Representing embodiment and the policy implementing principal using photovoice

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the literature on the many dimensions of the principal's positionality by using a unique research approach to link the experiences of the policy implementing principal to embodiment.

Design/methodology/approach – The researchers employed a form of critical policy analysis that utilized photovoice to examine the experience of two principals in South Carolina, USA.

Findings – The findings suggest that these two principals do feel, beyond a cognitive emotional level, the experiences of being the policy implementing principal, where the multiple physically imprinted identities typified one principal's experiences and the highly entropic world of her high school causes another principal to physically and metaphorically integrate situations into her physiology.

Originality/value – In this paper, the authors are able to expand discussions of the principals' engagement with policy by using a unique theoretical and methodological approach.

Keywords United States of America, Principals, Educational administration, Educational policy, Embodiment, Photovoice

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

Principals have been placed in a precarious position within the governa nce structure that is becoming dominant across many western style democracies (Ball, 2009; Stoker, 2003). As education systems are reorganized along neo-liberal lines in the UK, Australia, France, Italy and the USA, principals are asked to at once be the implementer of centralized state policy as well as local entrepreneurs and advocates (Jones, 2005; Kimber and Ehrich, 2010; Lingard, 2010; McGregor, 2009; Menéndez Weidman, 2001; Shipps and White, 2009; Zeichner, 2010). In the USA, as a result of national standards for administrative practice and state policies, increasingly principals are mandated to be accountable not only for school budgets, professional development and other site-based management responsibilities, but also for student achievement (Murphy, 2005; Chief Council of State School Officers, 2008).

In this growing culture of accountability, the responsibility spotlight focusses more heavily on the principal while at the same time constraining her discretion (Malen and Cochran, 2008). Many authors continue to chart and describe the complexity

encountered by practicing school leaders (Bolton and English, 2010; Goldring *et al.*, 2008; Nelson *et al.*, 2008; Restine, 1997) as they face changes in the context of accountability (Moos and Johansson, 2009), new policy driven school reform (Rutledge, 2010; Pyhältö *et al.*, 2009) and the difficulty of doing so while striving for social justice (Black, 2008; Theoharis, 2010).

In this paper we engage unique methodological approaches, photomethods, which have not yet been applied to scholarship on school administration, in order to bring focus to particular dimensions of the work of the school leader. We see the contribution of this paper along the lines of a process similar to what Goldman-Segall (1998) refers to as configurational validity. This is where "the views of multiple 'authors' can be layered in clusters or constellations so that larger, *more representative theories* may begin to unfold […] when different constellations are gathered, layered and analyzed, new patterns emerge" (p. 262, emphasis author). Thus, while other studies have described the multiple ways in which the work of school leaders has grown more complex and difficult over the past half century, our exploratory study brings into relief the ways in which the dominant governance structures are part of the principal's embodiment. That is, we seek to offer a critical analysis of the ways in which governance structures, policy contexts and social interactions co-create a new type of subject: the policy-implementing principal.

Review of the literature
Internationally, school administrators are becoming the central intermediaries between policy makers and the desired product of policy (Spillane *et al.*, 2002; Coburn, 2005). In other words, school principals are simultaneously people who are asked to address the unique needs of the community and the education of students while at the same time dealing with the pressure of being the main instrument of district and state policy implementation (Rogers, 2004). Living out this position requires both an observance of institutional norms and an individual's agency (Riehl, 2000, p. 69). Myriad scholarship has charted the ways that institutions tend to be alike (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 1987, 2008; March and Olsen, 1984); however, there are also recognitions of moments of agency and choice within these institutions (Levinson *et al.*, 2009; Burch, 2007). In educational leadership, specifically, recent research focusses on the difficulties required to negotiate this complex job. Many have emphasized the ways that institutional forces overwhelm the power that principals have as individual actors (Carpenter and Brewer, 2011; Kimber and Ehrich, 2010; Theoharis, 2010).

Others who have focussed on the policy-implementing principal tend to focus on the ways that principals' participation in acts of sense making, or reframing, shape the ways that they understand and implement policy. Much of this work relies on the Weick's (1995) work on organizational sensemaking. This approach has given educational leadership scholars the opportunity to look at group sensemaking practices within organizations (Kruse, 2003; Meyer, 2002) and particularly how principals make meaning of external policies within the school environment (Coburn, 2005, 2006). This work focusses on the ways that meaning comes into focus within an organizational context. In particular, policy implementation is conceived of as a social cognitive process of meaning creation.

While the recognition of the social construction of meaning is important to understanding school-level policy implementation (Meyer, 2002; Coburn, 2006, 2005), it can obscure the constant refrain that is present in the field that: "it is lonely at the top." The normal organizational configurations of most public school districts in the USA

place the principal at a unique focal point (Malen and Cochran, 2008). Principals inhabit a particular place within the school environment that often precludes them from fully engaging the teachers, staff, students and parents while at the same time requires them to represent and implement district, state and federal policies (Carpenter and Brewer, 2011). A better phrase to describe this position might be: "it is lonely at the middle."

We assert that the intermediary position of principals as described in the research does not fully explain what it is like to be an administrator in growing international governance structure. That is, descriptions of the experiences of administrators (Cowie and Crawford, 2008) tend to focus on their tasks and actions taken as well as the forces that shape those experiences (Meyer, 2002). Thus, there are few explicit discussions of the embodied nature of the experiences of being a policy implementer. We believe that the pressure to find generalizable commonalities about quality leadership (Eisenhart and Towne, 2003) has led to an omission of the study of the tacitly felt meanings that present themselves in unique contexts. They also tend to diminish the openness and fluidity of the subjective struggles and embodiment of the experience of policy implementation (Carspecken, 1995). As we will illustrate, the embodied nature of being a policy-implementing principal goes beyond the generalized claim of "the principal's job is hard." Instead, we highlight the ways in which implementation is a process through which principals, using their senses, make meaning from the combination of policy and the school environment that exceeds cognitive, strategic logic. Therefore, below, we argue for a new methodological and theoretical approach to researching principals that works to make explicit how these individuals describe their embodied lifeworld as an accountability implementer (Dallmayr, 1991; Habermas, 1987). This study takes a step back and looks at the experience of meaning making in terms of individuals who inhabit this position by asking them to take pictures of the external pressures that they face.

Theoretical framework
Our theoretical framework brings together the concepts of policy and experience through the use of a relatively new method – photomethods by drawing on the theory of embodiment. The former, policy, will be explained as situated within critical policy analysis' focus on policy discourse. We recognize that understanding policy is as much about understanding "policy discourses" (Ball, 2005), and consequently how these discourses shape the individuals who implement them, as it is about the particular document or directives issued from legislative bodies. Experience itself is a slippery concept. We rely on the importance that Merleau-Ponty (2004) places on the embodied nature of experience. Our focus on the embodied quality of experience recognizes the ways that our bodies and senses inform our understandings, perceptions and interpretation of the world. Photomethods provide an opportunity to tap into this sensorial realm through both nonlinguistic communication and alternative methods of interviewing (Harper, 2002, p. 13). Understanding the sensorial realm of experience is important to this study because our unit of study is the experiences of the policy-implementing principal. This theoretical framework explains how the method of photovoice brings together two aspects of our unit of study: the policy implemented by a principal, and the way that principals encounter this implementation, their experiences. Below we explain our theoretical assumptions with regards to both the study of policy and experience.

Policy

Our approach to the study of policy is informed by the loose field often termed critical policy analysis. Employing this approach requires that we understand policy in a broad sense and recognize that it can be analyzed as both a text and a discourse. That is, we believe that the study of policy focusses on specific laws and rules; however, possibly more importantly, studying policy incorporates the effects of power that discursively create certain types of citizens and other subjectivities (Ball, 1987, 1994, 2005; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003; Lather, 2006; Lincoln and Guba, 1989; Marshall and Peters, 1999; Scheurich, 1997; Taylor *et al.*, 1997; Young, 1999).

Much of critical policy analysis grew out of the recognition that the traditional policy analyst could not "deliver objective, certain knowledge" (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003, p. 16). Building off this critique, theorists began to argue that the goal of policy analysis should be to uncover the ways in which we slice "the nebula of surrounding meanings" around any issue (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003, p. 17). That is, the way we develop our political interests, frame a problem, decide on a solution and implement policy are in fact based on a "particular background theory or grand narrative that serves as a frame of reference" that in itself is not absolutely true (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003, p. 17). For example, in the neo-liberal policy contexts that are currently shaping international education policy, there is a background grand narrative that assumes that human nature is ultimately self-interested. In turn, policies are created in line with the requisite institutional frameworks (such as protection of private property, unfettered free markets, etc.) that unleash the productive power of self-interest (Harvey, 2007). Critical policy analysis is an interpretive hermeneutical activity that attempts to make explicit the contingency of our background assumptions as well as the ways in which power is exercised through the enactment or partial enactment of grand narratives.

Our caveat of "partial" is also important to the way that we approach studying policy. We assume that while one goal is to show the contingency of a background that upholds a policy framework, it is also crucial to show that all types of policies interact with each other at the same time often growing out of multiple traditions and competing narratives. For example, in a single school one may have the administration of a jobs program that is based on a more socialist tradition, as well as a testing system that is meant to generate competitive free market forces. This paper will focus on the complex ways that people interact with multiple policies as they implement them.

The issues surrounding the implementation of policy have been well documented; however, they often have approached the issue from a perspective of implementation fidelity (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984; Mazemanian and Sabatier, 1989; Rodgers and Bullock, 1976). Those engaged in a more critical form of policy analysis recognize that practice, as well as the meaning making events that occur within daily practice, should be foregrounded. In doing so, a researcher can understand a "practice of meaning-making that, although ambiguous and open-ended, is remarkably well adapted to the inconsistencies and contradictions that are characteristic of the everyday world of administrators in a fragmented bureaucratic environment characterized by power differentials and lack of coordination" (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003, p. 18).

As described above, the study of policy that emphasizes the discursive-cognitive element of policy implementation fails to capture the embodied lifeworld of the principal. We augment these theoretical approaches to critical policy analysis by seeking to understand the event of policy implementation. We argue this is an

embodied event carried out by a person who is a key point within the particular accountability-reliant governance structure predominant in many western democracies (Ball, 2009). We desire to show not only how policy structures this experience but also the ways in which these principals engage in agency and compromise.

Experience and photovoice
Our theoretical framework focusses on the embodied nature of experience discussed by Merleau-Ponty (2004): experiences are not only rooted in the world, but are located within a sensing body. Because we cannot directly study the experiences of the policy-implementing principal, we often find studies that try to get at these experiences by charting the various things that principals do (Goldring *et al.*, 2008; Spillane and Hunt, 2010; Theoharis, 2010), studying the ways that different contextual variables affect the way that individuals do the job of the principal (Moos and Johansson, 2009; Rutledge, 2010), and investigating the cognitive and emotional frames the principals use to make sense of policy (Bolton and English, 2010; Spillane *et al.*, 2002; Coburn, 2005). In this study, we understand the embodied experience as a messiness that takes into account the sensorial elements of moments of action and inaction. While this messiness does not easily fit into our conventional models of reporting research, it provides space and breadth for often overlooked elements of experience. As Allen's (2009) research using photovoice demonstrates, these methods often help participants overcome vulnerabilities, soliciting responses about controversial perspectives in ways that traditional methods of research might not. Further, photovoice provides the means by which both participants and researchers can document this sensorial dimension.

This theoretical framework gives us the opportunity to carefully represent (Kuntz, 2010) the embodied experiences of policy-implementing principals as complex and messy. Bolton and English (2010) point out that sensorial elements of educational leadership (i.e. feelings) are not antithetical to educational research by deconstructing the binary that accuses emotions as being non-rational. This theoretical framework extends that claim by integrating the body and its senses into the field of sensemaking. Thus, experiences are rooted within the individual as a totality of perceptions[1] that happen all at once.

Key in the "all at once perceptions" nature of experience is the assumption that perceptions are comprised of "the concrete, intersubjectively constituted lifeworld of *immediate* experience" (Merleau Ponty, 1964, p. xvi, emphasis author). This view of experience puts special emphasis on the concrete, which for Merleau Ponty references the body and its senses as immediate elements. He explains:

> […] the perceiving mind is an incarnated body. I have tried […] to re-establish the roots of the mind in its body and in its world, going against the doctrines which treat perception as a simple result of the action of external things on our body as well as against those which insist on the autonomy of consciousness (Merleau Ponty, 1964, quoted in Grosz, 1994, p. 87).

We are drawn to this explanation of experience because it shows that experience exists not as compartmentalized elements that are brought together by a thinking brain. Instead, experience exists as an immediate moment of being that is situated in a world where the act of perception and the thing perceived are one and the same. This quote points out that perceptions are, tied to the body, its senses and the world in which it finds itself.

Translating this theoretical framework into the practical usage of a research method means that we further define our unit of study: the embodied experience of the

policy-implementing principal. The goal of this research was to elicit and capture both the messy and intertwined nature of the various elements of the principal's job and daily life in terms of policy pressures (e.g. there are policies to implement, the school is more than just a place at which I work, and I need glasses now as a result of my work here). As we will explain later in our analysis, while ultimately the policy decision being made by the principal is in line with some policy "rightness," we point out that factors and processes involved in that decision are far more complex and particularly contingent upon the individual policy implementer.

Photomethods describe research approaches that use photographic images in interviews to invoke "deeper elements of the human consciousness than text alone" (Harper, 2002, p. 13). Here, photomethods provide a unique medium through which we can see, understand and represent the embodied experiences of policy. For example, Newbury and Hoskins (2010) used photonarratives (a combination of photomethodology and narrative writing) with young females, addicted to methamphetamines, in order to examine the intersection of identity, culture and meaning making for drug abusers. This process helped participants compare their perceptions of how others viewed them with their own self-identity, while exploring potential future "selves." In the past other scholars have used photographs to study school community among preschool children (Serriere, 2010), student/teacher communication (Keat et al., 2009) and teen sexuality (Allen, 2009).

This study incorporates elements of two photomethodologies: photoelicitation and photovoice. Photoelicitation, as Harper (2002) explains "is based on the simple idea of inserting a photograph into a research interview" (p. 13). In most cases photoelicitation involves photographs the researcher chooses, often images they captured themselves. For example in Serriere's (2007) study on masculinity development through kindergarten play-practice, the researcher captured images of young boys engaged in play and used these as "phototalks" while interviewing them about the events. Photovoice, on the other hand, requires that participants take and choose the photographs used in interviews. The photovoice methodology combines aspects of photodocumentary, participatory action research, feminist methodology and Friere's education for critical consciousness (Wang and Burris, 1994). In other words, photodocumentary methods become participatory when individuals are asked to document their lives through photographs and then reflect on the meaning of these images from their own perspectives. The methodology of photovoice has been used to combine photography, voice and social activism in ways that blend emancipatory research with emancipatory practice.

These practices have helped youth in Flint, Michigan document inequities in their community (Wang and Burris, 2004) and marginalized high schools students document the impact of being silenced through school (Kaplan, 2008; Haw, 2008). This methodology has also been used to study the experiences of homeless men (Packard, 2008), the lived experience of the early stages of Alzheimer's disease (Wiersma, 2011) and Guatemalan health issues (Cooper and Yarbrough, 2010). Photovoice studies demonstrate how participatory research can elicit responses, document narratives and raise consciousness in efforts to potentially inspire policy change.

While most of the aforementioned photovoice studies feature students engaged in research in schools or in out-of-school facilities, there is little research that features photovoice projects using school administrators. Some projects involving youth have the potential to inform and persuade school administrators to implement changes in school policies. For example, as a result of the Youth Empowerment Strategies (YES!) project, awareness campaigns were used to address school bullying and projects were

implemented to clean-up school premises (Wilson *et al.*, 2008). Projects like this highlight grass-roots efforts by youth that have influenced school administrators. Another study conducted by Mitchell *et al.* (2006) featured a principal in South Africa who conducted photovoice workshops with his students, having them document the problems they see around them in their community. These students captured photographic images that allowed this principal the opportunity to discipline teachers that engage in sexual assault on young female students or to help other administrators address the issue of student absenteeism. While there are a few examples of photovoice projects that involve school administrators, mostly in relation to projects conducted by youth, there is no research that uses photovoice to allow administrators themselves to engage in photodocumentary and reflection on images.

Due to their visual and alternative nature of collecting data, studies that use photomethodologies emphasize the corporeal nature of particular identities and situations. While the issue of corporeality is not one that seems of primary importance to educational policy and leadership, this paper is a statement that the visceral experiences of principals cannot fall away from the attention of such scholars. In fact it is the corporeal, embodied experience of policy implementation that must be represented if we are going to answer the question "who is the policy implementing principal?"

Description of study
Participants and setting
The study engaged two principals, Jamie and Roger, both working in a small urban school district in South Carolina, USA. Jamie, a Caucasian female, is a principal at Montclair High School, one of the two high schools in the district. Not only has Jamie worked at Montclair High School for over 30 years, she also attended the school as a high school student. For the past four years, she has been the principal. Previously, she was the assistant principal of instruction and prior to that she was an English teacher. Throughout our interviews with Jamie, she speaks fondly of teaching English as well as working hands on and collaborating with teachers. It is also important to point out that at the time of the study Jamie was enrolled in the researchers' institution's doctoral level Educational Leadership program.

Roger, an African American male, is an elementary school principal at Persiad elementary school. Like Jamie, Roger attended the school at which he is principal as a child. At the time of the study, he was in his first year of being a principal. Previously, he held assistant principal positions at the elementary school level. Roger was also enrolled in a masters' level educational administrative graduate program, but not at the researchers' institution. We deliberately chose principals with disparately different backgrounds for this study in order to assess a possible range of experiences derived from various personal qualities held by the individuals.

Both of these principals work in a policy context that reflects the dominant values of a relatively poor state that has a deep history of inequality and racism. Historically, the state government has shown little support for public education (Truitt, 2006). In addition, many federally developed laws and incentives are seen as an intrusion (e.g. Race to the Top). For example, during the 1950s, in lieu of embracing educational desegregation, the state legislature voted to disband the state's public school system (Baker, 2006). The historical delegitimizing of public education still plays a role in state-level politics. Hutchins (2008) noted that supporters for private schools and vouchers frequently fund candidates running for

office at the state level; thus, support of public education is not always a priority for many of the state's legislators.

At the same time, the state has developed a demanding set of accountability laws that resemble the neo-liberal policy frameworks described above. The accountability system (originally passed as the Education Accountability Act of 1998) is premised on the assumption that "schools and school systems should be held accountable for their contribution to student learning" (Elmore and Fuhrman, 2001, p. 4). Integral to this process is the public display of a measurement of that contribution that can signal the quality of the school's work. In this state, a school or a district as a whole can be rated "excellent, good, average, below average, and at-risk" (South Carolina Department of Education, 1998, Section 59-18-900 B). In addition, the principal and members of the community are expected to develop and implement a five-year action plan meant to raise test scores and provide measures that monitor and evaluate the plan's effectiveness. If the school fails to improve the state can reconstitute the school and/or allow parents to seek other options for their students at the districts expense.

While this is the most dominant policy, there are numerous others that principals must monitor and implement. For example, there are school safety, nutritional, instructional and human resource standards that are set by local, state and federal governments. In addition there are laws such as the Education Economic Development Act of 2005 that asks schools to be the vehicle by which students are trained and matched to the needs of the local economy. As other studies have suggested, our participants were the implementers and the subject of these competing pressures all at once (Marks and Nance, 2007).

Methodology
Given our focus on the embodied experience of principal, we employed qualitative methods that would allow us to understand the lifeworld of the principal: photovoice, semi-structured interviewing and reconstructive horizon analysis.

Photovoice: data collection. As previously discussed, photovoice involves participants taking and selecting pictures to be used in interviews within a community project with emancipatory goals. This project walks the line between photoelicitation and photovoice due, as we will explain, to the lack of community and emancipatory possibilities for these principals. Thus, while our interview process centered on photographs we use the term photovoice to describe our method with some caveats.

Interviews were held weekly over the course of a month with both principals, separately at their respective school. A total of four interviews were conducted with each individual. First, an introductory interview was conducted to "explore […] [the participant's] own vocabulary, their own metaphors and their own ideas" (Carspecken, 1995, p. 155) in order to construct photograph prompts for each participant based on their experiences with policy. In this interview, we asked Jamie and Roger to describe the internal and external pressures that they face in their job.

This first interview provided us with representations of the ways that policy inserted itself as pressures into the lives of these two principals. These interviews were transcribed and two of the researchers reviewed and discussed the transcripts to determine the prominent themes (Patton, 2001). Three major themes emerged from our initial interview with Jamie: budget cuts, school safety and rigor (related to the quality of education). The prominent themes from Roger's first interview were "telling people no" (related to personnel issues) and being a representative of both the school and the

district for accountability policies. These themes shaped the prompts used to direct participants in their photographing activity (Appendix).

Prior to the second interview, the researchers took the time to write out the theoretical framework associated with this project as we feel that it influences the way that policy and experience are understood within this study. Handouts were given to both Roger and Jamie. We also took at least 20 minutes in both interviews to explain where we are coming from and what we believe to be the purpose of this study. Principals were then given cameras and instructions (see Appendix) based on the themes we garnered from our first interview regarding what they might think about photographing.

After giving Jamie and Roger their cameras (two 24 exposure disposable cameras), we discussed the appropriate timeframe for developing and discussing the photographs, making sure that we gave them plenty of time to take pictures, given their busy lives. Once they had taken all of the pictures on the disposable cameras, the researchers developed the photographs and brought them to the principals' office for their next interview. Table I provides the reader with six categories and related policy types that we applied to all of the photographs taken by Roger and Jamie.

Jamie took all 48 pictures in a week, and created a PowerPoint presentation of images that she took with her digital camera that mirrored those on one of the cameras (a total of 24 pictures on the slideshow). In the slideshow, something she created without being told by the researchers to do so, titled "Policy through Pictures: A high school principal's perspective," Jamie annotated the images with a narrative that told us what was in the picture as well as its relationship to policy and her struggles with policy. We conducted two interviews with Jamie centered on the photographs that she took. During the first photo-interview, we listened as Jamie described the images and narratives in the PowerPoint. Jamie took the initiative to make the PowerPoint because she "had a lot to say" about the pictures. As a result, we did little questioning during our first photointerview with her. In the second photointerview, we chose particular

Photo category	Corresponding policy type	Number of photographs
Safety and facilities	Safe school policies	16
Inspirational slogans or good press on the school	Standards and accountability	14
Representations of the diversity of staff and students	Differentiation of learning and leadership	14
Working areas overloaded with papers and projects	Policy coherence and accountability	11
Fundraising and items acquired through extra fundraising	Budget and fiscal policy	9
Representations of curricular programs	Curricular and assessment policy	8
Total photographs		72

Notes: The categories represented above were not used as data points in and of themselves. Instead they were starting points of discussion that helped us understand the participants in a rich way. Policy types were developed *post hoc*. As per our methodological commitments described above, the conversations that utilized these various photographs did not always directly lead to discussions of the policies directly instead they elicited participant views that are represented in our findings section

Table I.
Categorization of photographs taken by Roger and Jamie

photographs from the second role of pictures to talk about in order to follow up on the embodied elements of policy implementation that Jamie discussed in our first photointerview.

Roger, on the other hand, took one roll of photographs (total of 24). When we first met to talk about Roger's photographs, we had chosen some photos to talk about, but found that Roger was not terribly interested in discussing his photographs in depth. Towards the end of this first photointerview, we handed the stack of pictures to Roger and asked him to tell us about them. In our second photointerview with Roger, the conversation followed in a similar fashion.

In our photointerviews with Jamie and Roger, if there was a lull in conversation we would ask them to describe the pictures that they took, why they took them and also, how they came about taking each picture. Because we began the study within the framework of photovoice, we engaged Jamie and Roger as co-researchers in hopes of them becoming active in the research project. We also tried to establish the research environment as one in which we all were doing research together, rather than the traditional dichotomy of us doing research on them (the principals).

Data analysis: examining all possible meanings. Hermeneutical analysis rests on the assumption that one's understanding of the texts does not just require an understanding of how it is written but also how it is read and accepted (Jasper, 2004). In this study, photographs, discussions about images, and the discourse of understanding provide the "texts" through which we learn about the policy-implementing principal. The method of analysis used in this study is influenced by Habermas' (1981, 1987) theory of communicative action that focusses on understanding how individual speech acts contain objective, subjective and normative-evaluative truth claims.

Researchers analyzed the interview transcripts based on Carspecken's (1995) reconstructive horizon analysis. This process entails performing meaning reconstructions of participants' speech acts (i.e. words and phrases) to "clarify the impressions of meaning" (p. 102). These meaning reconstructions parcel out possible meanings to create meaningfields, which are then coded as objective, subjective, normative-evaluative and identity claims. The analysis identifies a range of possible meanings; statements that are both overtly and explicitly stated and those that are tacitly implicated. The four different types of claims are thus identified as being, foregrounded, backgrounded, or highly background so as to differentiate between claims that are both spoken and unspoken. This structured process allowed the researchers to highlight the validity claims within the participants' speech acts, as well as examine them holistically in relation to the interview and photographic data, in order to better understand embodiment in relation to the policy-implementing principal.

We selected approximately 50 excerpts from Roger and Jamie's transcripts to be reconstructed into meaningfields. It is important to note that the photographs that Jamie and Roger took were used primarily as elicitation tools during interviews. Three photographs have been included here as illustrations of Jamie and Roger's narratives (for a brief overview of all photographs see Table I).

As we chose which excerpts to analyze, two of the researchers engaged in a constant comparative process that helped us clarify the themes we found in the data. In concert with this process, the researchers applied reconstructive horizon analysis to selected excerpts. As Figure 1 illustrates, a meaningfield describes the possible meanings contained in a given excerpt. One chain of statements can pertain to just a couple of statements made by a participant, as can be found in Figure 1.

So that particular picture reminds me of, maybe the physical uh, side effects of what I do. That I'm
starting to get where I can't see.

That I'm tied to this of what all I have to do and that I need to make sure I keep a, the proper perspective
on it that it really doesn't mean there are not enough hours in the day for me to do all this. I need to do the
best I can and so and that's ok. And so I always have to tell myself its always ok to do the best I can and
that I can't make everybody happy and that somebody is going to complain no matter what I do.

*What I am saying is very important (AND) I am saying this because it explains what I was thinking when
taking this picture (AND) talking about this picture explains something about me (AND) I think about
myself when I look at the picture (AND) there are physical side effects to being a principal (AND) they
are not good (OR) they just are (OR) this job is hard (AND) because of this job, my eyesight has
worsened (OR) I am getting old (AND) that is bad*

*I am looking at my calendar (AND) I am physically (AND/OR) metaphorically tied to all of the things
that I have listed on my calendar (OR) I am tied to this school (OR) I am tied to my sense of belonging
(AND) that belonging has to do with this school (OR) I am tied to my job (AND) my calendar reminds me
of my job (AND) my job requires that I do a lot of things (AND) I have to step back from my job (OR) my
job is intricately tied into my identity (AND) I cannot do everything that I want to do (AND) I often think
there are not enough hours in the day (OR) I feel bad that I cannot do everything on my calendar (OR)
my job is overwhelming (AND) I need to make myself feel better (AND) I want to do the best I can (AND)
doing the best is the right thing to do (AND) doing my best is different from doing the best (AND) doing
the best means not everyone is happy (AND) that is ok (AND) it has taken me time to realize this (AND)
people complain (OR) people are unhappy (OR) people do not care what I do (AND) I cannot control
complaining people*

Notes: The italicized statements comprise the meaningfield. Those not italicized
are Jamie's words

Figure 1.
Meaningfield
reconstruction for
Jamie's statement

The researchers then analyzed these meaningfields for the different dimensions of
meaning (found in Table II, i.e. which meanings are foregrounded and explicit and
what meaning is implicitly stated or seen as highly backgrounded). This systematic
process of meaningfield and reconstructive horizon analysis capture a bounded range
of possible meaning. The process helped us understand the different levels of possible
meaning associated with Roger and Jamie's statements.

Findings
As signaled at the start of the paper our goal is not to analyze the effects of a specific
policy or to simply explain the complexity of principal's job. Instead in the following
section we present our interpretation of the ways in which governance structures,
policy contexts and principals co-construct an embodied experience. Below, we will
explore this phenomenon for two separate individuals.

Descriptions of a seasoned veteran: responsibility amidst entropy
As a 30-year seasoned veteran, Jamie was kind enough to share stories from her wealth
of experiences. The overarching theme to the stories that she shared relayed the high
level of entropy, or the systemic quality of unpredictability that feels chaotic, that
exists at Montclair High School[2]. This unpredictability went beyond the idea that
being a high school principal is frenetic and difficult, but instead illustrated the kinds
of embodied knowledge available to Jamie as she navigated as the principalship.
Future studies will hopefully begin to illustrate the effect this dimension has on
particular implementation processes. Jamie's stories told us about more than just what
has happened at Montclair. They also showed us the ways that meaning and
knowledge exists in both cognitive and embodied dimensions in a world of systemic

	Objective	Subjective	Normative/evaluative	Identity
Foregrounded	There are physical side effects to being a principal. My body ages. My calendar lists my "to do" list. There are not enough hours in the day to do everything that I need to do. People complain. People are unhappy	I want to explain the pictures that I took. I believe that there are not enough hours in the day to do what I need to do. I believe that doing the best is different from making people happy	The physical side effects to being a principal are bad	
Backgrounded	Being a principal is hard	I believe that the pictures that I took explain things about me. I believe that I am tied to my job. I need to make myself feel better. I believe that people are unhappy with me. I believe that people complain about me. I cannot control complaining people. I believe that people do not care what I do	Getting old is bad. Doing the best is the right thing to do A principals' job is to make the best decisions for their school	My job is who I am. I am unsure of who I am
Highly backgrounded	People are always watching me	I believe that my job has to do with the approval of other people. I feel pain because people are always watching me. I feel that I need to project a busy life	A principal should put their job before their work. The community thinks educators are lazy. Being lazy is bad	

Table II.
Analysis of meaningfield found in Figure 1

unpredictability. Throughout the presentations of our findings, we highlight the embodied dimension of policy implementation through the following representation of Jamie's embodied experiences: she stands within a highly entropic world where situations cross through, around and within her physical and mental reach. As these situations move about and Jamie is able to reach them, she physically and metaphorically integrates them into her physiology, whether by taking them on as physical stress or losing sight of where her body ends and the school begins.

The following analysis illustrates that Jamie is not just a policy implementer, but also lives policy implementation, where the possibility, promise and disappointment of policy implementation are tangible, but yet also at times physically out of reach. Our theoretical framework allows us to focus on the ways in which being a policy implementer is more than a normative dimension added onto one's identity or job description (Shipps and White, 2009; White-Smith and White, 2009). Rather, being a policy implementer has a certain embodied look and feel, which affect how Jamie engages with and identifies herself within that world.

Who (Where) is the principal, Jamie? Many of Jamie's pictures showed us the ways in which policies have physically shaped both the school and herself. During our

second photointerview, we asked Jamie to explain a photograph that she had taken of her day planner as it laid centered on top of her desk (Plate 1). A pair of glasses sits on top of the day planner as though the person sitting at the desk (Jamie) has just taken them off. Jamie explained the picture:

> So that particular picture reminds me of, maybe the physical uh, side effects of what I do. That I'm starting to get where I can't see. That I'm tied to this, what all I have to do and that I need to make sure I keep a, proper perspective on it. That it really doesn't mean there are not enough hours in the day for me to do all this. I need to do the best I can, and that's ok. And so I always have to tell myself it's always ok to do the best I can and that I can't make everybody happy and that somebody is going to complain no matter what I do.

On one level, the image itself helped us to better know the experience of not only being the principal of Montclair High School, but also the policy implementer for Montclair (e.g. keeping in mind that this picture is Jamie's response to take pictures of the ways that she encounters policy). For Jaime, part of doing this work means sitting behind the particular desk in the picture and doing all of the particular things listed in the colorful day planner. Jamie's description of this image gives us a glimpse into the embodied experience of the principal, who also implements policy.

Representations, like this one, not only explain the dimensions of being the principal of Montclair High School that can be claimed to be objective, but also those that can be inferred as subjective claims that are particular to the experiences of Jamie. As an objective truth claim, Jamie tells us that she has a schedule full of tasks to complete, high school sports to watch and meetings to attend. As she sits and ponders all of the things that she needs to do in a given day, she makes a subjective claim about the physical toll that juggling these competing demands for her time has taken upon her.

In the above quote, Jamie describes the context that might have caused her eyesight to worsen, causing her to need glasses. Her description, however, is not one of a victim, who feels the effects of some outside force; instead, Jamie explains that her worsening
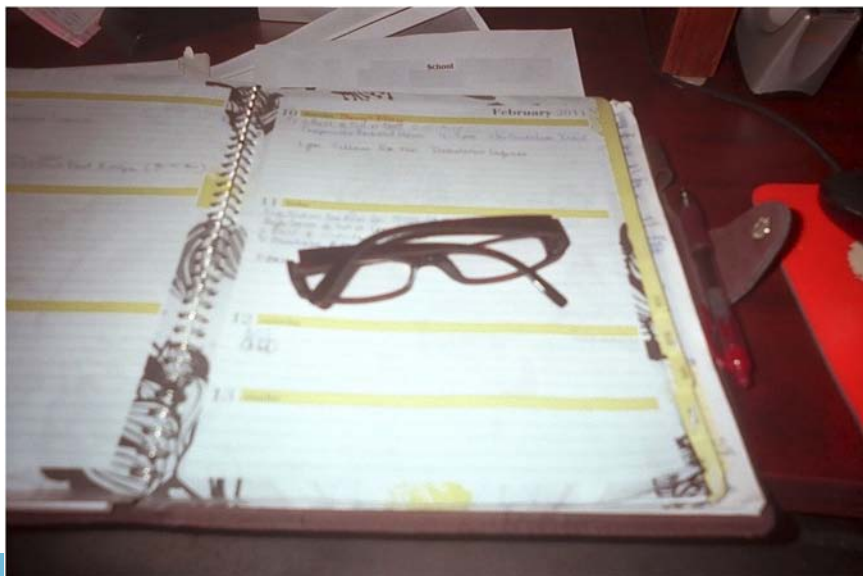

Plate 1.
Jamie's schedule

eyesight is an example of how her job is part of her embodiment, how she knows what she knows and how she implements policy. She explains "I'm tied to this" at the same time that she explains her worsening eyesight as though her overfilled calendar (and by extension overfilled time) is as much a part of her as her vision. This conflation of time at work and identity illustrates the ways that Jamie is not just performing the job of a principal; for Jamie, the life she leads and the activities she attends, are all a part of who she, Jamie is.

Jamie explains that her job has to do with the approval of other people when she told us that she has to distinguish between doing the best she can and making people happy. This is tied up with the image of Jamie's overfilled calendar because she explained that her clientele will notice if she goes to a boys' soccer game and not the girls, or a football game and not the band's performance. Embedded within this pressure is the fear that Montclair's stakeholders will believe that Jamie is off somewhere not working, not watching a Montclair game, not in her office, and by extension, not doing her job. To be a good principal according to Jamie, the principal has to physically be everywhere at once, not just to make sure that jobs are done and children are taught, but also to satisfy her constituents' differing conceptions of the principals' job.

Feeling the weight of uncertainty. Not only does Jamie bear the task of living up to innumerable unspoken parent and community expectations, she also is responsible for the safety and well-being of the students and faculty within the school. Jamie describes this important, yet often inexpressible responsibility, as she describes a picture (Plate 2) she took of the safety vest the district issued her bearing the title "Principal" on the back:

> See it's hanging on the back of my door. So everyday I'm always looking at that. It's a constant reminder I'm responsible for the safety of 1,800 kids and 130 faculty members and that's just such a weight on your shoulders because I really know that if somebody

Plate 2.
Jamie's photograph of principal vest

really wanted to come in this school and do something [they could], no matter all of our preparation.

There is no denying the fact that it is the principal's job is to protect students and teachers within her school; however, this quote explains how that task requires more than just putting on the principal vest and, literally or metaphorically, taking a bullet for the school. The weight that Jamie associates with protecting the school is linked to the entropic situation at the school. Throughout our interviews with Jamie, her stories touched on the myriad factors that could lead to an unsafe school. These threats are a weight on her shoulder that, while metaphorical, can be linked to the physical toll that she attributes to her overfilled calendar: it is tangibly manifested.

This tangible manifestation of "the weight of responsibility" related to being a high school principal is also associated with the standards and normative dimensions of policy and policy implementation. It illustrates two things: first, the way in which policy not only becomes something new within particular school environments, and second, that principals, like Jamie, feel the principalship in different ways. Feeling the principalship is more than just including an emotive dimension into the picture (Bolton and English, 2010). Feeling the principalship is also different from performing the principalship (Butler, 2006), where Jamie would metaphorically put on the role of principal as she walks into the building. Instead, feeling the principalship describes the process by which the experiences of principals include a rich sensorial dimension, where the way that the school environment and policy directives feel (both emotionally and sensorially) has an impact on what we conventionally think of as policy implementation. Experience, has not been analyzed to this degree in terms of policy implementation, until now.

This school is part of my story. Being a student, teaching assistant, teacher, assistant principal and principal at Montclair High School has particular significance for Jamie. Our discussion of the embodied representations of being a policy-implementing principal must include the particular relationship that Jamie has to Montclair High School. She explains:

[I] had opportunities to move and do other things or even to go somewhere and be (what?), but I wanted to be here. I'm attached to this place because I have always felt like I knew it so well: its inner workings and the personalities […] [I thought] that would always give me an advantage of being here. I've been here so long I know where we came from and why we did something. I know our stories. […] I want to make sure I leave it better than I ever found it when I was here. A personal goal. Not really a job kind of attitude but a, this is part of me [attitude]. This is part of my story. *This place is.*

Jamie attaches a special significance to knowing the history and life of Montclair High School that only someone who has been there for over 30 years could know. She believes that this knowledge makes her a better principal, not just for the particular Montclair-specific strategies that she can adopt, but also as a result of her presence. She articulates this association between presence and betterment when she says "this is a part of me. This is part of my story. This place is." So not only does Jamie imprint herself onto Montclair, but Montclair imprints itself onto Jamie, in a mutually dependent relationship.

Jamie's conflation of identity and place tells us more about the experience of being a policy-implementing principal: that it is more than just a place for which she is responsible. Throughout our interviews with Jamie, she expresses empathy for the

teachers and students within the school through the following stories: a teacher making mistakes by using a gas leaf blower to help students with their engineering project, the school staff suffering as a result of budget cuts or students supporting another student with leukemia. In the above quote, Jamie extends this empathy to encompass the school itself.

Responsibility amidst entropy. During our final photoelicitation interview, we concluded by asking Jamie to describe the policy context at her school. Her response describes the entropy that we have pointed out in previous quotes, as well as the importance of place (and by extension embodiment) in the implementation of policy:

> I think it's like [pause] we're the filter. There's the policy and it's in the notebooks and it's my job to make sure it's all followed. And then when it gets here, it has to be interpreted according to what's happening at that moment: does it apply or does it not apply, or is this different because not every situation is the same? Seldom are situations the same. There's always this little different element to something so we're constantly interpreting maybe not only the policy, but the intent of the policy because I think I know what the intent was, but it's not written so that you get what it was you wanted out of it.

In this quote, policy travels from somewhere to get to Montclair High School and does not reflect the chaotic situation that exists there. When Jamie refers to "we," based on her previous descriptions of policy, we believe that she is referring to herself, the superintendent of her district and the district office in general; however, throughout our interviews with Jamie, she expressed feeling the pressure of being the sole bearer of responsibility for the well-being of everyone in her school, the curriculum and rigor at Montclair as well as satisfying parent demands. Positioning herself as a filter seems to suggest that she employs the advice of her higher ups when trying to determine the intent of a policy, but eventually it is Jamie that makes the final decision for which she is the sole person responsible. This feeling of responsibility coupled with the entropic situation at the school illustrates why Jamie believes that a policy's intent should be clearly documented in the policy text.

This quote makes the entropic situation at Montclair High School very clear. Policy within the school depends on the relationship that Jamie determines between the policy document, the policy intent, the situation at the school, and Jamie's understanding of that policy. Her understanding, however, as we have shown goes beyond cognitive framing. When she refers to "what's happening at that moment," that moment encompasses the way that Jamie's senses are affected as much as her mental perception of all the variables affecting the implementation of policy within the Montclair school environment.

We have shown throughout our description of our interviews with Jamie that she brings a particular embodiment to policy implementation. This element is identified in the ways that Jamie describes the ways that the school feels, which is wrapped up in Jamie's relationship to the school, the responsibility of protecting the school and her history of being in the school. These parts of policy implementation are just as important as the strategic and cognitive ways that scholars have demonstrated that principals implement policy (Anagnostopoulos and Rutledge, 2007; Firestone and Shipps, 2005; Shipps and White, 2009; Spillane *et al.*, 2002).

In our conversations with Jamie, her descriptions are not ones in which she places distance between herself and her job and the school in which she works. Instead, Jamie's job and Montclair High School are extensions, perhaps appendages, of Jamie. This intimate connection between principal, individual and school are further

complicated in terms of policy implementation when we consider the entropy that we have shown to exist at Montclair High School. Often times, policy assumes that there are problems that have fixed solutions. Jamie's experiences as we have represented them bring into relief the ways that fixed solutions are often problematic and unrelated to the problem "at hand."

Roger: explanations of a neophyte principal, the struggle for the authentic self
While Jamie's interviews revealed that her lived experiences are one of living in as much as living out policy implementation, Roger's experience as a first year principal was qualitatively different. Roger's descriptions indicate that he continually engages in the process of physically absorbing the role of the policy-implementing principal at the same time as he worked through issues of the embodiment of race in a culture that was built on racial inequality. In our conversations with Roger, the overarching themes that he expressed centered on his need and struggle to feel as though he authentically engaged with people. However, there were important indications in his descriptions that he shifted the look and feel of this authentic self as he negotiated various relationships with the students, teachers, district officials and community members. Thus, throughout the descriptions of our findings, we present the following representations of Roger's embodied experiences: he sits and thinks, rhythmically breathing in and then breathing out, policy as it is integrated into his daily interactions and task completions. While breathing is an action we often do without thinking, when we call attention to it, it causes us to become hyper-aware of it and our bodies. Roger feels this hyper-awareness as he negotiates a double consciousness (DuBois, 2005). As he feels the in-flow of breath, Roger is aware of the multiple, overlapping identities that are physically, doubly imprinted on him and are part of his flesh.

The following analysis of Roger's interviews shows that policy implementation for him was not a distinct segment of his experience. Instead, it was integrated across a series of daily interactions, and task completions, throughout which he negotiated his sense of authenticity. This all-at-once perception of policy aligns with the multiple accountability contexts that principals encounter in the scholarship of Marks and Nance (2007) and Shipps and White (2009). Our theoretical framework allowed us to understand Roger's descriptions of his job experiences as a global whole, rather than compartmentalized policy implementation moments. This analysis will show how Roger not only tacitly feels the ebbs and flows of being a policy implementer, the breathing in and out that his job requires, but also how these authentic embodied actions are encapsulated within and affect policy implementation.

What you see is what you get. Throughout our interviews, Roger expressed that he was always striving to feel authentic; even if, to others, that authenticity did not appear uniform. Whether he wore a "mask" of seriousness in conversation with a teacher, or he joked with parents about neighborhood politics before leveling with them about a child's disciplinary issues, Roger strived to "be Roger." While this description of "being Roger" may sound performative (Butler, 2006), it is important to note that in our interviews, while being serious, Roger's face creased with concern, while joking, he laughed and often energetically gesticulated. Thus, the masks that Roger wore were imprinted on his skin and evident in the way he moved his body.

This surface level of representation, the level of the flesh, could be equated to the idea of common sense, where common sense refers to something readily and easily interpreted from the evidence given. Roger described policy in terms of common sense: "when I think about the policy, I think about pretty much common sense, a lot of the

stuff is just common sense [...] most folks in this role are smart enough to know various things are just 'no nos'." While common sense can take on superficial connotations in this statement, given the importance of the embodied level of surface, the flesh, the authenticity of it, our analysis technique led us to believe that Roger was making an identity validity claim (Carspecken, 1995). This claim about "common sense" suggests that for Roger policy common sense is about deductive reasoning as much as it is a "given." Our analysis also led us to postulate that the personal aspect of common sense is deeply embedded within normative connotations (e.g. that "most folks in this role are smart enough to know") and for Roger these embodiments (e.g. that what you see) is what you get.

This "what you see is what you get" approach extended to his attitude toward the photographic research methodologies. The pictures that Roger took and his matter of fact descriptions of them represented how he understood his job and resultant experiences as a series of events. Images ranged from pictures of his desk where he completed district documentation to those of new building construction that will expand his school and make room for the increased focus on technology. In addition, several impromptu photos displayed various faculty members as he discussed student discipline decisions and family matters. He also showed us a photo of two students, one of which was sent to the principals' office for disciplinary matters, the other considered the principal a confidant (Plate 3). Other more personal photos told us that basketball was his main form of exercise and that his family is central to his life. Through our analysis we were able to see that Roger used the photos to make identity validity claims. That is, the objects in the image spoke for themselves.

We learned through later informal conversations that overall, Roger found this research process to provide him the time and space to be reflective. Thus, while at times, it seemed to us that Roger's photographs spoke for themselves, they represented, for Roger, reflective practice. This is one example of the way that photographs are more than just data collected to study principals, but instead, are a means by which
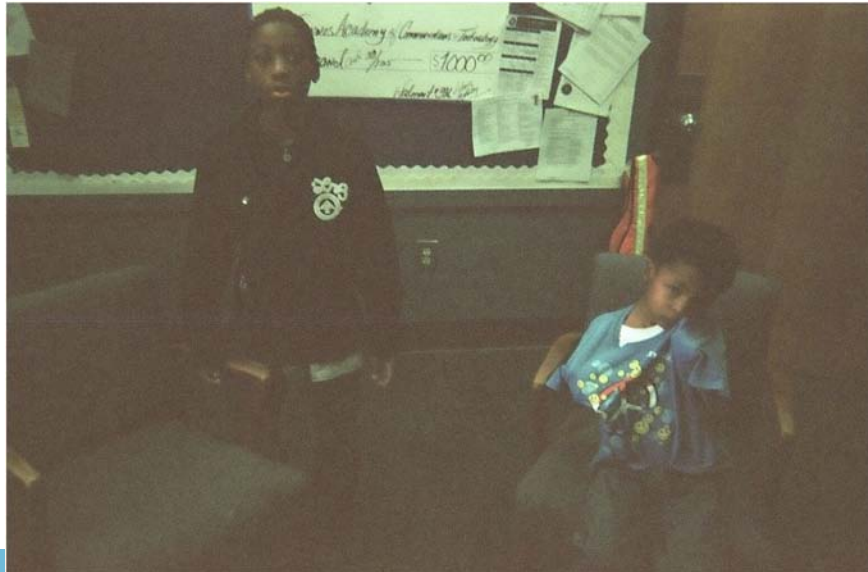

Plate 3.
Visitors to Roger's office

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principals can engage in research and reflection on what it means to be a policy-implementing principal.

Representing the community: how does that feel?. Our conversations with Roger outside of our photointerviews were rich with descriptions of his experience of being a principal. Given that he was a first-year principal, much of our conversation centered on his transition from being a teacher and assistant principal to being the sole responsible party for an entire elementary school. Roger represented this responsibility in his descriptions of how he needed to be a representative for the community; however, this "being a representative" was not just experienced with regards to the neighborhood, it also extended to his interactions with staff and students. That is, all at once he looked and felt as a public figure to multiple publics.

For example, Roger related how his wife joked with him that he needed to wear nicer clothes when he was off-duty because now he was a "community leader." This led him to reflect:

> I have to watch what I'm doing because, you know, I have to set an example. So that's one of the few experiences, the few things that I'm starting to change about myself; after being in this principalship. Just the small things would say so much about myself. So I need to make sure that every little thing [shrug] every word that I say, because that's the last thing that I need to happen to me, for me to quote something or say something and then the next day I wake up and its written in the newspaper.

This description of the scrutiny the Roger faced as a community leader illustrates the hyper-awareness he has about his physically double imprinted body. Roger made the objective claim that his dress and speech are under scrutiny by the community as a part of public record. He confessed that he was aware that his body betrays him, citing an example when his hand gestures were once questioned at a board meeting. Thus, embodiment for Roger is both common sense, and something that causes him meditation.

Through our analysis, we inferred that Roger was making a subjective claim as he described that he felt the weight of the connection between his identity and simple actions such as going to the store. Furthermore, we identified a backgrounded normative element at play; not only is Roger a community representative, but people generally expect a person of authority (such as a pastor, a principal or a mayor) to conform to their position within the community. At the same time there was a backgrounded recognition that a person's embodied style of communicating can be racialized.

Experiencing Policy as Mr Daily, Roger and Skippy. We asked Roger to describe times when he felt most like a principal (where policy implementation is at the center of that formulation of "principal"). His responses centered on his experiences dealing with personnel issues. As described above, Roger often used humor to disarm situations and make people feel at ease. In other cases, he seemed to experience situations as more serious. For example, he described the ways in which, with certain teachers, he needed to focus on the practicalities of school business. He explains:

> I have an experienced teacher who is not really into all this laughter and stuff. She is ready to get to business. When I'm talking to her individually, then I do have to put on this you know temporary mask. I say "Ok, ma'am this is what I need you to do, this is why I need you to do it." No humor at all then, and once I leave, she is going to get the job [done], and that's just the way she wants to receive it. She doesn't want to have all this laughter in.

We inferred from this statement that Roger's normal experience of policy implementation reflects his understanding of the way that humor and seriousness factor into his role. He relates this to his understanding of differentiated learning:

> You can have various learners, various ways that people understand information. So now individually I'm going to have to change that up [my approach] just a tad bit. But I think that I win people more […] if I'm myself. And I think they understand me better because I am myself, throw in humor. I enjoy laughter. And that really breaks the tension. Folks seem to be able to do what you ask them to do, um, just by the way you ask them. Like, I mean, I try to give folks a reasonable reason as to why I want them to do things.

Later, when asked to connect his humor to external policies, he commented that it was related to trust that was developed through his commitment to time. He noted in some cases, if there was a policy issue such as one dealing with parents, he might spend 95 percent of the time using humor to win over the family and only 5 percent of the time on the actual policy issue. From this quote, we deduced that Roger's embodiment was tied up with being a community leader and a policy-implementing principal by his descriptions of affable interactions with teachers, students and adults. It is clear that Roger enjoys laughter, particularly the ways that he carries his body and voice that disperses tension in others.

Roger's sense of authenticity was especially acute given that, as described above, he attended Persiad Elementary. Roger's embodiment was apparent as he described the necessity to connect to various types of parents. Roger's code switching (Smitherman, 1981) was useful in connecting with parents, the community and school board members. Both his interactions with local parents and school board members revealed a tacitly rich understanding of the culture including its history of racialization. For example, as he contacted parents about school issues he described how others would see different Rogers through hand gestures and speech patterns from the area. He states:

> So, luckily I'm a hometown boy and so, a lot of my parents I deal with, some of them I went to school with and even some of my older parents I went to school with their kids. So, its very easy for me to call them. And before I even get into the reason I'm calling […]. I'm trying to break the ice. "Hey how are you? Doing?"; "How's your family doing? What ('s) that baby up to?"

Roger believed that he needed to connect to parents in order to explain and justify the school policy. At the same time given that he was keenly aware of the tacit culture of the community he often described the ways he vicariously felt the student's or parents' point of view of the effects of school policies.

Part of this ability to sense policy effects vicariously through his students was derived from the fact that parents often reminded him of his childhood nickname still in circulation in the community. As a child he was known at school as "Skippy." Roger described the ways that he experiences his interactions with people from the community as "Skippy:"

> It helps me, because I know that I'm supposed to be Roger. Sometimes, I am Skippy. I have a nickname that I've grown up with: "Skippy". It's what my parents called me. Which is fine, seriously. I don't have an issue with it because that same parent that is calling me Skippy now, I'm going to have to call them next week, but I have that relationship. I have the relationship with them if they are calling me Skippy and not Mr Daily. I like that because it's a whole lot easier to talk to them when I have to make those unfortunate phone calls.

The example above explains that despite the detailed discussion of the need to be authentic, Roger was, Skippy, Roger and Mr Daily at the same moment. At once Roger made objective and subjective truth claims about enjoying the negotiation of the multiple views of his identities. Objectively, it was a tool to allow him to communicate with more parents. In our conversations with Roger, he tended to foreground these multiple authenticities while at the same time, in the background, there was acknowledgment of his experience of a double consciousness. During our member check Roger's feedback supported our conclusion that this double consciousness is the product of working in a state with a highly racialized culture (DuBois, 2005).

In a similar way, Roger also described times when he could simultaneously experience a desire for friendliness as well as dislike. For example, after having a conflict with a teacher he commented, "I guess that was because of my friendliness. You know I could smile at you right now and I may not even like you […] I'm not going to let you see that. That's just my character or whatever." In this statement, subjectively, Roger is aware of his ability to keep his feelings to himself and that his experience of dislike for someone might actually be represented in a way that is meant to confuse the other.

Roger's experience of the implementation of district or state policy consisted of both a visceral desire to please people yet at the same time a sense of formality. For example, as he described his need to enforce external curricular and budget policy decisions he indicated that the experience was overwhelming. He lamented:

> I love to please people. I really do and you are not going to please everyone; I understand that. I just hate it when I've tried my best to please them and really we don't get the job done because other issues hinder it such as money and time. So I really do hate and of course no one loves the negative personnel issues. I love hiring somebody, you know? [I don't like] to let someone go.. You know? You just don't like that. That's not in my *DNA*, I've amended my DNA to involve that because it's a part of the job, but you know, that's probably one of the hardest issues.

Our analysis of these interviews allows us to understand Roger as a principal whose experience of policy implementation is interwoven into his daily actions in which he tries to come to grips with a sense of an authentic and whole self rather than separated out as a particular strategy for a particular policy. For Roger his foregrounding of the authentic self then leads us to argue that policy implementation is not a distinct activity or a solely cognitive process of framing but an embodiment of his authentic self.

Discussion and implications: studying principals
Through the tools provided by photovoice and reconstructive horizon analysis, we have reconstructed and represented the experiences of two policy-implementing principals. By doing so we are able to articulate what it is like to be a principal in terms of embodied experiences. This allowed us to probe more deeply into the process of being a policy-implementing principal (adapted from Korth, 2003, p. 490). We believe that studying school leadership requires attention not only to policy implementation, but more importantly, to the particular kind of embodied dimension of lived experience that this paper reveals: principals occupy a complicit yet conflicted space that brings about moments comprised of sensations of touch and feeling that make being a policy-implementing principal what it is. Photomethods provide a means to help participants locate the "knowing" they have within (Newbury and Hoskins, 2010) in order to highlight these important dimensions embodied in the policy-implementing principal.

Our interviews with Jamie and Roger offered us two different representations of the policy-implementing principal. Jamie showed us the entropic world of Montclair High School, where policy situations cross through around and within her physical and mental reach. Roger explained to us the ways that at any given moment both within Persiad Elementary as well as in the Tremont District Community, he was aware of the multiple identities physically imprinted on his body. He seemed to value his ability to be a principal and community leader who could take in any policy situation and then breathe it back out. For Roger, the breathing was just as important and physical as the decisions that he made. We came to understand these representations through our regular meeting times with Jamie and Roger. During these meeting times, often when the tape recorder was off, Jamie and Roger would remark upon the benefits of having the time and space to reflect. So not only do photomethods provide a medium for collecting and articulating the black box of implementation, they also open up a space for practitioners to voice and reflect on their position in the box.

Just as in any qualitative research study, the information solicited from our two participants might not be generalized to account for all of the experiences of every policy-implementing principal. Goldman-Segall (1998) suggested that research using photography and digital media has the opportunity to contribute to configurational validity or the layering of data to help grasp a larger picture. Photovoice as used in this study helps produce a portion of the bricolages or pieced together representations of a more complex situation (Denzin and Lincon, 2011). Thus the information gathered through Jaime and Roger's process of documenting their experiences through photography and reflecting on issues conjured up by these images adds to a larger conversation about what actually occurs within this black box.

While we intended to use photovoice to describe the experiences of the policy-implementing principals, we encountered a fractured community of these individuals. As Catalani and Minkler (2010) point out in their review of literature, there is a range of fidelity to the community engagement aspect of photovoice. Photovoice typically involves disenfranchised populations (e.g. Cooper and Yarbrough, 2010; Wang and Burris, 2004). The principal, as we have described, is at the nexus of two hierarchies, at the bottom of one (the policy process) while at the point of another (site-based governance). Emancipatory research with these implicated advocates (Carpenter and Brewer, 2011) is more complex than Friere (2000) participatory research with oppressed populations. The oppressed-oppressors distinction is much more subtle for school administrators. Thus, this paper illustrates the immense potential for future research involving a community of school administrators in a photovoice project.

Embodiment is an underused framework in educational leadership. Where concepts of feeling enter into scholarship (Bolton and English, 2010; Thomson and Sanders, 2010), they are represented cognitively affecting school administrators. This paper has shown that when studying people and the influence that they have on a given situation, it is important to focus on the senses engaged. To do so, we can recognize this intimate and fleshy relationship. By doing so, we are able to establish the qualitatively different ways that individuals are able to engage, implement policy, mentor, discipline and be as principals. This rich picture of school policy implementation differs from the typical picture of a policy arriving and then policy compliance or deviance ensures.

Not only does the new international form of governance spreading throughout western democracies (Ball, 2009; Stoker, 2003) heightens the need to understand the complicit and conflicted position of the school principal, but it also points to the ways in which we are preparing principals for this position. Scholars like Theoharis (2007)

and Bolton and English (2010) point out that there is a disconnect between the ways we prepare leaders and the real pressures involved in being a socially just educational leader. Photovoice is one tool that engages leaders and future leaders in reflection and growth on the complexity of leading in our accountability driven policy environment.

Notes

1. It is important to note that after this point, the terms perception and experience are used interchangeably.

2. It is important to note that while we focus on the this unpredictable quality of Montclair High School and Jamie's experiences as principal, Montclair high school has a long tradition of being a well-run school. In fact, it has a national reputation of quality: a large majority of Montclair's student population goes on to be successful in college.

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Appendix

Jamie: Take pictures of …
Your experience of the ways in which students and/or teachers feel the effects of the budget cuts that you described to us.
The tensions and successes that arise as you implement the rigorous curriculum that your school upholds.
Your experience of the tensions that arise when trying to maintain a safe environment and mitigate or respond to policies that come from the outside.

Roger: Take pictures of …
Your experiences where you feel as though you are representing the district and your school.
Your experiences where you are asked questions that might lead to the need for additional explanation.
Your experiences when you have to think twice about hugging a child.

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