chapter is my research reimagined as it should have always been written—a *testimonio*.

"Although students of color are holders and creators of knowledge, they often feel as if their histories, experiences, cultures, and languages are devalued, misinterpreted, or omitted within formal educational settings" (Bernal, 2002, p. 106). Using *testimonio* thorough a critical race (CRT) and Latcrit lens to understand my family's educational biography has enabled me to document a counter-story of Latino family values on education. In the Latino culture, messages are passed on intergenerationally through *consejos*. This advice is integral to building strength and support through family networks. In this chapter, I explore how Latino parents used *consejos* to influence their children's perceptions and persistence of higher education through the *testimonios* of my family. This chapter also includes an explicit first-person account of my salient experiences

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as a researcher as a guidepost for those interested in using these *testimonios* in qualitative research.

Latino college persistence

In 2016, the percentage of adults age 25 and over who had not completed high school was higher for Hispanic adults (33 percent) than for adults in any other racial/ethnic group (McFarland et al., 2019). However, from 2000 to 2016, Hispanic undergraduate enrollment more than doubled (from 1.4 million to 3.2 million students). This is a stark contrast to National Center for Education Statistics 2011 report which showed that Hispanics were the most underrepresented population in higher education compared to their Black and White peers (Aud et al., 2011). What could account for such a change in the number of Hispanics matriculating to college? Research on college persistence must look beyond the numerical data to find the answers. A qualitative approach must be taken, and I contend, frameworks, such as CRT and LatCrit, that were created for and by Latinos and other disenfranchised groups should be used to gather this information. Narratives, storytelling, and especially *testimonios* are ways to collect this data.

To find the trends that will propel Latinos forward in education we should engage within the population and especially within Latino families. Amaury (2004) concluded that students use "the heart as well as the head" (p. 197) in deciding which college to attend by using cognitive and intuitive processes. However, students ultimately rely more heavily on psychosocial factors, such as support and encouragement from family in making this final decision. In the Latino culture, support and encouragement are integral to a students' decision to enter higher education. This support may be passed generationally through *consejos*, which are the common proverbial sayings, anecdotes, or idioms (Aviera, 1996; Espinoza-Herold, 2007). Throughout Latino culture, *consejos* have been used as ways to educate, or socialize, individuals and future generations into their culture (Espinoza-Herold, 2007). Further, *consejos* have been used as a bridge between generations by passing information from parent to children to grandchildren and so on. The purpose of this family educational biography was to document through *testimonios* the *consejos* of my Latino family's views on higher education.

Testimonios *and* consejos

Testimonios emerged from the field of Latin American Studies and have generally been used to document the experiences of oppressed groups and denounce injustices (Booker, 2002). *Testimonios* are usually guided by the will of the narrator to tell events as she sees significant, and are often an expression of a collective experience, rather than the individual. Reyes and Rodriguez (2012) noted *testimonios* are methodological cousins to oral histories, autobiographies, and interviews. *Testimonios* have been employed as a methodological tool for disrupting the "apartheid of knowledge," challenging distinctions between what is or what is not considered

knowledge (Pérez Huber, 2009). As Delgado-Romero et al. (2007) articulate, "These narratives can give voice to unaddressed barriers in academia and provide validation, identification, catharsis, and relief" (p. 44).

Utilizing *testimonios* allows participants to work in collaboration with the researcher, honoring *their* lived experiences and knowledge. As a result, participants play a crucial role in deciding how knowledge about their experiences is produced in the research process. Like critical race (CRT) counter-stories, *testimonios* recognize the power in telling one's story that is rooted in traditions of storytelling in Latina/o, African American, and Native American communities (Booker, 2002; Yosso, 2006). Marrying CRT with educational biographies constructs the *testimonios* in unique ways. Together, they represent new alternatives in thinking about the voices that have been excluded in the academy. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) argue for "voice" in the form of storytelling as an integral component of critical race theory. As they contend, voice is:

> [A] first step on the road to justice [that] provides a way to communicate the experiences and realities of the oppressed. Thus, without authentic voices of people of color (as teachers, parents, administrators, students, and community members) it is doubtful that we can say or know anything useful about education in their communities.
>
> *(p. 58)*

Chicana feminists have written extensively on Latina students and posit they are holders and creators of knowledge because they engage in formal (academic) and informal knowledge (home/community) (Delgado Bernal, 2002, 2006). Delgado Bernal (2006) proposes, "pedagogies of the home" places cultural knowledge at the forefront to understand lessons from local communities and homes spaces. It is in these home spaces where parents impart attitudes, beliefs, and values onto their children in the form of *consejos*. *Consejos* are used to counsel individuals within a society. It is important to note that *consejos* are more than just our understanding of "advice." That is, they communicate concern while also applying cultural norms, scripts, and "truths" (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994). Consequently, *consejos* are both an articulation and construction of reality. Therefore, Latino children's interpretation of *consejos* provides clear and measurable ways to examine their endorsement of cultural beliefs and as a result the behaviors that they enact.

Although there are multiple ways to interpret *consejos*, there are similar overarching messages, especially for women and their roles within the community. The implication of these messages is that women should regard their worth in their roles as daughters, wives, and mothers (Croghan & Miell, 1998; Martin, 1990; Villenas & Moreno, 2001). This is largely due to the fact that *consejos* tend to preserve traditional gendered roles within the culture (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Espino, 2016). Oftentimes, the way *consejos* are communicated not only structures family dynamics but may also set limits on women within the family.

Family background

My parents, Oscar and Rosa Ortiz were married in 1973. Born in Camargo Tamaulipas, Mexico, my father immigrated to Corpus Christi, Texas, in 1953 and later moved to Eagle Pass, Texas, where he graduated high school in 1970. He spent the next two years in the army and upon his return secured a job in telecommunications, which prompted his move to Brackettville, Texas, in 1972. My mother, Rosa (Rivas) was born in Ciudad Acuna, Mexico in 1955 and was raised in Del Rio, Texas until she was five years old. She then moved with her family to Brackettville, Texas, in 1960, where she began elementary school. During her junior year in high school, my mother worked as a waitress in a small café in the remote town my father frequented for lunch or dinner.

After a short 6-month courtship, they decided to get married and immediately started a family. Claudia, the eldest of five daughters, was born in 1974, Oralia (Lala) followed in 1975, and Mary on New Year's Day in 1977. With three daughters in tow and pregnant with me, they moved from Brackettville to Carrizo Springs in 1978 because of my father's work transfer. In 1979, my youngest sister Cristy was added to complete the family. Presently, my parents still work and reside in Carrizo Springs. Over the years, my father acquired numerous businesses including a restaurant, various rental properties, and a cellular phone store. Growing up, my mother stayed at home, but as we graduated high school and went to college, she opened her own flower shop. She eventually retired from working and returned to home life and personal hobbies while my dad continued to manage all of the businesses. Over the last 20 years, my sisters and I graduated high school, attended college, and came back to live in Carrizo Springs where we work and raise our families.

Claudia was married in 1997 and is the mother of three boys aged 16, 14, and 10. She and her husband own the city newspaper, a business she acquired through my father's entrepreneurship. Oralia is remarried and works for the school district as an administrator and has two children from her first marriage, a girl and boy, who attend high school and junior high respectively. Mary was married in 1997 and has three children, two daughters, ages 16 and 7, and one son, age 9. She works as a teacher at the local elementary school. Months after graduating high school in 1996, I gave birth to my only son, Oscar. With the help of my family, I raised him as a single mother while I completed college and worked in higher education. He is the oldest grandchild, graduated high school in 2015, and attends college on an academic scholarship. Cristy, the youngest daughter, was married in 2006 and has two young daughters, one in kindergarten and one in daycare. She is the manager for all of my father's businesses and owns her own clothing boutique.

Methods

The process of collecting the *testimonios* of my family members was a complicated task to undertake. At all times I needed to be cognizant of my role as a researcher but also as daughter, sister, and mother. I acknowledge that all of these roles are

intertwined and each carries certain privileges and responsibilities. To situate my role as a researcher, I created a list of questions to explore with my family regarding education. I wanted to ensure questions were worded in such a way that allowed ample opportunity for family members to tell their stories without confusion, fear, or hesitation. Prior to my interviews, I had a colleague interview me to pilot the questions created for this project and to record my *testimonio*. I wanted my memories to be chronicled separately and ahead of everyone else to fully experience the participant side. I also wanted to ensure I had ample opportunity to express all of my thoughts and feelings. After I gave my *testimonio*, I journaled about the difficulty/ease of the questions, my feelings about how I answered the questions, and what I thought should be added/modified to the protocol, taking into account my perception about how my family members might interpret the questions. Once my *testimonio* was complete, I could step out of the role of participant and into the role of interviewer and prepare myself, mentally, to record everyone else's *testimonios*.

Interviews took place during spring break since that is the time I had set aside to spend time with my family since I was living in another state working on my doctorate degree. I introduced my project during the typical Sunday barbeque with the entire family. We are a close-knit family and typically spend time together on a daily/weekly basis. We live in a small rural town in South Texas, raise our kids together, and help each other out with businesses and the like. During the course of the meal, I told them about the research project and how I wanted to talk to them, individually, about growing up and the things we were taught about education. Typical laughing and teasing ensued about who was the better/worse student or most/least successful daughter. It didn't take much to get everyone talking and telling stories, a good precursor to recording their *testimonios*. By the end of the dinner, all agreed to partake so long as I didn't make them look bad. I set up days/times to visit each of them to record their *testimonios* throughout the week. A total of six interviews took place. My parents were interviewed at their house and the rest of the interviews took place in my sister's homes or offices. The *testimonios* lasted between 15 and 50 minutes, were audio recorded and transcribed to find common themes. While I initially used 13 questions to uncover parental influence and student persistence, I added specific questions for each family member based on my knowledge of their particular educational and familial circumstances.

Interestingly, everyone's *testimonio* lasted between 40 and 50 minutes, apart from my dad. I don't know if he preferred my mom be present or if my mom insisted on being in the room. I had already interviewed my mother alone earlier that day, so she knew I wanted to interview my dad alone as well. Nonetheless, when it came time for his interview that evening, they were both in the living room and neither moved from the couch. I will note that she was helpful to me during the interview because he was very brief with his answers which resulted in his 15-minute interview. Mom nudged him along, tried to get him to open up, reminded him of the past, and prompted him to explain his point of view. This was a skill she honed over decades of being a wife and mother—a power that I did not yet possess. I could only stand aside and benefit from her communication style. Typically, both my parents are

private people and are wary of discussing their backgrounds with anyone outside the family. As children, we didn't really ask questions about their upbringing and they only brought up the past in the context of offering lessons about how lucky we were to not grow up in poverty. We typically learned about the fun, happy stories when our aunts, uncles, and grandparents were around reminiscing and teasing each other.

Data analysis

Upon return to campus/university life, reigniting my research persona, I transcribed each of the *testimonios* by hand. I made an excel spreadsheet with each of our names and copied and pasted each response under the coordinating questions. Once the spreadsheet was complete with all of the questions and answers in their correct positions, I analyzed each question with corresponding answers, individually. I also started developing themes for each of the *consejos*. Overall, my sisters and I consistently recalled similar *consejos* that our parents expressed regarding higher education. This advice revolved around their expectations for us as young women, good daughters, and the role education should play as we eventually became wives/mothers. While each of us took slightly different paths to earn our degree, we all completed our programs of study. However, how we internalized and reified those *consejos* varied when it came to raising our children.

Good daughters get good grades

The best way my parents could ensure their daughters could attend college was to keep close tabs on their grades in primary and secondary school. While passing grades were 70 or higher, the Ortiz girls were required to bring home stellar grades or face consequences. Claudia recalled, "they expected us to do the best in school and get good grades. Hundreds were the best you could get. All As were good. As and Bs were okay but try and bring this B up. Cs were absolutely not acceptable." Lala, Mary, and I all had similar responses.

As I recall, my mother would collect our report cards and line us up when my dad got home to review them as he sat on the recliner, remote control in hand, waiting on the nightly news. She sat on her matching recliner next to him and they would then dole out praise or punishments accordingly. Cristy went on to explain,

> If we didn't [get good grades] we were grounded or got a spanking but mainly grounding when we got older. Good grades were expected, so it wasn't like we got rewarded for good grades, but there were consequences for not doing as well as expected.

Consequences included threats of being removed from extracurricular activities which actually happened in my case. I recalled specifically having to quit drill team when I received a C in Theater Arts. I was still allowed to stay in volleyball and student council but those, too, would have disappeared had I not brought up my grades.

College was a requirement

Though neither of my parents attended college, they always expected us to go to college. My sisters and I affirmed that both parents, to varying degrees insisted that college was a requirement and not an option. Mom explained why it was important for us to get a college education. She said her daughters needed:

> to get an education because y'all were females and Hispanic and needed to be ready in case your future was not a success or when you married and it failed, you could stand on your own two feet. As children, we were always told that women always had to depend on a man. We couldn't succeed without him. He was the boss. He was the provider. But dad and I felt that was not true. You have to do for yourself. In my marriage, growing up, we had to make do with what we had. We didn't ask for more. Somewhere we felt that there is always more. I want my kids to depend on themselves and do what they want to do. Take a vacation, buy a car, own a house. We always rented, we couldn't afford it.

Dad also succinctly stated, "it is important for women to succeed or they would be dependent on somebody for the rest of their lives." It was at this particular point where my parents' *consejos* diverged from the gender norms and expectations for Latina women. Maybe because my parents grew up in poverty, maybe they had experienced seeing women left at the mercy of their fathers/husbands, or maybe it was easier to make consistent overarching rules for us because we were girls. Whatever the reason, my parents expected us to make our own way in the world and they believed education was that pathway. My mother refused to subject us to harsh life of picking cantaloupes or cabbage in the fields. She still has debilitating claustrophobia from traveling hours in the bed of a work truck, packed in like sausages, as her family migrated to different states looking for work. She wanted us to use our minds not our hands to make a living.

We'll find a way to pay

Growing up as children, or more specifically girls, we were not entitled to know where money came from. We had a home, food to eat, and clothes on our backs—the rest, we were told, was none of our business. We didn't even know our social security numbers until we had to memorize them for college. My dad was a hard worker and mom knew how to stretch a dollar. Though we didn't have the latest brands of clothes (hand-me-downs and homemade clothes were the norm), we were never without the basic necessities.

Consequently, we were told never to worry about paying for college, our parents would figure out a way to pay. From the start, dad and mom took on that obligation for all five of us to get our bachelor's degree. Tuition, fees, books, and dorms were all paid for by my parents. This seemed especially difficult for my dad as he was the only income provider. At the time and still to this day, he never let on about the strain on finances. For several years, there were three of us in college

at any given time and none of us applied for financial aid. My parents were hesitant to give us any income information and my dad dismissed the idea of applying for financial aid because he said he made too much money to qualify. I surmise had neither the time nor the patience to fill out the paperwork. I also believe he took great pride in being able to provide for our family no matter the struggle. He never wanted our family to be seen as needing a handout.

Each of us did our best to contribute to paying for incidentals at college so as not to put further burden on our parents. While my parents discouraged us from working during college, all five of us took on part-time jobs on or off campus. Claudia worked as a waitress and later as a legal secretary. Lala worked in the student center and university catering at her university. Mary worked as a tutor at the community college and at the bank during the summer. I also worked as a tutor and later in the campus housing office at my institution. Cristy worked as a waitress and later at a clothing store. My sisters and I did not want to take advantage of asking our parents for more money for personal activities since they were already making such an expense.

College before marriage

Growing up our parents always reminded us that the order of operations was college, marriage, and then kids. Paying for college was a way for my parents to discourage us from getting married during college. My mom would always remind us that when we were married or had kids, our personal wants and needs were no longer important—our husband and our children would have to come first. Mom talked about having to quit high school because she had chosen to marry my father at 17 and shortly after became pregnant during her senior year. She said her mother forewarned her to wait until she finished school, but she didn't listen, so it was her obligation to set her education aside and focus on her family. "*El que hijos padrio, caca comio*" which loosely translates into when you have children, your life is no longer your own and you end up eating shit. Both she and my dad would remind us that college was the only time that it could be all about us, so we needed to take advantage of that time and enjoy our independence.

As life would have it, two of my sisters wanted to get married while attending college. Claudia explained, "By the 3rd semester I was ready to get married and dad said he wouldn't pay for school. If I did that, it would be my responsibility. He wouldn't give approval to get married until I got my degree." Mary, on the other hand, did get married while in college. She explained that when Gazaan and his parents came to ask permission, one of the stipulations for their blessing would be that she would finish her degree before having children. Mary explained:

> Mom and dad paid for my first two years of college before I was married. With the money we had saved and the money that Gazaan was making, I was able to go to school after we got married. Although, dad also offered to pay for college if we needed help because that was something he [dad] wanted me to do and I was not going to wait until I graduated to marry.

Even though Lala and Cristy were already dating their future husbands during college, both took the threat of being cut off seriously and therefore delayed marriage. Meanwhile, I was still in a relationship with my son's father while in college; my parents insisted we not get married. They wanted me to continue to live at home so they could help me with my son while I finished college. I was young and had no other options financially, so I did what they asked. I had already disappointed them by breaking the order of operations and I was afraid of how my life was going to turn out because there were never happy ending stories about girls who got pregnant out of wedlock. I was fearful of becoming my family's cautionary *consejo* to future generations.

Use your degree to help the family

Marriage and motherhood were cultural and familial expectations that permeated into our career decisions. While our college degrees varied—political science, business, education, communication, and accounting—our career decisions were centered around family and motherhood. Mom taught us the priorities of keeping a home—cooking, cleaning, laundry, etc. but my father taught us the necessity of having a job that paid well. They both hoped we could all be stay-at-home moms, but they were realistic to know this was not a likely outcome. As life came to pass, my sisters and I decided to plant our roots and raise our kids back in our hometown, near our parents. Claudia and Cristy worked as independent owners for the family businesses and Lala, Mary, and I went into the field of education, working at the school district and local community college. Lala originally worked in business in a big city, but after being downsized and expecting her second child, she decided to move from San Antonio to Carrizo Springs to be closer to family and to join the tribe of raising children. She explained:

> I took the job in teaching so I could spend more time with my kids. When I decided to go back and get my certificate for teaching, I was already getting separated from my husband and I was going to be a single parent. I needed to have the same breaks and holidays as my kids. I did rely on my family while I was going back to school. I've been a teacher, department head and now instructional facilitator. I also started a master's degree online. I did all of this while I was single and raising two kids.

Growing up, Mary wanted to be an engineer. After meeting her husband in high school, she decided to forgo the plan of attending the R1 university she had been accepted to and instead commute to the nearby community college and university to become a teacher. Prior to meeting Gazaan, she had her educational path planned, but as they began dating, she started considering other avenues of education that would allow her to be a wife and mother.

> I think maybe back then, not that I didn't think I could be that [engineer]. I do think about how not many women were in that field and Hispanics

> weren't in the field, but I feel like I'm more in my place in our culture being a teacher. I'm not saying I gave up but I kind of did what mom did. I did go to college, but I became a mother and I'm trying to put that first. I stayed in field that allowed me to be a mother as a priority.

I feel like my educational path diverged as soon as I graduated from high school. Though I never expected to become a mother at 18, I quickly had to change my educational plans to accommodate raising a child as a single parent. I knew I would need to find a career that would allow me to provide a home and still be an involved mother.

> I always knew I wouldn't be able to afford the things I wanted without a degree. In order to be a good mom, I felt I had to be able to provide for my son and still participate in all of his life activities, baseball and basketball, etc. I didn't want to be an absent parent so I needed a job that could give me that flexibility. And even after my son got older, I kind of made my job around him so I could be more involved in his life. Without my master's degree, I wouldn't have had that flexibility. We could go on vacations and spend a lot of time together. That's what helped me be a better mother, at least that is the fun part of being a mother.

Claudia and Cristy both agree that being independent business owners allowed them the flexibility to come and go as they needed to provide for their children and, also, instill the values of hard work. Cristy explains,

> The best thing about being self-employed is that I can come and go and that has been a very positive thing in our life. . . . Our 5-year-old is at school and our 4-year-old is in daycare, if I have work to do, they go to work with me. Our 5-year-old can actually work with customers and help them the way real employees do. . . . She's learning to be a businesswoman even at 5 years old.

Since they can make their own work schedules, they would organize after-school pick-up schedules for all the kids for every family, a total of 11 children, with varying extracurricular schedules. The route would start at elementary school, middle school, high school, and then daycare. Practices and afterschool events were coordinated between them and everyone would meet at the family restaurant to collect their respective kids after everyone got out of work.

Pay it forward

Although our parents gave life advice regarding womanhood and motherhood, my sisters and I decided whether to take those *consejos* at face value, modify them to fit our worldview, change them completely, and/or reject them all together. Not surprisingly, some of the gender roles and expectations that were clearly set for us as

daughters were modified to new *consejos* for the new generation of Ortiz children which collectively totaled 11, six boys and five girls. However, one persistent *consejo* that we, as mothers, decided to carry on is the importance of a college degree. Growing up we were told to get an education so that we would not be dependent on a man or be forced to stay in a relationship because we had no other means of support. My mother was very aware that we were not going to be the stay-at-home mom that she was. She explained:

> Y'all are going to expect them to be stronger, to work harder and expect more because y'all know better. I think you will let them be what they want to be. You will try to push them to be the one at the top. Nobody wants to be the custodian, we want you to be the president. I think that is what y'all are going to expect from y'alls kids. Y'all know the ropes and you know better and you're not content with minimum wage.

My sisters and I have modified that advice and stressed the importance of higher education as a means in order to afford a desirable lifestyle. We encouraged our children to find a career they will enjoy and that will enable them financial freedom as well as benefit the relationships/families they may choose to create. Claudia has three boys, and she expounds,

> Yes, that there is an expectation of higher education. We teach them to do chores around the house, so they don't have to rely on others. The school is so they have earning possibilities. There is a difference because I have boys and we were all girls. I teach them they don't need a wife to take care of things for them. I want them to be self-sufficient in all ways.

Having both a daughter and a son, Lala took the same approach to instilling the importance of a college education. Using her experience of shifting careers, the experience of divorce/loss of income, and the return to graduate education later in life, she understood completing the degree, not the college major, was what was most important. She recounted:

> The messages are the same. Right now, with Melissa that she changed her major, I was just like get a degree because it will open up doors for you whether it is in the field or not. You will bypass so many steps just by having a degree. It doesn't have to match what you are going to be for the rest of your life but it's a stepping point to get into whatever job you want. You can support yourself. It is the same message for Diego. We've been taking both kids to college regularly to see different campuses since they were young. There is not just one choice, you have options.

Mary felt differently when it came to expectations of higher education for her children. Her *consejos* upheld traditional gendered roles for her two daughters and her son. As

discussed earlier, Mary decided to forgo the nontraditional career and instead opt for a more mother/child-friendly career as a teacher. Coupled with her "traditional" marriage to a man who created a lucrative ranching business instead of graduating high school, she was torn between what she believes is fair and the realities of life, Mary explains:

> I see myself sending different messages to my son versus my daughters even though I don't think that that is right. I feel in my family, with my husband being able to provide without a degree, I feel that Gavyn has an option where my girls don't. My father-in-law and my husband tell Gavyn, you need to learn how to work. You need to learn how to be a man, whereas the girls can be princesses and stay home. I feel those stereotypes are still alive in our family even at this generation that we are in.

For my son, raising him as a single parent, I encouraged him to earn a college degree and secure a career that would enable him to provide for his future family and give him the flexibility to be involved with his children. A bachelor's degree was expected, but I always pushed for him to continue to graduate school. If I could earn a master's degree with my circumstances, I wanted him to pursue a doctorate degree. I knew a good education could give him the opportunity to ensure a lucrative income. It had afforded me the opportunity to provide financially what my sisters provide with their two-income households.

> I think I built upon what my parents told me. They didn't have any idea of what the different levels of education there were, so through my education, I found out and I've built upon that with my son. It's funny because his freshman year of high school, I kept pushing him to choose a college, so that I knew how much money I needed to save for him. I made him create a plan of four years of college and figure out how much it cost. He made a chart and we kept it on the fridge which estimated the cost through the veterinary medicine program. My parents didn't have a financial plan, they just said go and we'll figure it out. I sat with my son and figured out what it would cost to go to college. So, we were much more meticulous, my son and I, planning his education, than my parents were with us.

Cristy's daughters are still very young but she is already talking to them about college. As the youngest in the family, Carah and Cristah don't quite understand what college entails but through their close relationships with their cousins, they are being taught that college is a place where you go to get smarter. It is typical for them to be on the university campus to visit their cousins, wear college paraphernalia, and identify and support university sports teams. This early indoctrination is helping to ensure attending college is a normal progression from high school.

> They know, even at this age we start with happy faces, that they are expected to get good grades that they are expected to try their best. I expect nothing

> but the best from both of them, just as my parents did. I'll probably be just as strict as my parents were just because I know what they are capable of. They have consequences for bringing home sad faces or not making satisfactory progress, but they do get rewards for reaching milestones. They know their aunt is in college in Indiana and they know that she is going to be a doctor. We go visit my nephew and niece in college and they know that that is where you go to get smarter and have a good job.

Discussion

This educational biography is not necessarily a representation of all Latino families, it simply highlights one family's experience of how parents play an integral role in influencing persistence to and through higher education. This counter-story of parental support is especially important for children (regardless of age) in the Latino culture. If parents do not perceive education as important, their children are less likely to persist to college. For my family, a college education was expected, not recommended. My parents used *consejos* to instill this value since we began going to elementary school. Though they had no idea what college entailed, they were adamant that we completed our bachelor's degree.

Ceja (2006) noted that Latino parents may not have the critical knowledge to guide their children through the college process therefore older siblings help the younger siblings navigate their way through college. This was also true for my family. My sisters and I all sought help from each other for advice on where to go to college or what classes to take with certain instructors. This was easy to do because most of us followed the older ones to college at one time or another. In addition, none of us were afraid of asking for help from counselors or professors. We knew we could look for academic resources outside the family, but we looked to our parents for emotional support and guidance.

In higher education, research shows that a large majority of Hispanic students consider attending colleges that are near their families. Alexander et al. (2007) noted that students are comfortable attending community college because they are often relatively close to home and have a predominantly Hispanic population. Hernández (2015) found the need to stay connected to family, but to have some distance and feel a certain level of independence, was critical for Latina college students. While the level of influence that the family plays in the college choice process may be considered detrimental; some scholars have concluded that it may constrain students' choices to institutions close to home (Desmond & Turley, 2009; López Turley, 2006). Fortunately for some, it may be considered a crucial source of financial and emotional support that promotes students' persistence toward degree completion (Pérez & McDonough, 2008).

In my family, the two oldest went directly to the university. It is notable that they were only one year apart in age and my parents insisted Lala follow Claudia to the same institution, even though she had her heart set elsewhere. Mary, Cristy, and I commuted to community college from home. While all of us eventually

graduated from a university, none of us felt regret about the different paths we took to get there. My parents supported those of us that needed to stay close to home for personal reasons but also supported those that wanted to attend a university further away—so long as it was within a few hours of driving distance. It was their belief they needed to be able to get to us quickly if we were ever in danger. They also wanted us to be close enough to drive home on the weekends.

Hernández (2015) found that Latinas recognized that supporting their college education meant sacrifices would be made by the whole family. Those women chose to stay near their families in order to reduce costs, knowing that their siblings would soon be attending college as well. In this instance, financing higher education was something that my parents took responsibility for. Each of us, however, felt a desire to supplement my parents' contributions by having part-time jobs. While our parents discouraged it because they wanted us to focus on our studies, it was our way to try to reduce the additional burden. We knew our parents, especially my dad, was working very hard to make sure we had everything we needed. We just felt we also needed to minimize our own financial expenses.

As we became parents, the tradition of paying for our children's college remained constant. My sisters and I started college funds for our own children. We also depend on each other to find scholarships that our children can apply for, even at an early age. For example, my son was in Geoforce (a college preparation program that starts in 8th grade), and he received a full scholarship to his choice school. When my nieces and nephews come of age, we worked on helping them apply to the program as well. So far, three of them have been accepted. Additionally, as college-educated parents, we are quite aware of the financial aid process and intend to help our children apply for aid.

Hispanic students typically seek out family members for advice and information gained from personal experiences in postsecondary education may include aunts, uncles, cousins, and godparents (Kiyama, 2010; Pérez & McDonough, 2008). It was a definite benefit for our entire family that my sisters and I decided to live in the same town to raise our children together. We wanted them to be surrounded by cousins, aunts, uncles, and grandparents to not only help each other for educational purposes but feel a blanket of love and support.

Even though we all instill higher education in slightly different ways, education is always a topic of conversation at family gatherings. With current knowledge of graduate education, we often encourage our children to look beyond a bachelor's degree and even consider attending institutions that will serve their interests, even if it leads them out of state. That being said, we all secretly hope they do not go too far from home.

Attending to the gendered expectations that *consejos* typically evoke, it was not surprising that my sisters and I had to manage our identities based on our parent's advice. Anzaldúa (1987) identifies that Mexican women develop a *mestiza* identity in order to cope and develop a tolerance for having to manage racial/ethnic cultural expectations while living in a Eurocentric space. Espinoza (2010) cleverly identified *consejos* from both parents which reproduced the image of a

"good daughter," the kind of daughter who would not get pregnant before she was married, would marry and produce children after college, would live near family, and would maintain a respectful and respectable public image. The *testimonios* from this educational biography doubled down on previous findings (Espino, 2016; Espinoza, 2010) as my sisters and I recounted the order of operations that we were expected to personify. The idea that the emphasis on higher education was a way to both liberate and subjugate women in Latino culture is nuanced and should be understood and addressed in both academic and familial spaces. For our family, my sisters and I were able to manage our *mestiza* identities in a way that allowed us to complete our college education—that may not be the case for other daughters in Mexican American families, thus affecting higher education persistence for Latinas.

Account as a researcher/participant

Conducting family research is not an easy task. You must be mindful of your role as a researcher but also as a family member telling a story about your family. To protect the integrity of the research, I used a lot of reflexivity and journaling to separate personal feelings and reactions to what was said and what I recalled as a child. I had to be cognizant of my relationships with my parents and my sisters. For example, my mother's *testimonio* was actually the longest because I spent a considerable amount of time explaining *what* I was doing and *why* I was doing it. It was not that she didn't want to help, she was just concerned about how her answers would be perceived by others (i.e., society in general and other [White] researchers in the field) and if she was giving the "right" answers. She also couldn't fathom why anyone would care about the experiences of our family because we were just "normal" like everyone else. She didn't want the perception to be made that "*se creen mucho*" or that our family thought we deserved to be written about. On the other hand, my father is a very succinct man, and no amount of follow-up or prompting would get him to open up beyond what he wanted to say. . . . unless my mom willed it so. Their connectedness as spouses and parents was evident and beautiful to witness.

This research has also strengthened my relationship with my family because they did not understand what being a researcher entailed. They've only seen me reading books and typing on a computer. I believe they found a new respect/understanding for my role as a professional beyond that of a daughter or little sister. Still, they were confused about how I was going to turn this kind of work into a livable wage; but that is another story.

As a researcher, my favorite part of this project was the execution of the *testimonios* which came very naturally. I believe this authenticates the usefulness of this type of methodology and the importance of using frameworks (CRT, LatCrit, etc.) that are made for and by the communities in which they serve. We must remember the original purpose of *testimonio* —to center the knowledge and experiences of the oppressed. Thus, when adapted in educational research and pedagogical practice, it is important to recognize *testimonio* as a tool for the oppressed, and not the oppressor. *Testimonios* should not function as a tool for elite academics to "diversify"

their research agendas or document their personal stories. This tool was made by people like me to highlight the plight of everyday people like my family.

Conclusion

In closing, having a close-knit family is one of the many valuable resources in the Latino culture. When parents use this connection to foster high educational goals, children often rise to meet those expectations and some reach beyond what was ever imagined. I know that without my parents' support and encouragement, I would not have had the opportunities to fulfill my educational dreams. Unfortunately, much of the Eurocentric research portrays Latino families and values in a deficit paradigm highlighting the constraints or barriers that Latino children might face when pursuing their education. For our family, *testimonios* conveyed a counter-story of the educational values our parents instilled in us. While my family has had extraordinary successes, I'm sure there are other people and families that encouraged their children to persist to college in different ways with their own *consejos*. More counter-stories need to be collected and recorded of other families to honor their experiences and shed light to the changing landscape of Latinos in higher education.

Creating this project was wonderful for me because, for the first time, I felt I could connect with my family through the scholarly work I'm doing. As a Latino family, we often converse with each other about our lives, our children, and whether or not we are making the best life choices. Now that my sisters and I are mothers, we reminisce about what we did as children and vent to each other and our parents about how to help our children avoid our mistakes and help them become successful.

It was an honor and privilege to be the recordkeeper of family history and document our story that would not otherwise be recorded or remembered by anyone outside our family. I was mindful to tell our story as a family rather than my recollection of our family. I wanted to make sure each family member had a voice not just to be fair in the writing to show them that I valued their voice equally as a family member. We are a part of the fabric of the world and stories about Latino families and culture should be not be silenced or ignored. Through this family educational biography, I hope to honor my family by telling their story, using their words and their ideas. I especially hope to honor my parents for all of the sacrifices they have made for my sisters and me to become successful.

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7

COVID-19 ORAL HISTORIES OF ACADEMIC LEADERS, FACULTY, AND STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Sunaina Asher

Introduction

In March 2020, the pandemic resulted in an abrupt shift to online and distance learning across the globe, giving no time for preparation to the faculty and students. The pandemic was unprecedented in nature and the chaos and uncertainty that was experienced by everyone, especially the international students in Higher Education in the USA prompted the need for an oral history project to document the lived experiences of faculty, the students, and the academic leaders. This project sought to understand and document the experiences of the administrators, faculty, and students in the context of a Midwestern University. The purpose was to document the impact of the pandemic in Higher Education in terms of policies, practices, and student learning.

Related literature

The worldwide pandemic COVID-19, caused 1.5 billion learners to stay at home (Atchoarena, 2020; Chang & Yano, 2020; Sahlberg, 2020; Soland et al., 2020) and posed great challenges for the students and instructors (Karalis, 2020; Mineo, 2020). It resulted in social isolation and mental health risk for the students (Poletti, 2020; Soland et al., 2020 Cao et al., 2020), while working from home, juggling responsibilities or even loss of a job was a source of stress for parents and faculty (Mineo, 2020; UNESCO, 2020b). The need for alternative methods of education arose (Corlatean, 2020; UNESCO, 2020c, 2020d) and the most obvious mode was online teaching and learning.

Distance learning calls for highly self-directed learners that are equipped with the required learning habits and study skills and not all the students may be ready for this kind of learning. Moreover, the implementation of distance learning requires

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planning and a certain level of preparation on part of the institution and the teachers (UNESCO, 2020a). The pandemic did not allow much time for preparation for transition to online teaching and learning which resulted in challenges like the lack of faculty preparedness, connectivity, and accessibility issues (Chenoweth, 2020; Hollweck & Doucet, 2020; Rimers & Scheicher, 2020; Corlatean, 2020; UNESCO, 2020d, 2020e; Williamson et al., 2020). Moreover, the distance mode of learning was not suitable for certain practical fields of studies (Mailizar et al., 2020).

Some studies have looked at the psychological impact of the pandemic on college students and faculty (Burgess & Sievertsen, 2020; Cao et al., 2020). But most of the studies and literature that came out in the summer and the beginning of the Fall of 2020 were prescriptive in nature, they pointed out the potential impact and offered solutions (Burgess & Sievertsen, 2020; Giannini & Albrectsen, 2020; Toquero, 2020; Reich et al., 2020; Sahu, 2020; Soland et al., 2020; UNESCO, 2020a) but failed to document the impact as it happened. Consequently, there was a need to assess the actual impact that the pandemic had on Higher education, especially in terms of the quality of remote teaching and learning. Basilaia and Kvavadze (2020), did a quantitative case study at a private school in Georgia and found that the transition to an online form of education went successful but failed to address the quality of online learning experience in that school. Statistical data is able to give an overall perspective on the situation but fails to give an in-depth knowledge of the lived experiences. The shift to online teaching was so abrupt that a smooth transition may not have been possible for most institutions.

Despite the challenges, the pandemic resulted in accelerated student learning, teacher training in technology use through institutional platforms, new collaborations, development of new technologies and teaching methods (Corlatean, 2020; Ferdig et al., 2020; Williamson et al., 2020). On the other hand, there has been an increase in inequities, socio-economic disparities, racial and gender discrimination, mental stress among students, and the lack of teacher preparation (Corlatean, 2020; Williamson et al., 2020). Improved distance education, crisis management training, and sensitive education planning can help mitigate some of these challenges (Ferdig et al., 2020; UNESCO, 2020c, 2020e; Karalis, 2020).

Important lessons can be learned from this pandemic and one of the best ways to do that is through oral history. "Oral history collects memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews" (Ritchie, 2003, p. 19). These interviews are audio or video recorded and kept in archives or may be used for research and excerpted in publications, documentaries, etc. Oral history as a method has been criticized for relying on memory because memory can be flawed. Despite the criticism it has been used by researchers and historians as oral history does not merely focus on the facts about the past events but the participant's perceptions of that event (Roberts, 2002; Batty, 2009). The lived experiences can best be understood through the stories people tell and, in the process, they remember, re-work, re-imagine, and reflect back on the past (Batty, 2009).

There have been a few other oral history projects that sought to document the experiences of the students and teachers during the pandemic (Lee & Springer, 2020; Kelly & Horan, 2020). Lee and Springer (2020) focused on the ethics of conducting an oral history during the pandemic. Kelly and Horan (2020) were part of a larger collaboration that recorded the lived experiences of a broader population by involving students and faculty in curating the archive. This project had two goals: to observe and record a wide range of voices and focus on the "formal and informal learning through applied research" (p. 3). My study focused on documenting the experiences of academic leaders, faculty, and students, only in the Higher Education setting while also giving a representation to the international graduate students in the USA who faced tremendous challenges during the pandemic. The project focused on documenting the impact of the pandemic on the personal and professional life of the participants as they grappled with the growing challenges in the context of a Midwestern University. Oral history allows people to share their experiences and stories in their own words and through their own perception so it was the most suitable approach for this study. It is hoped that this study will allow the administrators to understand the challenges faced by the faculty and students and take effective measures to address them in the future. Moreover, an in-depth analysis of the context in the USA and its response to the educational crisis may serve as an example for other countries to follow.

My experience of the pandemic

I was in Denver, Colorado, visiting my elder sister for the Spring Break of 2020. One morning, my sister got a frantic call from a cousin (Zee), asking her not to visit them from then onwards. Apparently, something very wrong was happening. It was the pandemic—COVID-19. Zee's eight-year-old daughter had a medical condition and she was concerned and did not want her to get sick. That was the day when I first heard of COVID-19. I returned to my apartment in Indiana on March 9 and on the 11th came the announcement that all in-person classes had been suspended from the 16th till further notice. All the on-campus classes quickly went online. International students started leaving the country. Residence Halls were being vacated, the library was closed and we went on a complete lockdown.

Being an international student in the USA I was especially affected by the pandemic. In the spring, as the dorms were vacated, international students in the dorms were asked to leave. They probably went to their home countries but when they wanted to return, they were unable to. The international flights were closed and so were the borders. Those who stayed, were uncertain whether we would be asked to leave the country. International students, have to be enrolled in on-campus classes to maintain their student status. In the Spring of 2020, the universities were able to lift that requirement because these were unusual circumstances. But during the summer of 2020, President Trump announced that all the international students enrolled in all online classes, be deported. At that point, no university had decided whether they would be all online, on-campus, or offer blended courses

in the Fall of 2020. For some time, the fate of the international students was very uncertain. This experience prompted me to pursue this study and see if my experience was similar to that of other students.

Being an international student, I was fully aware of the isolation, the travel restrictions, the visa restrictions, and work restrictions that the participants referred to. They did not have to explain the background story to me when they talked about these challenges. I lost my dad in 2014 while I was a student in the USA. It was in the middle of the semester and the department where I held a graduate assistantship did not give me leave to travel back home. So, I could identify with the participants who faced a similar tragedy. My identity as a student of the campus, and as an international student helped me in the conversation with the American, as well as the international students.

Method

This oral history project investigated how the pandemic was experienced by the administrators, teachers, and students at a Midwestern university in the USA. Participants were recruited through convenient and reverse snowball sampling and comprised of administrators, faculty, and students who are above 18 years of age and worked or studied in the selected context. Table 7.1 gives the demographics of the participants.

TABLE 7.1 Demographics of research participants

Position	*Pseudonym*	*Ethnicity*
Int. Student	Alice	Trinidad and Tobago
Int. Student	Nancy	Bangladesh
Int. Student	Bobby	Ghana
Student	Audrey	USA
Student	Lisa	USA
Student	Ron	USA
Student	Matt	USA
Administrator (Associate Dean)	Dr. Sam	India/USA
Administrator (Dean)	Dr. Bert	USA
Administrator (Dept. Chair)	Dr. Simons	USA
Administrator	Diane	USA
Administrator (Director)	Linda	USA
Faculty	Dr. Reed	USA
Faculty	Angelina	USA
Faculty	Dan	USA

The case

The first case in this study was Midwestern University, established in 1918. It has grown to 7 academic colleges enrolling around 22,000 students each year who come from diverse backgrounds. This campus also welcomes students and faculty from other countries through employment, student exchange programs, and study abroad programs.

Procedure

A recruitment email with the consent form was sent out through Facebook and the department. International students (Alice and Nancy) were recruited through an international student group on social media and Bobby was my former classmate. Some of the American students were my former classmates (Audrey) and some were former student coworkers on campus (Lisa) and they helped recruit other student participants. The administrators were also reached through email. I did not encounter difficulty in recruiting American students but it took some time to reach the international students. Faculty were busy so only a few of them agreed to participate. On obtaining a written consent from the participants, they were interviewed via Zoom, using a set of open-ended questions. The interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the participants. The participants were asked about the impact of COVID-19 on their personal, professional/academic lives and their thoughts about the resulting policy changes. The participants were very relaxed and it seemed like most of them needed to vent so they talked about their experience in detail. These interviews lasted for 30 minutes to an hour. I transcribed the interviews and assigned pseudonyms to the participants for the purpose of confidentiality. Interviews were analyzed thematically.

Findings

The process of data coding started at the time of transcription to find emerging themes and later expand and categorize them. The broad categories would be preparation (administration, teacher, students), challenges (personal and academic/professional as faced by the three groups within the case; experience with technology), support, student enrollment, student engagement, quality of teaching and learning. The experiences of the international students were slightly different from those of the American students. Table 7.2 gives an overview of themes that emerged from the data.

Impact on administration

The administration was trying to deal with a very tough situation with very limited knowledge in the spring of 2020. "I couldn't have even imagined how little we know about COVID-19 and yet we needed to negotiate in the middle of that" (Linda, personal communication, October 23, 2020). The participant

TABLE 7.2 Emerging themes from participant interviews

Administrators (Deans, Associate Deans, Dept. Chairs)	*Faculty*	*Students*
Preparedness (most assumed that faculty were ready)	***Preparedness*** (transition not easy; most found it hard to teach online. 40% of faculty not prepared)	***Preparedness***(most were familiar with online learning, but not ready for all online experiences)
Crisis Management training (CMT) (Those that had more exposure to CMT were more prepared) Lack of contingency plans	***Impact of transition on teaching*** (poor teacher–student interaction)	***Impact of transition on student learning*** (poor interaction, lack of engagement; negative impact on practicum courses)
Student enrollment (Graduate enrollment increased but the international student enrollment decreased)	***Loss of Motivation to teach***	***Loss of Motivation to learn***
Support (Reported extending full support to faculty)	***Support*** (Felt lack of support from Administration; reported extending support to the students).	***Support*** (Felt lack of support from teachers)
Challenges (meeting the needs of the faculty; technology issues; Uncertainty/Need for stability)	***Challenges*** (meeting the needs of the students; technology & connectivity issues; lack of autonomy; inconsistency in department policies; inconsistencies in teacher expectations)	***Challenges*** (GA teaching; technology & connectivity issues; inconsistency in teacher expectations; financial challenges for international students; travel restrictions and border closures for international students
Isolation	***Isolation***	***Isolation***
Stress	***Stress***	***Stress***

administrators in this study were Deans/Associate Deans, program directors, or department chairs and most of them had an extensive background in teaching and leadership experience but no formal training or degree in leadership or in crisis management except for Linda, and her experience/training in crisis management gave her an edge over other leaders in the institution.

> It put me at the right place at the right time . . . sometimes when you have just the right skills for a certain situation you can do so much more than someone else, . . . I have dealt with hundreds of crises over the years, I had the toolbox to keep going.
>
> *(Linda, personal communication, October 23, 2020)*

An important part of crisis management is having contingency plans and plans for emergency. The data revealed that the need for having such plans was ignored by most department leaders and faculty in this institution.

> Ironically, about five years ago the provost office ask many of our departments to update our plans in case anything like this would ever happen. And of course, most of the faculty didn't take it very seriously (laughs) and I probably am in that group because you don't speculate . . . a complete closure of all businesses and sports and schools and everything. So, you can probably plan ahead for that, but until you experience it, it's not, you don't take it with the dose of reality that hit us last March.
>
> *(Dr. Simons, personal communication, October 20, 2020)*

Consequently, most of the department leaders and faculty found themselves dealing with a variety of challenges that they were not prepared for and had no plans for it. Because there were no plans, the faculty needed support to face the emerging challenges. While the administration claimed to have provided support for the faculty in the form of accommodation, professional development opportunities, etc., there were inconsistencies between different departments in the form of support and guidelines to be followed for whether or not to have the course online. Some faculty members felt supported and some reported not getting adequate support. Some departments allowed the staff members with aging parents to work from home and some did not. While others simply let the faculty decide. Such inconsistencies in accommodation resulted in confusion, frustration, and stress among the faculty.

On a positive note, Graduate School and a few other departments reported an increase in enrollment. "our graduate student numbers are actually higher this year" (Dr. Bert, personal communication, October, 19, 2020). "Our numbers are up slightly, which is the positive" (Dr. Simons, personal communication, October 20, 2020). It was attributed to the fact that people had more time to spare and it was "not uncommon during recessions, a lot of times when recessions or economic instability, graduate enrollments will go up" (Dr. Bert, personal communication, October 19, 2020). However, in the business department, the enrollment went, "down by hundred or hundred and fifty students" (Dr. Sam, personal communication, October 17, 2020). One major cause could have been that the international students who would normally be a part of the enrollment were not able to get visas or enter the country.

Factors influencing decisions

The decisions that the institution and the administration were forced to take were guided by the CDC requirement, the national level lockdown, and the welfare of the students, staff and faculty. The need for reopening in the fall was influenced by the need to save jobs and the international students.

> Our provost was aware that if they went all online, we don't know what that would mean for international students . . . if we did go all online, they would have to lay off a tremendous amount of staff . . . because without an in-person university, the community would suffer dramatically, the restaurants, the land lords, the grocery stores, the Uber drivers, you know.
>
> *(Linda, personal communication, October 23, 2020)*

If the University went entirely online in the Fall of 2020, it might have put the status of those international students at risk of deportation. So, the provost was able to keep in mind the needs of various stakeholders and was making very informed decisions in the time of a global pandemic.

Challenges

Lack of teacher preparation was the foremost challenge and some department leaders had to train their faculty for the transition to online teaching. "And as you know in our college, at least 40% of the faculty members were not prepared for that" (Dr. Sam, personal communication, October 17, 2020). So, the administration offered them different forms of workshops and professional development opportunities. Other faculty found it challenging just to transition in the middle of the semester. Transition was harder for the non-teaching staff and faculty in some of the practical fields. "It was far more difficult call for them to suddenly stop what was their norm and then go to an online delivery of their content which may or may never have been organized for delivery to remote students" (Dr. Simons, personal communication, October 20, 2020). Accommodating teacher requests was another big challenge. It was a challenge when most of the staff members/faculty in a department were in the "at risk" age group or if someone came down with COVID-19. It was difficult to find a replacement for that staff member.

Finding large classrooms to hold in-person classes was challenging as there were not many halls large enough to seat students far apart as per the CDC guidelines. So, the departments decided to offer some of them online, and then some classes were split, or they were offered as hybrid, some students were online and some were on campus. The hybrid classes posed more challenges for the faculty in return as it was hard to convince students to come to class when the online synchronous option was also available.

Connectivity and access issues posed a great challenge. The department heads acknowledged that when students were sent home in the Spring of 2020, the faculty and the administration were not able to foresee that they went back

> to marginal internet service. . . . They were using little laptops that were way too old and slow and cumbersome. So, from a technology standpoint we were trying to act like they were still (on campus) with the best quality in the world. . . . In reality they weren't. Okay. And I also noticed that I tried to run my class at 1 o'clock every Monday Wednesday and Friday . . . they

> went home to different time zones. Once they were home, they needed a job or something to make ends meet so they may have scheduled a job at 1 o'clock Monday, Wednesday and Friday because they weren't sitting in my classroom. So, a lot of social factors as well as technology, but the biggest one is most folks don't have the resources that are common of a college campus with very, very good signal quality. . . . Yeah so, it's a problem once you get home and go from there.
>
> *(Dr. Simons, personal communication, October 20, 2020)*

This error in judgment about the students' access to the needed resources was expressed by all the leaders and the faculty who participated in this study. Some student participants also complained that the faculty were not understanding of their challenges and did not reduce the workload or the number of assignments etc. The expectations of the faculty remained the same for the students who were having to deal with various kinds of challenges.

The needs of the international students in the time of the pandemic posed another layer of challenges. International students had visa restrictions, travel restrictions and many of them could not find any flights to go home. Some of them who left the USA were not able to return to continue their studies in the Fall. New student visas were not being issued, and all of this was an added stressor for the leaders and administrators who had to deal with it. Linda for instance, experienced extreme stress while trying to help an international student with serious mental health issues during the pandemic. Her experience and expertise allowed her to "not to take 'no' for an answer" so she was able to get help for the student and that student was able to fly home (personal communication, October 23, 2020). Moreover, the lack of new international student enrollment had an impact on the jobs of the faculty in the Intensive English Program as well. No new international students were able to get enrolled in this language program so the faculty were laid off. "We were not able to offer any faculty contracts because we have no students. . . . So, there were nine faculty members that were not able to get a contract" (Linda, personal communication, October 23, 2020).

Impact on faculty

This University consists of very qualified and experienced faculty and most of them have experience with online teaching. Despite that, the faculty revealed facing difficulties and going through tremendous stress in the pandemic.

> So, very stressful. The impact is huge; a lot more than we give it credit for. . . . From the point of view, the physical impact on our health, physical health, mental health and impact on social relationships as well. Because of the lockdown and social isolation and financially it makes a huge impact on our society and culture.
>
> *(Dan, personal communication, October 28, 2020)*

The pandemic impacted mental health, emotional health, and also social relationships. Some faculty members faced financial pressures too because the pandemic took their jobs away. Even with the school reopening, the faculty had mixed feelings, some of them were concerned about their own health and that of the others and so did not want to be on campus but the others realized that it was important to reopen in the fall. Apart from the concerns about coming back to campus, moving courses online was very stressful for the faculty, "chaos! in terms of, not just personally, then in terms of just teaching" (Angelina, personal communication, October 28, 2020). This experience was stressful firstly, because all of this transition happened so abruptly, they did not get time to prepare for this and secondly because the transition required changes to the assignments, the content, and teaching methods, which required to redesign the courses to a certain extent which became an added stressor for the faculty. While the faculty members encountered the transition as a "chaos" and a "mess," it had a negative impact on student learning as well.

> Yeah, that was a mess. So, the spring of 2020, the impact was sudden and dramatic . . . everything had to shift to online delivery . . . has to be done quickly and not very, not very well done. . . . So many students didn't transition in a positive way, mainly just left, . . . didn't do the assignments and . . . didn't show any participation . . . So, what I tried to do is be very open to that and accommodating and . . . I tried to be very flexible.
>
> *(Dan, personal communication, October 28, 2020)*

The faculty members offered accommodations to students, changed the type of assignments, the testing, and the type of activities that they would normally assign to the students. Despite having exposure to online teaching, some of them did not prefer teaching online, so it was harder for them to adapt.

> It was a huge change. As I said, I've never been a big fan of online teaching. So, I kind of was forced to teach online, I really had to be adapted. And I rely on personal relationships. So, I like to see students, I like to see them react to what I'm saying, I like to hear and listen to them. But that was not possible or not easy to do online. I switched to asynchronous online teaching . . . it's not the same thing . . . I'm not one of those who would say 'yeah, online teaching is the same,' no its not.
>
> *(Dan, personal communication, October 28, 2020)*

The most suitable form of distance learning in the pandemic was the online asynchronous method that does not allow for teacher–student and student–student interaction as would happen in an on-campus classroom. Because the teaching is not the same, the learning cannot be of the same quality either, as expressed by Angelina, "Reading the experience of someone is not the same as actually hearing them talk about it . . . in my course, the learning stopped at that moment we went to online. . . . It became more robotic, than it was organic" (Angelina, personal

communication, October 28, 2020). Dan, also felt that the transition impacted student learning but thought that it did not stop the student learning entirely. "They're still learning, they still reach the learning objectives. It's just not as easy. . . . It's not as easy as it is in-person. . . . It's harder" (Dan, personal communication, October 28, 2020). The students did achieve the objectives but were not able to get a meaningful experience in these courses. The courses that really got affected were the practicum courses as the pandemic did not allow for those field experiences to continue.

> So, in the spring when the lockdown occurred, I was teaching Ed Reading 430 which is a practicum, which requires . . . students to work with um 3rd graders and in a tutoring session. And then we weren't able to . . . and that took away the authenticity of what they were doing. I just don't think there is a substitute for that.
>
> *(Dr. Reed, personal communication, October 23, 2020)*

This is just one example of a practicum course, there are several other scenarios where the students were not able to get the desired practical experience because of the pandemic. It raises important questions regarding the value of their degree if it failed to prepare them for the practical field.

Technology use

The pandemic contributed towards a greater reliance on technology for teaching by the faculty as they had to become familiar with various kinds of technologies and applications that could make their online teaching experience more effective

> I had to learn to use a lot more technology to deliver the courses online . . . Yes. It was not easy, right. Many things require time. Once you do it, then we understand that it's not that bad, but it was quite a learning curve.
>
> *(Dan, personal communication)*

While it was interesting to learn about the increased reliance on technology, Dan pointed out that technology should be an aid and not the focus of education. There needs to be a balance in the use of technology in teaching. The students should be engaged in the online learning experiences while not letting technology become a distraction. Angelina also pointed out the fact that they had overestimated the technological proficiency of their students as not all students are good with technology. It would be advisable to demonstrate the use of new technologies first so that it is easier for the students to follow.

Support

The University and the departments tried to extend technical support and assistance for the faculty, so some faculty members felt that they received a lot of support while others said that there wasn't sufficient support. For example, Dr.

Reed felt that she had a lot of support from the institution: "I appreciate . . . all the professional development opportunities that are provided to faculty . . . so, all kinds of opportunities to really understand technology and how to effectively integrate it into the instruction" (Dr. Reed, personal communication, October 23, 2020). This experience was in sharp contrast with that of Angelina who did not feel supported. "I don't think our students have felt supported. I don't think our faculty and staff have felt supported" (Angelina, personal communication, October 28, 2020). Students have different learning styles and not all students are able to learn in online courses. Moreover, when the faculty and the students did not feel supported it impacted their motivation.

Motivation

Most of the faculty participants in this study did not feel very motivated to teach in the online environment.

> I didn't know a good way to do it that was going to be as organic and genuine as what we had going on in that classroom then prior to that. . . . This is the worst class I have ever taught.
>
> *(Angelina, personal communication, October 28, 2020)*

She kept saying that she "hated it" and felt "disenchanted and very discouraged" and she had never been like that. This is a cause of concern because if the teacher is not motivated, she would not be able to motivate her students either.

Other challenges

The faculty experienced a number of other challenges in their work during the pandemic. Some of those challenges were balancing work and home/family responsibilities (homeschooling their kids), adapting courses and learning new technologies, increased student expectations, lack of clear guidance to handle student-related issues, how much relaxation and accommodation was to be provided to the students, inconsistencies in department policies regarding who was allowed to teach from home (different departments following different policies), internet connectivity and accessibility was a problem for both the faculty and the students. "My Wi Fi had to be reliable, because I hadn't . . . Yeah, the WIFI was a problem for me" (Angelina, personal communication, October 28, 2020). It was harder for the students as they had to meet the expectations of so many teachers at the same time. Dan commented, "We take for granted that our students can have immediate access to a computer and internet, fast internet, not just internet, and it's not true . . . Many people cannot afford that" (Dan, personal communication, October 28, 2020). While. Angelina acknowledged that the digital divide was very real in Higher Education as much as in K-12.

Impact on students

Students participants reported experiencing mental stress, isolation, lack of preparedness, technology and connectivity issues, lack of engagement and motivation in online courses, and a lack of support from the faculty. It was especially challenging for students who needed internships and practicum courses in the summer. No one was prepared how to do things during the pandemic. Stress was intensified for international students who were away from their families and could not go home due to border closures and travel restrictions. Nancy and Alice reported it to be "very isolating" as they belonged to a different culture and did not have family around. The immediate impact was on their mental health. Nancy felt that she was, "mentally getting sick every single day" (personal communication, October 17, 2020) and Alice went into "depression. I didn't eat anything, I didn't talk to anybody, I just, there was times when, a couple days when I just slept on the couch, I didn't move" (personal communication, October 15, 2020).

In addition, the international students faced financial pressures in the absence of summer Graduate Assistantships in 2020. Both Bobby and Alice mentioned the financial difficulties they faced during the pandemic. Alice was not able to secure a GA position as it got canceled due to the pandemic. Bobby suffered the loss of his parent and was unable to fly back home for the funeral as he did not have money to buy a ticket. The current immigration laws do not allow international students to seek employment outside the University. The Graduate Assistantship is their only source of income.

Stress was intensified for the international students with fear of racial discrimination due to George Floyd's death as noted by Alice, "I literally felt so scared, to be out in public, with somebody, with a white person . . . you are fearful that you come into contact with someone who is racist, and may pull a gun and shoot you" (personal communication, October 15, 2020). The deportation threats that came in the summer added to the existing stressors. In the words of Bobby, "it was disconcerting," and destabilizing "because, you assume that once you are in, you are student and until you finish your program . . . you will be fine . . . then in the middle of the pandemic everybody was like, what is this?" (personal communication, October 30, 2020). The international students try their best to follow all the rules so that they do not have any problems. However, the anti-immigration decisions under the Trump administration discouraged foreign students to a considerable degree. They were fully aware of the fact that despite getting a terminal degree from the USA they will not be able to find a job in this country due to H1-B visa restrictions. With racial discrimination, hate crimes, and anti-immigration laws, international students felt their present or their future was never safe. Consequently, Bobby advised his friends not to think of coming to the USA for higher education.

> I personally tell people back home who are desirous of coming here, no consider other places before you think about coming here because with this

> current administration you are not too sure that even when you are done you will not be given a chance to live here so, I've been telling people look at Canada first, look at Australia, you get the opportunity.
>
> *(Personal communication, October 30, 2020)*

The above quote gives a good picture of the damage that has been done. The students do not feel safe in the USA, they were advising friends not to come here for education. The pandemic caused the international students to feel isolated in a foreign country, suffer financial pressures, and feel unsafe. Inability to travel back home and loss of loved ones overseas added to the mental and emotional stress during the pandemic.

Implications for practice in higher education

There are many lessons that can be learned from the pandemic and this study. First, there is a need for workshops and professional development programs for leaders and administrators to include a special component in crisis management that prepares the existing and potential leaders in responding to educational emergencies of various sorts, including a global scale illness. Teachers also need to be prepared with alternate lesson plans or methods of instruction in case of emergencies.

Professional development opportunities are needed for faculty, to train them in the online delivery of their content focusing on meaningful and effective use of technology. There is a need for improving online courses to make them more interactive, student-centered, and meaningful for the learners. Student-centered online courses can result in greater student autonomy and might also serve to increase the motivation of the learners. Both the teachers and the students need to be trained in technology use as some students may not be as tech-savvy. Academic leaders and faculty need to stop making assumptions about the technological potential of the students and their access to resources like technology and the internet.

There is a need for making curricula more fluid for an easier transition. This calls for an evaluation and analysis of the existing curricula to find out the extent to which these curricula and courses are fluid and adaptable for a transition to online teaching and learning mode. With proper evaluation and curriculum planning, educators can find ways the practicum courses—that were hugely impacted by the current pandemic—are able to get a more meaningful learning experience in case there is another crisis or emergency in the future.

The heavy reliance on the internet, the technology gap, and connectivity issues have revealed the need for investment for improving internet connectivity and accessibility. Perhaps government and private sector could collaborate to address this issue. Moreover, efforts need to be made for making online resources like books, journals, and research easily accessible by reducing the cost or releasing the journals and articles to the general public. More resources need to be accessible to the students and faculty to be able to perform their tasks effectively.

These oral history interviews revealed how important it is to involve faculty in the decision-making process. It is recommended that any decisions that directly or indirectly impact the faculty, their teaching, and student learning need to have the representation of the faculty. Leadership needs to provide clear guidelines that should be the same for every department in order to avoid confusion. At the same time, faculty need to have the level of autonomy that they are able to choose what is best for their students and their course. In a time of crisis, it is important to keep realistic expectations of others and also of oneself. Leaders and educators need to operate from the basic ethic of care, which means caring for the whole person, the mental, emotional as well as physical well-being of the people. Likewise, teachers could show more support to their learners by being accommodating and understanding of the student needs. Sometimes it will be helpful to provide alternative assignments/projects depending on the needs of the learners.

Another important implication for educator preparation programs is that they need to emphasize technology use and train prospective teachers to be able to respond to the needs of the students in crisis situations. Aspiring teachers need to be trained in engaging the students in online courses and use new technologies to increase student motivation while striving for quality even in online courses.

Implications for oral history as a methodology

The biggest challenge in the pandemic was finding people willing and able to participate in the oral history interviews The need for social distancing meant that I could only rely on email communication and online interviews. Zoom was a good tool to use at this time. Initially, it was hoped to do a multiple case study project with one University in the Midwest and one University from Pakistan. But the faculty in Pakistan were not used to the email communication and did not respond to me or the gatekeeper (i.e., the person identified within the educational organization holding a relationship to the potential participants who is capable of sharing the message of opportunity to be interviewed). I was only able to interview one faculty member from the university in Pakistan and that person was also my gatekeeper. I had limited time and I was not able to travel. Since there were not sufficient participants from Pakistan, that data has not been included. If I were in Pakistan, then more people would have responded to in-person interviews. It is important to know the cultural assumptions and preferences of the target group to identify the best way to reach them. In the course of this study, I also learned the importance of having a plan B in data collection and recruiting as many as possible. I was able to interview sufficient participants from the Midwestern university (using convenience and reverse snowballing sampling methods) in order to produce a collection of oral history interviews that may later serve as part of a larger case study.

Gatekeepers are important to many forms of research including oral histories especially when the educational researcher is not an insider to the group they wish to partner with for the study. It is important to build a rapport with people and

develop a trusting partnership. For instance, some of my participants were previous classmates and they recruited other participants for me. I was an international student and so it was easier for the international student participants to talk to me but with other participants I was able to begin the interview with introductions, small talk, and demographic information which helped in making them and me feel more comfortable.

While identity protection is not always required or desired in certain oral history projects, within this project it was an important dimension, and I honored their wish to be identified by pseudonyms.

In the midst of this project it became clear that oral history as a method can be used to document and contextualize the learning experiences of the students. When commonly expressed experience among the students was the impact of instructors who engaged in an informal conversation with the students about their learning in class. They expressed how it helped them to reflect on their learning experience and how they realized these conversations provided opportunities for them to also give informal feedback to their instructors which they believed instructors found valuable. This can be a way of involving the students in making the class and the course more student-centered. Classroom conversation can include recent events and encourage the students to share their thoughts over the events (past or, present) or even to get student feedback regarding a new school policy. The conversations could be recorded using a simple recording device such as the phone. These candid conversations, if recorded, could be valuable contributions to a collective oral history and when shared with university decision-makers may be useful for university leaders to ponder when making important decisions. When doing an oral history, it is helpful to start with documenting your own experiences of a particular event or in general as a teacher/researcher or a practitioner. This opens one up to understand the experiences of others and helps shape the kinds of questions an oral historian may wish to pose. Questions should not be too leading but the ones that allow the participants to openly share their experiences and memories.

The range of pedagogical implications is great when conducting an oral history around a worldwide event with a sense of immediacy. Exploring educators' and students' fresh reactions and understandings of the unfolding COVID-19 pandemic as it impacted educational beliefs, resources, and practices represents how educators can make use of oral history. Analyzing how such events cut across cultures and serve as a means to convey the commonalities and unique aspects of the impact on education worldwide is productive for mediating disruption of this magnitude.

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SECTION 3

Archival and secondary data analysis

8

THE LAYERS OF ORAL HISTORIES AT MEMORIAL MUSEUMS

Chronicles about who we are and who we are likely to become

Roy Tamashiro

Introduction

> I was just 13 years old when the United States dropped the first atomic bomb on my city, Hiroshima. I still vividly remember that morning. At 8:15, I saw a blinding bluish-white flash from the window. I remember having the sensation of floating in the air. As I regained consciousness in the silence and darkness, I found myself pinned by the collapsed building. I began to hear my classmates' faint cries: "Mother, help me. God, help me." . . . As I crawled out, the ruins were on fire. Most of my classmates in that building were burned to death alive. I saw all around me utter, unimaginable devastation.
>
> *(Thurlow, 2017)*

Like many oral narratives about the darkest events in human history, Setsuko Thurlow's recollections move beyond the trope of depressing, horror stories. She concludes her Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance speech,

> Tonight, as we march through the streets of Oslo with torches aflame, let us follow each other out of the dark night of nuclear terror. No matter what obstacles we face, we will keep moving and keep pushing and keep sharing this light with others. This is our passion and commitment for our one precious world to survive.
>
> *(Thurlow, 2017)*

Like Thurlow's narrative, the oral histories expressed in and through the exhibits and events at memorial sites and museums, reveal nuanced historical meanings, insights about human nature, and visions of human potential for the present and future. Such layered meanings are revealed in the exhibits, presentations, and publications at museums and memorials which commemorate historical events

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involving atrocities, violent extremism, and mass killings. The museum exhibits enable audiences to bear witness to profound human suffering and to uplifting insights about the restoration of dignity and the triumph of the human spirit.

In this chapter, I describe a framework for observing and working with the multiple layers of oral histories at memorials, monuments, museums, and other sites commemorating mass suffering. I provide examples of what we can learn from the layers of diverse oral histories at these sites, including historical and philosophical understandings and existential insights about "who we are and who we are likely to become" (Cave & Sloan, 2014, p. 1). Finally, I recommend methods for applying this model to oral history research projects, and for supporting student learning in history, multicultural studies, biography, peace studies, among other social sciences and humanities disciplines.

The model of oral history layers at memorial museums was drawn from research in trauma studies (Herman, 2015; Thompson & O'Dea, 2012), Holocaust studies (Agamben, 2002; Felman & Laub, 1992), and the psychology of memory (Oliver, 2001). Oral histories and witness testimonies collected on my (the author's) global peace pilgrimage to memorials and museums were also data sources for constructing the model. My observational notes and journaling on the pilgrimage served not only as data for the research and building of this model. The pilgrimage narratives and reflections themselves became newly produced oral history accounts when I reported and shared them with audiences (Tamashiro, 2016, 2018b, 2020a, 2020b).

My global pilgrimage to memorials and museums formally began in 2015, but the "call" to pilgrimage was in reference to a visit to Hiroshima 50 years before that, when I saw the remnants of the atomic bomb dropped there, was overwhelmed, and had a meltdown (Tamashiro, 2018c).

> In that state, I could see everything for what it was: I felt the profound suffering, the unbearable pain, the never-to-be recovered losses; the insanity, the hypocrisy, the injustice of it all. I could not wrap my mind around this in any rational way. When I emerged from the meltdown, I had only a vague awareness of what I experienced in that numb state. . . . I knew that my life and my future would be shaped by what I just experienced, though I had no awareness of specifics.
>
> *(p. 48)*

I was forever changed. Making sense of the 1965 Hiroshima experience was a process of continuous redefinition and re-evaluation over five decades. The year 2015 marked the 70th anniversary of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima and the 50th anniversary of my 1965 visit there. In that year 2015, I became aware of a message that was seeded in my unconscious in 1965 when I was in that altered mind-state. The subtle but unmistakable voice in my head said:

> You were meant to come here to Hiroshima. Welcome. This is the culmination of your first peace pilgrimage. There will be many more in your

> lifetime . . . Now we invite you to embark on a new coming-full-circle peace pilgrimage.
>
> *(Tamashiro, 2020a, p. 195)*

Both the meltdown in Hiroshima in 1965 and the voice calling me to pilgrimage in 2015 were out-of-the-ordinary, emotionally moving, transformative experiences. These experiences shaped and defined the pilgrimage as an autoethnographic and oral history research project about witness consciousness (Tamashiro, 2020b). Witness consciousness is the ability to observe the content and processes of consciousness itself, one's own and others', in non-judgmental ways (Albahari, 2009, pp. 63–66). Witness consciousness is a metacognitive ability and awareness that is invaluable to both autoethnography and oral history research. The *pilgrimage* into witness consciousness is a hybrid genre of pilgrimage that combines the characteristics of two pilgrimage types in Phil Cousineau's (2012) nomenclature: Actual travel to historical sites or sacred spaces; and an inward, metaphysical, and metaphorical journey, such as meditation, imagination, memory-tracing, or depth psychotherapy (Tamashiro, 2020b).

Autoethnography is a form of self-narrative writing that stresses cultural analysis and interpretation of one's own behaviors, thoughts, and experiences in their socio-psychological and historical contexts (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). *Oral history* is typically defined as the collection and study of historical information using audio or video recordings of interviews with people having personal knowledge of past events (Oral History Association, 2020). The interpretation, analysis, and meaning making in oral history are expressions of the narrators' personal beliefs, values, and biases. However, the way in which the resulting oral history narrative is edited and presented may more reflect the interviewer or museum's biases or agendas. Oral history refers to both the research method and the resulting product (i.e., the video or audio recording, the transcribed document, or the oral testimony) (Abrams, 2016).

Autoethnography and oral history research are both qualitative methods for historical research. Both involve recording the narratives of individuals reporting and interpreting or analyzing their memories of past events. The combination of autoethnography with oral history yields added value for research in history, philosophy, and human psychology. For example, the combined approaches can (1) purposefully comment and critique culture-bound meanings and interpretations of historical events; (2) contribute to the body of research and scholarship in history and museology (in this instance); and (3) open reciprocity and enable audiences (i.e., readers, museum visitors, students) to relate to, participate in and contribute to the conversation (Jones et al., 2013, p. 22).

In the actual travel, I followed invitations to give lectures, workshops, and presentations at college campuses, memorial museums, and academic conferences. This chapter includes examples of oral histories from museum exhibits, associated publications, and events at memorial museums that document and commemorate four historical events:

1 The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin, Germany, consisting of the Field of Stelae and the underground Information Centre, was

constructed as a place of remembrance and commemoration for the Jewish victims of the Holocaust.

2 The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and Museum in Japan was the site of first use of the atomic bomb in 1945.

3 The Sơn Mỹ Memorial Museum located in south-central Vietnam was the site of the Mỹ Lai Massacre, in which US Army soldiers killed more than 500 villagers in several hours on March 16, 1968 (Burns & Novick, 2017; Tamashiro, 2020b).

4 The Jeju 4•3 Peace Park on Jeju Island in the Republic of Korea commemorates the *Jeju 4·3 Events*. This seven-year bloodbath began on March 1, 1947, when police killed six unarmed demonstrators at an Independence Movement rally. The police killings triggered protests and demonstrations about police brutality. The protest escalated into violent attacks on government offices, police stations, and polling centers across Jeju Island on April 3, 1948, which were then followed by a government crackdown, "scorched-earth policy," and a brutal counterinsurgency program. Ultimately the conflict resulted in an estimated 30,000 deaths, 40,000 political refugees, and 95% of villages in the middle of the island destroyed (Park, 2010, p. 359).

In these examples, the memorial museum served as a library and archive of survivor-witnesses' oral histories, and as a venue for memorial services, educational programs, and other public events where oral histories were performed. In turn, the visitors to the museums, including students and researchers, listen to or observe the oral histories by experiencing the exhibits or participating in the museum events. Then the museum visitors can become producers of new oral histories when they describe their museum experiences in visitor blogs such as *Tripadvisor.com* or in the museums' visitor comment-books or video feedback stations.

Oral history layers at memorials and museums

At memorials, museums, libraries, and other institutions that document historic events, oral histories are multi-sourced and layered: At the first level, oral histories are given by those who participated in the historic event, witnessed it, and survived to tell about their experiences and memories. Second, oral histories may speak virtually through the exhibits and artifacts in the memorial museum. Finally, the visitors, researchers, journalists, and artists who report about their experiences at the memorials and museums through various media have also produced oral histories.

Layer 1: first-hand oral histories: survivor-witness accounts

As in the classic definition of oral history, the first layer of oral histories refers to the narratives given by the survivor-witnesses who participated in or witnessed the historic event.

> Miyoko Matsubara was a 12-year-old seventh-grader in 1945, when the atomic bomb was dropped on her city. She was less than a mile from the

> epicenter and was one of only 50 children who survived out of 250 classmates. . . . Her face and legs had been burned and were swollen, with the skin peeled off and hanging in shreds. Matsubara . . . described fellow survivors as looking like characters out of horror movies, their skin and flesh horribly burned and blistered.
>
> *(Forrest-Yosnow, 2000)*

Pham Thi Thuam, a 30-year-old widow at the time of the Mỹ Lai Massacre, lost six members of her family—father, mother, younger brother, and three nephews (Bilton & Sim, 1993, p. 159). In a Yorkshire Television documentary produced in 1989, she vividly recalls:

> I was getting ready to work in the field when the helicopters flew in and started firing. People didn't know where to hide. They shot some people and rounded up others. They told us to sit down—so we sat down. Stand up—so we stood up. We thought they would let us go but they pushed us into the ditch and shot everybody dead. My children and I were in with the dead people. Their dead bodies weighed down on me.
>
> *(Sim, 1989)*

First-hand oral histories at memorial museums are predominantly personal accounts and stories of how witness-survivors remembered their experiences having lived through the historic event. They are individualized expressions that mirror the museums' aims to commemorate and memorialize the event. Paul Williams (2007) defines memorial museums as "a specific kind of museum dedicated to a historic event commemorating mass suffering of some kind" (p. 8).

Similarly, "museums for peace" is a parallel genre of museums whose self-defined intent is "to remember, reclaim, and relate stories—peace stories, untold stories, stories of victims, and inspiring stories of war resisters, peacemakers, campaigners and reconcilers" (Barrett, 2010, p. 83), "enabling and equipping future generations to build peace in and with their own lives" (p. 85). The stories told at museums for peace, especially the first-hand oral histories, are the means for achieving the museums' aims of remembrance, peace education, and peace building.

Oral histories of mass suffering are significant because they oppose the "ordinary response to atrocities . . . to banish them from consciousness. Certain violations of the social compact are too terrible to utter aloud" (Herman, 2015, p. 1).

Oral histories give voice to the unspeakable. For example, in an oral history of a Jeju 4•3 massacre at Bilaemotgul village in March-April 1949, Kang Tae-ho recalls the brutal beating of his 59-year-old mother, Yang Chuk-seoung:

> the soldiers came by. My mother was ordered to tell them where my father and I were. But she said that she was a widow. Then a merciless beating started. She screamed. There was nothing I could do. Later I found out she

> lost consciousness. I could not help crying at the terrible sight of her. She suffered from the aftereffects of the day and died half a year later.
>
> *(Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation, 2014, p. 499)*

Civilian victims and survivors are not the only ones who produce oral histories. The perpetrators of the violence—the police, government officials, and soldiers who took part in the violence—also share oral histories. Most witness narratives among the police and military defend their actions with an appeal to "I was following orders." At Mỹ Lai several US soldiers like Harry Stanley, were exceptions as they refused to shoot despite the orders. Stanley described his reaction to the orders:

> We had orders, but the orders we had was that we were going into an enemy village and that they were well armed. I didn't find that when I got there. And ordering me to shoot down innocent people, that's not an order—that's craziness to me, you know. So I don't feel like I had to obey that.
>
> *(Bilton & Sim, 1993, p. 19)*

Capt. Robert A. Lewis, co-pilot of the Enola Gay, the B-29 that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, was the only crew member who expressed alarm, if not remorse. He wrote in his journal shortly after dropping the bomb:

> I am certain the entire crew felt this experience was more than any one human had ever thought possible. . . . It just seems impossible to comprehend. Just how many Japs did we kill? I honestly have the feeling of groping for words to explain this. I might say, "My God, what have we done."
>
> *(Carmody, 1971)*

Giving an oral history of mass suffering is to face an existential threat, where the meaning, dignity, and value of human life are questioned. These violations "so destroy the essence of innocence, decency and life itself [such] that the experience penetrates beyond comprehension and words" (Lederach & Lederach, 2011, pp. 1–2).

First-hand oral histories are widely accessible to researchers and students beyond the memorial museum's exhibits, library, and archives. Talks given by survivor-witnesses are commonly given to museum visitors. The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum has replaced *hibakusha*[1] talks with talks given by younger narrators who know the *hibakusha's* life story. The Museum introduces these memory-keepers (*denshosha*) as "A-bomb legacy successors." Elsewhere survivor-witness presentations are included in anniversary memorial services and commemoration events at the museums or historic sites. They are also included in university or community speaker events and academic conferences. Survivor-witness accounts have been extensively documented in print publications, video documentaries, the mass media, and social media.

Layer 2: museum exhibits and artifacts as oral history

The second layer of oral histories at memorials and museums is the presentation of exhibits. The photographs, multimedia exhibits, artifacts, and vestiges of the historical event, as well as the interpretive explanations for the exhibits are based on the documented events and accounts reported of those who were on the scene.

For example, Sadako Sasaki's oral history is retold twice at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and Museum: first at the Children's Memorial in the Peace Park, and again in a museum exhibit. She was two years old at the time of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. She is remembered for her effort to fold 1,000 origami cranes as she was dying from leukemia ten years after the bomb (Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, 2020).

Much of the history and meanings told through the museum exhibits—and those archived in video documentaries, books, and other publications—are derived from narratives or artifacts left by those who were present and who witnessed the historic event. Photographs, such as those taken by US military photographer Ron Haeberle at the site of the Mỹ Lai Massacre, were accompanied by Haeberle's oral history accounts of recording the gruesome scene: villagers in terror, charred bodies, and other corpses covered with blood or intestines spilling out (Tamashiro, 2018a).

Artist Gilchun Koh produced several outdoor sculptures in Jeju 4•3 Peace Park as well as a powerful grouping of 23 alto-relievo sculptures in white plaster and clay entitled *Death Island* in the Museum. The work graphically depicts the variety of victims' tortures and deaths (Hilty, 2018). Koh reported having many nightmares during and after working on the pieces. His witnessing and embodying the inhuman through his work were as realistic as though he were actually present at Jeju 4•3. Koh's words and his artwork were received as credible an oral history as that of an actual survivor-witness to Jeju 4•3. The museum exhibits and presentations extend the definition of oral history by considering artifacts, photographs, or artwork as voices reporting how the event was lived and remembered.

It may be a cognitive shift for researchers and students to study museum exhibits and presentations as oral history. The oral history stories and meanings are not explicit in a photo exhibit or a 3-D diorama in the museum. More information about the photographer's work or the curator's explanation of the choices and design of the exhibit are needed to reveal the underlying lived experiences and memories on which the exhibit is grounded. Researchers and students seeking oral histories based on the museums' exhibits may be able to interview the museums' curators, directors, or designers, or find publications or video documentaries that include "behind the scenes" explanations of the construction or history of the museums.

Observers who have the keen ability to read emotions and meanings in actions and behaviors captured in photographs or artworks (sometimes called visual literacy or emotional literacy) can use this sensitivity to further investigate the underlying individuals' memories and experiences.

Layer 3: museum audiences as producers of oral history

Contemporary visitors to the memorial museum, or those who participate in special events, such as memorial services at the historic sites, may be considered *producers of oral history* when they tell others about their visit. Visitors' expressions are oral history narratives, when they post videos or write about their visit on travel blogs like *Tripadvisor.com*, on personal blogs and websites, or in museum guest books that invite visitor feedback. On his travel blog, *Changes in Longitude*, Michael Milne (2012) wrote about an emotional moment when visiting the Sơn Mỹ Memorial, the site of the Mỹ Lai Massacre juxtaposed with his memory of the news photos from 1969.

> I was only seven years old when the Mỹ Lai massacre occurred, but I still remember seeing disturbing photos of it in *Life* magazine. Now I was standing at the irrigation ditch where over one hundred of the bodies were found. Mỹ Lai is an emotionally tough place for anyone to visit. . . . Standing there I tried to contemplate the madness that occurred on this peaceful spot. Roosters crowed in the distance and the pungent smell of burning brush wafted over the village . . . Then I looked down and noticed hundreds of bare footprints along the path, many of them the tiny footprints of young children. They were interspersed randomly with imprints of army boots.
>
> *(Milne, 2012)*

The accounts that students, scholars, or researchers write or share about their visit to the site are also oral histories. Carol Becker (2003) described how undergraduate and graduate students responded to their visit to the Sơn Mỹ Memorial:

> Of all the sites we visited over our three-week journey, no other had the psychological and emotional impact of Mỹ Lai. We absorbed the nightmare that had occurred there, and left transformed. Without thinking too much about the weightiness of the term, some of us began to call the visit to Mỹ Lai a "pilgrimage," probably choosing this word because of our awareness that we wanted to know the place not just through the mind, but more deeply, in the body. This is the type of secular experience many of us associated with pilgrimage.
>
> *(Becker, 2003, p. 56)*

Similarly, the recollection, reflection, and retelling of my first visit to Hiroshima are also elements of an oral history:

> In 1965, I was a 16-year old member of a Scout troop that had the opportunity to travel to Japan. I was not prepared for what I witnessed underneath the tourist photos I took at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and Museum. When I saw the remnants of the atomic bomb, I was overwhelmed with the horror: the death, destruction, and the insanity. Why?

> Why? Why? I could not wrap my mind around it, and I had a meltdown. I could not speak to anyone for three days. When I emerged, I knew that my life would change direction. At the time, I only knew that I would be a conscientious objector to military service. For the next 50 years, I had little awareness of the quest for meaning I sought to heal my meltdown in Hiroshima.
>
> *(Tamashiro, 2018b)*

It took a certain courage to publicly share my memories and to expose this vulnerable and private struggle. It was also the realization that this memory sharing was an oral history performance like that of survivor-witness narratives I was hearing and collecting on the pilgrimage.

Students and researchers can apply the concept of "museum audiences as producers of oral history" to frame the value of their own conscious, subjective involvement and investment in their research projects. They produce oral histories, for example, when they discuss or report their experiences and reflections about a memorial service. In turn, their own oral histories can be included with other oral histories they have collected in their research projects as data to study, critique, and analyze.

Methodological considerations for research and teaching

The model of oral history layers at memorial museums can give direction to researchers, educators, and students in conducting oral history projects. These projects may involve the memories and lived experiences of participant-witnesses of noteworthy events, whether they are historical or contemporary, and whether they are experienced first-hand or mediated through museum exhibits, narratives, and testimonies, or documentary videos and publications. The methodology may be applicable to oral history projects, including student projects and assignments in local, community or regional history, heritage studies, family history, ethnographic studies, indigenous studies, gender studies, multicultural studies, biography and psychobiography, literature, philosophy, religious studies, or political science.

The special considerations for working with data collected at sites of profound suffering are applicable to sensitivities required in other kinds of oral history research and student projects.

1 Oral history as personal and subjective

At all three layers of oral history (first-hand narratives, museum exhibits and artifacts, and museum audiences as producers of oral history), the subjective and personal modalities for describing experiences and memories are central. Subjective means the oral history is based on the memories recalled as embodied emotions and feelings, as memories of what happened and as one's actions, words, and thoughts. The

narrative may also include beliefs, biases, judgments, and *how* one was thinking (i.e., metacognition) during and after the event.

While first-hand oral histories (Layer 1) and visitor accounts (Layer 3) may begin with an objective approach by describing the sequence of events experienced, the narratives are necessarily subjective and intensely personal.

> Miyoko Matsubara spoke to a class I brought to Japan. She greeted the class with a deep bow that sent chills up my back. In Japanese tradition, the lower and longer the bow, the greater the gratitude. She spoke of her badly burned and swollen face and legs, with her skin peeled off and hanging in shreds. She spoke about undergoing 12 operations to restore a dysfunctional eyelid and straighten crooked fingers. When she finished the class applauded. While wiping tears, she made more deep bows. We stood up and bowed back. She bowed lower. Nothing but gratitude.
>
> *(Tamashiro, 2020a)*

Likewise for museum exhibits (Layer 2), the photographs, artifacts, and multimedia displays are objectively presented, but the artists', designers', and curators' narratives and explanations are subjective and personal.

Witnessing has two meanings: to be an eyewitness, and to bear witness. An eyewitness is a spectator who observes the event with one's own eyes. In contrast, bearing witness asks a spectator to subjectively testify to a lived experience. In eyewitness testimony, the speaker *objectifies* the episode and positions the observer in the experiential moment. But in bearing witness the speaker must have a *subjective* grasp of the embodied experience, that is, to wrap one's thoughts and emotions around one's own and others' experience (Oliver, 2001, p. 81).

Unlike eye-witnessing, bearing witness *cannot be objectively verified* because there were no co-witnesses: this is an experience in the invisible realm of mind, memory, and consciousness. Kelly Oliver (2001) explains, "that the witness is testifying to something that cannot be seen . . . In this sense, the witness is bearing witness rather than testifying as an eyewitness" (p. 143). It is possible to discern authenticity and credibility when listeners are emotionally moved and can co-occupy the speaker's subjective space when engaged in their narratives.

The oral histories given at historic sites may be eye-witnessing, bearing witness, or both. As a nine-year-old child, Ko Wan-soon witnessed a massacre in Bukchon Village where 398 people were killed in two days, the second-largest number of victims in Jeju 4•3. In an *eyewitness* report, she describes how she, her mother, older sister, and younger brother were ordered to assemble at the local elementary school. She reports, "I stood up to see what's going on, and was beaten by a soldier. At that moment, I heard a series of gunshots and saw seven to eight men collapse" (Choe, 2019). She further explains, "When my infant brother cried on the back of my mother, the soldier slammed him in the head twice with a thick club" (Choe, 2019). At a 2019 United Nations symposium, she supplements her eyewitness account with a *bearing witness* observation: "I wish I could forget the sin, but I

remember when I close my eyes as if it were yesterday" (The International Center for Transitional Justice, 2019).

The hand-written visitor comments at the Sơn Mỹ Memorial and Museum are *bearing witness* accounts. They are personal, heartfelt, reflective, and philosophical. For example, one visitor wrote:

> What I have seen here today, I think, will haunt me forever. I feel such sadness that we as human beings are capable of causing each other so much pain both physically and emotionally. We are all, in our own ways, innocent and vulnerable, yet often we don't realize this until it is too late. It's too late for the people of Mỹ Lai and the many people around the world who have been scarred & killed by fellow human beings—but may it be a lesson—a poignant reminder to us all that we too are human & we too are capable of hurting each other. Life is precious, the individual is precious, we must all help to nurture each other and spread only happiness, love & understanding. I will not forget, but I will never understand.[2]

The distinction between eye witnessing and bearing witness is valuable for researchers and students involved in oral history projects. Researchers and students can collect narratives that highlight the subjective, non-stereotypic, bearing witness perspective by asking the interviewees to select their own memorable personal experiences to recall and discuss, and using open-ended interview questions that invite more introspection (e.g., "what were you thinking?" "how were you feeling?") rather than the details of what happened.

2 Oral history as counterbalancing the grand narrative

Oral history narratives and their meanings counterbalance the temptation to postulate a singular grand narrative of the historical event (Lyotard et al., 1988). The diversity of personal narratives is consistent with the postmodern perspective that there are multiple histories and multiple historical truths (Ahonen, 2017; Weinstein, 2005; White, 1973). As personal stories, the oral narratives are typically not bound to "politically correct" interpretations or to the collective consensus meanings of what happened. The emphasis on the subjective, lived experiences and memories of the narrator acknowledges and legitimizes the voices of those who have been ignored, marginalized, or silenced. For example, the narratives of unarmed civilians, survivor-witnesses, or bereaved family members are often from previously silenced or politically disenfranchised witnesses.

> Through oral history interviews, working-class men and women, indigenous peoples or members of cultural minorities, amongst others, have inscribed their experiences on the historical record, and offered their own interpretations of history.
>
> *(Perks & Thomson, 1988, p. ix)*

Witness-survivors whose memories have been inaccessible, have given accounts that reveal unexpected, non-ordinary psychological processes, such as a "massive download."

Rumi Hanagaki was five years old when the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. Unlike her *hibakusha* peers, she did not remember anything about the morning of the bomb. As an adult, she would participate in *hibakusha* talks, but would not be able to share her own lost memories. But in 2003, her memories would be unlocked, and she remembered everything in vivid detail. She described this as a massive download.[3]

> "I lost my memory for 58 years," she said. "Now I believe God asked me to remember so I could tell others what happened."
>
> *(Saviano, 2016)*

Subjective oral histories also contain non-conformist value statements, including ethical imperatives. Such narratives are not a chronology of observable facts and events, but rather "a commitment to the truth of subjectivity as address-ability and response-ability" (Oliver, 2001, p. 143). The traumas are addressed with an ethical certainty, which can serve as resistance against re-traumatization. The Nobel Peace Prize laureate Setsuko Thurlow said: "I am one of those who can tell a firsthand story of human suffering that the bomb caused. To me that was a very important moral imperative" (Rich, 2020).

On the one hand, researchers and students who employ the metahistory perspective (White, 1973) that there are multiple histories rather than a singular grand narrative can use person-centered methods of data collection and data analysis to achieve their aims (Haselberger & Hutterer, 2013). For example, they can invite narrators to give self-made interpretations and to report on what meanings they constructed for themselves and avoid questions that seek corroboration with other narratives collected.

On the other hand, researchers and students who study sociological, political, or educational agendas and influences associated with historical events may be seeking more objective, eye-witness accounts that can be corroborated with other oral histories.

3 Oral history as bearing witness to the inhuman

Oral histories of mass suffering involve a particular form of witnessing and remembering: To *bear witness to the inhuman*. Since the Holocaust, historians and other scholars have used the term *bearing witness to the inhuman* to describe the process of retrieving, literally "re-collecting" and testifying about haunting memories of dehumanizing brutality, and atrocities (Felman & Laub, 1992). In studying the survivor testimonies from Auschwitz, Giorgio Agamben observed that "human beings are human insofar as they bear witness to the inhuman" (Agamben, 2002, p. 212).

The *inhuman* that Agamben refers to is the violence to one's body, mind, or psyche, where one is disrespected, demonized, and viewed and treated as subhuman. Thinking is confused, perceptions and emotions are blocked, and the capacity to make meaningful decisions is disrupted (Rosner, 2017; Tick, 2014).

Oral histories from the Holocaust exemplify remembering and re-witnessing dehumanization. The narratives are graphic and gruesome. In a testimony from a mass murder incident in Belarus in 1941, the witness transcript reads:

> The firing squad consisted of about 15 Lithuanians who stood outside the pit, at its edge. In groups of ten, the Jews were forced to jump into the pit and lie down; the shooting commenced immediately. I did not hear a command. It was a scene of wild confusion. They shot with sub-machine-guns. . . . The squad simply shot into the grave until there was no more movement.
>
> *(Stiftung Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2016, p. 233)*

Mass murders were central in the contemporary testimonies of survivor-witnesses at the various memorial museums. At Jeju 4•3, the testimony by Oh Guk-man, age 70, is strikingly similar to that Belarus massacre witness testimony. Oh recalls how the villagers in Pyoseon-myeon were murdered:

> When we were detained at Pyoseon Primary School, we were ordered to gather in the playground. It was 22 December. . . . They split us into two groups: according to the family registry, one which had all of the family members gathered and one that didn't. At that time, my brother was missing, so my family was classified as "a fugitive's family". . . . During that day, 76 residents were shot to death. The soldiers only covered the dead bodies with soil. Then the bodies were buried a year later. My father was identified by his tobacco pipe.
>
> *(Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation, 2014, p. 172)*

Also in Jeju 4•3, Hong Chun-ho was age 10 when her village was razed by counterinsurgency forces in the winter of 1948–1949. Nowadays she speaks frequently at the Donggwang Village Community Centre which is not far from the caves where she and the villagers hid (Coote, 2018).

> She recalls how the adults swept footprints from the snow so the police and militia could not locate their hiding spots. But when the police did come to Donggwang-ri, they followed in their footsteps, and killed everyone they caught. She walks visitors to a grassy clearing known as the Killing Fields, where 29 were massacred. Some were killed by pistols, some were killed by bamboo spears, and others who were wounded were burned in flames. They dumped the bodies in Seogwipo's Jeonbang Falls.
>
> *(The 19th World Peace Island Forum, 2019, pp. 35–36)*

Researchers can be aware that trauma memories, including those from child survivors like Hong, are typically distinct, detailed, and reported with certainty. Very little prompting or probing is necessary. The narratives are given energetically with detailed memories of the places and persons involved, of what they spoke and

heard, and of thoughts and feelings they experienced. They are personal, and "not facts that were gleaned from somebody else's telling them about what happened" (Laub, 1992, p. 75).

Interviewers in oral history research or student projects need to be sensitive and respectful of the intense, emotional nature of narratives involving *bearing witness to the inhuman*. It is possible that the remembering and retelling of a trauma, may be re-traumatizing for the narrator. It may be traumatic as well for the interviewer hearing the narrative. Such risks should be carefully assessed and managed through the pre-interview screening and consent procedures, the disclosure of risks, and options to stop the interview or not answer questions at any time. Interviewers can also prepare to deal with these issues by being interviewed themselves about their own memories that involve *bearing witness to the inhuman*.

4 Witnessing self; witnessing the testimony; witnessing the witnessing process

In the delivery of an oral history account, the narrator is not the only person who is bearing witness. As listeners to an oral history account, the audience or interviewer is a witness-bearer at three levels: "the level of being a witness to oneself within the experience; the level of being a witness to the testimonies given by the narrators; and the level of being a witness to the process of witnessing itself" (Laub, 1992, p. 75).

At the first level, the listener is bearing witness to oneself listening to the narrator's experiences, even though the listener may not have been a participant in the historic event. The listener observes oneself empathizing and identifying with the speaker's memories and first-hand experiences, as if they were one's own. It is "to think and feel oneself into the inner life of another person" (Kohut, 1984, p. 82).

Barbara Reynolds, an American peace activist and founder of the World Friendship Center in Hiroshima, described her identification with *hibakusha's* oral histories in her writings, even though she did not witness the bombing of Hiroshima in 1945. She was recognized as a Special Honorary Citizen of Hiroshima. Her memorable statement "I, too, am a Hibakusha" is inscribed as an epigraph on the Barbara Reynolds Memorial Monument in the Hiroshima Peace Park (Hiroshima City, 2011).

The second level of witnessing is the listeners' participation, not in the historic event per se, but in the account given of it in their role as the listeners (or interviewers).

> My function in this setting is that of a companion on the eerie journey of the testimony. As [a listener], we are present as someone who actually participates in the reliving and reexperiencing of the event. I also become part of the struggle to go beyond the event and not be submerged and lost in it.
>
> *(Laub, 1992, p. 76)*

In the third level, the audience-listeners are witnessing the process of witnessing itself. They observe how the narrators and themselves as listeners, "alternate between moving closer and then retreating from the experience—with the sense that there is a truth that we are both trying to reach, and we together are trying to follow this beacon" (Laub, 1992, p. 76).

In empathy, the duality of self and non-self shifts to a direct intersubjective knowing. Thich Nhat Hanh (1995, 1999) identifies this form of knowing as *interbeing*, referring to the interconnectedness of everything in the universe.[4] Carl Rogers describes this empathy as a process whereby "it seems that my inner spirit has reached out and touched the inner spirit of the other. The relationship transcends itself and becomes a part of something larger" (Rogers, 1980, p. 129).

Audiences listening to survivor-witness testimonies, as well as visitors to memorial museums may experience intersubjective knowing.

> Kiểu Phan, who was the guide on my tour of the Sơn Mỹ Memorial, walked our group along the irrigation ditch where 170 villagers were executed. She stops. She lowers her head in a silent tribute. Holding back tears, she reveals that her mother, then age 17, was among those in the ditch, but survived because she was left for dead in the pile of bodies. Kiểu's quiet prayer-tribute was a witness-bearing ritual, not only for herself, but also for many of us on her tour. Standing alongside Kiểu, I was a "co-witness" to what happened, an *interbeing* connection with Kiểu, with her mother and with the souls of those who died there.
>
> *(Tamashiro, 2020b, p. 120)*

Audiences, including students and oral history researchers, can experience intersubjective knowing when they listen to the witness-speaker without judgment or evaluation. It requires exceptional focus, openness, and empathy to accept the authenticity of the speakers' narrative no matter how unexpected, unbelievable, or emotionally painful. When this identification with the narrator's witnessing occurs, the listener becomes a co-witness bearer and a co-owner of the trauma (Laub, 1992, pp. 57–58). By practicing empathic and non-judgmental listening, researchers and students can experience and develop the sense of empathy, solidarity, *interbeing*, and interconnectivity with the narrator (Layer 1) and within oneself as a producer of oral history (Layer 3).

Under the rubric of "pedagogy of interbeing," learning to listen empathically, to develop mindful contemplation and *interbeing* awareness are rich topics for deconstructing oppression in the multicultural studies classroom, or for raising awareness about crimes against humanity in peace studies, international law, and other curricula (Asher, 2003). The pedagogy of interbeing is an education for wholeness and self-actualization which attends to "the ongoing processes of conscientization, developing self-reflexive awareness, and working through the splits of self and other" (p. 237).

5 Identity transformation

The witness-bearing that occurs in creating oral histories can be an *identity transformation* process for the narrators as well as for researchers and students involved in the project. Psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton (1998) explains that "bearing witness to history liberates us emotionally and mentally" (p. 20). One's identity shifts from being a *victim* to being a *witnesser* (Kwon, 2016), a shift that psychiatrist Dori Laub (1992), a Holocaust survivor, observed is critical for psychic survival.

According to Dominick LaCapra (2001), the foreclosed trauma identity can be overcome by *working through*, in which one critically engages with the past, as in oral history-making. This involves the repetition of trauma using different lenses and tools, such as writing, drawing, music, or other forms of performance and expression. This process transforms the understanding of one's own and others' traumas (LaCapra, 2001, p. 148).

Researchers and students can recognize that many oral history narratives are about unreconciled pasts and the struggle to resolve incomprehensible suffering of both past and present. The interviewer's role is to create a safe, non-judgmental climate, and to "hold space" for the narrators to express whatever they are ready to report, without pressure or obligation. When this succeeds, the narrator can feel an "existential legitimacy" bestowed upon oneself, and a heavy emotional burden lifted (Tamashiro, 2018a, p. 66). "There are times . . . when the highest honor, the greatest love is paid to another by simply bearing witness to his or her experience" (Johnson, 2011). What is revealed in the witnessing process may be morally unconscionable, cognitively unbelievable, and psychically unbearable. However, the witness bearers—both the narrators and the listeners—come to know and accept the "is-ness" of experience and memory, even as the narrative violates expectations and ethical imperatives of "what should be." Authenticating and "owning these truths" affirm suffering as a valid, albeit difficult, human experience (Tamashiro, 2018a, p. 65).

6 Social healing

Witness-bearing in oral history narratives can facilitate the social healing process for individuals and communities. The aim of social healing through the oral history-making process is to acknowledge the validity of one's lived experiences and memories, while simultaneously addressing and attending to physical, emotional, spiritual, and interpersonal wounds (Tamashiro, 2018a, pp. 65–66).

> Social healing is a paradigm that seeks to transcend dysfunctional polarities that hold repetitive wounding in place. It views human transgressions not as a battle between the dualities of right and wrong or good and bad, but as an issue of wounding and healing.
>
> *(Thompson & O'Dea, 2012)*

In the oral history interviews, researchers and students can set the stage to support the social healing process by creating a climate for unlocking repressed memories

and acknowledging previously unthinkable realities. The acknowledgment and making sense of experiences can then interrupt the cycle of repetitive wounding. Mark Cave and Stephen M. Sloan (2014) caution, "Although oral historians can help interviewees with the process of creating meaning from moments of crisis, they should never consider themselves healers" (p. 3).

Listening is a means of holding space, wherein pain and trauma can gradually become bearable and faceable. When the strong emotions are felt, expressed, and then heard and acknowledged in an oral history, the experience can be intense, even explosive, and re-traumatizing (Tamashiro, 2018a, p. 66). In the continuation of empathic listening in the safe space, the stresses and terror subside, and healing can commence. Being heard lightens the emotional burden (Pikiewicz, 2013).

Conclusions

Oral histories about the darkest events in human history are visible in multiple layers at the memorials, museums, and other places and publications that commemorate and document them. The primary voices of these narratives are those of the survivor-witnesses who remember and report their memories. The second layer of oral histories at memorial museums is the extensive narratives and background stories behind the exhibited photographs, artifacts, multimedia presentations, and artworks. Visitors to the museum, including students and researchers, themselves become producers of oral histories when they report their reflections and interpretations about the historical event or the museum itself.

The oral histories make it possible for the narrators as well as audiences to be witness-bearers to unthinkable mass suffering that human beings have been inflicting on each other across generations. For the narrator, the oral histories are courageous acts in bearing witness to the inhuman, in acknowledging the realities of the unbearable memories and unrecoverable losses. For the listener, including the researcher or the student, observing and studying the oral histories, hearing the oral histories are also acts of courage to stand as co-witness bearers, empathizing and identifying with the narrator as though the memories and lived experiences being shared were also one's own. For the narrators, the listeners, as well as the researchers and students, the oral history process is an opportunity to make new meaning of the historical event, gain insights into human nature and human potential, and move toward redefinition and reconciliation for a just social order.

When an oral history can be told and heard empathically, a safe space has been held which opens the path to identity transformation and individual and communal healing. When there is an acceptance of the "is-ness" of experience and memory, dignity and humanness can be reclaimed and affirmed, despite the immense suffering and limitless sorrow. Working with oral histories enables one to feel an *interbeing* connection with the legacy of humanity, history, and the cosmos and to take ownership of one's role as a global citizen. Bearing witness to the inhuman in these oral histories ultimately awakens us to an "engaged mindfulness" that enables us to witness and know the vast potential for self-actualization across the species.

Notes

1 The literal translation of *hibakusha* [被爆者] is "explosion-affected people," and refers to A-bomb survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
2 This visitor comment in the binder-album at the Sơn Mỹ Museum is signed "Ema Colby, England."
3 Rumi Hanagaki, Conversation with author (translation by Yoshiko Tanigawa). Kyoto, Japan, October 12, 2015.
4 *Interbeing* refers to the awareness of interdependence and interconnectedness of all beings (human and non-human), wherein "Everything in the cosmos is the object of our perception, and, as such, it does not exist only outside of us but also within us" (Hanh, 1999, p. 81).

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9

IRENE BISHOP GOGGANS

Community historian of African American life using scrapbooks for social justice

Agnes Virginia Williams

Introduction

Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans' stories embodied and illuminated the African American experience since arriving in Milwaukee as a girl of 16 from the segregated South in 1942. Her personal story as a witness to her father's struggle to attain gainful employment unconsciously launched her stellar career as a community historian and researcher of her African American community. As a graduate student, in 2006, I began to tape record and transcribe Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans' interviews and with her approval, presented portions of her oral history at an international biographical conference in 2013. In 2017, when Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans was admitted to a care facility, she allowed me to continue building this oral history. I recorded our conversations which included her final wishes for her extensive collection of 300 scrapbooks. This chapter centralizes her narratives about her life and what it meant to her to be a community historian. Findings from this oral history show how organized pictures and newspaper clippings can be transformed into history and can serve as a counter-narrative that marginalized communities can use to refute negative stereotypes. Because of her status as a curator of African American history, Irene Bishop Goggans became a primary consultant as well as a participant in most prominent community events. She appeared on several local television programs and was on the cover of local newspapers and magazines. In addition, Irene Bishop Goggans contributed to numerous scholarly publications and provided research for films and stage productions. Irene Bishop Goggans was honored for her work in the community and recognized by the academic community as a scholar and historian through the conferring of the honorary doctorate by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee at the May 17, 2015, commencement ceremony.

The chapter includes the meaning of an archivist/ griot as explained by Dr. Goggans as she described herself. The major part of Irene Bishop-Goggans's life's work was deeply rooted in the fabric of her church where she served in numerous roles as

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Sunday School teacher, committee chairwoman, and chronicler of members' lives. She held positions with the US Census Bureau, The Internal Revenue Service, the Milwaukee Election Commission, and Milwaukee Public Schools further enriching her exposure to Milwaukee's many communities. As the first African American PTA President at LaFollette Elementary School, Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans focused on Milwaukee Public Schools desegregation efforts as well as community activities to curtail racial profiling. She remained ever focused, even relentless in her commitment to track the heartbeat of others who preceded and followed her to Milwaukee. Their success was approbation that she documented and shared to strengthen others' resolve when their path was seemingly insurmountable. Being a community historian was therefore a way to both inspire African-American communities and dismantle stereotypes about them.

My work adheres to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2005), who understand oral history "as a special kind of intensive biography interview where a researcher spends an extended amount of time with one respondent in order to learn extensively about her life or a particular part of her life" (p. 151). What distinguishes oral history methods from other types of qualitative interviews is that

> Oral history allows researchers to learn about respondents' lives from their own perspective—where they create meaning, what they deem important, their feelings and attitudes (both explicit and implicit), the relationship between different life experiences or different times in their life—their perspective and their voice on their own life experiences.
>
> *(p. 152)*

During the 35 years I knew Irene Bishop Goggans, I conducted three oral history interviews. The initial interview, held May 2006, at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee extended beyond two hours. During this interview, Irene Bishop Goggans *talked* about her life, starting in Dyersburg, Tennessee, concluding with a narrative about her health. Other topics during the interview included: family and social life before and after relocating to Milwaukee, marriage, parenting, careers, and community activism. I tape recorded and transcribed each recording verbatim. I began the "process of making sense out of the data" (Merriam (2002, p. 178) by drafting analytic memos, coding phrases and sentences that reflected a single specific thought (Creswell, 1998) about Irene Bishop Goggans' life experiences. The next interview took place six years later in 2012. This interview served as a member-check procedure to ensure the accuracy of the information which I was to present about Irene Bishop Goggans' life at a biographical conference. Member-checking involving the participant and serves as "the most crucial techniques for establishing credibility" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 314). My final interview was conducted 5 years later in May 2017. The opportunity to interview her at these intervals provided a form of memory rehearsal. Earlier versions of the stories she shared were revisited and new aspects of these remembered experiences unfolded with each interview.

Most people rely on memory to recount stories of the past. Fortunately, Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans' scrapbooking technique to help document experiences

destroys any doubt that her narrations may not be credible. In her 300 volume historical scrapbook collection which she began upon her arrival in Milwaukee in the early 1940s, she documented 70 years of the African American experience in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and throughout the country. The art and practice of scrapbooking has expanded as described in a 2020 New York Times article by Michelle Garcia *Scrapbooking as an Act of Radical Self-Care* in which Scrapbooker Tazhiana Gordon describes the emotion that comes from her scrapbooking activity as a practice no one can take from her. The Irene Bishop-Goggans' oral history interviews, along with her scrapbook collection, combine to document the history and culture of an entire community of people. The information serves as a valuable resource for researchers interested in creating and constructing meaning about the lived conditions of African Americans in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, from 1940 until 2017.

I met Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans in 1980 when my family joined St. Matthew Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. That was 26 years prior to my initial interview in 2006. At that first interview session, Dr. Bishop Goggans shared her life story as a griot, preserving the genealogy and oral traditions of the community (Abdul-Fattah, 2020). In West African cultures griots serve as the human link between past and present history (Hale, 1998). Griots preserve the history and traditions of communities. In their narratives, griots provide deep insights into the values of people and their social structures. African Americans who receive the title of griot are being honored for knowing how the past was created which gives credibility to those living in the present (Hale, 2007). Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans began her story in a small community in Dyersburg, Tennessee. During that interview which lasted approximately three hours, Dr. Bishop Goggans described her family life, education, social life in both Dyersburg, Tennessee, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She also talked about her married life, parenting, and community involvement in Milwaukee. She included accounts of family and community life prior to and following her family's relocating to Milwaukee as well as stories about her schooling, World War II activities, church activities, employment, health, volunteer activities, and life lessons.

Growing up in Tennessee

Growing up in Dyersburg, Tennessee, the second child of John Hal Bishop and Mary Franklin Bishop, Irene was born February 23, 1926. With older Sister Mary Pickford, her bosom buddy, the two joined forces as mentors to younger brother, William Franklin something he did not always appreciate from his sisters.

> He thought that I was put on earth to make life miserable for him . . . he would say to me, "Leave me alone, Irene, leave me alone," and then mother and dad would say, "Irene, leave him alone," because they weren't going to let, ah, let a boy hit a girl. . . . I guess Dad was just getting tired of me, messing with Billy all the time, and I remember he found three switches. He gave one to Billy, he took one, and gave me one. He said, "You want to always beat him". Do you know I couldn't hit Billy . . . both of them would hit me, but when I had permission to hit him, it wasn't the same, you know.
>
> *(Interview, 2006)*

The siblings had a close relationship although the two older sisters tried to take charge of Billy who protested what he thought was constant interference in his life. The father tried to make peace by giving each of them a switch but as Dr. Irene pointed out, she could never bring herself to use it on Billy. Growing up in the segregated South, Irene became keenly aware of the disparities between facilities for Blacks and Whites and how news about Black people was often under-reported or missing from the newspaper. Nevertheless, Irene considered her upbringing a nurturing one, thanks to loving parents, siblings, school teachers, the church, and a nurturing African-American community.

> I had a classmate, and her dad had a grocery store, and a restaurant, café as they call it up on the square. There was this pool hall right next door to the café, so, my friend Jesse Lee Farmer was having a birthday, and that Monday, they had closed the cafe, for the birthday party for her. That was big goings in Dyersburg, you know, if a person had a house party, a little afternoon tea or something. So I was just getting ready to go that Monday, and, my mother asked, "Where are you going?" And I said, "Oh, mother, you know, I said, they're having a birthday party for Jesse. Her Dad's going close the café, and we are going to have the party there." Mother said, "Mmm-mmm. No, you're not going, because see, it's next door to the pool hall." I remember, it wasn't a tantrum, because you know, you only go so far with that, but I remember I just cried, and I can remember saying to Mother, "You just think we're better than anybody else. We can't do that, and we can't go to anything." That was the event of the year, and so I can still hear mother now saying, "No, I don't think you are better than anybody else, you probably not as good, but you are still not going." And I remember just still crying. She and Dad went on to Church of God which had Monday night service, and the three of us, my brother, my sister and myself didn't go to Jesse Lee's birthday party.
>
> *(Interview, 2006)*

Dr. Bishop Goggans' mother, Mary Franklin-Bishop, was a school teacher in Dyersburg and would press upon her students the importance of education. Her mother was a strong influence on her daughter. It was from her mother that Irene learned the importance of keeping books that document the history of African Americans. As Irene recalled.

> Mother kept books about important people in our race. Documenting our history is really a practice that I inherited from her. It was the Civil Rights movement, however, that made me aware of the importance of what I was doing. I realized that we as a race had been written out of history. So I started clipping things from the newspaper.
>
> *(Interview, 2006)*

As Irene shared in her dialogue, keeping scrapbooks and documenting history was an inherited activity. It was part of her mother's legacy that she then undertook as she began to realize the importance of visibility in history. She realized that African Americans were simply not acknowledged in historical records even when they were living and experiencing events. Furthermore, any documentation was done by the African American local press or newsletter which meant they did not find their way into archives or places where the knowledge could be preserved, and the artifacts safely stored.

Moving to Milwaukee

Irene and her siblings were educated in the Dyersburg Public Schools and attended Future City and Blanche K. Bruce High School. On September 18, 1942, the family, with the exception of older Sister Mary Pickford who was away at college, relocated to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Irene remembered the day well. "I remember the day because it was my brother's birthday. The reason for our coming was poverty," Dr. Bishop-Goggans shared. Her father was a master mechanic in Dyersburg, but the dealership that he worked for went out of business, there were no jobs. However, there where were openings at the Army Ammunition Plant in Milan, Tennessee. Although he applied for the job and was told he had scored well on a test they gave him in order to see if he could do the job. Despite that, however, he was not given a job and was told it was because of his race. As Irene pointed out, at the time, there was no law that compelled employers to give jobs to Black people if they did not want to do so. In her words,

> My dad went over to apply for a job, and they gave some kind of test, and you know, when ah, the day was over, and they checked his results . . . they told him he had scored very highly, but they wouldn't hire him, because he was black, and the law had not come into effect then.
>
> *(Interview, 2006)*

Since no job was obtained in Tennessee, they turned to Milwaukee where Dr. Bishop Goggans' father's sister and brother had already settled. They were the

pioneers of Milwaukee coming in 1926 and 1927. As Irene remembers, "My first trip to Milwaukee was in 1934 when we came up in Daddy's old Dodge from Dyersburg to Milwaukee and then went over to Chicago because the World's Fair that had started in '32 was still there" (Interview, May 2006). The World's Fair was a memorable event and it served as a marker for Dr. Bishop Goggans' memory of coming to Milwaukee.

Upon the family's arrival in Milwaukee, both John and Mary Bishop were able to find immediate employment. Her father got a job he lowed at Sawyer Buick. He did hold other jobs like that of being a welder, but most of his jobs were with car dealerships. Irene remembered her father as working in several dealerships. She recalled,

> Dad got a job working at Allis-Chalmers, as a welder then, and when the war was over, he left Allis-Chalmers, they closed or something, but anyway, he went back to his first love, and he worked at Sawyer Buick, down on Sixth and Wells, until they sold out because the express way came through. Then he worked at Big Bill Gardner's Buick dealership on the eastside until he retired in '62.
>
> *(Interview, 2006)*

Since the family was now in Milwaukee, Mary Bishop left the education career and found work in Milwaukee at AO Smith as a fork lift driver.

> She was real good at that {referencing the fork lift}, but her aim was a little off because she often hit the side of the building. But that was no different than when she was driving those little two lane highways in Tennessee going to a church meeting, or conference. One time she hit the gravel and the car flipped over. It's funny that mother never drove after we came here, but she used to bump us down driving us to Bruce High School.
>
> *(Interview, 2006)*

School and social life

Irene was 16 years old and a senior at Bruce High School in Dyersburg, Tennessee, when she transferred to Milwaukee Lincoln High School in 1942. She fulfilled the requirements and graduated from high school in 1943 at the age of 17 with honors. Following high school graduation, Irene attended Milwaukee State Teachers College (now UW-Milwaukee) for one year and continued her studies at Milwaukee Area Technical College, completing a clerical degree in 1946.

Social life for African Americans during Irene's early years in Milwaukee evolved around events sponsored by the Young Women Christian Association (YWCA) which offered etiquette seminars and fine arts activities for young women. As a member of the YWCAs Verse Speaking Choir, Dr. Bishop Goggans remembers

presenting Sunday afternoon community programs featuring the poetry of notable African American poets like Langston Hughes' "Mother to Son."

> I can still think of that group of ladies that were in that verse speaking choir, and one of them was Gwen Jackson, Gwen Temple, Mrs. Eubanks, Uda Howl, Helen Alexander, Pat Crocket, Francis Montgomery, and Ms. Susie Ellis. We had great performances.
>
> *(Interview, 2006)*

One of the Verse Speaking Choir's performances took the group to the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh in 1949 and Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans shared a discussion about race that occurred at the talk-back session following the performance. Dr. Bishop-Goggans took center stage and gave a memorable lecture on race. She pointed out the stereotypes that people had of Black people and not only criticized them also gave them suggestions on how they could begin to have a cross-race dialogue and how they could benefit from integration.

> Some of the people wanted to know, "What can we do? There are no people of color here." So I told them. I said, um, "You know, there is something everybody can do." I said, "You live up there in your house, you don't see people of color, or don't come in contact with them. What is the stereotype you have in mind of people of color when you see them on television? Do you think we all have tails? . . . Well, I am just going to tell you this from the way I feel. . . . You seem to think (cause it was school integration time) I want my son to go to school and sit next to a white person, that his color is going to rub off? I'm not telling my child he has to sit next to a white person to learn, because he's not going to learn anything. Have you thought about what the world would be like if there were no Black people?
>
> *(Interview, May 2006)*

> And I went on to tell them about my parents, teachers, my heritage. I said, "You are denying me and my child the right to a good education, you know, through segregation, and it's not equal. . . . You don't know where the cure for cancer is. You don't know with what you're denying yourself of. We are separate and unequal . . . you haven't had any black people who've come in contact with you say. . . . You are the one that is missing out. So, when the conversation comes up again, don't say, "I don't know anybody black." You can use me as an example instead of using the ones that have been negatively stereotyped because I symbolize the good. My name is Irene Bishop Goggans, and I'm from Dyersburg, Tennessee, been transplanted to Milwaukee. . . . Any of you that don't get a chance to meet me and know me, you are missing something very special because there's a lot you can learn from me.
>
> *(Interview, May 2006)*

Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans lived through the second world war and explained how World War II impacted social life in the African American Community.

> I graduated in '43, all the fellows were gone, and we had fun down at the GA Soul that was on Water Street in the YMCA, and there were fellas from Great Lakes that come. Sometimes they would take a group of us from the Y down to Great Lake. Ooh, I thought they were so excited for doing all that jigger-bugging.
>
> *(Interview, 2006)*

Soon after arriving in Milwaukee in 1942, Irene Bishop met Pat Goggans whom she would later marry. A navy veteran who had returned from Pearl Harbor and found employment as a postal worker, Irene and Pat married on May 24, 1947. Four years following her marriage to Pat Goggans, their only child, Kenneth was born. "Kenneth is the love of my life. He decided to come along as a surprise to be like a surprise birthday gift. He is married and has three children, and three grandchildren" (Interview, May 2006). Irene and Pat shared 36 years together until his death on March 17, 1983.

Emerging as community historian

Although much of Irene's community involvement was in Milwaukee, she reveals in her interviews that her community involvement predated the family's move to Milwaukee. She spoke of it as a transplant of what the family was already doing in Tennessee. She was already doing community work along with her parents.

> I've always been involved in community work along with my mother and dad. I have old newspaper clippings from Dyersburg . . . in those days they distinguish, you know, the color of the garden club, or the color of the community chest, a red cross . . . they would then list the names of donors according to the amount of money contributed . . . like seventy-five cent. If somebody gave a dollar, if they gave five dollars. . . . Then we took part and chipped in when a playground was needed, and when I look back and read those names and those people who were outstanding in collecting whatever people could afford . . . that we took a part in it, and all the things that we were active in, or that mother was involve in, . . . they had pride in it. Our parents instilled community pride. So the things that we did in Dyersburg when we came to Milwaukee was just a continuation of it.
>
> *(Interview, 2006)*

As Dr. Goggans came of age, she continued her involvement with the YWCA as a member of the Ys Menettes and worked to sponsor the Ebony Fashion Fair to benefit Boys' Camp. "I also remember becoming a boy scout leader before Kenny was born because there was a need for one," Dr. Bishop Goggans remembers. As the first African-American PTA President at Lafollette Elementary School, Irene

focused on diversity programs to foster school integration, as well as, community activities to curtail racial profiling.

Professional life

Despite remaining a community historian at heart, Irene's professional career spanned 41 years and included several different jobs. She began work at Lou Fritzel Clothiers, served as a clerk with the Selective Service System, and as a worker for the Internal Revenue Service. In addition, Irene worked for the US Census Bureau, the Milwaukee Election Commission, and finally as a para-professional with Milwaukee Public Schools, retiring in 1988. She talked about her meticulous approach to all her work and how she saw every job as an opportunity for learning.

> Working for the internal revenue, I thought it was an icky job; you started out in the mailroom, they gave you a bundle of mail that had a number on it, a rubber band around it, and your first job was to ah, open the mail. . . . They had all these things in front of you, clips and all like that, and you would put it in a specific direction and I thought, "What difference does that make,". . . . then you go from opening the mail, you are sent to what they call detaching . . . you'd be given a basket of things that had to be detached . . . I still don't know enough about internal revenue, but I knew what their rules were. . . . As I went through each stage, I saw the importance of the beginning, even down to the end results . . . like working on these scrapbooks, I can now look at a sheet paper and tell where I can cut off and how I can fit on a page if I turn it a certain way. . . . When I hear people say, "Oh, this is boring," or, "I don't want to do that," and "That doesn't make sense." It doesn't necessarily make sense then, I explain, but it's still training . . .
>
> I worked in the attendance office at Douglass Jr. High; I tried to instill pride in students by explaining the need to give their full name when someone ask them who they are. When students checked in the attendance office and I ask their name and if the response is "John". "You got a last name?" I ask. I correct them by saying, "well, you could even be Mr. John". Just giving a first name leaves a person open to be disrespected.
>
> *(Interview, May 2006)*

Dr. Bishop-Goggans connected the aforementioned narrative to the resentment she felt towards the nursing home staff where her mother resided during her final years.

> When someone asks your name and you say only your first name, it gives them a chance to be familiar with you . . . when mother was at the nursing home, their policy was to use first names . . . was a family thing the staff said. My mother did not like being called Mary. She was Mrs. Bishop . . . old enough to be their grandmother . . . and it was disrespectful.
>
> *(Interview, 2006)*

True calling as a local historian

Regardless of her career path, Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans considered local history her true calling. In 2012, as I was preparing to present Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans' life at an international biography conference, she invited me to her apartment to look through her 300 volume collection to add pictures to support my presentation. On that visit, Dr. Irene Bishop-Goggams entrusted me with three scrapbooks for my presentation. These scrapbooks contained pictures and stories of people in Dyersburg, Tennessee, her homes in Milwaukee (she remembered the exact dates and addresses of her journey), her husband's first car, social life for women and men at the YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association) the YMCA)-photographs of the first Black bus drivers, the first Black policeman, fireman, and the first Black elected officials in Milwaukee. Irene's sister, Mary Bishop Rogers actually became the first Black registered nurse at St. Michael Hospital in Milwaukee. Her collections told the story of Bronzeville, the neighborhood that she was a part of for so many years. This data enabled me to attach visuals to the narratives that Dr. Irene Bishop-Goggans shared during the 2006 interview. Following my initial presentation, I made occasional visits to Dr. Goggans' apartment where she continued to share with me scrapbook stories about community events and personalities which I recorded until two days prior to her death on the morning of June 23, 2017.

The Irene Bishop-Goggans' collection included eight, eight by eight containers of research, requiring massive storage space. This critical information was in jeopardy of being destroyed but was rescued by family and concerned Milwaukee citizens who realized the value of the content, and the void this information filled in the existing research about African American life in Milwaukee beginning in the early 1940s.

Dr. Bishop-Goggans' work is a treasure of lessons on survival, values, inspiration, and information that she believes affirms that we are extensions of each other. She said,

> We live in the present, plan and worry about the future. However, it is through knowing our past that we understand how things change, how elements of institutions and society persist despite change, who we are and how we fit into this.

Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans' scrapbooks are stuffed with original news clippings, announcements of the achievements of countless individuals, religious celebrations, and awards that chronicle the Black experience. When questioned about her system for cataloging and tracking this mass of documentation, Dr. Bishop Goggans replied,

> My system is what I call Irene-ni-tized, meaning it may take me awhile, but I know where everything is. The greatest thrill is that I have actually met many of the people who were strangers to me when I pasted articles about them in one of my books.
>
> *(Black Women's 50+ Health & Lifestyle Magazine, spring 2011)*

Because of the data collected in her scrapbook collection, she became the primary consultant as well as participant in most prominent community events. Dr. Bishop-Goggans contributed to numerous scholarly publications distinguished herself as a significant scholarly contributor on the subject of the African American community in Milwaukee. Because of her extensive community research, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee conferred upon Irene Bishop Goggans the honorary degree of Doctor of Community History during its 2015 commencement.

As the consultant and researcher for the ***Milwaukee Times Newspaper***, annual **Golden Moments** celebration, Dr. Irene Bishop-Goggans worked to honor and commemorate African Americans celebrating 50 years of marriage and to showcase the wonderful contributions that they made to the community

> It is exciting to find people from the African American community who've been married fifty year. I especially remember when my parents celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary and they had a heritage book about their life together and our family. I think couples owe it to their children to see these images and learn family history.
>
> *(Interview, May 2006)*

Dr. Bishop-Goggans explained that she and Pat were married for 36 years, but the year they would have been married 50 years, 1987, is the year she had the stroke. That year, ***The Milwaukee Times'*** Editor dedicated that **Golden Moment Celebration** to her and Pat.

> I do a biographical sketch on the couples along with pictures. . . . I have just learned so much. One honoree had a record: he never missed a day of work or was late, and it included the winter of '47 when Milwaukee had this massive snow storm, where people stayed on the job over night. He walked to work and never, never missed a day.
>
> That just says something about the dedication, and work ethic of our fathers who worked on jobs even if they hate them, and never really like, but because they loved us, they went through this, . . . so, just to see how they loved us and they stayed with each other and they provided for us, is really a great statement, because the jobs really were not too classic.
>
> *(Interview, 2006)*

Dr. Irene Bishop-Goggams' participation in the Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME) church began early. As a youth, no program was complete at Womack Temple C.M.E. in Dyersburg without Miss Irene's performance. A Girls Guides member, Irene embraced the club's motto: "*Face life squarely: and find and give the best*."

Irene's rendering of services to St. Matthew C.M.E. Church began at the age of 16 in the Bonzeville community at 538 W. Walnut Street and continued throughout her life. She served as a member of the following organizations: H.C. Coggans Club, Sunday School Instructor (Intermediate Class), Class Leader, Vacation Bible

School Instructor, Stewardesses (Naomi Board), Ida Mae Black Missionary Society (Ora Taylor Circle), Cheer Committee, Communication Secretary—Upper Room Ministry. Irene's Christian service extended to the Milwaukee Unit of Church Women United where she served as necrologist and premiered the St. Matthew Women's Ensemble. As the composer and presenter of bereavement resolutions, Irene also assisted in organizing the funeral repast serving rotations. In addition, Irene was elected as a delegate to conferences (local/ district/annual), served as church historian, designed historical birthday and Christmas cards for celebrants, and served as the telephone birthday messenger to St. Matthew members, family, and friends—both locally and nationally. Each celebrant received a message similar to the one below in celebration of Kenny's on his 65th birthday, September 19, 2016.

> It gives me great pleasure as quite a bit of joy that this time 65 years ago you made your grand entrance-you finally decided to come to join us. And oh what a blessing it's been for all of us. I would just like to say with thanksgiving in my heart for the blessing that I received when you were finally into this world. I thank God for your dad, and I thank God for His allowing me to carry you for those 9 months . . . to you, my first born and only son, Kenneth (Singing to the Happy birthday melody). . . . I want you to always hug your loved ones close and know that I'm in the middle of your circle of love, and give me a good old tight squeeze. That hug will hold and bless me until one of those days when we come face to face I'll can get to collect my hug in person. . . . You are the gift from God and I can't thank Him enough for the joys and perils we have enjoyed . . . from the very depths of my heart, I wish you my precious son, who now is eligible to receive his social security. You've reached the age of 65. What a blessing! Thank God! I love you. Bye! Bye! It's your Momma.
>
> *(September 19, 2016)*

There was a strong bond of mutuality between Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans and her Sunday School students. Once the St. Matthew youth entered her class many did not want to be promoted.

> I remember when your daughter Roni came into my Sunday School class. She asked. "Are we going to have homework?" I said, "Oh, my God, where did this child come from; what does she mean homework?" . . . I've been blessed to see her just go into music, and then to see her with these little fingers, and that she's a doctor, and just one day she may become my doctor. I just remember her and other Sunday school kids and people that God has just blessed me to know as their Sunday School teacher. You just would really not know all of them, he has placed in my life. My sister and I will be talking, she said, "You know what? We've got some good kids, and there are some good kids in the world. And I said, "Yeah," I said, "Just look, they make us look so

> good, 'cause they've turned out so well," and then you know, you say, "Yeah, I've had goodness. I cherish everything, I have every note that child wrote me, even when she went to Costa Rica. When they say, "Thank you." "Oh, I know who that is . . . who would of thought it they would remember me.
> *(Interview, 2012)*

Dr. Goggans and I began having discussions about her health following the 1987 stroke and my visit to her at Columbia Hospital. Whenever she had a health episode that required rehabilitation at a nursing home facility, she actively participated in the physical therapy sessions striving to be released. She often complained about the food or her lack of rest because of the hard. On one visit, she shared that I had just missed the beautiful red cardinal that perched each day on the ledge outside her window. "That was Pat, you know," she said. "He's come each day to get me." I strove to change the topic by replying, "well, you had better tell him to leave, we have too many books to go through." But I realize that our Dr. Irene Bishop-Goggans was growing weary of this life. Soon after her release, I visited her at her apartment and I inquired about her health. "My health, I believe, is a whole lot better than I think, and I've got a whole lot of theories about stuff, like, you know, doctors tell you one thing, and I don't think they always know. Did I ever tell you about the morning I had the stroke?" (interview, 2006).

"No not really," I replied, "I remember visiting you, your having received an early discharge, too much traffic for a hospital." Dr. Bishop-Goggans share what happened the morning she experience the stroke.

> When I had the stroke in 1987, I was getting ready to go over to Columbia Hospital as part of my yearly check-up. I had already been to the doctor a week before, and then it was the fourth of July, was in there, and so, the doctor did everything except the mammogram, and the stress test. That morning the day that I had the stroke. . . . I was sitting in the kitchen. . . . I still can't describe the strange feeling that I had. It was like I was sick, but I wasn't sick, but I knew I had to get ready. I went in the bathroom, and . . . "What is happening to me?" . . . then I decided I would call Kenny at work, so when I called him, he said, "Mom, you don't feel good, call 911." He said, "Hang up, I'll call," so he called . . . the paramedics came in, . . . and I still don't know what it's like to have a stroke, because I was awake, yet, I didn't know what was going on. Early Friday morning, the nurse came in and she said, "You know, we're gonna get you ready soon, because you gonna have a stress test . . . I said, "No, honey, you're wrong." I said, "I've had a stroke, "I take no stress test!" She said, "The doctor ordered it," So, they did it, and it worked out alright, so, then she says, "Now, you go from here to get a mammogram." I said, "I had a stroke. I can't do that." Then she said, "Well, the doctor ordered," I said, "He has to talk to me about it." So, when he came in, I said, "Dr. Campbell, I can't take this test." He says, "Yes, you can," and I did . . . that Friday, I was going to have some lemon pie for lunch, you

> know, how you choose your dinner, I learned I was begin discharged. I came on home . . . I've been going ever since. . . . I would say my health is good. *(Interview, 2006)*

January 30, 2017, and May 30, 2017, would be my final interviews with Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans. She had been transferred to a nursing facility a few months earlier as her health required more attention. During the first visit, I inquired where she was sleeping. Her room had been transformed into a museum, with standing room only. With the exception of the wheelchair where she sat, her bed, and shelves were all covered boxes and bags of information. Family and church pictures were on display as well as a handwritten note and picture of Alex Haley, letters and a Christmas card from President and Mrs. Obama. When I visited on May 30, 2017, Dr. Bishop Goggans had been moved to another room with only two pictures on display, her wedding picture and a group picture which included images of Eva and Elgin who housed family members who migrated from Dyersburg. As her health was declining, I allowed Dr. Bishop Goggans to talk about what interested her. Her wedding picture was the initial conversation and her husband serving the US Navy during World War II. As I explained how important her work in documenting a positive image of African American life in Milwaukee, Dr. Bishop Goggans replied, "They don't seem to realize that we have a life and a culture." She explained that initially, African Americans did not live north of North Avenue. She talked about her family's coming to Milwaukee in 1942 and their initial residents at 1541 N 4th Street and Eva and Elgin's home at 2350 N. 6th Street.

Cultural myths and folklore honor butterflies as symbols of transformation. For Dr. Irene Goggans, butterflies personified her unwavering faith as life transitions from one season to another. Butterflies were her adopted signature. Paper, silk, crystal butterflies were adorned throughout her tidy apartment. Dr. Irene Bishop-Goggans' scrapbook collection is a treasure of lessons of survival, family, community, and hope. Reflecting on the history and contribution of African American people she states, "No one can intimidate me because I know who I am and what we come from. By knowing our history, we learn more about ourselves" (Black Women's 50+ Health & Lifestyle Magazine, March/April 2011).

Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans' life story has valuable lessons for researchers as well as teachers in the African American community. As a community archivist and historian, Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans kept the African American heritage alive and documented for the community. Her work helps to dispel the stereotypes of African Americans. Further her narrative of life both in the South and in Milwaukee document her strong spirit, her love of life, her commitment to the community, and her anti-racist efforts.

Future researchers interested in oral history can look to people and places that are usually taken for granted. The service of people in the community like Dr. Irene Bishop-Goggans can be valuable and rich sources of historical narrative that can help us uncover blind spots in history about the contribution of individuals. This story also teaches oral history researchers the importance of developing a

relationship with the participant if we want to deepen our understanding of the context of life.

Pedagogical implications

Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans' scrapbook keeping is an example of how organized pictures and newspaper clippings can be transformed when incorporated as part of an oral history and can serve as a counter-narrative by marginalized communities to refute negative stereotypes. Researchers can use scrapbooks as data sources within oral history projects. Researchers can look for data sources. For example, there are pedagogical opportunities when using oral histories in ***Community Migration Story Projects*** by gathering pictures and conducting interviews of individuals from a specific community to tell the story of the history and human experiences in the making and remaking of the community.

Education in the African American community has had a history of struggle that includes a demand for education that connects schooling to the community and the students' lived experiences. Gloria Ladson-Billings (1994) believes this can be addressed through culturally relevant teaching practices, a way of teaching that incorporates various aspects of students' culture into the schooling process and allows students to critique social issues and turn around deficit thinking. Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans' has recorded seven decades of history in Milwaukee through her scrapbook collection that serves to correct the misinterpretations about the African American community.

Scrapbooking can become an activity that allows students to document and preserve pictures and articles that they view as significant and reflects the lives of people in their communities. This strategy has the potential to empower students who are learning to be oral historians and build positive images, and self-esteem as their scrapbooks provide evidence to counter negative narratives about their communities from mainstream sources. Intentional scrapbooking can also be practiced where students can seek and gather counter-narratives to the dominant narrative in society. They can collect pictures from alternative sources and compare them to the illustrations and pictures in dominant media to understand and critique the differences in narratives. Collecting counter-narratives through pictures and news media can be augmented with oral history interviewing where people's lived experiences can serve as a powerful tool to stand up against deficit thinking. Oral history provides a fuller, more accurate picture of the past by augmenting the information provided by public records, statistical data, photographs, maps, letters, diaries, and other historical materials. Eyewitnesses to events contribute various viewpoints and perspectives that fill in the gaps in documented history, sometimes correcting or even contradicting the written record (Baylor University Institute for Oral History). Oral history allows researchers to learn about respondents' lives from their perspective and their voice on their own life experiences (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005, p. 151).

Finally, the value of oral history and of learning from a variety of sources like scrapbooking is best embodied by Dr. Irene Bishop Goggans who stated "No one

can intimidate me because I know who I am and where we come from. They don't seem to realize that we have a life and a culture" (May 2017). Her scrapbooks provide the evidence.

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SECTION 4

Arts-based educational research

10

TEACHERS AND NORTH AMERICAN MIGRANTS' ORAL HISTORIES CONCERNING THE "SCHOOL FOR ALL" ARTS-BASED PROJECT

Sergio Madrid-Aranda

Introduction: the human visage of the migrants' caravans

I am taking the opportunity created by this book's original vision of confronting some of the soak-up in disgraceful political situations globally. A great example is the current migrant crisis at the US–Mexico Border, which has complex effects, both positive and negative, on different domains (e.g., economics, social, health, safeguard, Nation-State, and humanitarian). Correspondingly, these unprecedented situations affect educational environments and, by default, the way we conceive curriculum. Yet, within these extraordinary situations full of despair and anger, the curriculum can become an agent of healing from significant political trauma (Brett, 2016).

Conversely, the healing from political trauma brought me to adopt *testimonio* narratives primarily because of the embedded affirmation and power balance they provide. First, the claim of the existing oppression, then the empowerment of oppressed individuals through education (Freire, 2000). Indeed, the ongoing process of turning oral words into a written narrative provided the opportunity of demystifying structural marginalization and empowering the migrant children as chroniclers of their oral histories. Furthermore, by providing them a voice, the *testimonio* offered the opportunity to unmask their survival facade and turned them into "empowered survivors" (Blackmer et al., 2012, p. 525).

Indeed, this manuscript aims to voice the migrant children through an Arts-based project and describe how economic and political inequality informs privilege through the official-and sometimes xenophobic discourse spread mainstream in contrast with their oral histories reflected in their art pieces. In the case of using *testimonio* as narrative development obeys the constraint mentioned by Blackmer et al. of "bringing light a wrong, a point of view, or an urgent call for action" (Blackmer & Curry, 2012, p. 525). Equally, *testimonios* is a standard narrative outside

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the USA, especially in Latin America, where they grow into a dialectic first-person speech of solidarity.

Here, when we talk about migrants, we talked about a vulnerable subordinated group mainly coming from the Northern Triangle of Central America (i.e., Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador; International Amnesty, 2019), also from Cuba, Haiti, and Brazil in desperate need for some restoration. Particularly the minors, who were grieving for an educational possibility after having experienced traumatic situations before, during, and after the migrant caravans, principally while stranded indeterminately at the Mexican side of the border, needed some form of healing.

As a result, the author took the opportunity to explore the dissonances in the actual migrant crisis at the US–Mexico border. On the one hand, the mass media promoted assumptions about the migrants' dangerousness. In addition, they were sustained by the government's natural response of strengthening political measures in the border region immediately (e.g., building a wall, increasing the number of custom border patrol agents, militarizing the borderland). In contrast, the art pieces created by the migrant children told a very different story about these "evil" migrants—a story filled with tenderness, kindness, and humanity.

As Zembylas (2008) defined it, dehumanization is the process by which people are dispossessed from their humanity and portrayed as something in between animals and humans. This process goes with a wide range of negative emotions directed at the targeted population, such as condescension, hatred, or fear. Considering the cluster of human emotions the participants showed through their art creations, it is outrageous to think of them as dangerous enemies at the gates, invading our backyard.

I was following this book's vision and thinking about the "Casa del Migrante" (migrant's home) in Juarez, Mexico, as a healing space in the middle of this political climate. So naturally, therefore, it is only logical to think about our School for All Project (SAP) as a space where migrants had a chance to recover from racial and political traumas and previous violent experiences through art creation. Besides, I immersed myself in the SAP, which proved to be a philanthropic response against the improvised and unhuman immigrant detention centers on both sides of the US–Mexico border, which became places of shame, where I experienced a first-hand insight into the situation.

It was not until we found the casa del Migrante (i.e., non-profit organization in Juarez, Mexico) that we sensed that the migrants' management was decent and valued; they felt like human beings for the first time in months. Perhaps, it was the fact that they were not wearing aluminum blankets anymore but cozy fabric instead, or the fact that they had a name instead of a serial identification number, but primarily because of the hosts' honest concern for the holistic wellbeing of the migrants. Before this shelter, no one even inquired into the children's educational needs.

On the contrary, the official discourse focused on economics potentiating social problems, portraying migrants as a dangerous threat to American society. Many other negative characteristics contributed to their dehumanization per se

(Tarc, 2011). Nevertheless, this group of volunteers thought that these accompanied and unaccompanied children needed Education of any kind while migratory authorities left them high and dry on the Mexican side of the border for an undetermined time. Instead of just hanging out without purpose, and turning this, no man's limbo (i.e., the shelter and its volunteers) into a place for healing.

In sum, the purpose of this *testimonio* strives towards a better understanding of the role this arts-based project played in this particular case as a reparative curriculum. Therefore, observing the glaring and relevant differences between the oral histories of the migrants (e.g., political trauma, racial trauma) stamped in their art pieces and the general dehumanizing discourse (i.e., the trend to see them as an intimidating horde of savages).

To make this case in point, incorporating the analysis of some of the arts-based curriculum products as examples is crucial to prove the children's humanity and grasp the implications of their complicated histories. Moreover, suppose we aim to acknowledge their life histories. Consequently, we followed Zembylas' (2018) advice and developed the critical and engaging pedagogical conditions necessary to address the complex dimensions for delivering a reparative curriculum to particular groups in particular places.

My first time, or the initial encounter with racism

The first time I presented at a professional conference in the USA, it was a first-time experience for many things. It was my first time in Utah, my first time presenting in my second language (i.e., English), the first time I saw the astonishing Rocky Mountains, and the first time I experienced racism. At that moment, I was in my first year as an international student still dealing with the socio-cultural shock of studying abroad, away from home. On top of that, I was a migrant fleeing from the wave of violence tormenting Mexico.

Seeking refuge myself, graduate school was my passport and the most reachable opportunity for my survival.

I remember that, as soon as I got off the plane and started walking through the airport halls, I was open-mouthed. I could not help staring at the panoramic windows, honestly, the most astonishing view I ever experienced: the majestic snowy Rocky Mountains. I was not paying attention to the people surrounding me, yet I overheard three White individuals saying, "they are just mountains . . . those Mexicans are like apes." I looked at them for the first time, and they went "ug ag ag ag" while scratching their heads and tummies. I was frozen, completely paralyzed, and speechless.

Reflecting on this racial trauma (Williams et al., 2018) while analyzing the SAP participants' art pieces, a human connection immediately emerged between their narratives and mine. Of course, I am aware that my own experience is significantly different from theirs. Hence, I could not help connecting my experience with theirs; both permeated with traumas of racism and violence. Within this context, the SAP provided the refugees with a concrete opportunity for copping.

Admittedly, when Comas-Díaz et al. (2019) talked about racial trauma, they addressed a form of race-based stress developed by minorities, especially people of color and indigenous groups reacting towards real or perceived experiences of racism (i.e., racial discrimination). The subordinate group has a perception of danger and a feeling of impotence.

This contrast between self-pride and unfair aggression towards one makes the survivors of this trauma immensely vulnerable. At first, I did not know how I felt. I never had this feeling before. It was a new contrast between my self-esteem, my dignity of being Mexican, and the intolerance and derogatory intent of the dominant group delivered through this macroaggression. It was traumatic to realize for the first time that suddenly, I have shifted from one classification system to another. In the first, I was a middle-class respected faculty and scholar. In the second, I was part of the subordinate group (Adler & Harper, 2018).

I immediately fitted in the people of color's box where whoever is not White is placed in and is all the same (e.g., Latinxs, African Americans, Chicanos, Asians, mixed-racers, Native Americans, Asian Pacific Islanders). While living in Mexico, nobody told me I was an individual of color; I was only another Mexican until this verbal and behavioral indignity targeted me. The only reason for the aggression was my nationality and skin color. As a result, this experience provoked a sense of loss of status, insecurity, ambiguity, fear, anger, and powerlessness. Comas-Díaz et al. (2019) understand these unpleasant encounters with racism as traumatic and diverse. They include but are not limited to threats of harm and injury, humiliation and shaming events, witnessing racial discrimination toward other people of color, all of which increase a sense of subjection and fear.

Consequently, the targeted individual freezes and becomes unable to fight back, whereas the observer walks away or participates in the humiliation. Hence, the authors identified similitudes between racial trauma and posttraumatic stress disorder. The main difference resides in that the first is unique because it involves ongoing individual and collective injuries due to exposure and re-exposure to race-based stress. Considering these joint injuries as systemic and socially condoned, the survivors of racial trauma develop a sense of disconnection with their partners in particular, and with the community at large (Williams et al., 2018). Conversely, suppose we acknowledge the dissonance between reward and punishment from an institutionalized cultural system that keeps the hegemony. In that case, we must raise our consciousness to utilize these disempowering situations and transform them into actual spaces where we can invest in skills. Only then, we as a society can start moving toward liberation (Harro, 2008).

The School for All Project (SAP)

Here we will discuss some of the bumps and bruises while launching the School for All Project (SAP). When we started working the SAP with the migrant children, the first barrier we found was language. Although most of our students had Spanish as their first language, their dialectical differences made communication very

hard. However, it was not as hard as when we noticed some minors did not even speak Spanish. In addition, some of them had indigenous languages (e.g., Mayan, Miskito, and Garifuna). Consequently, it was evident that some of the minors had developed defense mechanisms, probably caused by racial trauma due to systemic discrimination based on their language and race intertwined with their low social status.

At the beginning of the project, these defense mechanisms abruptly emerged, almost imperceptibly.

For example, some students were acting out, and others were just indifferent. In comparison, others were rude and fierce. However, while this was the case initially, once they engaged in more committed participation, they also increased their self-confidence (i.e., taking pride in themselves), beginning with their art, and followed by their cultural heritage. Thus, by the end of the SAP arts-based curriculum, they were empowered with their heritage and embraced their social identity as something to be proud of.

Collective learning as a community builder

In fact, through constructing collective learning within the communities, we adopted the pedagogical perspective of aesthetic teaching and learning (Sameshima & Slingerland, 2015). This empathic approach provided a robust framework inspiring all participants (e.g., teachers, migrant children, volunteers) to exchange culture, teaching, and learning inputs and build a sense of community among all. By the end, the project was no longer ours (i.e., teachers, volunteers) or theirs (i.e., migrant children). No one could have taken credit for it, and everyone could have at the same time. It belonged to everyone.

Reparative pedagogy

Eve Sedgwick (2003) was among the first queer scholars to move the concept of reparative pedagogy into practice. Although, on the one hand, she had a critical posture regarding her model of a "reparative reading," on the other hand, she understood it as a critical practice. As a result, her reading approach seeks a reparation of whatever the dominant groups in society might have fragmented. The beginning point always starts with the subordinate group and their politically depressed position, which then picks up its fragments and constructs a sustainable life. Therefore, the ability to repair or make reparation is fundamental for a healthy life and the foundation for human security and trust (Todd, 2003). Hence, reparation metamorphoses into restoration, and that probably is what keeps us from hurting others.

Sedgwick's (2003) understanding of this restorative process goes beyond a critical posture, and she perceives it as a way of life and as a practice, that creates productive openings. It makes us capable of redeeming ourselves from the impasse of political depression or cruel optimism absorbed within contemporary pedagogical

approaches and interventions. Although it is relatively easy to feel overwhelmed by these impasses, for the author, the reparative reading is not a simplistic practice of unveiling the unseen pieces of evidence of oppression and persecution. Nor the neoliberal melodramatic vocabularies of pretended effect (e.g., diversity, multiculturalism, tolerance), but to again, responsibly acknowledge the undeniable legacies of historical trauma, loss, and massive human rights violations.

Therefore, it is crucial to develop critical pedagogies open to allow teachers, students, and communities to respond in unity and critically to the political trauma. Even more pressing, to engage productively with these human histories of suffering and trauma to avoid idealization or sentimentalisms around these complex and dramatic memories of massive human rights violations and offer what Britzman (2000) called reparative pedagogies.

These reparative pedagogies may be present in many different pedagogical practices. However, the critical characteristic must be a sense of respect for the curriculum's organization, not as an alternative for closure from these traumatic experiences but as a possibility to repair them. In other words, reparative pedagogy is an opportunity to offer hope and reparation rather than despair and condescension. However, Kelly (2002) has pointed out the risk for teachers attempting to incorporate reparative teaching driven by a reparative curriculum to become unconsciously authoritarian and colonial. Moreover, the teachers become the perpetrators of these historical traumas, mainly because there is a real possibility they do not understand how reparation functions.

In sum, the School for All Project (SAP) community-based design focused on how the reparation process works. It was a dialectical and action-research perspective seeking learners' inspiration, generating artistic-creative exchanges with the final goal of building community through an empathetic and artistic teaching process (Oquist, 1978). In other words, the SAP existed through the construction of knowledge within the community of migrants, who were positioned at the center of open creative space for two principal reasons; first for sharing and then for forgiving. However, an unexpected result was the opportunity for teachers and students to overcome historical traumas through the reparative human experience of communicating emotions through art.

Arts-based reparative curriculum

The SAP and action research are closely associated with the principal goal to contribute to and renew the community (Oquist, 1978). This project included the therapeutic characteristics related to creation within a free, artistic, and open reparative curriculum. Probably the most prominent example was using paintings—made for and with the migrant children—within which the emerging narratives demonstrated the ongoing-repairing process of sharing, co-creating, and expressing through the language of art, where not many words were necessary. Examples from the project showed how artistic creation could demonstrate the myriad possibilities for a reparative pedagogy.

I agree with the artist Janet Wolf who often describes Art as an essential human process of expression. In addition, art is also a product of the society in which individuals create art related to the context. Every culture has its art, and every artistic expression is encouraged and molded by the influence it gets from the actual events around it. Artists have a unique position as members of society and as their interpreters. As a result, the artistic creations are intimately related to the existing relations in society.

For Finley (2011), there must be a fusion of life history, performance, and critical theories (e.g., Race, Disability, Queer) in the critical arts-based research arena. Indeed, working with migrant students of diverse origins (e.g., Guatemalan, Honduran, Indigenous) showed us how the curriculum could be deliberate or not and could be a politicized opportunity to recover from the human experiences of trauma. After all, the role of art within this reparative curriculum was re-envisioning through counter-histories, counter-stories co-created by all the participants and transformed into a powerful, evocative, and most crucial transformative work.

This oral history project displayed how a co-created arts-based curriculum can function as the perfect means to legitimize, empower and promote the historically marginalized voices of migrant children. Moreover, these children have been relegated and ostracized in two different fields: on one side, the official xenophobic, anti-immigrant discourse, and through the patronizing discourse of assisting them on the other. However, the *testimonio* (i.e., the first-hand experience) shared by the researcher and the participant created a co-recovery positionality that challenged and enhanced an anti-colonialist critique of the dominant social order.

Anzaldúa and the mythical return to Aztlán

In her homeland/Aztlán narrative, Anzaldúa (1987) approaches the phenomenon of immigration in the US–Mexico border from the subordinate perspective. Her description included the hard load migrants carry out while cross bordering from the third world to the first, from one categorization system to another, and all the ventures they experienced. Whether tiptoeing to avoid detention or as massive human caravans with thousands of individuals (e.g., women, men, children), they take high safety risks, facing smugglers, rape threats, starvation, White slave traffic, and even the danger of death.

However, this is only the beginning; once they passed the border patrol checkpoints, they get caught in the middle of ancient racism (over 180 years old) against Chicano communities spread all over the southwest and big northern cities. Mexican and Central American migrants are among the most impoverished minorities in the USA without a green card or other legal documents to work. They become "illegals." Therefore their exploitation is allowed, although not legally-but in practice (e.g., poor housing, lack of health services, wages below minimum wage, unsafe work conditions).

In Anzaldúa's voice, they transmute into "refugees in a homeland that does not want them" (1987, p. 34). As a result, they found themselves caught between starvation and criminalization.

In short, the dichotomy between staying in the Central America Northern Triangle and die or move north and survive. I find a connection here. Whereas my migration to the north a couple of years ago and the current migrant crisis are evidently different, I see similarities. We both lived in dangerous places, with not many job or educational opportunities. We all were trying to survive conditions of starvation, violence, poverty, war; on top of that, we all shared the metaphysical migration to the southwest, to our original home: Aztlán.

Although for us, as Mexicans, coming back to the lost territory—the vast land we lost during the US–Mexico war back in the nineteenth century-for Central Americans is not that different. We are witnessing the renaissance of a massive Mesoamerican migration. One that started in the middle of New Spain's viceroyalty in the 1600s when the conquistadores brought Indian slaves and Mestizos up to the north to work in the mines. The original pilgrimage, which gave birth to the immense Aztec empire, started at an unknown place in the southwest in ancestral times and ended in the Mexico valley.

Since then, this mystical journey of the eternal return to the mythological Aztlan (i.e., the original land, the promised paradise) has never ended. Nowadays, the mystical Mesoamerican tribes are coming back to this Promised Land. It is easy to forget that Central America was part of Mexico once and the southwest territory. At some point, there were no borders. For one historical moment, we were all the same; suddenly, the Anglo-Saxons from the 13 colonies came and commenced a silent invasion: first Texas, then through war, they took over more than half of the original Mexican territory (e.g., Colorado, Nevada, California, Arizona, and New Mexico). Therefore, the native pueblos interpret their migration as a walk back home, while White individuals call it the silent invasion. The social perception locked into the fiction of White superiority feel as if these migrant caravans are a live threat: supported by a media discourse promoting these processions as deadly diseases spread (e.g., COVID-19, tuberculosis, smallpox, dysentery), a horde of criminals at our gates, or an impoverished threat knocking at our doors.

The art of the children

After providing a teaching schedule with a draft of an arts-based curriculum to volunteers, students, and teachers, we collected feedback directly from them and field observations. Then we developed a guideline for implementing this arts-based curriculum attending to their needs, interests, and ideas, both conscious and unconscious (see Figure 10.1). As a result, we sought to engage all participants in developing a significant collaboration.

The pedagogical imperative was to invite all participants to share and witness the excesses these migrant children have experienced before, during, and after the caravans. Within this context, our communitarian goal was to document the

FIGURE 10.1 Migrant children painting.

Source: Photography by the author.

incidents of State violence committed against Migrant families supposedly "in their best interests." As an illustration, the US Government went against the International Relations of Human Rights. Instead of taking the migrants into custody on American soil as international amnesty mandates, they sent the migrants back to Mexico to wait for an undetermined period for their migration trials. Alternately, the Mexican Army tackled and stopped them at the southern Mexican border.

Therefore, it was essential to document their testimonies; hear them voice human rights violations and perhaps violence committed against them. In response to everyone having a voice, the mass media negatively influenced what they baptized as the migrant crisis. The public generally disapproved of this humanitarian crisis, the incidents of state-sanctioned policies against this group, and the official invasion concept. As a result, these children had a voice for the first time, a voice worth hearing. It was an emotional moment hearing at their oral histories, the narratives about homesickness, and representations of what was left behind grandma's shed (see Figure 10.2) in the jungle, the village curandero (i.e., medicine man) (see Figure 10.3), their most beloved but yet distant tropical fruit (see Figure 10.4). All the art pieces were touching and beautiful expressions of hope, to be precise, a two-headed hope, with one head yearning for their melancholic past. Whereas the other is facing the future, a future beyond the border wall. In that near but yet

FIGURE 10.2 Grandma's shed back in Guatemala.

Source: Photography by the author.

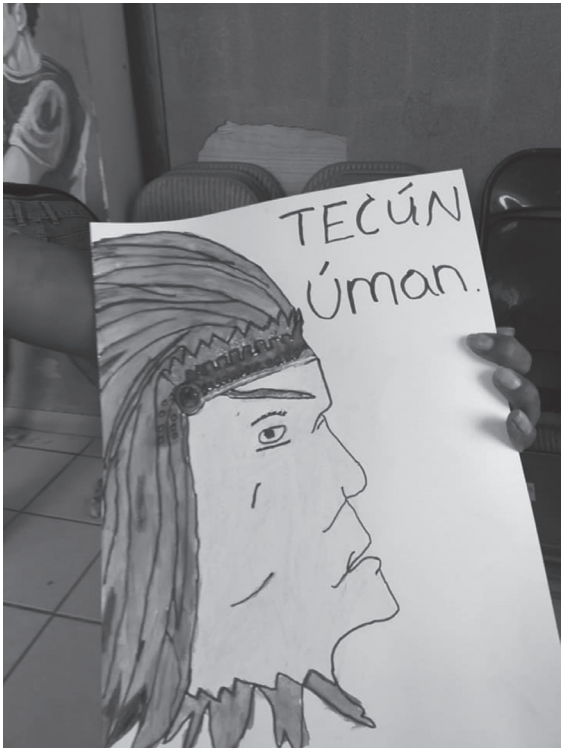

FIGURE 10.3 El Curandero/Village medicine man in Honduras.

Source: Photography by the author.

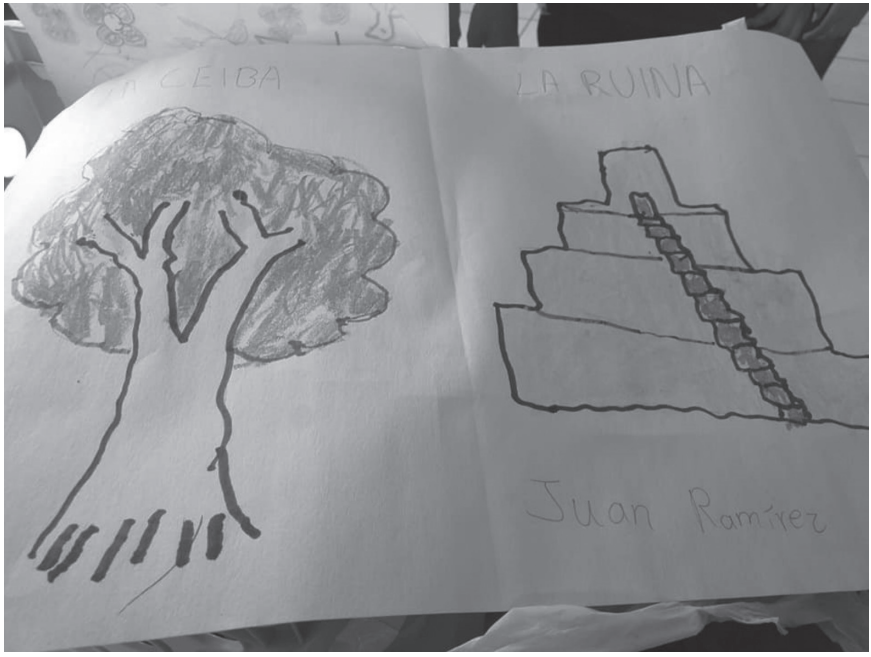

FIGURE 10.4 La Ceiba/Tropical Fruit tree in Honduras.

Source: Photography by the author.

distant future lives the expectation for progress, a desire for reunion with the only family member alive, a dream of peace, in sum, the hope of a better life.

The most heartbreaking narratives were those of what they sense as their present uncertainty. They drew lovely pictures of the shelter-(which was not that lovely)-seen through their eyes, gratefulness toward their caregivers, and the most tender drawings of Simon, the shelter Saint Bernard mix dog of the shelter. Tears were running down my cheeks quietly while listening to why this kid painted his old coat on the shelter, "I want to stay here forever, away from the Maras and hunger." Finally, at the end of the more than 2,000 miles journey, Xoc has discovered a place she could call home. In this caring and humanitarian shelter, she found restitution from a rough expedition. Finally, we all as a community found reparation from trauma through facing the discomfort within this reparative curriculum.

Conclusion: the human face of the migrant caravans

Soguk, in his book States and Strangers, asked us, "Refugees may flee their country, but can they escape the confining, defining logic of all the voices that speak for them?" (1999, p. 8). I would answer- not always, in fact, seldom. However, through the testimony of lived experiences from participants (e.g., teachers and volunteers) of this oral history art-based educational research project and the artistic expressions

of the migrant children, we all as a community found the power embedded within a reparative pedagogy. Especially while facing trying experiences, by daring to feel uncomfortable by injustice, and eager to challenge the consensus, by being willing to confront trauma. In short, we understood how powerful a restorative curriculum could be and the imperative to narrate the experiences via an oral history project.

I asked teachers to engage in dialogues about human rights; however, engaging in critical conversations that highlighted the violations and violence committed against migrant children by powerful individuals and policies was very difficult. They experienced various types of residual trauma. Political and racial trauma emerged as powerful and recurrent topics. We all shared unpleasant experiences while facing the dominant groups and dealing with power injustices such as classism and racism. Once we started having a more in-depth understanding of the intertwined experiences our students have had with oppression. Some not only because of their indigenous origin (i.e., racism) or because of their economic status (i.e., classism) but also as a structural global systemic oppression produced by the neoliberal system that has no place for them. It detonated deeper understandings of the invasiveness of political trauma.

Thus, knowledge is not enough. Having a heart broken is not enough, but doing something about it is our responsibility and our privilege as academics. Going back to Soguk's question, I genuinely believe that a reparative curriculum, accompanied with reparative pedagogies, is a strong deterrent to escape the confining, defining logic of all the voices that speak for refugees like the negative, the condescending, and the patronizing.

Challenges and pedagogical possibilities

Although the meanings generated by SAP are specific and contextual, yet we cannot underestimate the power of co-researching with our participants. Throughout this manuscript, we have argued the importance art has when finding the resources that can provide context and validity to the participants' experiences. However, any art form, and particularly painting, cannot speak for itself. In this case, it is fundamental to remember the *testimonio* is not only the researcher's account of the project but a representation of all the voices of those marked by broad social affronts on humanity. In addition, *testimonio* demands consider the reader as the central part of the process where relators and readers "experience cathartic epiphany" (Blackmer & Curry, 2012, p. 528). This eye-opening moment transcends the individual's social and political experiences and befits part of the human experience.

Whereas these are the underpins of Arts-Based Research (ABR), some of the challenges include balancing this approach with time limitations and feasibility. Additionally, when your co-researchers are children, you have to select the materials carefully. They have to be age-appropriate, attractive, relevant, and enjoyable. At the same time, try to avoid topic-directed activities since the epitome of ARB is to recognize and honor the children's artworks through focusing on their

understandings of aesthetic intentions and their meaning-making processes. To do so, pay close attention to the flow by not interrupting nor rushing them.

Furthermore, never assume the meaning of the product; instead, be responsive to how co-researchers decide to communicate. In sum, the researchers need to create a safe and compassionate atmosphere where children feel free to share their feelings and thoughts about the Caravans, their encounters as migrants, or any other life experience they choose to express. Though, keep in mind the children's rights and well-being permanently. If something makes them uncomfortable, stop the activity immediately, never push them, or harm them. In conclusion, this project suggested the transformative power of art-making. The valuable resources for research that produce might inform other inquiry forms and pedagogies that need new data dimensions.

Final thoughts

Dehumanization is the first step toward discrimination and oppression. Recognizing humanity in minority groups leads to understanding and connects us with their dreams, hopes, and struggles. Then, we are opening the possibility of restitution. I will end this section by reflecting: What would you do if you and your family's life and safety were at risk? What if the only chance you all had, was fleeing to a foreign country? How about you being the one who had to start from scratch?

Refugees may flee all the voices that speak for them through a reparative curriculum process, but can you? Can you escape from all the agents systemically imposed on you? Could you dare to have an informed voice of your own?

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11

ORAL HISTORY OF A CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER USING MUSIC AND DANCE

Kendra Lowery, Sybil Jordan Hampton, Susan Koper, and Rebecca Lomax

Introduction

This chapter describes how we collaborated to create a dance performance to communicate a finding from an oral history interview. The dance performance was a (re)presentation of the theme of strength, which emerged from our analysis of co-author Sybil Jordan Hampton's narration of her experiences as the sole Black[1] student in her class at Little Rock (Arkansas) Central High from 1959 to 1962. Dance was used in the communication of our data analysis, which is distinct from dance as data collection. We explain how our reflexive process was essential to the creation and performance of a life story that was not our own. The inclusion of Sybil's voice was necessary to develop a theme that honors her lived experience, a necessary aspect of arts-based research.

The exploration of a diverse range of lived experiences of those who have been marginalized or silenced is a common aim of arts-based research and oral history (Bagley & Castro-Salazar, 2012; Friedman, 2008). We posit that the intersection of dance performance and oral history to (re)present Sybil's lived experience can inform how our society might critically examine, reflect upon, and consider how to promote social justice.

As Sybil's oral history narration of her lived experience is the source for our work, we start by providing a brief background about her. After we introduce the remaining authors, we summarize arts-based research, including dance, followed by an explanation of our research and dance performance.

Author introductions

Sybil Jordan Hampton was born in Little Rock, Arkansas. She remembers both the realities of racial segregation and a vibrant life within the Black community. She grew up in the house her grandfather built and her parents owned a grocery

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store. Both of her parents graduated from college. While a student in segregated schools, Sybil was exposed to high-quality teaching and out-of-school activities. She excelled in school, was a Brownie in Girl Scouts, sang in her junior high choir, was in the National Honor Society, and took college preparatory classes such as Latin. Sybil also delivered the *Arkansas State Press* newspaper which was published by Daisy Bates, the president of the local NAACP.

Sybil enrolled in Central High in the fall of 1959—two years after the crisis of 1957 when Governor Orval Faubus refused to allow nine Black teenagers to enter Central which garnered national media attention, and one year after all public schools were closed to defy a school desegregation mandate.[2] In 1959, schools were reopened in the absence of intense media coverage. A pupil placement law allowed the school board to assign any student to a school of the board's choosing. In practice, the school board selected Black students from a pool of applicants, then assigned them to the school, regardless of the applicant's request. Sybil applied to attend Central and was the only Black assigned to her sophomore class through graduation in 1962.

Sybil was met with hatred and fear in the form of silence, what she describes as shunning. During her three years at Central, White students did not speak to her in a positive way. She was called a n★★★★★ repeatedly and once, a student threw spit in her face. Only three White faculty members spoke to her outside of what was required for instruction. Despite the shunning, Sybil was academically successful. She became the first Black student to attend Central for all three years (Central consisted of grades 10 through 12) and graduate. She graduated in the top 25 percent of her class, attended Earlham College, and earned a doctorate from Columbia University (Lowery & Hampton, 2019).

Kendra interviewed Sybil as part of a larger project on school de/segregation. Kendra is an associate professor in educational leadership and researches Black peoples' experiences with school de/segregation and leadership practices for social justice. She is not a dancer but chose to incorporate dance into this research project because of her memory of seeing The Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater perform *Revelations*. She understood that dancing bodies can express important social, historical, and political themes.

Susan and Kendra met in a seminar for new faculty at their university. Susan is an assistant professor of dance and has choreographed over 30 pieces. Susan's choreographic practice explores memories and histories and how they are revealed in the moving body, one of the reasons she was interested in this research. Kendra contacted her about the project for a submission to the Oral History Association's 2017 annual conference, after receiving Sybil's permission.

Rebecca is Susan's former college student. At the time of this project, she recently graduated from college and was a director at a dance academy. Susan recruited Rebecca to collaborate on this project. Rebecca was interested because beginning in middle school, she was bussed to a predominately White school in her district as part of a desegregation order. Her reflections about this will be described later. Next, we transition to a brief overview of arts-based educational research.

Literature review

Arts-based research practices are developed from a wide range of creative arts and are used to investigate research questions at each stage of research, ultimately leading to theory development (Barone & Eisner, 2012; Leavy, 2015; Rolling, 2013). These practices relative to educational research may be referred to as ABR, arts-based educational research, or arts-based research in education (Cahnmann-Taylor & Siegesmund, 2018), among other names (see Leavy, 2018, p. 5), and have steadily increased in diversity and quantity (Finley, 2003, 2005; Leavy, 2015). Although arts-based research is often described as a unique type of qualitative inquiry (Barone & Eisner, 2012; Finley, 2005), recent scholarship characterizes it as its own paradigm (Leavy, 2018) that overlaps, intersects with, and "burrows beneath both domains" of qualitative and quantitative research (Rolling, 2013, p. 8).

There are many forms of arts-based educational research (ABER), ranging from theater (Alexander, 2005; Saldaña, 2018), visual arts (Leavy, 2015), poetry (Faulkner, 2018), and dance (Bagley & Cancienne, 2002). Additionally, there is no one clear definition. For example, Rolling (2013) distinguishes arts-informed research as that which stems from a researcher's goal to present qualitative research in an artistic form, which is different from arts-based research methods that build "a research study upon the theoretical foundation of arts-based practice" (p. 17). Although the dance performance that is the basis for this chapter aligns with Rolling's definition of arts-informed research, we categorize our dance performance as arts-based because it aligns with Barone and Eisner's (2012) explanation of arts based research:

> Arts based research is an effort to employ the expressive qualities of form in order to enable a reader of that research to participate in the experience of the author. Put even more simply is this: Arts based research is a process that uses the expressive qualities of form to convey meaning.
>
> *(p. xii)*

Therefore, as Sybil is the author of her narrative, which was mediated by Kendra through an oral history interview, Susan and Rebecca used the expressive qualities of dance to convey the meaning of her lived experience. This aligns with Leavy's (2018) explanation that arts-based research consists of tools for inquiry across all stages of research, including "analysis, interpretation, and representation" (p. 4).

Many scholars agree that the purpose of ABER is for more than just the audience's enjoyment (Barone & Eisner, 2012; Friedman, 2008; Rolling, 2013). Those engaged in ABER often seek to compel or inspire the audience to critical analysis, awareness, realization, and activism (Alexander, 2005; Osei-Kofi, 2013). Leavy (2018) asserted, arts-based research "produces research that can have impact" (p. 11). Alexander's (2005) explanation of performance ethnography described how theatre performance as a research method is interconnected with social dialogue and critical action, critical performance pedagogy, and public pedagogy. Denzin (2003)

asserted, "This performance ethic asks that interpretive work provide the foundations for social criticism by subjecting specific programs and policies to concrete analysis" (p. 17). Our dance performance shares elements with performance ethnography in that the dance as part of the larger work is aimed to engage audiences in reflection about the sociopolitical context of Sybil's lived experience, while critically analyzing the impact of racism in schools. When situated in the historical context of race, performance, and critical pedagogy, the performance of Sybil's experience speaks to a tradition of Black artists including W.E.B. DuBois, Amiri Baraka, Anna Deavere Smith, and August Wilson who uplifted the agency of Blacks through Black theater (Denzin, 2003) which was designed and performed by and for Black people.

Dance as ABER

While not as widely written about as theater or written art forms, dance is also a form of arts-based inquiry (Bagley & Cancienne, 2002; Leavy, 2015; Snowber, 2012). Bagley and Cancienne's (2002) choreographed performance as education research aids our understanding of how to engage in dance and ABER in ways that do "greater justice to the art form and its potential" (p. 5). Further, as Pascual (2013) deftly explained, "Dance as an art form provides a means of perception, a physical experience, a communication process and a strong sensory motor awareness that can be of great value to understanding the role of the body in communicative praxis" (p. 71). Dance within arts-based research creates possibilities for embodied forms of inquiry that connect the physical body to understanding the lived experiences of self and others. In fact, Snowber (2018) pointed out that it is increasingly common to see dance as "embodied ways of representation" (p. 254) of educational research in conference presentations.

Expressions of oral history through arts-based research

Oral history has increasingly become respected as a method for collecting stories about the past (Ritchie, 2003; Sharpless, 2007). By interviewing participants in historic movements, such as the civil rights era, researchers are able to collect, preserve, and present insights into previously published narratives, and undiscovered experiences that have not been included in mainstream history texts. In the absence of documents, the memory of participants captured through oral history interviews is an invaluable method for preserving history that might otherwise be forgotten or unknown (Allen & Daugherity, 2006). Janesick (2010) explained that oral histories have revealed many social justice issues that can be revealed through art, and dance specifically.

The performance of oral histories presents them in forms beyond traditional texts and invites consideration of the intersection of oral history and arts-based performance. Frisch (1990) referred to this as "oral history performance" (n.p.). The presentation of Sybil's oral history narration through dance fits within this

paradigm, which is an emerging area of interest among scholars (Friedman, 2008; Frisch, 1990). Oral history performance encompasses a variety of subgenres, such as musical theater, song, speech, orchestral, or experimental music compositions, and performance theater (Friedman, 2008). Anna Deaveare Smith's performances which are based on her oral history interviews to understand sociopolitical crises in Brooklyn and Los Angeles are highly regarded examples of oral history performance theater that engages the audience in critical thinking about important societal issues (Lyons & Lyons, 1994; Myers, 1998).

Friedman (2008) explained that the bridge between oral history narration and performance is a natural one because the "content of oral history is a powerful basis for performance" and the "performative quality of the narratives . . . bracket themselves as staging containers" (p. 232). The inclination of oral history narratives to be shared through performance is revealed in Friedman's (2008) recounting of his own experience. He choreographed and performed dances based on the oral histories he collected from friends and colleagues who were dying of AIDS in the 1980s and 1990s. As he performed, he "began to realize the hunger of audiences for the performance of personal narratives" (p. 223).

A commonality among oral history performances is attention to consciousness-raising about a sociocultural phenomenon such as AIDS, labor, and economic transitions (Friedman, 2008; Frisch, 1990). Relatedly, Sybil's oral history raises issues about the costs of racial segregation and social exclusion, while reframing deficit views about Black people. The dance performance engages the audience to consider these themes as they listen to Sybil's narration. We explain our methods for data collection, analysis, and creation of the dance in the next section.

Methods

Our research and development process involved multiple steps. Sybil's oral history narration was the data Susan and Kendra analyzed, which in turn, became the source for the dance choreographed by Susan and performed by Rebecca. Therefore, our methods were conducted at the intersection of oral history and arts-based educational research.

Kendra conducted an oral history interview with Sybil in the spring of 2016 to explore Sybil's lived experience, social justice leadership, and agency (Lowery & Hampton, 2019). Kendra transcribed the interview and analyzed the transcript using in vivo coding for the first cycle, because this method leads to the creation of codes based on the word-for-word language of the participant (Saldaña, 2009). During the second cycle of coding, Kendra identified patterns in the initial codes and her analytic memos to create categories, then themes. Throughout this process, Kendra and Sybil engaged in dialogue approximately every six to eight weeks, about their reflections and Kendra's analysis of the interview data. Kendra asked clarifying questions, Sybil provided additional information, made connections to the larger research context, and they dialogued about emerging themes that were presented in a traditional academic publication (Lowery & Hampton, 2019).

After Sybil and Susan agreed to collaborate for the dance presentation, Susan read the transcript and listened to the audio recording of the interview to understand the overarching narrative of Sybil's lived experience. Kendra and Susan agreed it would be best for Susan to initially listen to the oral history interview without being influenced by Kendra's interpretation. Therefore, Susan read and Kendra re-read the transcript separately at first, using different data analysis processes, then dialogued together, then had a conversation with Sybil.

Data analysis

As Kendra re-read the transcript, rather than attempting to bracket her understanding of Sybil's lived experience based on the previous project, she re-read and took new memos using the same process described earlier, while reflecting upon her earlier interpretations, jotting down different and new thoughts, and thinking about Sybil's experiences expressed through dance.

Kendra: Although many of the passages yielded similar memos and categories with the previous coding, my memories of Black dancers performing Alvin Ailey's choreography about the agency and resilience within the collective Black experience influenced my perspective of what Sybil had to overcome and how she overcame it (for example, "Wall of strength") that could be represented through dance (see Table 11.1).

As Susan listened to the audio-recording and read the transcript, she focused on Sybil's language in a process similar to emotion coding (Saldaña, 2009). She read and listened for an emotion that she could discern from Sybil. These emotions were mainly based on particular words and passages. She took notes to describe the passages, the emotions that she interpreted, and her emotional responses to Sybil's narration. Her approach to choreography informed how she analyzed the narrative because she was looking for themes based on emotions. Susan interpreted the data through physical movement, which is a somatic practice. Somatic movement has developed among dance professionals as a practice that involves "'listening to the body' and responding to these sensations by consciously altering movement habits and movement choices" (Eddy, 2009, p. 7).

Susan: I am a subtle choreographer so any work that I do that has a narrative, I approach it where I'm not going to tell the story line by line. I do this because I do not want to alienate people who can't find their way into the story if they don't have a relationship with the story through their own lived experience or prior background knowledge. When reading Sybil's story, there were a lot of specific memories of her life inside and outside of school

described but I looked for a feeling, or emotion to associate with those memories. The feeling I got was not about anger or despair or frustration on her part. I got this sense of humility. She wasn't bitter or angry. There was a sense of hope and certainly struggle, but overcoming it, and it was very inspiring. In this way, I looked for themes, emotions, and ideas rather than a re-enactment of, for instance, Sybil walking out of her house, entering the school, confronting students, etc.

After coding individually, Kendra and Susan met three times to discuss the narration. They dialogued about their reactions to and wonderings about Sybil's experiences, discussed her experiences in the larger sociopolitical context of that period, and compared the notes from their analyses. The theme for the dance emerged as a result of these discussions.

Kendra and Susan: We identified similarities between words or phrases from the narrative and wrote memos consisting of our thoughts and observations about particular passages. Table 11.1 includes select phrases of our memos that formed our thinking about the theme of Sybil's strength. Susan also asked for and received from Kendra, additional resources about the time period to gain more insight into the context. We discussed three themes that emerged from Sybil's narrative: the vibrant and nurturing Black family and community that prepared her to succeed; shunning as a particular form of racism that she had to endure alone; and Sybil's strength and endurance. We determined that the identification of one theme around which to choreograph the dance would allow for the most clarity and be the most accessible for the audience.

Theme selection

Kendra and Susan recognized the importance of Sybil's voice in determining whether the theme of "strength" authentically captured her lived experience. During a conference call between the three women, Susan shared that as the choreographer she wanted to honor an accurate portrayal of Sybil's lived experience and emphasized the feeling of strength, courage, and hope she felt while listening to Sybil's narrative. Sybil confirmed that the power of her experience is a positive one—that it would not capture her essence to dwell on the shunning because she overcame it. This conversation confirmed our thinking that the central theme of the dance would be "Sybil's strength."

The theme of Sybil's strength to endure and excel despite the shunning she experienced situates the dance performance as "critical" because the performance aims to address social inequity in schools (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) and invite critique and self-reflection about racial oppression. Bagley and Castro-Salazar (2012)

TABLE 11.1 Select phrases from Sybil's narrative that formed the theme of strength from Kendra & Susan's coding

Kendra	*Susan*
. . . sense of self, that meant that I just felt agency.	Have a sense of self, that meant that I just felt agency.
The wall of strength around me, the vision of my grandfather, my parents	Wall of strength around me
I understood race as being a problem. But I also did not see it as an obstacle, because that's different.	My parents always said, "Don't be fearful, because people smell fear."
We were not a victim.	We were not a victim.
I was a foot soldier.	decided to have a life of the mind
The school board members were so stunned at how confident I was.	I was a guest in a strange house
My parents always said . . . "You cannot be guaranteed what you're going to encounter, and people will be very mean to you . . . And that's why what we're planting in your heart is love."	I felt I needed to heal. I felt wounded, which is different from traumatized.
On a daily basis, I was doing the thing that my parents advised me to do: "Be clear about why you're there, you're getting a good education. The fact that people are not speaking to you, the fact that people call you a n*****, a thousand times a day or an hour . . . that should not get in the way."	I discovered that I was all alone.
And I had not gone there looking to make a friend, so I wasn't disappointed. I had hoped to be included. I had hoped to be a good classmate.	To be confident and of good spirit in a very rejecting and angry environment.
My parents made me feel . . . You belong here, you are an honored guest and they just don't know it yet. That's their problem.	I could turn the sun away.

explained critical arts-based research as "arts-based research with an explicit political purpose" (p. 241). Furthermore, the narrative of a lone Black student who excels in the face of these obstacles is a story of resistance, which subverts deficit views about Black people. By focusing on her strength, endurance, and academic achievement, the theme selection provokes thinking about Sybil not as a victim but as an activist—not as a Black person who needs "saving" by a White educational system, but who contributes to the system through her academic excellence and by furthering the cause of democracy. Highlighting this theme, rather than the struggle and shunning, makes it a "resistance text" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 642) because the performance centers on how Sybil resisted the racism and shunning throughout the school institution and chose instead to persevere and excel. In essence, she embodied how "the personal becomes political" (Denzin, 2003, p. 17).

The "musical" score

Susan and Kendra agreed that to ensure Sybil's voice was central to the performance, parts of the interview recording would form the "musical" score. The use of participants' voices in the dance performance has been done before, but sometimes includes the researcher, whereas Kendra's voice was not included (Bagley & Cancienne, 2002). Susan worked with a sound technician who transformed the audio recording of Sybil's narration into a musical score. The technician used Western experimental music techniques to create "psychoacoustic fragments" (Friedman, 2008, p. 250). He divided Sybil's speech into fragments and rearranged them into ambient sounds which were integrated with discernable segments of Sybil's narration. Susan considered how the audience could best engage with the work, as she choreographed the data and finalized the dance performance with Rebecca.

The choreographic process

Susan created the choreographed piece after thinking about the words and phrases in the interview and letting them settle in her body over time through a process of allowing the body to remember her thoughts. A similar process is described by Snowber (2012) and Bagley and Cancienne (2002). Cancienne read the transcripts of data multiple times and the "words began to evoke strong visual metaphoric images" (Bagley & Cancienne, 2002, p. 6). As stated earlier, Susan described her process as somatic: the exploration of the body through movement. The somatic and modern dance movements are closely related (Eddy, 2009).

Susan: I listened to the recording, read the transcript, read some of the books and watched videos about the time period, and I let it percolate. I had to let it settle in my body. By listening, the body remembers and I used those movements. I used Sybil's oral history narration to help me form the choreography as a series of movements, as seen in Table 11.2.

Susan choreographed the dance in such a way that the theme would be evident, without further narration or explanation beyond Sybil's words. In effect, the choreography articulated the central theme of the performance.

As the next step, Susan taught the choreography to Rebecca. Susan chose Rebecca to be the performer because she remembered her as a mature dancer. Susan used improvisational techniques, which means she shares a movement based on a particular word or passage and asks the dancer to use the movement as inspiration for their own interpretation and movement. These techniques require a more mature dancer, and she remembered Rebecca was a strong dancer who could bring that strength to the powerful oral history narrative.

After agreeing to perform, Rebecca read the transcript and listened to the recording prior to the first rehearsal. Susan and Rebecca started by talking so they would feel comfortable in the space together. Susan

shared the theme of Sybil's strength—that Sybil was able to rise above anger, hatred, and bitterness. Rebecca proceeded to share a personal story about how she related to Sybil's experiences, which confirmed for Susan that she had a deep understanding of the story.

Rebecca: I connected to Sybil's experience because my siblings and I were part of an integration order in the 2000s. For seven years—through middle and high school—I woke up every morning to get on the bus at 6:30 to ride for 40 minutes to a predominately White school.

My experience was good for me, but my brother and sister had negative experiences. My sister had to endure things like watching the movie *Roots* while being the only African American in the class, and the teacher asking her what she thought. My brother was into computers—he's a genius. Students made slave jokes and the teachers didn't intervene. He did not want to tell our mom because he did not want her to go up to the school. But, he was so discouraged that he never pursued college. When my brother graduated, our family was walking to the ceremony. A car full of White people passed us, and they shouted, "F★★★ you n★★★★★s!" This was in 2013, so it was not long ago.

I don't think I had as much of the racist experience, or if I did, I didn't notice and was optimistic because I was an athlete, ran track, and was in dance. I was also a people pleaser. I do remember one time when my friends and I were walking to McDonald's. When two White kids saw us, they started walking backwards slowly with their eyes wide open, like they were shocked or scared to see us. I've experienced the comments about my hair, wearing [a] weave, getting perms, getting questioned . . . I don't know if it's racism or ignorance. So, in order to connect to the shunning Sybil experienced, I think I pulled from my brother's and sister's experiences because I saw and heard what they went through.

The way I related to Sybil is that she took her experience and used it in a positive way. When I read the interview, I didn't get a sense of defeat. Sybil took everything she went through and used it as fuel. It's so easy to take the Black experience and make it a sad experience. Although I didn't see a lot of African American role models during high school, I took advantage of opportunities. I've experienced hell—but I take those things and use them as fuel to launch me into my destiny and I can use it to help someone else.

Dancing Sybil's experience didn't feel unnatural. It felt like I was telling my story and I was happy to step into her shoes to tell the story of someone who actually experienced racism in front of her face. Because the testimony is powerful. It has overcoming power for other people who witness that testimony.

Susan: When we started to craft the performance, I went back to all of the text I had gathered from the interview. I knew how I wanted it to start and end. I knew I wanted her moving forward towards the audience as a way

of showing her moving into this new world. Then I knew I wanted to end that way, with her maybe transformed, with a new sense of power at the end. Then I would just say a phrase or a word or sentence, and Rebecca would improvise with movement.

Susan and Rebecca's choreographic process reveals how they incorporated both of their interpretations of Sybil's oral history narration into the performance.

Susan: I told Rebecca not to overthink it, to let the body respond to the words at the moment. Some of the words were more movement-based (it makes it easier on the dancer), such as "walk forward" or "stumble back" and some weren't—they were ideas or feelings, such as "look for justice" (Table 11.2). Rebecca developed movements to the words. I guided her to where I wanted her to physically go in the space, and we worked that way using Sybil's words as our guide.

Rebecca: I trust Susan—she was my professor and she is the reason for a lot of the success I have today. I was very open to whatever her direction was going to be because I have seen her work—I've worked with her. I know she really thinks through each piece that she does. She picked key words from the text and gave me directional words and I was able to take the words that she said and put my own experience to it. There was another time where she talked about, "Push the sun away." One part that was powerful to me was when she said, "Raise your flag." I thought I am going to put my fist in the air to represent Black power because it is a symbol of Black excellence. I thought she did this on purpose, but she meant flag and I was able to interpret that based on my Black culture to raise my fist.

TABLE 11.2 Words and phrases from Sybil's narrative that Susan used for choreography by transforming them into directions

Turn the sun away
Discover that you are all alone
Claim your space—have a sense of self
Reject the claim
Know your path
Build your bones
Walk forward
Stumble back
Look for justice
Meander down an unclear path
Smell the fear
Raise your flag—feel your agency

(Dance performance of) findings

Rebecca interpreted Susan's choreography under her direction while adding in her own interpretation. The findings were presented through Rebecca's performance of the dance. To illustrate this, we present four moments in the dance performance through photographs taken by Kendra at a rehearsal. Each moment is a choreographed movement aligned with a passage from Sybil's oral history narrative that illuminates the context and theme of strength.

At this moment, Sybil's words sound like a diminished chord that has an eerie, dark tone. As the chord is sustained, Rebecca is bent over at the waist. Her knees are bent, head is turned to the left, and her right arm is partially stretched in front of her with her hand facing upwards. Sybil's realization of the tragic truth that she was alone in the school—that she was socially isolated—led to inner turmoil. She knew that she had a right to attend Central, yet the treatment she received was antithetical to how her community and family nurtured her. That dissonance created inner turmoil.

The chord that is produced by Sybil's words changes to major, which sounds hopeful. Through her movements, Rebecca transforms the turmoil into strength. Her body opens up like a butterfly that spreads its wings. Through her arm movement, Rebecca spreads her wings and becomes the embodiment of Sybil's strength, both physically and figuratively. Sybil's strength is displayed in Rebecca's physical

FIGURE 11.1 Moment One: "I Discovered I Was All Alone . . . That People Had Hardened Their Hearts"

FIGURE 11.2 Moment Two: Strength

FIGURE 11.3 Moment Three: Owning Her Strength

strength and flexibility as she bends backward with her left leg in front of her right leg, arms fully stretched behind her and she looks up. Interestingly, this is similar to a reverse warrior pose in yoga. The warrior is a symbol of strength. This picture best illustrates the theme of strength because it is a convergence of the literal meaning of physical strength required for Rebecca to execute this pose and the emotional and psychological strength required of Sybil to endure.

Rebecca continues her embodiment of strength in this pose. As she rises from the floor, she creates another image of strength. She sits on the floor with arms outstretched to her sides. The description of this pose perhaps best illustrates the value of oral history performance. Although we can describe the pose in words, words alone do not convey the strength that Rebecca exuded in this pose. Photograph 3 enhances our interpretation of this pose as strength because one can see that Rebecca's arms are outstretched and fully engaged, rather than limply floating in the air. However, we contend that the pose is best interpreted as strength when viewed as part of the dance performance. Rebecca's moving body exudes strength in and out of this pose.

At this moment in the narration, Sybil is coming to a reckoning of her experiences. She speaks of how she was able to persevere because of love. She explains, "I'm not angry. . . . I can turn the sun away. . . . I have the capacity to do that." In the dance performance, Rebecca stands on her right leg and raises her left leg, which is bent at the knee. She moves forward and upward, as if she is taking on

FIGURE 11.4 Moment Four: "I Can Turn the Sun Away."

the challenges presented to her and persevering. In order to do this, she resolved to love others, rather than wallow in hate.

The creation of this oral history dance performance was an intentional weaving of oral history methodology and dance as arts-based research. First, we analyzed Sybil's oral history narration to form the basis for the content of the performance. Second, the musical score consists of Sybil's voice so that the audience simultaneously engages with Rebecca's interpretation of the theme and Sybil's narration of her lived experiences (the oral history interview) at the same time. Third, certain poses within the dance were choreographed to align with specific passages from Sybil's oral history narration. Fourth, the performance engages the audience in a critical analysis of themes of oppression and Sybil's agency. Sybil's narration and the dance performance directly challenge the shunning she experienced at Central. Hanley (2011) reiterated this when she explained the "arts also can challenge the invisibility and silencing that come with subjugation" because artists "can speak to power" (p. 420).

Personal reflections/reflexivity

As we developed the performance of Sybil's lived experience, there were several stages where we engaged in a reflexive process. Reflexivity is an emerging criterion for assessing the quality of arts-based research (Finley, 2003; Rolling, 2013). Because art is an aesthetic form, scholars ponder questions such as: What is "good art"? Does the art need to be "good"? There is not one set of prescriptive standards or answers to these questions, and most scholars agree that criteria should not be used to police arts-based research (Barone & Eisner, 2012; Finley, 2003; Leavy, 2018; Rolling, 2013).

At the same time, we seek to ensure that our research is of high quality based on a wide range of scholarships. To that end, we explain how we were reflexive in the development of the performance. We understand reflexivity to be the process wherein we continually explore the meaning of our experiences, and how social processes such as constructs of identity, power, and position, form our biases, assumptions, and perspectives vis-à-vis our research topic and research participants (Leavy, 2015; Rolling, 2013). Reflexivity is examining one's self and how we see the world (May & Perry, 2017). We examined who we are, and what life experiences shaped our meaning-making of Sybil's experience. We were reflexive throughout the entire process, but we pinpoint particular phases to highlight the considerations crucial to the development of the performance, in addition to the reflexivity shared by Rebecca earlier.

Susan: I was immediately drawn to the possibility of exploring how I might represent Sybil's lived experience through dance. I was very reticent to create a performance based on my White body dancing an African American woman's experience, particularly in this context of racism. I raised this concern immediately with Kendra: What would it mean for

a White body to dance an African American woman's experience? Even with Sybil's voice as the score, I was concerned that no amount of social understanding on my part would compensate for the visual impact of my White body. My whiteness would negate the whole point of the representation of Sybil's story, which is to highlight African American experience. Kendra and I discussed this, including the possibility that dancing a theme might not be the same thing as re-enacting Sybil's experience. Additionally, as our university is a predominately White campus, I could think of only one African American former student. However, I made this a priority because I felt Sybil's experience should be authentically represented, including the visual representation and I knew Rebecca had the maturity and insight for this project.

Kendra: Throughout this process, I had to consider my presuppositions about what would make the most impactful presentation and my role in relationship to the other participants in the development of this project. I was so passionate about the social impact the performance could have that at first I wanted the theme to be about shunning for two reasons. First, I did not want Sybil's story of strength to be misinterpreted as: if marginalized students could "just be strong like Sybil" they would do better in school. Second, by focusing on Sybil's strength, ironically, I feared the take-away would be on her (even though it is her story), rather than the depravity of the institution. Clearly, my thinking was misguided. I worked through this in two ways. First, Sybil affirmed the choice to focus on her strength. Working in collaboration with Sybil was key to this performance. It is her story, so I readily accepted Sybil's choice.

I understand that viewing Sybil as a person of strength does not mitigate the shunning that she endured and overcame. Instead of feeling sorry for Sybil, I believe that the audience will think about how to create institutions where students can thrive, knowing that students who are marginalized have strengths. Ultimately, by listening to others and staying committed to my role as a collaborator that centers the voice of the participant, the appropriate theme was selected.

All: Rebecca's maturity embodied Sybil's experience and the depth of her reflexive performance was obvious. Including Sybil as an active part of our process ensured we told a story that resonates with her lived experiences (Finley, 2003). Sybil said that she is honored that we chose her story. Susan, Rebecca, and Kendra resoundingly say in response, "The honor is ours."

Methodological and pedagogical implications

Our experience with this project spurred brainstorming of other ways to engage audiences with oral histories through dance or other forms of arts-based research. Further, this is the basis for exploring how dance might be used to explore the lived experiences of audience members as an improvisational art form (Bagley &

Cancienne, 2002). As we explained earlier, while the dance (re)presentation of Sybil's life story is an embodiment of our interpretation of her experience, arts-based research also includes art in the process of problem or data generation. When thinking about how dance might be used in data generation, for example, we wonder what it might look like for an oral history narrator to explain or recount their experience through movement, particularly if they have no formal training in dance. In addition to further exploring the methods of arts-based research and oral history, we are interested in how audience members process the performance, which is the focus of our future research. Further exploration and analysis of somatic techniques used in the data analysis of oral histories is warranted.

As a teacher of qualitative research methods to P-12 education doctorate students, Kendra only briefly introduces oral history and ABER. Exposing students to both oral history and ABER will familiarize them with different qualitative approaches and tools for inquiry while reinforcing a commitment to centering the lives of research participants in meaningful ways. Janesick (2010) explained that one benefit of arts-based research to reach a wider audience is because "it is through the arts that a larger audience is most likely reached than in any other curricular or cultural arena" (p. 212).

The juxtaposition of a silently performed dance with Sybil's previously silenced voice is a site for theorizing about the impact of silencing someone and the extent to which (re)presenting their lived experience based on their own narration contributes to or highlights their agency while shining a critical light on societal conditions. A key decision to problematize what marginalization and power mean was the inclusion of Sybil's voice as the narration and musical score for the dance. Another key element of this study was the inclusion of Sybil in the data analysis and reflection. This raises questions about whether and how the use of archived oral histories of people who have since passed, and how processes for data analysis would be similar and different. As we strengthen our research methods and pedagogies for oral history performance, the development of a "performance of revolutionary pedagogy to advance social justice" (Finley, 2005, p. 563) is our goal.

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Notes

1 We use the terms "Black" and "African American" interchangeably based on author preferences.
2 The sociopolitical context of Little Rock before, during, and after the crisis has been documented elsewhere. For memoirs see Bates (1986), Beals (1994), Lanier (2009), and Roberts (2009). Kirk (2002, 2007, 2008) wrote about the historical, social, and political context of Little Rock. Gordy (2009) chronicled the year the schools were closed from 1958 to 1959.

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SECTION 5

Digital storytelling, podcasts, vlogs, and social media

12

MY STORY, MY VOICE

Student podcasts examining oral histories on diversity in East Central Indiana

Gabriel B. Tait and Rebecca A. Schriner

Those who approach teaching from a critical perspective make a commitment to be innovative. The educator is consistently considering multiple options for student engagement (High, 2009; Jones & Dexter, 2014). These engagement opportunities, when pursued effectively, force keen educators to ask important questions about their classrooms (hooks, 1994; Steinberg, 1993), their students (Eligon, 2019; Grant, 2016; Heybach & Fraser-Burgess, 2020), and the best methods to guide the students in their educational journeys. The educator asks questions such as: Should the class be taught online or face-to-face? What are the cultural, social, and economic backgrounds of the students? What are the best-suited methodological approaches for presenting key material to the students? And finally, what innovative techniques can help bridge important gaps between student learning and the community in which they will ultimately work? These questions are foundational to an educator's use of structured engagement models (Ravitch, 2014; Zeichner, 2010), which integrate thoughtful care for the students with the commitment to explore the deeper meaning of society while also stretching students' worldviews.

The modality in which the educator seeks to engage their students—whether through reading and reflection, community projects, oral histories, etc.—depends on the best structure and pedagogic approach to articulate and assess students' understandings of a given course topic. Within the past decade, advancements in technology have opened opportunities for educators to employ new digital modes like digital storytelling, which combines traditional storytelling and oral history with creative technological learning methods to further engage students in their coursework (Saridaki & Meimaris, 2018). Additionally, researchers have found that digital storytelling pedagogic methods challenge students to think critically about diversity and social justice within the context of a class project (Grant & Bolin, 2016).

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With the influence of combined oral history and digital storytelling for the purpose of teaching diversity in a Diversity and Media (Journalism) course, the first author has developed a student-produced, community-engaged diversity podcast called My Story, My Voice (MSMV). Each semester the professor implements an assignment for students to find a community member that exemplifies a facet of diversity, interview them about their diversity story, and record that interview to share publicly through a digital archive. The MSMV audio oral history project takes a multimodal approach (Pink, 2011) by encouraging students to engage in a personal and collaborative understanding of diversity while employing a basic understanding of media technology, open-ended interviews, audio editing, and digital story presentation.

This chapter examines the developing MSMV approach to teaching and how oral history tradition connects to digital storytelling. Particularly, it explores how new media techniques are used to facilitate qualitative learning, highlighting the pedagogical method used at a midwestern university which has resulted in nearly 70 student-produced oral history audio recordings for a multi-semester podcast (titled My Story, My Voice). As a teaching technique, the assignment (1) highlights how the participants (i.e., the students) identify diverse issues (i.e., what does diversity mean?), (2) allows the students to collaboratively engage one another (i.e., team-based project), and (3) encourages students to tap into their own professional skill sets (i.e., practical element). The main goal of the assignment is for the students to produce a 14-minute and 25-second linear edit of an audio recording developed by the production team or the train of thought spoken by the interviewee, with minimal gaps in the story. In their post-production steps, the students focus on compiling a comprehensive picture of their respective interviewee. The finished product should follow an NPR-style format where the interviewee is telling their story but the interviewer and producer are also giving context and meaning to what it is their subject is discussing (i.e., their diverse issue or their topic of diversity).

For the purpose of this study, the authors transcribed an intentional sample of 15 MSMV episodes, pulling five audio recordings from each semester of the project (Spring 2019, Fall 2019, and Spring 2020) that aligned with the assignment's criteria for length, sound quality, and diversity narrative. The authors wanted a consistent group of podcasts pulled over a 3-semester period. The sample interviews contain stories from individuals of varied genders, ages, and cultural experiences—giving an accurate representation of the actual body of interviews. The authors then performed a textual analysis of these transcripts and combined those findings with prior literature on oral history and digital storytelling to answer the following questions: (RQ1) Who are the people that students choose to interview and represent issues of diversity and culture in a representative podcast? and (RQ2) In what ways does the production process of the oral history podcast (i.e., identify interviewee, photograph and interview them, edit audio content, submit finalized product) further expand students' knowledge?

This study contributes to digital storytelling pedagogy—and, by extension of modality and leverage of new media, literature for podcasts, vlogs, and social

media—for the following three reasons: (1) it describes student learning outcomes from the My Story, My Voice audio podcast project; (2) it examines how oral histories and digital storytelling techniques are used to gain a greater understanding about and illustrate topics of diversity and inclusion in one midwestern US region; and (3) it highlights the challenges and possibilities that arise when students and faculty members employ innovative teaching techniques to expand the reach of their digital audiences.

The authors acknowledge there are many ways to use oral history to teach, so the authors provide the following literature intersections as a roadmap of this chapter to: (1) illustrate how teaching is specifically focused on broadening student learning in a Diversity and Media course in the Department of Journalism; (2) expand the traditional student classroom to community-based environment approaches; and (3) explain the lessons learned from the students and the community about audio technologies which reveal oral history pedagogy possibilities gained through a digital storytelling class assignment. In the next section, the authors will share how their experiences shape how they approached this assignment.

Statement of positionality

The co-authors value diversity and diversity education. We provide this statement of positionality because we believe that our personal experiences help illustrate the possibilities that arise when a commitment to mentoring and partnerships are established through classroom participation. The lead author joined the Ball State University faculty in 2019 as their first professor of Diversity and Media. He grew up in Pittsburgh where he attended public schools. In the 1980s, he was one of the thousands of students who were "force bussed" from their community schools to others across town in an effort to diversify racially homogenous schools. While he only remained at the school outside of his community for one academic year prior to returning to his community school, the interaction profoundly shaped his understanding of community and the need to have input from all constituents. Growing up in a setting where his community stories were often misinterpreted or altogether omitted, the lead author came to specifically value the opportunity to present community narratives and to have people be the arbiters of their own stories. The force busing experience was one of his most formative educational experiences, which has shaped his approaches to diversity, community participation, and the value of inclusive pedagogy.

He has also worked as a photojournalist for a few of the top newspapers in the USA. For much of his nearly 30-year career, he was telling stories around the world—in more than 15 countries. He has applied this knowledge in teaching courses in photojournalism, diversity, and visual research methodological classes with an intercultural focus for nearly 10 years. Currently, he teaches a required "Diversity and Media" class to nearly 750 journalism, advertising, and public relations majors at Ball State University. His research has provided opportunities for him to teach and research communities on four continents. These experiences

uniquely position him to deliver technologically innovative and inclusively relevant courses.

As a complement, the second author was raised in a close-knit, rural town in northern Ohio, where her worldview closely reflected her White, Christian community and its conservative values. Her perspective on diversity was strictly informed by cross-community events with inner-city schools and news reports from neighboring counties. To her, diversity initially meant little more than one's skin color and upbringing. The author broadened her perspective on diversity in college through her involvement with international organizations and sociology courses—exposing her to greater racial, cultural, socioeconomic, and religious diversity stories. She began to look forward to sharing these stories with people who shared similar homogenous backgrounds and discussing the depths of diversity as an aspiring professor. Now as a graduate public relations student, her experiences have prompted her to assist in facilitating the Diversity and Media students as they collect their MSMV narratives and explore the meanings of diversity and inclusion.

The authors' positionality is that they are uniquely positioned to empower students to identify and cross diversity barriers. By mobilizing students, the authors are intentionally challenging, supporting, and affirming that the narratives their students are seeking through these MSMV oral histories offer greater insights on communal diversity to a wider digital audience. In the next section, the authors will outline current literature related to oral history as an applied technique for understanding one's community.

Literature review

Oral history and community-engaged research

Given (2008) posited, "Oral history is one of the oldest, best known, and most often used methods in qualitative research" (p. 583). Oral history methodology elicits information, stories, and truths from common people that researchers cannot gather elsewhere. Many non-Western communities are oral history based. These bodies of shared experiences are passed on through the stories that individuals share and experiences that are gained through their sharing. For example, Peter "FLOMO" Ballah (Teh, 2018), one of Liberia's cultural icons known for his oral history stories, is credited with illuminating the world to some of the atrocities that occurred during Liberia's civil war. Oral history helped preserve a vital part of Liberian history. The authors legitimized the methodological, research-oriented approach to gaining these MSMV histories because their students are gaining first-person accounts—stories regarding sexual orientation, race, social woes, or religion—which have significance to the person sharing their history as well as provide greater understanding to other rural East Central Indiana communities. Likewise, these students are gaining first-person accounts—stories regarding sexual orientation, race, social woes, or religion—which have significance to the person sharing their history as well as the great East Central Indiana community.

Oral history also invites participants to the table to share their stories—often giving voice to underrepresented and unheard minority groups who would not have the opportunity to share otherwise (Given, 2008). In 2012, the *Oral History Review* presented several articles in their annual pedagogical issue indicating the significant and increasing role of studying and conducting oral history and archival research in higher education (Nunes, 2017). Tobbell (2016) acknowledged two methods of teaching oral history. *Passive oral history* refers to the presentation of pre-existing oral history learning material in a pedagogical setting, while *active oral history* implies the students' direct engagements in soliciting, recording, and interpreting interviewees' oral histories firsthand. In courses like the authors' Diversity and Media class, active oral history is employed to help students personally engage with the "other," with people whom they have never had the opportunity to know or whom they do not understand. According to Iseke (2011), those who witness oral history (whether through video, audio, or in-person) allow someone else's story to "interrupt" their life. They begin to understand and make connections to that person's identity, as well as the interviewee's community, people group, and what might be historically valuable to them (Iseke, 2011).

While oral histories are meant to preserve the past, Dougherty added that oral history interviews are influenced by present conditions. Zusman (2016) outlined how, methodologically, oral history has a duality of being "both a process and the product this process creates"—a process that is generally collected in the form of structured interviews (p. 17). Valk and Ewald (2017) and Boyd et al. (2015) shared in their pedagogical oral history studies of Mashapaug and Lexington, respectively, how their students "filled in historical gaps" (Valk & Ewald, 2017, p. 15) in the communities' histories and "made connections to the present" (Boyd et al., 2015, p. 364) in a digital format that served the public and research communities. According to the April 2016 Conference on College Composition and Communication Statement on Community-Engaged Projects in Rhetoric and Composition (CEPRC), this investment of an academic institution into the surrounding area is referred to as *community-engaged projects* (Grobman, 2017). Through community-engaged projects, like MSMV, students invested in oral history capturing can go beyond simply developing technical interviewing and digital skills. Conducting oral histories assists in teaching critical thinking, self-reflection, research, and interpretation "focused on the cultural and creative record of human experience" (Barber, 2016; Nunes, 2017; Woodard, 2013). Students can engage with and "humanize" history through their interviewees' experiences, especially in events shared from interviewees with different social, economic, or racial upbringings than the students (Tobbell, 2016).

However, it is worth noting that "with oral history, truth is relative" (Zusman, 2016, p. 18). The content of an interview presents itself not as the factual recall of historic events but instead as a "life story's subjective account of historical experience, seeking the connections between 'biography and history; between individual experience and societal transformation'" (Portelli, 1997, pp. 4–5). Regardless of the subjective nature of oral history, and other qualitative studies involving the human

experience, Tobbell (2016) noted: "By hearing people describe the history as they experienced it, oral histories humanize, bring to life, and make real the history that is portrayed in the assigned secondary literature and lectures" (p. 129). This provides a clear opportunity for educators, especially those in journalism and the social sciences, to utilize oral history as a pedagogic tool. With the development and greater availability of advanced audio technology, educators can also merge a community-engaged oral history project with digital storytelling techniques to reach a broader audience and further challenge and engage their students.

Intersection of digital storytelling

Emerging media techniques in qualitative research provide unique pedagogical opportunities for educators to employ structured engagement models, such as the technological pedagogical content knowledge (TPCK) framework (Koehler & Punya, 2014) used in the MSMV assignment, to expand the classroom to include the community and involve students in understanding the diversity of that community. Many teachings in higher education turn to digital storytelling as a technique for student engagement, reflection, critical thinking, cultural understanding, digital humanities, and experience in multimodal learning and skill development (Boyd et al., 2015; Grant & Bolin, 2016). Born from the combination of traditional oral history and digital narrative techniques, digital storytelling allows educators to increase student engagement through technology-based projects and digital storytelling appears to hold unlimited pedagogy possibilities with "technological and content flexibility (that) lends itself to broad range of applications across multiple learning styles, formats, domains, and institutional settings" (Grant & Bolin, 2016, p. 46). Others have expressed that digital storytelling can alter how people who are different interact and increase cultural awareness, social justice, and compassion.

The MSMV assignment uses an audio-only podcast format to engage in digital storytelling. Berry (2006), one of the leading scholars on podcasting, noted that "podcast" is used as an overarching term for any audio content downloaded from the internet either manually from a website or automatically via software applications (p. 144). While this explanation has become more complex with time, podcasting is a converged medium that brings together multiple media channels but is also a "disruptive technology" (p. 144). Following the Berry line of thinking, podcasting "has forced some in the radio business (and educators) to reconsider some established practices and preconceptions about audiences, consumption, production and distribution" (p. 144). Thus, the infusion of podcasting pleasantly disrupts traditional "go learn about and come back and report" approaches to teaching. Compared to radio listeners, individuals who listen to podcasts may be more engaged with podcasts (Berry, 2006). The podcast listeners' selection of a particular podcast, as well as how the listener had to seek out the podcast, creates a sense of personal relevance and, therefore, a stronger engagement in the product.

Podcasts are convenient, globally accessible, mobile-friendly, downloadable, and often free and easy to access (Boyd et al., 2015). Educators can develop and employ

podcast pedagogy at little to no cost, though the recording, producing, editing, and sharing do require some relevant media knowledge. Educators who can teach their students the fundamentals of audio equipment, audio editing software, and digital publishing may be more willing to consider podcasting as a pedagogical media tool.

Journalism is expanding

Journalism has a long history of embracing emerging media technologies (High, 2010; Nerone & Barnhurst, 2001; Sheftel & Zembrzycki, 2017; Tait, 2017) to tell a more complete story. Ritchie (2012) asserted that oral histories are an interdisciplinary "big tent" (p. 13) with scholastic ties and methods of collecting and interpreting information. These epistemological touchstones inform historians, archivists, journalists, sociologists, anthropologists, folklorists, and educators (p. 13). But scholars (Ritchie, 2012; Thompson & Bornat, 2017; Zusman, 2016) note the methods in how oral historians and journalists go about their jobs can be very different. Zusman (2016) made a critical distinction between journalism and oral history, which she calls a "story-collecting ventures," suggesting that oral history places an emphasis on preservation. She posited that while "the journalists may be satisfied with the publication of their article, the oral historian went one step further by preserving the actual recording as well as the product that comes from it" (p. 13). Despite the methodological difference in how various qualitative researchers go about collecting and disseminating new knowledge, it is important to note there is enough space around the proverbial academic table for journalists and media professionals to use oral history approaches. In the next section, we will examine the MSMV assignment to explore how our students gained new knowledge.

An introduction to my story, my voice project

In the opening verses of theme song "Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood," the beloved Fred Rogers (1967) gleefully sings:

> "It's a beautiful day in this neighborhood,
> A beautiful day for a neighbor,
> Would you be mine?
> Could you be mine?
> Won't you be my neighbor?"

Building on Rogers' inviting message for viewers and listeners to become "neighbors," the students in Ball State University's Diversity and Media class are challenged to become more acquainted with their local neighbors to learn about diversity. As previously mentioned, the class is required for all of the Department of Journalism's nearly 750 majors (journalism, advertising, and public relations). Ball State is a predominately White institution (PWI) of higher education in Indiana.

Many universities in urban contexts talk about immersing their students in the community as a way to "expose" them to the "realities" of the sights and sounds they often miss when having diversity and inclusion conversations in the classroom and/or on campus. Ball State University is no different. An examination of a recent Ball State fact sheet tallied more than 4,000 immersive learning experiences that connect BSU students with community partners annually. According to the United States Census Bureau (2018), Muncie is 81 percent Caucasian compared to 11 percent African American and just 2 percent Asian. Sixty-eight percent of the households have an income below $50,000, while just over 31 percent of the community lives below the poverty line. Eighty-seven percent of Muncie residents are high school graduates, just one percent below the Indiana state average. These demographics present a socio-economic picture that is much different than our student population, where less than 23 percent of students in the Diversity and Media classes are first-generation college students. This presents a unique opportunity for the class to get students out into the community to learn about people that may be and often are educationally, socially, financially, and religiously different than the communities in which they live. The MSMV podcast assignment takes all of these factors into consideration when teaching the students about engaging the community.

The Diversity and Media students are encouraged to meet, learn about, and interview people in the community, or "neighbors," that are not directly associated with the university (e.g., faculty, staff, students, or administrators). The students must also select an interviewee from the larger Muncie community (roughly a 50-mile radius) and are required to leave campus and learn about diversity in a wider context. Additionally, the MSMV assignment seeks to expand students' considerations of diversity to include minoritized groups, such as people of different nationalities, genders, socio-economic statuses, etc. As a teaching pedagogy, MSMV prompted students to engage in a digitized oral history project as an exploratory method to gain insights about diversity and inclusion stories from community members in the East Central Indiana region.

Pedagogical background

The MSMV assignment intended to illustrate how oral history qualitative research techniques are being used for basic audio podcasting. For the purposes of this assignment, the researchers want to recognize that no two teams will edit the same interviewee's audio in the same way. One team may start and end their edits with one anecdote, and another may choose a totally different set of soundbites. This is where qualitative research offers unique possibilities to explore issues like diversity.

The pedagogic design for the MSMV assignment gives consideration to the technological pedagogical content knowledge (TPCK) framework to bridge the gap between the students, the community, and the equipment students are using for their audio podcasts. Koehler and Punya (2014) explained how the TPCK

framework builds on Shulman's (1987) "bifurcated teacher approach to content knowledge and technologies" (p. 12). TPCK identifies that content, pedagogy, and technology each have collaborative and independent roles in teaching any and all technology in the classroom (Herring et al., 2014). The authors posit that the technology employed in the MSMV assignment is just one layer of this project because they are using oral history as an approach for students to make a podcast. This modality placed the oral history within the classroom framework for students to learn about technology, diversity, and better understand their college community.

More specifically, the MSMV methodological approach embraces the qualitative tradition of oral history, and the oral history is presented in a podcast format. The format seeks to utilize important technological tools (microphones, recorders, editing software, and the internet) to bridge and deliver topical diversity stories from East Central Indiana residents. Students in the Diversity and Media class learn in the assignment's introduction that by asking residents to speak about diversity and then editing their words to fit within the set time of the podcast, they are disrupting the process of people telling their own stories naturally, like in a normalized oral history tradition.

It is, however, acknowledged that the podcasting editing process deviates from traditional oral history methods, where the interviewee is telling their story in a long, naturally flowing, unedited narrative. Aligning with the oral history tradition, the authors argue that by editing their interviewees' content into a coherent story, the students are engaging in the oral history process—digesting their interviewees' oral history stories and combining them with their personal experiences and professional capabilities to produce a quality podcast. Tobbell (2016) rightly suggests:

> Through teaching with oral histories, we are able to help our students understand not only what happened in the past but also how those narrating the past understood what happened and what they may now think of it. By asking our students to analyze and interpret oral histories, we give them the opportunity to gain insights into how people understand and interpret the past and their place in it. And by introducing oral histories into our teaching, we are able to give voice to those who have traditionally been silenced in the history of medicine.
>
> *(p. 135)*

While the story, or history, belongs to the interviewee, the interviewer and editor team do have some latitude in how the final "production" is framed. The students' goal is to hold to the integrity of their interviewee's story while transforming it into a compelling story that will be accessible and engaging to wider audiences in a digital age. To that end, the final podcast reflects the student's perspectives of their interviewee's oral history as it attributes to their co-understanding of diversity.

Assignment parameters

The MSMV assignment was birthed in Muncie, Indiana, as a tool for Department of Journalism students to learn about diversity through the stories and narratives of East Central Indiana residents.[1] The project utilizes the university's content learning platform (Canvas), a free audio editing software (Audacity), and a free audio hosting platform (SoundCloud).

The MSMV assignment has five goals: (1) have the students get out of the university bubble and learn about their community; (2) have the students research and identify members of the community that have a compelling story regarding an issue related to diversity; (3) have students develop an argument as to why their subject is worthy of a diversity-focused interview; (4) have the students apply their learned technical skills in a new media context; and (5) have the students contribute to the knowledge of the community by developing a community media repository that is shared with the community.

To achieve the project's goals, this assignment has three levels of completion: (1) preparatory, introducing the project and concepts of diversity and inclusion; (2) equipment and structured interview training; and (3) post-production and distribution. These three levels will be explained in the section below.

Level one—preparation

The professor first presented three weeks of basic diversity and inclusion concepts and theories through in-class lectures, leaving the term "diversity" vague for students to think critically about their lectures and concepts. These lectures, and their counterpart assignments, prompted discussion for students to consider how they defined diversity and, therefore, who might be a strong interviewee for their MSMV project.

After the second week[2] of class, students were randomly assigned a partner.[3] Each team, usually consisting of two students,[4] was provided time to brainstorm potential interviewees in the community who have compelling diversity stories. Teams then completed a "My Story, My Voice Diversity Interview Assessment" form via Google Forms by week four (see Appendix A). This form compelled each team to prepare a well-researched argument for why their particular interviewee's story is worthy as an example of diversity. The authors found that when students were intentional about completing the required document, their project was generally successful.

Teams then received critical feedback about their interviewee selections. This step often exposed teams that struggled to understand their community, had not worked together to settle on an interviewee, or had not taken the completion of the assessment form seriously. The instructor met with struggling teams and had the opportunity to mentor them on their understanding of diversity, what topics they might be interested in learning about, or potential communication resources.

Level two—training and interviewing

Because the MSMV assignment was developed for students with varying audio and editing technical skills, the second level of the MSMV assignment allowed the professor to frontload the class through a one-week technology and interviewing training module (designed by the first author).

During the interview training sessions, students were divided into groups of four or five and trained on structured and semi-structured interview techniques. Topics introduced during this primary session followed Given's (2008) observations of oral history interviews: "The techniques used in eliciting oral histories share the following commonalities: questions are open-ended and person and experience centered, and the questions aim to elicit rich detail on the topic being studied and involve active listening" (p. 583). In this stage, students were also taught how to prepare for their interview (e.g., equipment and seating set-up and audio file labeling) and advised to take log sheet-style notes for key interview "soundbites" (Cummings, 2013).

FIGURE 12.1 Dr. Gabriel Tait teaches Spring 2020 student team about audio production equipment, and the students practice open-ended interviews in small groups.

Source: Photograph by Rebecca Schriner.

There were two in-class training sessions where students learned about the equipment and performed mock interview sessions with classmates. In the first training session, students were taught about audio equipment. They were provided a portable recorder (Zoom H4N), a handheld or lapel microphone, an XLR cable, an SD card, and batteries. This portion of the training taught teams how to run the equipment and set up their microphones to collect the highest audio quality. They were taught the differences between microphone types, and they also listened to audio recorded on both the lapel and hand-held microphones. The authors instilled the importance of great audio. They illustrated how poor audio is akin to an out-of-focus photograph. "You may take a beautiful photograph of the sunset on the Gulf of Mexico, but if the photograph is out of focus and underexposed, no one is able to see your picture. Bad, broken audio is the same thing," the lead author shares. Students then broke into smaller groups to conduct mock interviews using the equipment and the sample questions provided (see Appendix B).

In the second training, students were instructed where to sit during their interview sessions, how to position their microphone and recording devices, and how to ask open-ended questions. During the mock interviews, students were instructed to work in teams. One student asked questions, and another student monitored the audio recording levels. They also were instructed to record the timecodes of noteworthy quotes and observations. The authors referred to these insights as "quotable notables." The log sheets became a roadmap for understanding their interviews.

After teams completed their equipment and qualitative interview training, the students were directed to their online content learning system (Canvas) for supplementary training information. The digital training module (see Figure 12.2) included consent and release forms, sample interview questions, audio and video training tutorials, podcast examples from previous classes, a link to download the free Audacity audio editing software, an Audacity training and quick keys worksheet, a Lynda.com Learning Audacity training video, and an instructional video on how students should submit their edited podcasts on SoundCloud. These tools reinforced the skills acquired during the face-to-face training and guided them for their interview and post-production (editing) steps. Teams were provided the final instructions and released to conduct their interviews.

Before teams interviewed their subjects, they were required to take a nice photograph of the subject (this photograph was used when the students uploaded the edited podcast to SoundCloud). Students then conducted their interviews.

Level three—post-production and submission

After teams completed their interviews, each team uploaded their unedited audio files to a designated Box[5] folder. This preserved the original content and also provided backups if teams accidentally deleted their files.

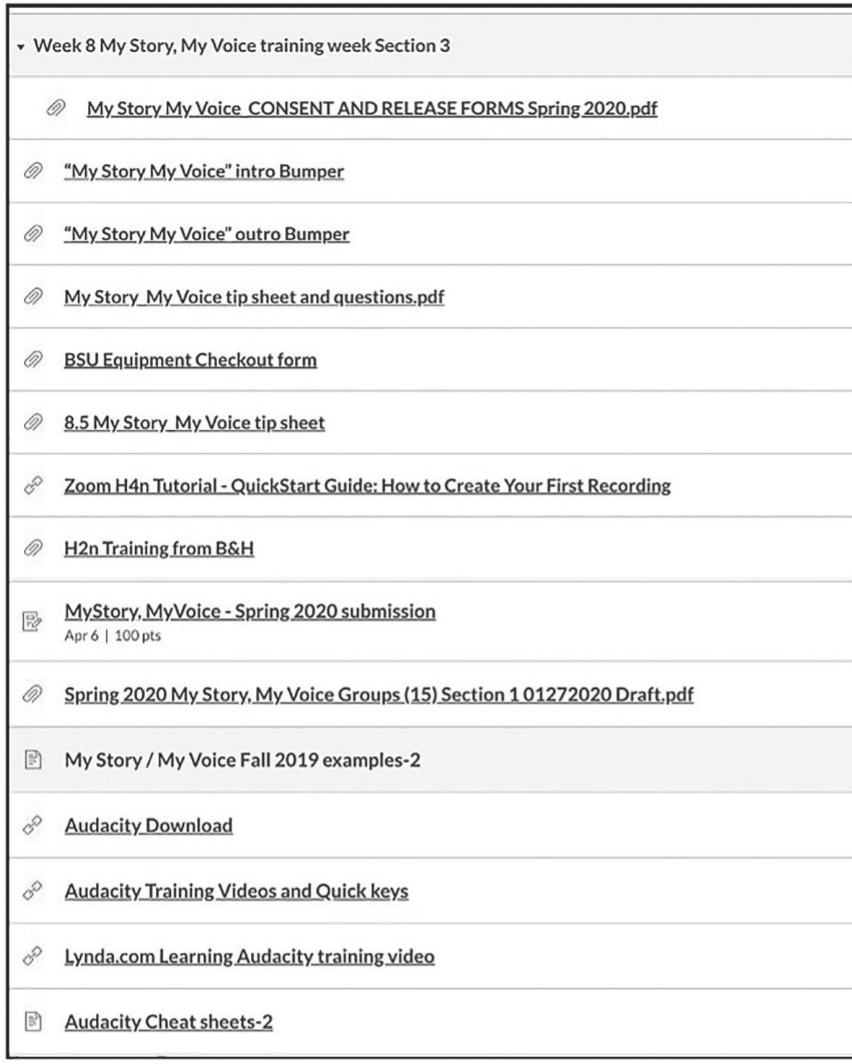

FIGURE 12.2 The supplementary MSMV training module features release forms, audio training tutorials, examples from previous classes, and a free downloadable audio editing software with cheat sheets on Canvas.

Teams developed a transcript of their oral history interviews and then reviewed their handwritten "soundbite" notes. While editing their interviews, teams were instructed to (1) edit the interviewee's content into a coherent story where the interviewee's illustration of diversity is realized and (2) select segments of the interview(s) that help them piece together a coherent story. Generally, their interview edit is about 13 minutes, 30 seconds. This allows space for the teams to add the additional podcast elements required by the project.

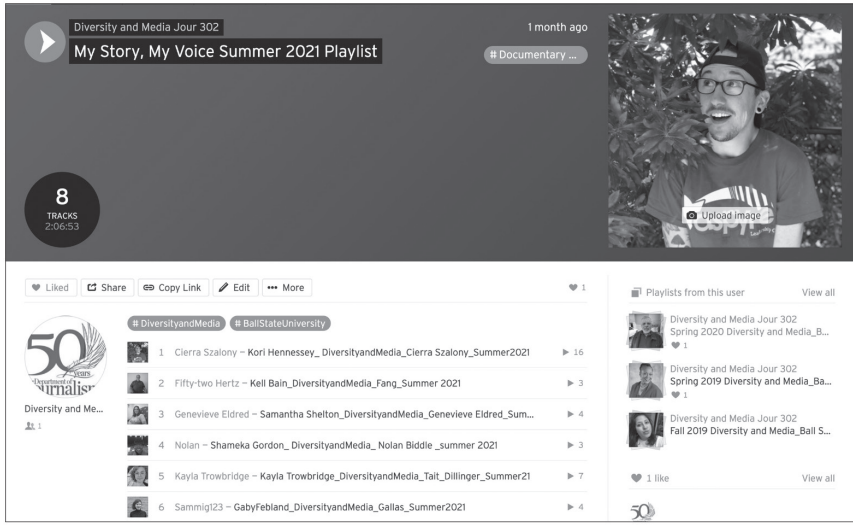

FIGURE 12.3 A sample of the Diversity and Media SoundCloud page with their Spring 2020 podcasts.

After the interview audio was edited, a team member recorded a voiceover introduction (generally 15–20 seconds) that announced who their subject was and provided an introduction to the interviewee's diversity story. Teams added their voiceovers before the edited interviewee content. Teams then added the provided Intro and Outro music bumpers to their segment for class branding and assignment production consistency. The music bumpers acted as an audio cue for listeners to know that they were starting a MSMV podcast. After post-production work, the goal was for teams to have produced a complete audio podcast that lasted between 14 minutes, 25 seconds (14:25) and 14 minutes, 30 seconds (14:30).

Teams exported the finished audio podcast as either an .mp3, .wav, or .aiff file. Teams uploaded their finished podcast to a class SoundCloud account. After the audio file had been uploaded to a SoundCloud account, one representative from each team also submitted their SoundCloud link for their Canvas assignment.

Sample podcasts

After three semesters of employing the MSMV assignment, students have collectively produced 67 oral history podcast episodes to address the theme of diversity and inclusion in East Central Indiana—44 interviews from the first semester, 17 interviews second semester, and 6 interviews from the third semester. The authors examined a purposeful sample of 15 oral history podcasts (five from each semester). The selected student podcast episodes provided an insight into who the students interviewed, the diversity topics covered, and the efficiency to which the students used the technology. Patton (2014) noted that, "purposeful sampling means

TABLE 12.1 Assignment levels for My Story, My Voice Assignment.

Assignment Levels	*Descriptions*
Level One: Preparation (Weeks 1–7)	• Introductory lectures (3 weeks) • Team assignments • Interviewee assessment form (Google Forms) • Professor critique
Level Two: Training & Interviewing (Weeks 8–12)	• Interview technique and audio equipment training • Review learning management system (Canvas) supplementary training material • Interview and photograph interviewee
Level Three: Editing & Submission (Weeks 13–16)	• Upload unedited audio to Box • Create interview transcript • Edit interview audio • Record student voiceover introduction • Add audio bumpers to beginning and end of podcast • Export, upload, and submit final audio podcast

selecting information-rich cases that, by their nature and substance, will illuminate the inquiry question(s) being investigated" (p. 265). This "pragmatic approach" gives researchers, according to Emmel (2013) the academic space "to use their judgement in making sampling choices. It cuts through epistemological, ontological, and philosophical debates" (p. 43).

Each podcast in our intentional sample was chosen for its adherence to the assignment requirements and for its unique message of diversity. For example, we intended to represent different aspects of diversity (i.e., race, culture, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, religion, ability/disability, education) as well as different roles in diversity (e.g., diverse individual, advocate, family member, professional). The audio recordings chosen for the sample each brought a unique aspect of diversity to the study and added a dimension to answering the posed research questions.

Analysis

The authors started this chapter with two guiding questions: (RQ1) Who are the people that students choose to interview and represent issues of diversity and culture in a representative podcast? and (RQ2) In what ways does the production process of the oral history podcast further expand students' knowledge? To answer these questions, a textual analysis was performed on the purposeful sample of podcast episodes. Textual analysis is a way of gathering and analyzing information in academic research. In their study of racial representations in National Geographic, Daniels et al. (2019) used a textual analysis to understand the impact of race in their media coverage. They argued how textual analysis is generally a type of qualitative analysis that focuses on the underlying ideological and cultural assumptions of the text.

In this study, 15 sample recordings were transcribed, coded, and analyzed to determine key concepts and themes. These transcripts served as the data for this study. The transcripts were textually analyzed for keywords and phrases that related to concepts studied in the Diversity and Media course modules. For example, in the 16-week course, topics like diversity, equity, and inclusion; understanding bias; psychology and power dynamics (i.e., microaggressions, micro resistance, implicit bias and community action, policing power); culture, faith, and race and media (i.e., Native Americans, African Americans, Latinos, and Asians); and gender and sexuality were taught. The transcribed text was examined to see how the students engaged with the learning and how their interviewee podcasts addressed issues related to diversity and community. A second-level analysis was performed to understand how the various concepts of diversity were presented and framed by the interviewee. For example, if an interviewee discussed their sexuality, the second level analysis would examine what themes were touched on and how those themes were represented. More details are provided in the next section.

(RQ 1) Who are the people that students choose to interview and represent issues of diversity and culture in a representative podcast? The students chose to interview a diverse array of people from Muncie and its surrounding community. The selection of interviewees provided a broad, first-level understanding of how the students made sense of and constructed their understandings of the concept of diversity. The topics highlighted in the podcasts covered a myriad of concerns from (1) gender and sexuality issues (e.g., LGBTQ+ issues, women's rights), (2) race/culture and immigration, (3) socio-economic issues, (4) abilities/disabilities and healthcare, (5) religion, and (6) educational equity. The oral histories informed teaching pedagogy in part because the students used the learned concepts and ideas to collect people's stories about diversity.

TABLE 12.3 Intentional sample and textual analysis coding.

Name	*Interview Topics*	*Coded Theme & Key Terms*
Spring 2019: Participant 1	Race (Black), education equity	**Outcasts and Struggles/Identity Formation** **Key Terms**: Segregated schools, teacher, point, fully, clue, history, masses, seventh grade, people
Spring 2019: Participant 2	Disabilities (relative), healthcare	**Outcasts and Struggles/Identity Formation** **Key Terms**: Autism, children, challenges, love, advocate, special needs, family, skill sets
Spring 2019: Participant 3	Socio-economic issues, human rights, race (Black)	**Privilege and Access/Meaning of Diversity** **Key Terms**: Community, women, Black spaces, community engagement, independent living skills, families
Spring 2019: Participant 4	Socio-economic issues, race (Black), healthcare	**Meaning of Diversity/Identity Formation** **Key Terms**: Eviction notice, suicide prevention, give, storage unit, life, moved, remember, racing

Name	*Interview Topics*	*Coded Theme & Key Terms*
Spring 2019: Participant 5	Sexuality (supporter/ relative)	**Outcasts and Struggles/Identity Formation** **Key Terms**: Muncie, gay, transgender, kids, church, affirming, suicide, youth, people, meeting, women, P(rided)flag
Fall 2019: Participant 1	Race (Black), human rights	**Outcasts and Struggles/Privilege and Access** **Key Terms**: Muncie, community, table, diversity, ideals, groups, learn, happening, invite, connected, people, discriminatory behavior, church
Fall 2019: Participant 2	Sexuality, gender, socio-economic issues	**Meaning of Diversity/Privilege and Access** **Key Terms**: Diversity, Muncie, power, diverse, protest, people, bootstraps, place, graduated
Fall 2019: Participant 3	Race (White), sexuality, disabilities (friend)	**Outcasts and Struggles** **Key Terms**: Muncie, community, diversity, suburbs, kids, grew, blended (family), DCS, treatment center, courthouse, separated
Fall 2019: Participant 4	Immigration (first-generation American), religion (Greek Orthodox)	**Outcasts and Struggles/Identity Formation** **Key Terms**: Greece, Greek, holidays, serve, family business, discriminating, discriminated, overcame
Fall 2019: Participant 5	Race (hidden Native American heritage)	**Identity Formation** **Key Terms**: Native American, family, heritage, Indiana, tribe, Cherokee, Native American culture, history, bloodline, love, grew, reservation, touristy
Spring 2020: Participant 1	Immigration, race (Middle Eastern)	**Outcasts and Struggles** **Key Terms**: People, Jordan, Iraq, problem, kids, accepted, Iraqi, Muncie, America, love, immigration, live, school, working
Spring 2020: Participant 2	Religion (Christian), sexuality	**Privilege and Access/Meaning of Diversity** **Key Terms**: Affirming, campus ministry, students, episcopal church, faith, ministry, Lutheran, folks, bisexual, LGBTQ, welcoming, grace, traditions, diversity, gay marriage
Spring 2020: Participant 3	Gender, sexuality	**Meaning of Diversity/Identity Formation** **Key Terms**: Muncie, trans community, empathize, change, decided, community, coming out, grew
Spring 2020: Participant 4	Immigration, race (Hispanic), sexuality	**Outcasts and Struggles/Meaning of Diversity** **Key Terms**: Puerto Rico, friends, people, Christian, talk, Spanish, thankfully, conservative Christian, united states, LGBTQ community, traditions, dual language, wife, travel
Spring 2020: Participant 5	Race (Black), socio-economic issues	**Outcasts and Struggles/Meaning of Diversity / Identity Formation** **Key Terms**: Struggle, football, kids, mentor, diversity, school, life, caseworker, working

An analysis of the podcasts reveals two interviewees identified as ethnic minority men, one a Greek American and the other as an Iraqi immigrant. Two interviewees identified as Black males, three identified as Black females, one identified as transgender or nonbinary, one identified as a White male, five identified as White females, and one White female that identified with her Native American heritage. This diversity of subjects showed that the students were not just aligning with the racial dynamics of their interviewees, but also with the cultural, socio-economical, and sexual orientational intersections of one's identity. The average length of the podcasts was 14 minutes and 26 seconds.

The authors observed that six of the samples addressed issues related to the LGBTQ+ communities. One interviewee, a White mother, revealed how she started an LGBTQ+ support group for her son. During her podcast recording in Spring 2019, she shared:

> I started Muncie OUTreach because I have a gay kid. When he was in high school he struggled quite a bit. So my husband and I, we would drive him to in Indiana youth group in Indianapolis every Friday so he could feel normal and find his tribe. Realizing the cost of that I thought, there's a lot of people who can't get to Indy so we decided to start one here. We live in the Bible Belt. And we live in a very conservative place, and a lot of kids come to us they're from the rural areas, and all they know white Christian straight people, and they know they're different, and feeling isolated is the leading cause of suicide leads to depression and leads to substance abuse. . . . So we, that is our biggest focus is to make sure we can get to these kids where these kids can get to us and let them know that it's . . . they're perfectly fine and their parents are f*cked up, that they are okay.

Other teams interviewed self-identified ethnic minorities. One was a Greek American business owner. He shared stories about experiencing discrimination in his small Indiana town because he was not White. An Iraqi-born, American immigrant shared a story of being on the Iraqi "blacklist" because he married an American. Even still, an African American woman shared stories about being one of eight students to desegregate a Charlottesville, Virginia, high school in 1961. She was starting the 8th grade. She remembered:

> As soon as I walked in and two guys, upperclassmen, were waiting, I think because they were expecting black people to come in. But they were waiting there. And as soon as I walked in, two passed me and they had this prepared little . . . whatever they were going to say, but it started off with, "I smell a 'gar. I smell a 'gar." Then the other would say, "A cigar? No . . . " the n-word, and that's the first time I'd ever been called that. That wasn't the last time, but that was the first time in my whole life. I think I was taken so aback that I didn't realize what they were saying.

The diversity of people chosen to interview offer a unique perspective of the lives and struggles of people in the Muncie and East Central Indiana communities. Remembering Muncie population is 81 percent Caucasian, 11 percent African American, and just 2 percent Asian, the students were able to identify how they understood diversity within the communal context.

(RQ 2) How might the production process of oral history through podcasts further expand students' knowledge while also exposing diversity issues in a local community? Oral history provides an opportunity for unheard and underrepresented communities to have voice regarding issues important to them. The production process of the digital oral history, from choosing the interviewee through the final product submission, gives both the student teams and the interviewee equal opportunity to share, learn, and discuss topics that may have previously been omitted or overlooked. By completing the oral history production, the students are purposefully engaging the information they receive from the interviewee and have the opportunity to integrate the narratives provided with their own experiences of diversity and community, which aligns with the course student learning objectives.

Themes

There were four broad themes that emerged from analyzing the purposeful sample of 15 oral history podcasts. The transcripts revealed themes that addressed topics related to: (1) Identity Formation, (2) Privilege /Access, (3) Outcasts/Struggles, and (4) the Meaning of Diversity. In each of the themes, the underrepresented persons were allowed to articulate with specificity the value of their experiences and worldviews.

In the ***Identity Formation*** theme, the podcast interviews shared formative encounters that shaped who the interviewees were. In this theme, they talked not only about how their identities had been formed but also about how they sought shielding or guided others in their formation. During the Spring 2019 semester, an interviewee shared:

> Toward the end of deployment, I was in the Suicide Prevention class. Usually about three weeks before you go home, they give you a suicide prevention course, you have, mandatory—you have to take it. And all of a sudden my vision goes out. And I can't see anything. My eyes are open, though. I'm blinking, but everything is black—pitch black. And I'm just like . . . And then it would come back again, and I could see. And it would start going back out and, I'm like, this is weird, right? Like, what is going on? The class ended, and I got up to stand up and leave. And I just fell over. Right? They pick me up, and I'm like, they like let's take him to the hospital. So they, they take me to the field hospital. And I'm in there, and the doctor's like . . . He's asking all these target, very targeted questions. The guy's like, the doctor, he's all, "Do you have a family history of diabetes?" And I was like, "Well, yeah

> my mom died from it." And he goes, "I think I know what's going on." He took the blood. He goes away. I'm sitting there. I'm trying not to panic. He comes back, and the first thing he did was ask for my weapon. I knew he was about to deliver bad news. I take it off. I said, "There you go." And that's when I knew that he was about to tell me something I didn't know what to hear. That's what he said. He's like, "Yeah, you are in the early stages of [diabetes]." The army cut me a severance check to be out, and there I am, on my own. So I just lost my career. I now have this new disease, and it's the same one that killed my mom. And I'm just like, what, what do I [do]?

Another interviewee shared a story with a team where, "I essentially treat my childhood and my growing up in that town as a marker of what not to be." Even still, an interviewee during the Fall 2019 semester shared her frustration that one side of the family did not talk about her Native American heritage:

> I was finally told about my Native American heritage. And so, I'm actually one-sixteenth Cherokee on my mom's side. It was something, like I said, that my family never really talked about. I grew up, you know, being told, 'Oh, you're from the Lloyds of London,' you know, all about my European heritage and my family's, you know, very proud of that. But, um, when I was like 11 or 12, my mom finally talked to me about her great grandma that she remembered. And my great grandma was actually full-blooded Cherokee. And she had what the way it came about. She had a cowbell, that was hers. And she showed it to me. And she'd saved it all these years. And I, you know, I guess it's possible that I had heard that mentioned in my presence when I was younger than that, but it was just was not something that was really talked about or discussed. I never heard that from my grandma. I never heard that from my great grandma, who I knew she lived 105, and so it just was something that was kind of repressed, I guess, in the family.

Interviewees whose oral histories primarily aligned with the ***Privilege/Access*** theme addressed issues related to access gained or denied because of their cultural, racial, sexual, or socio-economic status. During the Spring 2020 semester, an interviewee shared the following story:

> More recently, there is a student who showed up as a freshman about three years ago, he was raised Roman Catholic. And he began to take issue with the Roman Catholic Church as he began to recognize his identity as a bisexual person or to identify as pansexual. But he usually just identifies as bisexual, because that's easier for a lot of folks to wrap their mind around. So he started to realize that he was bi or pansexual realized that he probably wasn't going to have a home in the Catholic Church a whole lot longer from that position. And so, he sought out traditions that would be welcoming.

Oral histories that were primarily assigned to *privilege and access* provided narratives on how the interviewee was a conduit or beneficiary of the aforementioned concept.

In the theme ***Outcasts/Struggles***, interviewees shared stories about the respective struggles they have experienced. They also reflected on how these experiences created struggles in the way they view and understand diversity. One interviewee reflected:

> The suburbs is a unique spot. There is a ton more diversity. But what ends up happening is as you grow up, you start to realize that they whitewash everything and they normalize everything. So, if you're any type of minority, it is normalized or it is excluded. And when you are . . . Even with me growing up with a lot of privilege aspects of my upbringing, like me being white or I was different because I have . . . I always grew up with more of an awareness for other people. So, like, I fit in more hanging out with friends with special needs. I kind of gravitated more towards them because they are—I knew at a young age that they were being more authentic than a lot of other people around me.

During the Spring 2020 semester, an interviewee shared how struggles were so much a part of his life that he created a clothing company called, "The Struggle Made Me!" He talked about his opportunities and challenges as a Black male athlete in Indianapolis and how, at times and in various contexts, he would oscillate between being accepted and rejected. Here is part of his podcast:

> So, one thing that has always been consistent in my life is, just, I will have these great moments, but then these great forms of struggle. I mean, literally, every time that I would get, like I would accomplish something or break the mold for something, something would happen to try to stop me. But I've always made it through. And I always realized what I grew from it. My father went to prison when I was five. He was released when I was 16 and murdered by [a] 17-year-old, when I was 17. And so that was, that was one of the things that was hard already being that you know I was going through school and people will ask where your dad's at and he's in prison, and I'm not able to tell people. Like, you know what I mean—the real, and eventually I was able to.

Another interviewee shared his story of being an outcast from his home country of Iraq because he married an American woman:

> My wife, Emily, [was] originally from Selma, Indiana—from here—so that's why we decided to stay here. It is a longer story. It was Saddam's regime [at] that time, and I was kind of on the wanted list for him. For Saddam (Hussein), yeah, I was an officer in the army there, and I decided to [marry] an

> American Girl which is forbidden there. You cannot, especially if you're an officer of the army, you cannot [marry] any other nationality other than Iraqi. I did that anyway. Saddam regime was a very powerful and intelligent people.

The final theme, labeled the ***Meaning of Diversity***, revealed one complexity with classifying several diversity oral histories. Diversity is an intersection of all of the previous themes. During the Spring 2020 semester, an interviewee, a cisgender person, shared stories about their gender transition and the struggles they had finding their "true" identity. Their stories were broad but grounded in the fact that diversity was not a one size fit all concept. They shared the following story that illustrates the complexities:

> I printed off the form to change my name, I took it to the courts, and I filed (for a name change). Now it's kind of been a mess of a situation because honestly, and I am open about this, but I should have done my research. I should have done my research before doing that (name change) because at the time. . . . Indiana has kind of buried this, but I thought that in most people do have to do this. I thought that I had to publish my name change multiple times in the newspaper. And it turns out, you don't have to do that. If you're trans. There is a court ruling and just a little while back. That said that if you're trans you don't have to publish because it can be you can be discriminated against someone can find it and you can lose your job.

In another part of their oral history interview, they talked about being an ally and assuring that other diverse communities have their voices heard stating:

> So, making sure that their voices heard and helping them however I can to make sure that justice is provided. It's very hard to change someone's opinion about a certain issue until they get to know someone, they get to know their story. They get to learn about their experiences. And I think that's why things have changed. opinions have changed towards like, marriage equality and acceptance of people who are trans. That's why opinions have changed so quickly is because everyone knows someone who's gay? Everyone knows someone who's. [*sic*] I mean, most people know someone who's trans. They eventually come into contact with someone, whether it's a family member or you go to college and you meet someone. And so that's how you get to know someone. When you get to know someone in their experiences.

In another part of their oral history interview they talked about being an ally and assuring that other diverse communities have their voices heard stating:

Each of these narratives revealed intimate accounts that the interviewee decided to share with the student teams. With technological advancements, teams are now able to share these podcasts with others for generations to come. In recent months,

the authors have learned about and used an audio transcription software called "Otter.ai" that provides a rough, real-time transcription of audio content.[6]

Conclusion

In this assignment, students produce an oral history segment for an online audio podcast and, in doing so, move outside of the normal classroom structure to identify people in the community worthy of interviewing on the subject of diversity. This was challenging for most students because the traditional undergraduate educational system of learning is almost exclusively focused on the instructor imparting the knowledge on who the student should talk to or what they should talk about. Secondly, students were able to research and identify members of the community that have compelling stories regarding an issue related to diversity. In researching who was important for their assignment, the student teams were able to articulate in a concise manner why they were making the selection of the person to be interviewed. This is foundational in students investing in their own learning. They have the proverbial skin in the assignment. Thirdly, the students developed an argument for why their subject was worthy of an interview. By the student teams making and agreeing on who they would interview, they were able to negotiate how they understood diversity and the significance that they applied to the particular concepts. Fourth, they applied their learned semi-structure interview and technical skills in a new media context, such as audio podcast. Many students were unfamiliar with the technical aspects of interviewing, recording audio content, and producing a podcast.

Following the assignment, students shared their newfound confidence in learning through oral histories and technology. The majority of the groups expressed an appreciation for the MSMV assignment after realizing that they were contributing to the knowledge of the community by developing a media repository that is shared with the community. Below are a few student responses about the assignment.

- My Story, My Voice is a great exercise. Because we had to go out there, find the right person, do research, create the right questions, decide what was worth keeping of the information, and present it in the most successful way possible.
- The My Story, My Voice one was pretty spot on. It helped me realize just how much diversity the world has.
- My Story, My Voice—I complained about this project because I did not feel prepared at all for it. I have never edited audio before, so it was a learning experience. I learned a lot though and enjoyed the interview.
- My Story, My Voice. I thought it did a great job of getting us into the community to see how diversity plays out in the environment we live in. We can't say "it doesn't happen here" because we get stories that contradict that.

For our students, the knowledge they have gleaned and will share as a result of this project reveals ample possibilities of using oral historic techniques for podcasts.

By conducting the interviews and producing corresponding podcasts, students have expanded their respective understanding of diverse "neighbors and neighborhoods" and have also charted a path for others to do the same.

Notes

1 The first iteration of the assignment constrained students to focus specifically on Muncie, Indiana. The assignment was modified in later semesters to provide the students with the geographic space to explore where they believe diversity is best exemplified.
2 The instructor waited until the end of the second week to determine teams to assure that a student was not paired with another student who may drop the class or not attend classes.
3 During the first semester of this assignment, students were encouraged to self-select their partner. Many students selected their friends. During the team evaluation, there were a number of complaints from partners that their teammates were not completing their part of the assignment. There was great frustration, determining that this was not the best option for student learning. For the second and third semesters, students were randomly assigned partners. Because there were a few complaints of a partner not maintaining their part of the assignment, the random selection format was determined as a more efficient approach.
4 There have been exceptions when classes have an odd number of students.
5 This is a modification. Previously, students have been encouraged to archive their unedited interviews. Because this assignment has been developed as a qualitative research module, teams should upload their unedited audio files. Box is a shared cloud-based digital archive our students use. SoundCloud is a music and podcast streaming platform that lets listeners share and listens to audio content.
6 The software program provides a summary of keywords from the audio transcript. The keywords can aid qualitative researchers and students in identifying themes from their interviews.

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APPENDIX A

"My story, my voice" diversity interview form

Introduction

Hello Class, For the last few weeks, you have been asked to think of people in the community you can interview to share their experiences with diversity. Please complete this five-question Diversity and Media interviewee Assessment form by Sunday, February 2, at 11:59 p.m.

Questions
Team identification

1) Email address
2) Please list your Diversity and Media group members including yourself. (e.g., John Smith and Mary Wright)
3) Select your JOUR302: Diversity and Media section

Interviewee identification, interview location, and argument for diversity candidate

1) What is the full name of the person you plan to interview? (For example, Dr. Rose Mary Johnson.) **You can add more than one subject if you are still settling on who you will interview.**
2) What is the position of the person you plan to interview? (for example, Civil Rights Attorney, Director of the United Way, Pastor, Mayor)
3) What is the contact information of the person you plan to interview? (For example, Dr. Rose Mary Johnson, RMaryJohnson@email.com; 765–555–1212; her office is located at 3232 Johnson Street in Anderson) **Include their email address and phone number.**

4) When and where do you intend to interview your person? (For example, I plan to interview Dr. Johnson at her office, at 3232 Johnson Street in Anderson on Tuesday, February 6 at 3 pm.) ★★Office, coffee shop, recording studio.★★
5) Why do you believe your person is worthy of your "My Story, My Voice" audio program? (Please explain in four to five sentences why you have selected your subject(s); how does your subject speak to the issue of diversity and media; what you hope to accomplish through this interview; and what impact your subject has had on the general Muncie community?)

APPENDIX B

Interview protocol

Interviewee Name/Pseudonym:
Location: Notes:

Introduction

At the beginning of the study, the interviewer will start off a conversation by discussing the participant's day and thanking him/her for agreeing to talk. Next, the interviewer will inform the participant that the study is being recorded for transcription and audio archiving purposes. At this point, the researcher will also allow for the participant to choose a pseudonym name if they would like (TURN ON RECORDER). The interviewer will then ask the participant if they have read through the consent form document and if they have any questions regarding the study. The interviewer will then ask for the participant to sign the consent document prior to conducting the interview.

Questions

The following questions will guide the interview:

General discussion of the interviewee's background

1) Please tell me your name, age, and where you are from.
2) Can you tell me what life was like growing up in your _____community?
3) What brought you to Muncie?
4) Can you tell us what life was like in your community?

- What were some of your greatest memories of growing up in your community?
- Is your community the same now, compared to when you were growing up?

5) Can you tell me about some formational aspects that contribute to your definition of community?
6) Have you attended a college/university?

   If so, where?

General discussion about interviewee's understanding of diversity and inclusion terms

This study is trying to gain oral histories from people in the community as it relates to issues of diversity.

1) How would you define the terms Diversity and Inclusion?
2) Is there a different way you might define the terms given your historical lens?
3) In what ways do you feel connected to your community?
4) What are some of your first experiences with diversity?
5) Have you been discriminated against?
   If so, please share your experiences?
6) How have these experiences shaped your understanding of diversity?
7) What advice would you offer to those that viewed you differently?

General discussion about the interviewee's understanding of diversity as a community role

1) What are some of the greatest challenges to our society with regard to diversity?
2) What are some of the greatest benefits of diversity in a community like Muncie?
3) In what ways would you say that you have helped your community understand diversity?
4) What role do you think Ball State University plays in contributing to diversity in the Muncie (East Central Indiana) area?
5) How would you categorize the state of diversity in the Muncie community?
6) What are some of the narratives/stories that should be learned from our Muncie (East Central Indiana) area?

Conclusion

Inform the participant that they have addressed all the questions that you had planned for the interview. Ask if they have any comments/questions about the study, suggestions for questions that they thought could have been asked, or if they would further like to clarify previous comments. Once any comments, suggestions, and clarifying comments have been made thank them for their input and participation in the study (TURN OFF RECORDER).

13

ENGAGING PARTICIPATORY VISUAL METHODOLOGIES IN ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH

Robin Phelps-Ward

Although qualitative scholars valiantly endeavor to amplify the voices and narratives of those whose stories are not often told broadly or publicly, such efforts are dampened when considerations of power and voice are not central. With the ability to interpret narratives, apply theoretical perspectives, select representative quotes, and choose audiences, researchers who engage life history scholarship encounter a host of power-laden activities and decisions. Thus, researchers must employ methods that empower participants, redistribute power throughout the research process, and lessen power distance during interviews as they work toward causes of emancipation and liberation in educational contexts.

Thus, in this chapter, I discuss the use of participatory visual methodologies (PVM) in life history research as an opportunity to share power throughout the research process. In particular, within this chapter, I share the story of my journey carrying out a life history project of one retired university administrator, Dr. Quincy Bradley (pseudonym). Further, through this chapter, I discuss how I engaged PVM as a means for collaboration with my participant and retell the stories that led to the fruition of a diversity initiative that was 20 years in the making at a predominantly White institution. Through the process of using PVM and sharing a multimodal text created using an interactive and panoramic media site helpful for illustrating a timeline, I was able to animate a physical timeline of diversity initiatives that unfolded at one university through the perspective of the administrator's life. I end this chapter with implications for methodological and pedagogical practice in the contemporary era of qualitative research, particularly related to PVM.

Power and participatory visual methodologies

To fully understand the nature of power, collaboration, relational dynamics, and visual methods within life history research, I discuss the complexity of power and

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the role of researchers and participants in the research process. Further, I review some of the participant-generated visual methodologies research in higher education, which illuminates the numerous ethical considerations researchers must take into account as they negotiate power throughout the research process. The combined areas of literature provide a lens to critically examine PVM in oral history research—specifically, life history work—and advocate for increased use of such methods to mitigate oppressive practices (e.g., "giving voice," failing to fully explain future potential risks connected to the research, privacy issues), which can infiltrate the qualitative research process.

Whether conceptualized as the social influence a person (or a group of people) has over others (French & Raven, 1959; Lewin, 1947), control over economic means of production (Marx, 1859), or situated in actions between people (Foucault, 1982), power remains a complex concept tied to actions, relationships, and broader systemic structures and institutions (Collins, 2000). More specifically, power is an undeniable and unavoidable entity floating throughout the research process, which may serve as a controlling and driving force not only for the impetus of the research (i.e., the researcher must agree to initiate the research study in the first place) but for the maintenance and completion of the research project. From the perspective of the researcher, numerous factors influence the study and present opportunities for control, direction, and interpretation. Among these, Karnieli-Miller et al. (2009) noted the following:

> The researcher's personality, world view, ethnic and social background, perceptions derived from the researchers' professional discipline, the qualitative paradigm, the theoretical base of the research, the type of the research and its goals, the research methodology, and the researcher's own perception of the place and the role of the subject/participant/collaborator/coresearcher in the research process.
>
> *(p. 280)*

Each aspect of the researcher's positionality presents an opportunity to critically reflect on the presence and influence of power within a given research study and becomes more complex when considering the participants' positionalities and the sociopolitical context surrounding the research study. The ebb and flow, give and take, back and forth of power's movement and impact demands an iterative and constantly negotiated discussion of consent and participation between the researcher(s) and participant(s) throughout the research process.

Scholars in higher education using PVM to examine the lives of college students, faculty, and staff highlight the need for increased conversations about the power and ethics involved in research that center visual artifacts like photos, drawings, and videos (Guillemin & Drew, 2010; Kelly & Kortegast, 2017; Kortegast et al., 2019). Including a multitude of visual methods (from photo-elicitation to photovoice), PVM encompasses the range of research practices that employ images to visualize experiences, elicit narratives, and even spur transformation

within communities. Among the ethical considerations connected to PVM, Kelly and Kortegast (2017) noted ethical issues related to "confidentiality, ownership of images, and editing of images" (p. 217) in addition to (re)presentation of images, tensions associated with publicly available images on social media, and access to visual technologies (e.g., to internet, mobile device with a camera). In sum, Kelly and Kortegast (2017) advocate researchers engage critical visual literacy (Newfield, 2011) as a framework to reveal the sociopolitical messages and goals communicated through images in relation to existing systems of oppression. This chapter takes up such a charge through the exploration of power within an oral history research study in which I sought to explore the life of a university diversity administrator who spent his career working to increase the numbers of faculty of color at his institution. Before turning to the study design, its findings, my reflections as a researcher, and the implications for methodological and pedagogical practice illuminated from this study, I discuss the literature related to diversity initiatives and change in higher education.

Diversity initiatives and change in higher education

The nature of change in the culture of higher education is one that moves either abruptly, slowly, or remains stagnant (Clark, 2011; Kezar et al., 2008a). In some cases, change occurs rapidly as the institution attempts to adapt its standards within a competitive social climate (e.g., responses to the COVID-19 pandemic). In other cases, change is gradual as key stakeholders and policy makers involved in decision-making processes take time to evaluate the benefits and drawbacks of proposed cultural changes (Morphew, 2009). Yet, change for some higher education institutions occurs at a lethargic pace given constituent resistance, lack of support and interest for innovation, underlying historical challenges and commitment to traditional and oppressive ideologies (Brown, 2004; Jian, 2007). With changes related to curriculum, student enrollment procedures, technology adoption, and responses to campus racism (to name a few areas), United States universities experience an array of organizational changes.

Of the assortment of organizational changes, the communication and existence of a racially, socially, culturally and globally diverse institution remain at the top of the changes with which universities seem to struggle the most (Ahmed, 2012; Brown, 2004). Through mission statements, strategic plans, personnel modifications, and professional development programs, universities work to communicate and implement organizational changes, but some occur at a grueling stride though presented as a priority (Aguirre & Martinez, 2006; Muthuswamy et al., 2006). With administrators, leaders, and other decision-makers within higher education working to mobilize institutional diversity efforts, the process of initiating, implementing, and sustaining diversity initiatives is one that requires major support and strategies to maintain supportive networks (Kezar et al., 2008a). Reaching institutional diversity remains a struggle as numerous systems, structures and attitudes emerge as obstacles to the goal.

Theories of change

Throughout the years, the study of change in organizations has developed a number of different theories, descriptions, and archetypes to define the various conceptualizations of change in organizations. Of these, van de Ven and Poole (1995) describe four traditions or process theories of social change in organizations: life-cycle, teleology, dialectics, and evolution. The life-cycle theory of organizational change refers to the notion of viewing the development of an organization as a cyclical metaphor moving from initiation to termination. This theory characterizes change as linear and irreversible. Change through the life-cycle perspective is "prefigured and requires a specific historical sequence of events" (p. 515). The teleological theory of social change in organizations takes a functionalist perspective in that it views the phenomena as a movement toward a specific, purposeful ending. Supporters of this theory view change as complete when the organization achieves a pre-set list of goals, functions, accomplishments, or components. Next, the dialectical theory refers to a school of thought that believes change occurs when internal and external oppositions, conflicting goals and balances of power between opposing entities "confront and engage the status quo" (p. 517). Lastly, the evolutionary theory of change refers to cumulative changes across organizational entities, communities, or the larger society. This perspective views change as a "recurrent, cumulative, and probabilistic progression, variation, selection, and retention of organizational entities" (p. 518). Knowing the various theories relative to the perspectives of the process of change in organizations is relevant as it is not only highly applicable to the culture of higher education but relevant to the current research of the process of change at a specific university.

Conditions affecting change

While the literature addressing organizational change is vast, a focus on organizational change in the form of the implementation of diversity initiatives has been minimal. In their study of the effects of institutional culture on change strategies, Kezar et al. (2008b) refer to the importance of a campus mission and vision, leadership support, resources, and funding to support initiatives and planning documents as relevant to the campus climate that can affect change and the implementation of diversity initiatives at a university. The findings of their study point to additional factors higher education institutions should also be aware of when it comes to influences of change. Of these, the authors describe knowledge capacity, physical or material capacity, connection with institutional operations, racial climate, and intergroup relations.

While many universities claim they exist as institutions of higher education by welcoming change, moving to the forefront of innovation, and creating experiential and immersive learning experiences for students through classroom technology, distance learning, and cutting-edge media, the reality does not agree. Though many universities place diversity as a core value, goal, and even part of

the strategic plans, efforts to actualize and create meaningful action, in the form of programs, hiring, and recruitment practices, are not seemingly obvious. This research relies on the perspective of one individual, Dr. Bradley who worked and taught at a particular public, predominantly White, university in the Midwest for more than 40 years. Through the research and analyzing the narrative lived experiences of this individual, a better understanding of the historical moments, underlying tensions, and possible struggles that have occurred over the past several decades become apparent and descriptive of the current racial climate surrounding the university.

Methods and data sources

The data sources and methods of interest within this chapter include narratives collected from three, approximately 90-minute, face-to-face, audio-recorded, in-depth interviews with Dr. Bradley (pseudonym), a Black man administrator who had been a champion for diversity and equity initiatives for more than 40 years at a predominantly White institution in the Midwest. Through an oral history methodology (Yow, 1994), I not only sought to understand Dr. Bradley's experiences through his own perspective and memoirs but also comprehend the "underlying reasons for a decision" and recollection of a historical event (Yow, 1994, p. 11). Through the use of a semi-structured interview guide in which I asked for full stories and events that led to the creation of a campus diversity initiative (i.e., a mentoring program for Students of Color), Dr. Bradley identified a history of events. After the first of three interviews, I noticed a large gap in the timeline of events, which I subtly alluded to in our conversation, but he did not elaborate. Because the goal of the research was to produce a written account centering on the voice and experiences of an individual as structured and recreated by a narrator, the member check process was crucial (Morse et al., 2002).

To do this, I returned to Dr. Bradley after our second interview with a visual representation of the timeline of events he had articulated within the first two interviews. My rationale for creating a physical timeline made with long tabloid paper, sticky notes, and markers was twofold. First, I wanted to create a representation of my meaning-making of the interview outside of my researcher notes so that Dr. Bradley could see what I was seeing (so to speak). Thus, I included dates, quotes from the interview, and key incidents from his stories. Second, I created the physical timeline to member-check within the interview offering Dr. Bradley an opportunity to revise my takeaways as a researcher and deepen my overall understanding. To assist in gaining a richer understanding, during the second interview I asked Dr. Bradley whether my interpretations rang true to his experience and recollection of the sequence of events, and together we scratched out information, added dates, and collaboratively recreated the history of events by adding and rearranging sticky notes on a large piece of paper along a drawn line that illustrated a timeline. We continued this process into the third interview, and I would later recreate this timeline using an interactive audio-visual website for storytelling to

share again with Dr. Bradley and additional audiences. I explain this process in more depth in the sections that follow.

Researcher's positionality and account

To further elucidate my process as a researcher, I must first begin this methodological story with myself and inform you (the reader) of the multiple identities I hold before I begin the (re)storying of my narrator's story. This description of my identity will both frame my cognitions as a researcher and assist in the explanation of the decisions I made throughout the research process. Through my identities as a Black feminist, mother, teacher, creative, and critical scholar dedicated to examining systems of oppression that pose barriers for People of Color in the academy, I embarked on this research curious about the history behind my former role leading a mentoring program designed to guide Students of Color along paths to the professoriate.

During the planning phase of designing the mentoring program, I interviewed program directors at universities across the country, talked with faculty committees to learn their ideas, and met with coordinators regularly to define the structure of the program. Three coordinators—who also worked as senior administrators at the university—worked with me to organize and support the start of the program. As the coordinators discussed their excitement about finally executing an idea that had been in their minds for years and their hope to sustain the program and ensure its longevity, a question emerged in my mind and continued to prod me: why had it taken so long for the mentoring program to initiate?

After learning about one of the coordinator's suggestions of the mentoring program almost 20 years prior to my presence, I grappled with the sluggish speed at which it took to actualize the idea. Similar to my experience as an instructor who could not comprehend the slow adoption of instructional technology in the classroom by faculty, I was intrigued by the concept of change and innovation in higher education institutions. As I began to work more closely with the coordinators, I learned more about their roles and histories at the university.

Meeting Dr. Bradley

Dr. Bradley was the sole participant in the project and he was the one person able to recount an oral history of events related to the diversity initiatives at the university. Though I would soon have more contact with Dr. Bradley because of his involvement with the mentoring program, my relationship with him was just beginning at the start of the study. After learning about an opportunity to travel with him to a conference related to mentoring, I received IRB approval to conduct interviews and piece together an oral history to tell the university's diversity initiatives story from his perspective and further understand the processes of change and institutional diversity spanning decades.

I remember the first time I met Dr. Bradley. It was a seasonably warm day in May for the Midwest and I was preparing to enter West Hall (pseudonym) to attend a seminar on teaching and learning. I saw him coming down a paved path toward West Hall and as I approached him from the opposite direction—both of our foreheads starting to sweat from the persistent sun—I knew instantly who he was and that I would introduce myself. I walked alongside him as he made his way, with the help of his cane, to the building's entrance. Enthusiastically, I introduced myself and launched into a conversation about the mentoring program and my excitement to implement the initiative. He responded with a story of someone he knew from my undergraduate alma mater (which I had mentioned in my introduction) and he focused on the importance of recruiting Students of Color and faculty in the Midwest to teach at the university. After this first interaction, I learned about the extended time Dr. Bradley spent at the university, his dedication to increasing the representation of faculty of Color, and his upbringing in the segregated south of Mississippi.

His joyful demeanor—which was evident by his hearty chuckle after telling a story that often ended with a humorous ending—led to my insights into his wisdom and knowledge of history at the university. Stories seemed to naturally come to life when he spoke and each story illuminated a history of how events unfolded to culminate into the current state of the university.

Through the use of the oral history interview methodology, I conducted three, approximately 90-minute, face-to-face, audio-recorded, in-depth interviews with Dr. Bradley, using semi-structured interview protocol. This methodology opens the doors of interviewing so participants can both view their accounts of history as important and experience the interview process as informal. This informality lends itself to the opportunity for researchers to delve into a deeper interview process that can assist in understanding the "informal, unwritten rules of relating to others that characterize" (Yow, 1994, p. 13). Along with the unwritten rules presented through the oral histories of the individual communicating memories, natural representations of the individual and group identity can also and help to illustrate culture. Through the use of a semi-structured interview guide, Dr. Bradley had the opportunity to both identify a history of events and describe the events in detail.

I scheduled interviews based on Dr. Bradley's schedule. Each interview took place in his office to create the most comfortable setting for recalling the oral history. I audio-recorded each interview with his permission for the purposes of later transcription. After each of the three interviews, I wrote field notes and kept memos of reactions, emotions, assumptions, and interpretations that formed or arose from the interview process. After the first interview, I noticed a substantive gap within the timeline of events Dr. Bradley shared, which piqued my curiosity as a researcher. Coincidentally, as I sat in my university office pondering the gap in the timeline, I received an email notification from Dr. Bradley. "I remembered something." In his email, Dr. Bradley expressed he had remembered another event he wanted to share with me.

Along with my memos, I also employed an audit trail for the validity of the research to record the decisions I made throughout the research process. To support the correctness and overall verification of the data, I engaged a member check process to bolster the goodness of the research. Through the technique of using a visual and physical representation of the participant's report of the timeline of events, the member check process served as the focal point of the third interview. To do this, I returned to Dr. Bradley after our second interview with a visual representation of the timeline of events he had articulated within the first two interviews. I asked whether my interpretations aligned with his experience and recollection of the sequence of events, and together we collaboratively recreated the history of events in which he rearranged events, expounded on his earlier storytelling, and added details about key players, dates, and institutional decisions. To analyze the data, I performed incident coding for each transcribed interview, drew connections across related events, and identified themes as emphasized and articulated by Dr. Bradley. While I engaged in the analysis and thematization process on my own, without Dr. Bradley's assistance. I shared a write-up of the research report in which he shared his support of my findings and desire for me to remove the "uhs" and "ums" from excerpts; I honored his request. Next, I share my findings from the oral history project with Dr. Bradley.

Findings

The process of engaging PVM, thematic coding, and in-depth interviews yielded rich data and several findings related to the nature of change within the context of diversity initiatives and programming. First, racial discrimination on an interpersonal level can impede efforts to affect organizational change. Embedded in several of Dr. Bradley's narratives were instances of overt cultural and racial discrimination from fellow faculty members, students, and individuals in the community who believed that, he, as a Black man from the South, was incompetent and incapable of carrying out his duties as a faculty member. In addition to learning how discrimination can slow the process of change—given the lack of support by key stakeholders at the university—my findings also highlight how institutional change can be actualized over time through members within a social system. Last, of all of the findings, knowing when to prod an organization to change is both an art and a skill, which Dr. Bradley communicated as the key to working as an advocate for diversity initiatives and organizational change. The below findings come directly from Dr. Bradley's words and stories, though derived from my interpretations as a researcher.

Circa 1972: not an "inner-city" program

A recent graduate of Mississippi Valley State University, Quincy Bradley found himself in a small town in the Midwest as an education faculty hired to start a multicultural education program at a teaching college. On the tails of legal segregation

and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Quincy began working at Center University during a time of national integration, which felt more like desegregation in reality.

> In desegregation you do some things together, [but] some things were going to remain the same, and some things we going to change. We were not integrating. And I think people, society, picked that up pretty quick. That it's not integration that we're working toward.

Met with indifference, acceptance. and resistance by some faculty, staff, students, and community members, Quincy's experience of beginning a career at Center University was characterized by experiences of gaining support by establishing common ground with the Black community, proving his competence to Black students, and White faculty.

To gain the support of the Center University campus community and extinguish rumors of being an "affirmative action hire," "Uncle Tom," and naïve about teaching and the Black experience, Quincy first had to explain and justify his presence as the leader of a new multicultural education program, which was referred to by some as "the Black program" or the "inner-city program." Not only managing others' perceptions of him as a program organizer and explaining the relevance of the program, Quincy received criticism as a teacher who did not conform to traditional teaching models of standing at a lectern.

> Trying to respond to the critics, I started trying to write out my lectures and I started trying to use the lectern and I was just so awkward at that and I just didn't feel good with that. So, I finally said, "You know, if I don't make it here then, hell I don't make it." But I'm gonna make it as who I am and not as somebody else. Evaluations would come in and I'd always be pretty much at the top. And some of them said, "Shit, you can't compete with Quincy Bradley with his jokes and the personality." (laughs) . . . You know, if that's what works, it works." (laughs) And it's not my fault if you can't make your class laugh. That's not my problem, you know. (laughs)

Both criticized and questioned by students and his colleagues, Quincy worked diligently to find allies on campus who would work to advance the agenda of establishing a multicultural education program that would educate teachers in the area of issues and concepts related to diversity and multiculturalism while doing through an approach that suited his own pedagogical style.

Proving to students, faculty, and community members

While administrators understood Quincy's goal of establishing a multicultural education program, students, community members, and colleagues speculated about his competencies as a teacher, Black man, and academic scholar. As he worked to take students beyond Jet and Ebony magazine and teach students

about the Black community in reference to the economy, Quincy was challenged by Black students.

> One day I had put some statistics on, some information on the board and about three, four days after that I met one of the Black students in the hall. And he said, "You know, you were right the other day about the information you put on the board." And I said, "Really?" I said, "How'd you know that's correct?" . . . He went over to the library and looked it up. And I said, "You know, well you really did what a good student should do." I said, "That's why I gave you the reference 'cus I want you to go and read additional information about it." I said, "But tell me this, how many of your white professors have you done that to?" He just kinda looked at me, kinda backed away for a little bit. I said, "Now, let's go a little bit further." I said, "Suppose I had made a mistake in writing those numbers up there," I said, "When would you have told me? Would you come by my office and say, "Dr. B you made a mistake here?" I said, "Or would you have waited until we got to class in front of everybody and you would've grandstanded. You would've embarrassed me?" He just kind of sit there and looked. I said, "The point you really want to make is, is that I shouldn't be teaching."

In addition to feeling challenged by students, Quincy sensed the doubts of his colleagues who followed him to class each day.

> Two of my students, male students, white guys, told me, said, "You know, there're two guys that are always asking us questions about you. About your teaching, if you know what you're doing." I knew then what was going on. They were standing outside listening to me, to me teach. I said, "OK, just stand on out there." I said, "If you wanna know how good I am just stand out there and you'll find out, you know."

Though Quincy was aware of his colleagues' suspicions, he attributed their behaviors to professional jealousy and decided to move forward with his teaching and efforts to grow the multicultural education program by recruiting students to enroll in classes and maintain the support of administrators who said, "We brought you here to develop this program. . . . If we can't help you then we shouldn't have asked you to come." Though administrative support was present and accessible, Quincy did not receive the career support he needed as an early-career faculty member as he recalled not having mentors who understood what it was like to be a Black faculty member.

Working behind the scenes as a radical

After gaining the support of faculty who saw the merit in the multicultural education program, recruiting enough students to begin the program, and receiving support both financial and social from administrators to maintain the program,

Quincy had proven his presence at the university and the program's communicated the program as valuable. With the receipt of a distinguished achievement award for its success as a new program from the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), Quincy said the event "legitimized the program and it also caused people to see me a little bit differently." Prior to receiving the award, people misplaced the responsibility on another faculty member because Quincy was seldom seen in the public eye.

> I really don't like a lot of publicity. I'm not somebody who'll get in people's face and things. So, I was rather quiet with my accomplishments and what was happening. And so, since people didn't see me out in the paper, they kind of assumed that well maybe he's not doing, not doing very much, you know?

Though Quincy existed behind the scenes working to argue for good education when appealing to potential supporters, he was not always praised for his accomplishments. Reflecting on a faculty colleague's sentiments, Quincy shared:

> "We won't let this radical in our school." He said, "We're perfectly good where we are." So, then I realized that people were seeing me as a radical, you know so I had to be aware. Whenever I met with people, I'd try to get them to know what I was trying to do and I'd explained to them why I thought multicultural ed. was important. Now, if you think that's radical, then I am radical. (laughs) You know, and so I think that ultimately this pointing out to faculty people, you know, "This is what I'm trying to do. I'm trying to make this a better climate for all students. You call me un-American, but it seems to me what's un-American is when you ignore the American kids that are sitting in your classroom. I said, "Now which is, who's anti-American here? Me or you?" I didn't say it that way, but in essence this is what I said.

Appealing to administrators, sending out trial balloons

After years of dedicating his time and resources to students throughout obstacles, contending with personal conflicts with students who warned him to discontinue his work on the multicultural education program, faculty who viewed him as unintelligent and unworthy of publishing research, and community members who believed him to better than them or "born with a silver spoon," Quincy was able to advance at the university from a faculty member in 1972 to a director of diversity initiatives in 1995. Moving up through several positions and receiving a young faculty-of-the-year award, Quincy was able to discern the behaviors of faculty and administrators and better navigate the higher education culture.

> So, I always try to base my argument on, "This is what's good for kids. This is what's good for education." I never argued, "This is what's good for

> Black kids. But this is what's good for education. There were times that I had friends, you know, that went to conferences. I developed friendship, but people in similar positions around the country, and I had some colleagues that were very confrontational. On their campus they kept confrontation going and I wasn't sure that that was always good. There were times when I wished that I could, could be a little more confrontational than what I was. I mean my basic personality is not that. And to me, whenever you change your personality, you're kind of out of character. And the only way I can, can really confront is to get angry. And I think, once you get angry though you've probably lost. And so, I just had to stay with who I am and there were times when I wished that maybe I should be a little bit more confrontational. But in the long run, I think it was my lack of confrontation that actually won people over. A lot of people that were anti when I first started, I actually became friends and supporters and it was because of my lack of being confrontational. And giving them good evidence. I'd always give them good reading. You know, I said, now, I said, "When you go to the bathroom and you want something to read, take this with you." (laughs)

Quincy learned that in order to inspire change, he would need to appeal to the argument of "good education," remain true to himself, stay calm during conflict and vie for change one step at a time; this was the key to implementing diversity initiatives at the institution. Through this philosophy of change, Quincy drove the implementation of the mentoring program that would ultimately work to accomplish the goals he set out to achieve when he began at the university years ago without sacrificing his internal values.

First-person account of researcher experiences

As the researcher carrying out this study I had much to learn from Dr. Quincy Bradley about his life and work as an administrator in post-secondary education, but also about qualitative research and the nature of power. In relationship to the methods within this research study, I learned to use PVM as a tool for delving deeper into the stories of interviewees. The visual timeline brought out stories I might not have had the opportunity to ask about if not for the visual gaps apparent before us on the table.

Further, I gained an opportunity to express my own voice as a researcher. The creation of the PVM and the use of the website to develop a digital timeline were visual and creative manifestations of my own voice and personal relationship with the research and Dr. Bradley's experiences. However, most notably, engaging in this life history research was a chance to explore more collaborative work with participants who so often get relegated to treatment as the "subject" as a result of exploitive behaviors so often promulgated by researchers who aim to extract stories and "give voice." The opportunity to return to Dr. Bradley with a physical re(presentation) of his narratives and engage in a real-time member-checking

process supported the validity of the research study and provided a chance for power-sharing within the research process. Such processes ordinarily occur apart from the participant as the researcher cracks away at identifying findings in solitude, guessing whether they "got it right," and hoping that the ultimate summary of themes shared with a participant are accurate. While opportunities for more power redistribution exist (i.e., I did not invite Dr. Bradley into the work of analyzing the data and identifying themes), PVM pose opportunities for researchers to re-examine the nature of power-sharing within the researcher process.

Methodological and pedagogical implications

Numerous methodological and pedagogical implications exist tied to this particular oral history research study. First, qualitative researchers must consider the challenges and opportunities of engaging PVM in the form of physical and digital timelines in their research. Challenges include the work involved to develop rapport and relationships with participants so they feel comfortable sharing their stories and working collaboratively with the researcher to develop and recreate a timeline of events. In essence, trust between parties must exist so that a narrator can feel comfortable telling a researcher, "No, your interpretation is not exactly what I meant" or even sharing with a researcher that their recreation of stories and events is completely wrong. Additionally, challenges exist when using PVM with narrators who may be blind or visually impaired, in that the researcher must engage additional technologies to make the visual accessible whether through Braille, increased font and image size, 3D printing, descriptive captioning, or additional means.

Opportunities also exist in the form of chances for the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of phenomena through the collection of additional data for future triangulation. For example, asking a narrator to bring photos, newspaper clippings, and letters to interviews to build a more descriptive timeline with artifacts attached could assist the researcher in gaining a fuller picture of the narrator's experience and a particular event. Another opportunity exists in the use of the timeline to communicate findings and insights to external audiences within publications, at conferences, and in other spaces where the researcher would like to share more about the research. In the case of the project with Dr. Bradley, I did not anticipate creating the physical timeline. Thus, I did not include any mention of using the timeline in future publications within the informed consent and would not use it outside of the interview purpose for which I initially created it. Researchers should plan for such timeline creations within their study design to allow opportunities to share more with audiences about the methodological process and additional data that informed findings. Opportunities abound in the area of PVM, particularly in regard to the development of timelines; however, researchers might also ask themselves a handful of pertinent questions to guide their future work.

In what ways might researchers view participants as collaborators and partners throughout the research process? What might it mean for a researcher to relinquish power in the data interpretation and analysis process? How can visual methods

be further integrated within the member-checking process? How might the co-construction of visual representations of life events influence aspects of rapport, ownerships, and empowerment within the research process? What are the ethical considerations involved in co-constructing life histories with interviewees/participants? What ethical lines might researchers cross when asking participants to fill in perceived "gaps" within oral histories? How might qualitative research educators incorporate PVM into teaching about the trustworthiness and goodness of qualitative research? How can socialization to use PVM within research processes influence the next generation of qualitative researchers? These questions and more represent the myriad potentialities for engaging PVM in oral history research.

In addition to begetting more questions and opportunities for further inquiry, this study also yields pedagogical implications tied to using PVM to teach qualitative research. Activities in which learners can visualize their narratives unfolding throughout their research projects using websites (e.g., Prezi and Canva) or social media (e.g., TikTok, Instagram, and Facebook) provide opportunities to build research design, interviewing, and data analysis skills. Further, visualizing temporal moments throughout the research process and interrogating each with questions about ethical considerations (e.g., Asking, "what power dynamics are at play here or there?" and "How can you as a researcher re-introduce a conversation about consent here or there?") also provide opportunities for critical visual literacy (Newfield, 2011). In sum, a proliferation of opportunities exist tied to the role of PVM in life history research, specifically when examining power, redistribution of power between participants and researchers, and illumination of systems of power embedded within participant narratives.

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SECTION 6

Concluding chapter/epilogue

14

METHODOLOGICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ORAL HISTORY

Thalia M. Mulvihill and Raji Swaminathan

Pedagogical possibilities from the chapter authors

As previously articulated by the contributing authors in this book there are clear pedagogical possibilities for the projects they carried out.

In Section 2*: Educational Biography and Life History*, Chapter 3, the authors, Nicoletta Christodoulou, Darla Linville, and Molly Quinn, present the possibility of oral history as offering a space for public pedagogy, or spaces beyond school where learning takes place. They also point out that it is important for oral history dissemination to take place via the radio, the internet, and the stage so that the community benefits from the stories gathered in this way. This chapter can serve as a foundation for faculty teaching oral history to design activities for students that offer them opportunities to explore different mediums of engagement and dissemination of oral history narratives.

In Chapter 4: "Bone by Bone": Re(collecting) Stories of Black Female Student Activists at Fayetteville State Using Oral History Interviews with a Life History Approach, Francena Turner gives us some valuable suggestions for teaching oral history research. She suggests that researchers need to talk face to face with participants and pay attention to the whole story so that their own ideas of what might be important or not do not get in the way of understanding the entirety. Lastly, one must as a researcher learn to adjust the aims of the research and the questions depending on what is learned during the process of the gathering of stories. The lessons for novice oral history researchers are therefore to remain attentive to what they hear and be prepared to adapt their research and interview questions. These suggestions can be used as activities in oral history research classes.

In Chapter 5: The Need for Action: Oral Histories from The Oklahoma Teacher Walkout, Rhonda Harlow and Lucy Bailey point out the importance of

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photo-elicitation and visual analysis as powerful ways of gathering data in the form of stories from participants. Photographs can prove to be a way to stimulate memories of people, places, and events. This chapter can provide the basis for teaching novice researchers the importance of using multiple ways to elicit or gather data that is centralized around the participant's memories. Faculty teaching oral history can design activities that use photographs to practice photo-elicitation interviews and ask questions with the use of photographs. Using photographs also provides an opportunity for learning to analyze visual data.

In Chapter 6: La Familia Ortiz: Parental Influence on the Pursuit of Higher Education, Rosalinda Ortiz explains the importance of different types of oral history narratives, in particular, testimonios as a powerful witnessing in gathering family history. Faculty teaching oral history can ask novice researchers to conduct a small-scale event-focused family history as a way to introduce them to learning about family oral history methods. Ortiz's account points out the importance of reflexive journaling and the emotional involvement that family history entails, all of which are valuable lessons for novice oral history researchers and can be adapted for teaching oral history research methods.

In Chapter 7: COVID-19 Oral Histories of Academic Leaders, Faculty, and Students in Higher Education, Sunaina Asher describes the impact of COVID 19 and the ways in which the event has cut across the globe to provide a commonality of experience for teachers and students everywhere. Asher's chapter provides helpful hints for faculty teaching oral history research methods. Documenting oral histories of a common event that is experienced by participants and researchers can be a powerful experience. For faculty teaching oral history, asking students to look for a common experience whether that experience be one of happy memories from prom night during high school or graduation day or distressing events like home schooling during the lockdown during the pandemic, the space or event provides an opportunity to reflect on the strands of commonality and difference within subjective experiences.

In Section 3*: Archival and Secondary Data Analysis*, Chapter 8: The Layers of Oral Histories at Memorial Museums: Chronicles About Who We Are and Who We Are Likely to Become, Roy Tamashiro discusses the "pedagogy of interbeing" a process of empathic, non-judgmental listening that helps develop an awareness of self that connects with the other and brings about a sense of solidarity. For faculty teaching oral history research, this chapter provides a foundation for pedagogical experiments of offering exercises where novice researchers can practice awareness through listening to develop the deeper layers of their awareness.

In Chapter 9: Irene Bishop Goggans: Community Historian of African American Life using Scrapbooks, Agnes Williams discusses the different ways in which community historians' lives can be chronicled. Further, the ways in which community lives can be documented through scrapbooks are also explained in this chapter. In terms of pedagogical possibilities, faculty can use this chapter to find pedagogies and exercises for novice researchers who can attempt to create

a scrapbook of their own lives or share some photographs and other artifacts that are significant with a peer. The peer can then ask questions that allow for explanations of events that might be represented in the artifacts. Learning to ask questions about artifacts or photographs is another avenue for learning to conduct oral history research.

In Section 4*: Arts-Based Educational Research*, Chapter 10: Teachers and North American Migrants' Oral Histories Concerning the "School for All" Arts-based Project, Sergio Madrid opens up the possibilities of art as a portal for empowerment through expression and representation. Novice oral history researchers can learn from his work, to find ways to use art to provide an empowering experience during the gathering of oral history narratives. Faculty teaching oral history methodology can find pedagogical openings in this chapter that can help them design assignments or experiences for novice researchers who can draw on a memorable experience and represent the experience not in words but through art. This can help in building an awareness of non-verbal communicative pathways in oral history methodologies.

In Chapter 11: Oral History of Civil Rights Leader using Music and Dance, Kendra Lowery, Susan Koper, Rebecca Lomax, and Sybil Jordan Hampton show us the possibilities of using dance as an arts-based method in oral history. Dance can be used to showcase and express oral histories already gathered and can then provide a venue where the interpretation is performed for a new audience who can in turn add their interpretations to the oral history narration. In teaching oral history to novice researchers, this chapter can serve as a starting point for faculty teaching oral history research to ask students to delve into arts-based methods to express the data they gather or use arts-based methods to gather data. Students can think of a way to express a particular event in their lives through theater, role play, or through dance. The interpretive movements can lead to deeper reflection.

In Section 5*: Digital-storytelling, Podcasts, Vlogs, and Social Media*, Chapter 12: My Story, My Voice student podcasts examining oral histories on diversity in East Central Indiana: A Photojournalism Project, Gabriel B. Tait and Rebecca Schriner point to digital storytelling and podcast pedagogy as ways to engage students in learning about new methods for oral history research. These suggestions can be taken up by faculty teaching oral history by creating spaces for students to conduct peer teaching with technology or by having assignments that include podcasts or digital storytelling.

And, in Chapter 13: Engaging Participatory Visual Methods in Oral History Research, Robin Phelps-Ward explains the possibilities of participatory visual methods for sharing power with participants during the course of oral history research. This project also demonstrates the pedagogical possibilities for documenting institutional history. Additionally, novice researchers can learn to anticipate different ways of gathering data and co-construct narratives with participants. For faculty teaching oral history methodology, this chapter provides a foundation from which to delve deeper into incorporating visual methods.

Tools for teaching novice researchers how to conduct oral history projects

Lee and Springer (2020) described oral history pedagogy as "an integrated approach to teaching oral history as a socially engaged process that interrogates how history is created, who writes history, and how to make history-as-it happens legible in a crisis situation for undergraduate students" (p. 227). For those interested in resources to guide novice researchers as they learn about ways to conduct oral history projects, Ritchie (2016) offers a classically useful introduction from the perspective of a renowned oral historian and the Institute for Oral History at Baylor University has a very user-friendly website (see:www.baylor.edu/library/index.php?id=974108) that is full of resources for novice scholars planning and carrying out oral history projects including an *Introduction to Oral History Manual* (2016). Contained within the manual is a project planner offering a series of guiding questions. We have provided these project planning questions in a table format below allowing the reader to jot notes for their own project.

From the *Introduction to Oral History Manua*l (2016), www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php/43912.pdf

Guiding Questions/ Considerations for Planning	*Prompts*	*Notes for Your Project*
"*Why is the oral history project needed?*"	"Determine what information you are seeking, what information you already know about the topic, and what information is yet unknown.	
	Make sure that oral history is the best way to gather the information you seek. Are there people you can reach who can and will tell you what you want to know?	
	Seek advice on your research idea from persons with various viewpoints on the topic. Ask them to help you refine your topic, uncover background information, and locate persons to interview."	
"*What are the goals & priorities of the project?*"	"Make it a goal to achieve the best possible recording under the most favorable conditions so that the interview can be duplicated and distributed and, as needed, upgraded to new formats.	
	Determine what will happen to your recordings when they are done.	
	Decide what you will do with the information you uncover through interviews.	
	Create lists of persons able to provide recollections appropriate to your topic.	
	Set target dates for completion of research, interviews, processing, and programming. Prepare to be flexible; oral history takes time!"	

Guiding Questions/ Considerations for Planning	*Prompts*	*Notes for Your Project*
"*What guidelines will the project follow?*"	"Develop legal forms to govern the interviews and additional donated materials, such as photographs. This step requires choosing who will hold copyright for the interview. Talk to the archivist of the depository to which you will donate your project. Ask what recording formats the depository accepts, what legal agreements are required, and what accompanying materials may be helpful (photographs, maps, interview notes, research materials, word lists, transcripts, indexes, et cetera). Ask how the archives will maintain the oral history and make it accessible to the public. Choose equipment that will best serve the project goals. Determine who funds, purchases, owns, uses, and maintains the equipment. Become familiar with the general principles and best practices of the Oral History Association. (Available at www.oralhistory.org/about/principles-and-practices/)"	
"*Who will do what for the project?*"	"Fit individual skills and interests to the variety of tasks available: project director, researcher, interviewer, transcriber, and editor. Additional staff might include a photographer, videographer, archivist, equipment expert, Web designer, and fund raiser. Train staff or volunteers to produce and preserve professional quality oral histories. Plan regular meetings to assess progress toward goals."	
"*What financial resources are available?"*	"Develop a budget based on your circumstances and stick by it. In addition to personnel costs, include funds for equipment, recording media, processing and storage, record-keeping, travel, publicity, and program production. Seek sources for support locally or through grants."	
"Establishing ethical relationships"	"Oral history is person-centered research. The creation of a recorded interview is a partnership between the narrator and interviewer. To succeed, the oral history partnership requires mutual respect and trust. With careful attention to the following matters, interviewers will go far toward establishing rapport with their narrators and making the oral history experience mutually rewarding."	
"*Informed consent*"	"Explain to narrators their rights and interests in the recordings and the information they will share in the interview. Reveal to narrators the purposes of the interviews and the goals of the project. Explain the procedures that will be used during and after the interview, including how the recording will be processed, where recordings and transcripts will be deposited, and potential uses of the memoir."	

(*Continued*)

(Continued)

Guiding Questions / Considerations for Planning	*Prompts*	*Notes for Your Project*
"*Long-range outlook*"	"Commit to producing the highest-quality interview possible. The useful life of the interview extends far beyond today, so strive to gather information that will be relevant to future users. You may be the only person who records your narrators' stories, so take time to include their memories on subjects beyond your own immediate interests. Make every effort to place completed interviews in an archives where they can be preserved for the future and used by other interested researchers."	
"*Relationships & reputations*"	"Be sensitive to real and perceived differences between you and your narrator (age, gen-der, race, class, educational level, nationality, religion, et cetera) and take care not to reinforce thoughtless stereotypes. Respect the privacy of the individuals and communities from which you collect oral histories and avoid bringing them undue notoriety. Make your interviews accessible to your narrators and their communities."	
"*Correct representation of meaning*"	"Give narrators the opportunity to respond to questions as freely as possible. Do not subject narrators to biased assumptions. Give narrators the opportunity to review transcripts created from the recordings and provide corrections as needed."	

Teaching with oral histories

Pedagogical possibilities abound using curated collections of oral histories. For example, Kent State University's *May 4 Visitors Center* (www.kent.edu/may4visitorscenter) is an example of a place-based oral history collection supplemented by other artifacts available online. This collection includes oral histories as well as other audio and visual materials. The organizers provide the following disclaimer:

> The content of oral history interviews, written narratives and commentaries is personal and interpretive in nature, relying on memories, experiences, perceptions, and opinions of individuals. They do not represent the policy, views or official history of Kent State University and the University makes no assertions about the veracity of statements made by individuals participating in the project. Users are urged to independently corroborate and further research the factual elements of these narratives especially in works of scholarship and journalism based in whole or in part upon the narratives shared

> in the May 4 Collection and the Kent State Shootings Oral History Project. (https://omeka.library.kent.edu/special-collections/kent-state-shootings-oral-histories)

Columbia University Oral History Archives (https://library.columbia.edu/libraries/ccoh.html) along with the Columbia Center for Oral History Research (www.ccohr.incite.columbia.edu/) contain a vast collection of materials ripe for pedagogical purposes. And the Oral History Association (OHA) keeps a running list of Oral History Centers and Collections (see: www.oralhistory.org/centers-and-collections/).

Within the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, affiliated with the Harvard Radcliffe Institute, is a rich collection of audio files, transcripts, photographs, and other materials entitled: *Black Women Oral History Project Interviews, 1976–1981* (see: https://guides.library.harvard.edu/schlesinger_bwohp) provide primary source material from which early career researchers could examine a collection meant to revise and correct the absence of Black women's experiences in the archive. Dr. Letitia Woods Brown, a history professor at George Washington University,

> recommended that the Schlesinger Library of Radcliffe College collect the oral memoirs of a selected group of older black women. These women, many already in their 70s, 80s, and 90s, had made substantial contributions to improving the lives of African-Americans and all people, through professional and voluntary activities, in their communities and nationally. With initial funding secured from the Rockefeller Foundation, staff at the Schlesinger Library, most importantly Ruth Hill, guided the Black Women Oral History Project, and from 1976 to 1981, 72 women from all over the United States were interviewed. The interviews discuss family background, marriages, childhood, education and training, significant influences affecting their choice of primary career or activity, professional and voluntary accomplishments, union activities, the ways in which being black and a woman had affected their options and the choices made. (https://guides.library.harvard.edu/c.php?g=310894&p=2114181)

Another inspiring Oral History project is a continuous project located in Grand Central Terminal (NYC) known as StoryCorps (https://storycorps.org/about/) which started in 2003 and steadily grew into a phenomenon. An outline view of the milestones associated with this movement can be viewed below as articulated on their website:

StoryCorps

(https://storycorps.org/about/)

OCTOBER 2003	**STORYCORPS IS BORN WITH THE OPENING OF A STORYBOOTH IN GRAND CENTRAL TERMINAL IN NEW YORK CITY.**
2005	**STORYCORPS LAUNCHES TWO MOBILE BOOTHS FROM THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON, D.C. OUR WEEKLY BROADCASTS DEBUT ON NPR'S MORNING EDITION.**

(*Continued*)

(Continued)

2007	**STORYCORPS RECEIVES A RARE INSTITUTIONAL PEABODY AWARD. THE FIRST STORYCORPS BOOK, LISTENING IS AN ACT OF LOVE, IS RELEASED AND BECOMES A NEW YORK TIMES-BESTSELLER.**
2008	**STORYCORPS' GRIOT INITIATIVE BECOMES THE LARGEST COLLECTION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN STORIES COLLECTED IN HISTORY.**
2010	**STORYCORPS' SECOND BOOK, MOM: A CELEBRATION OF MOTHERS FROM STORYCORPS, IS RELEASED. OUR FIRST SERIES OF ANIMATED SHORTS PREMIERES ON PUBLIC TELEVISION AND ONLINE.**
2012	**STORYCORPS' THIRD BOOK, ALL THERE IS: LOVE STORIES FROM STORYCORPS, IS RELEASED. STORYCORPS RECEIVES A PEABODY AWARD FOR ANIMATIONS AND AUDIO COMMEMORATING THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, TERRORIST ATTACKS. STORYCORPS, NPR, AND POV SHARE THE ALFRED I. DUPONT-COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AWARD FOR THE SERIES STORYCORPS 9/11**
2013	**STORYCORPS WINS A $1 MILLION MACARTHUR AWARD FOR CREATIVE AND EFFECTIVE INSTITUTIONS. OUR FOURTH BOOK, TIES THAT BIND: STORIES OF LOVE AND GRATITUDE FROM THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF STORYCORPS, IS RELEASED.**
	OCTOBER 2013 STORYCORPS' 10TH ANNIVERSARY IS CELEBRATED WITH AN INAUGURAL GALA HOSTED BY STEPHEN COLBERT.
2014	**STORYCORPS LAUNCHES OUTLOUD, AN INITIATIVE TO COLLECT THE STORIES OF LGBT PEOPLE IN AMERICA. STORYCORPS FOUNDER DAVE ISAY IS NAMED THE RECIPIENT OF THE 2015 TED PRIZE.**
2015	**STORYCORPS USES THE $1 MILLION TED PRIZE TO LAUNCH THE STORYCORPS APP, AN ALL-NEW TOOL FOR COLLECTING THE WISDOM OF HUMANITY. THE GREAT THANKSGIVING LISTEN LAUNCHES AS STORYCORPS WORKS WITH TEACHERS AND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS ACROSS THE COUNTRY TO PRESERVE THE VOICES AND STORIES OF AN ENTIRE GENERATION OF AMERICANS OVER A SINGLE HOLIDAY WEEKEND**
2016	**STORYCORPS' FIFTH BOOK, CALLINGS: THE PURPOSE AND PASSION OF WORK, IS RELEASED. STORYCORPS WINS A NEWS & DOCUMENTARY EMMY FOR OUR ANIMATION TRAFFIC STOP. WITH STEVEN SPIELBERG'S RIGHTEOUS PERSONS FOUNDATION AND UPWORTHY, STORYCORPS LAUNCHES #WHOWEARE, A SERIES OF ANIMATIONS THAT WORKS TO BUILD BRIDGES OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PEOPLE AND HELP RECOGNIZE OUR SHARED HUMANITY.**

2017	**STORYCORPS LAUNCHES THE JUSTICE PROJECT, AN INITIATIVE THAT PRESERVES AND AMPLIFIES THE STORIES OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN DIRECTLY IMPACTED BY MASS INCARCERATION. THE 500TH EPISODE OF THE STORYCORPS PODCAST IS RELEASED. THE STORYCORPS APP RECEIVES ITS ONE MILLIONTH DOWNLOAD**.
2018	**STORYCORPS LAUNCHES ONE SMALL STEP, A NEW APPROACH FOR FOSTERING MEANINGFUL CONVERSATIONS ACROSS POLITICAL DIVIDES. STORYCORPS CELEBRATES ITS 15TH ANNIVERSARY. STORYCORPS PARTNERS WITH GOOGLE AND YOUTUBE TO SHARE STORIES OF VETERANS AND SERVICE MEMBERS FROM OUR MILITARY VOICES INITIATIVE**.
2019	**STORYCORPS LAUNCHES STONEWALL OUTLOUD, AN EFFORT TO PRESERVE THE STORIES OF THE LGBTQ COMMUNITY USING THE STORYCORPS APP**.
2020	**IN THE EARLY DAYS OF COVID-19, STORYCORPS CONNECT, A FIRST-OF-ITS-KIND PLATFORM FOR REMOTE STORYCORPS INTERVIEWS, IS LAUNCHED TO BRING PEOPLE TOGETHER AND COMBAT ISOLATION DURING THE PANDEMIC. STORYCORPS LAUNCHES AMERICAN PATHWAYS, A NEW INITIATIVE TO RECORD, PRESERVE, AND SHARE THE STORIES AND EXPERIENCES OF REFUGEES, ASYLEES, IMMIGRANTS, AND MUSLIMS LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES**.

The pedagogical possibilities using StoryCorps, or other similarly collected artifacts, are arguably endless. The easily accessible audio recordings often supplemented with photographs and full transcripts provide ready primary sources for students to explore, analyze, and use as models for their own small-scale oral history projects.

Teaching the process of oral history research

Besides the guiding questions for conducting an oral history project given earlier in this chapter, we offer some additional suggestions for the practice of oral history. Learning how to conduct oral history involves learning how to recruit participants, how to engage with oral history, and how to analyze and disseminate. One of the ways in which novice researchers can practice conducting research is to brainstorm the processes involved in an oral history. They can begin with a topic area, followed by research questions, finding participants, engaging with them in pre-interviews or in building rapport, assembling questions for an interview, engaging in reflexivity, and then conduct the interview. They can also make a chart or list of the

different ways in which analysis can be conducted as well as spaces where dissemination can take place along with the participants or otherwise.

Asking novice researchers to brainstorm lists by giving them prompts can help them practice skills related to oral history research. Some of the following prompts can serve as exemplars.

a Write all the ways you will recruit participants for the project.
b Make a list of the external readings or preparation you will conduct for your interviews.
c Think of the ways in which you will address rapport with your participants.
d What precautionary measures will you take regarding ethical issues that might come up?
e What theories have you read in your preparation for the oral history project?

Preparing for interviewing

Practicing interviewing in the classroom can prepare novice researchers to anticipate how their questions or prompts might be heard, how they in turn hear and listen to stories, and how their own experiences can contribute to their understanding. Asking students to interview each other in pairs is one way to practice interviewing skills.

Listening as a preparation for interviewing can be practiced in classrooms. An exercise for students that can be helpful is to ask students to take a ten-minute walk or sit in one place and note down everything that they hear. The focus is on listening to all the sounds, the voices, cadences, and subtleties of pauses and rhythms of speech combined with background sounds. Reflecting on the difficulty or ease of listening, the thoughts that interfered or facilitated listening can be noted in their reflective journals and discussed with peers. Along with interviewing, reflection is key. To practice reflection as well as learn about the equitable feature or oral history, talking circles might be helpful.

Teaching reflection through talking circles

Talking circles involve sitting in a circle and taking turns to talk about and reflect on experiences. A reading, or a shared experience can be the catalyst for such a reflection or talking circle. It can help develop listening skills with regard to what others are saying as well as provide the space to listen to one's own thoughts. The circle is an egalitarian space and can promote the spirit of shared or co-ownership between the researcher and participants. Talking circles can represent the spirit of equity that is desirable in oral history research processes.

Endings and Beginnings

This chapter is an epilogue in which we have refrained from concluding or coming to endings definitively since it is our wish as editors of this book to leave the

doors open for continued conversations around oral history methodologies. We have emphasized the importance of listening, empathy, and the building of trusting relationships in oral history research. Further, the thread that ties all the chapters together is a commitment to social justice, to righting wrongs, to listening deeply to human expressions of vulnerability, creativity, perseverance, celebration, wonderment, the impacts of being wounded, colonized, and dehumanized, and to use oral history as witness, as educator, and as a portal for empowerment. We have discussed the ethics of oral history research, the ongoing discussions around co-construction of narratives and co-authorship and the pedagogical possibilities of oral history methodologies. The shape of oral history changes with new modes of documentation, with new ways to preserve or conserve memories and experiences, and we hope that this book serves as a catalyst for others to engage in the continued expansion of educational research using oral history as a tool for social justice.

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