Sexuality and the Construction of Instrumental Music Teacher Identity

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ABSTRACT

Using a post structural framework (Foucault, 1980; Weedon, 1997), this study investigated how music teacher identity is constructed through practice and influenced by the discourses that surround instrumental music teachers’ work in classrooms (Britzman, 2003; Terwilliger, 2006; Watson, 2006; Zemblyas, 2003). Data was collected through in-depth interviews, field notes from non-participant observations, and participant journal entries. Using narrative analysis to analyze these data, I identified themes through participant stories of dilemmas and successes in practice (Riessman 1993).

Sexuality arose as a theme when one participant discussed the role music played in relation to his gay identity as a teen. Only through musical performance was Chris able to express who he “truly” was; music, paradoxically, provided both a medium for self-expression as well as a veil to hide that expression/disclosure from others. Although “out” to his friends and family, as an adult Chris remained in the closet in his professional life as a teacher. Evoking the metaphor of a chameleon, Chris described his classroom identity as one that changes, adapts, and conceals.

In addition to these findings, the research process itself raises ethical questions concerning LGBT research. I was confronted with the power dynamics that exist in the relationship of researcher and participant, challenges of privacy, and the depth of responsibility a researcher has when interpreting and writing a participant’s experience.
Sexuality and the Construction of Instrumental Music Teacher Identity

This paper presents both the results of a research study where issues of sexual identity arose in the findings, as well as a reflexive analysis of the research process itself. Interested in the influences of music teacher identity, I studied three instrumental music teachers to uncover additional factors beyond the musician and teacher identities that influenced who they were becoming and had become as teachers. In addition to the musician and teacher identities of current research, I found conflicting and multilayered discourses surrounding pedagogical decision-making, the role and place of competition, the negotiation of k-12 hierarchies, the placement of music as subordinate to academics, race, class, and sexuality.

As the researcher I found the theme of sexuality to be unique among factors both during the study, and later in the writing process. Researching this theme became an emotional process as I viewed the restriction my participant felt in his professional life. The theme of sexuality confronted me as I grappled with how to interview my participant without revealing his sexuality to his colleagues and students, and how I, a heterosexual woman, could understand and capture his struggle. This paper is a report on how sexuality played a role in Chris’ identity construction, and what the revelation of his experience means for an LGBT research agenda in music education.

Related Literature

Music teacher identity research has focused on undergraduate music education majors and uncovered two categories: musician identity, and teacher identity (Hargreaves, Purves, Welch & Marshall, 2007; Roberts, 1991). In particular, Roberts found that despite the fact that students were enrolled in music education programs, they identified themselves as “performers” specifically by instrument, before they identified as “teachers.” Additional researchers have focused on this duality, discovering nuanced versions of the relationship that exists between the two (Ballantyne, 2005; Bernard, 2004; Bladh, 2004; Bouij, 1998; Prescesky, 1997). Exploring factors outside of the musician/teacher dualism, Rich (2004) found factors of intensification, isolation, the marginalization of music within the curriculum, individual career paths, past experiences and significant mentors to play large roles in the development of instrumental teacher identity.
Although music education has focused primarily on the musician and teacher identities, researchers in education have examined a wide array of factors that shape teacher identity, including gender (Ellingson, 2001; Sowell, 2004), professionalism (Terwilliger, 2006), race (Lynn, 2002), emotion (Zemblyas, 2003) and sexuality (Evans, 2002). Hoping to expand the research on music teacher identity to include additional factors to the musician/teacher dualism, current work in the wider field of education provided the framework for this study.

**Theoretical Framework**

Researchers of music education and education in general approach teacher identity with varying theoretical frameworks. The majority of work in music teacher identity is situated within sociological frameworks, where identity is approached as socially constructed, studying the ways in which individuals interact and find meaning within society, through institutions, groups, and practices. In contrast, the current research in the broader field of education on teacher identity, adopts post structural positions on identity, where identity is seen as an ongoing process in which individuals draw on discourses to construct selves.

Foucault’s (1980) concept of discursive fields and discourse are central to this notion of identity, and form the framework for this study. For Foucault, discursive fields are social processes that are organized in institutions such as the political system, law, the family, and in this study’s case, the educational system. Discursive fields have particular practices and structures where “language, social institutions, subjectivity and power exist, intersect, and produce competing ways of giving meaning” (Jackson, 2001, p. 386). For Foucault, these often competing positions within a discursive field are *discourses*, a set of “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1980, p. 49).

In relation to education, discourses are important because they play a large role in shaping who we become as teachers, and help form our roles within educational institutions. They provide positions and alternatives, language and practices with which we adopt, choose and negotiate through the act of teaching, both consciously and subconsciously. As we draw on our available options, interpreted by our own subjectivities, we draw on the possible options provided by society as possibilities in shaping the selves. This process, however, is not necessarily one of free choice, as the options that are provided are not always recognized, or advantageous in developing the self.
Research Aims

Given this notion of identity construction, and the gap in research between music teacher identity and teacher identity research, I looked to investigate the multiple discourses surrounding the practice of instrumental music, in this case – band teachers. How do specific instrumental music teachers name and navigate those discourses? How does the practice of teaching, shape instrumental music teachers’ construction of teacher identity?

Methodology

I chose a narrative, multiple case study (Creswell, 1998) to examine the construction of teacher identity in the experience and practice of three band teachers in separate school settings. Margaret was in her third year of teaching elementary, Anna was in her eighth year of teaching band in urban settings, and Chris, who is the focus of this paper, was in his twentieth year of teaching band in an upper-class suburb of a large urban area. I collected data through in-depth interviews, field notes and audio recordings from observations of their classrooms, and journal entries from each participant.

Narrative research influenced the study in terms of the type of data collected, as well as the forms of analysis used. Narrative researchers carry the underlying belief that participants create meaning through language and through the telling of experience. By telling stories people “put shards of experience together, to (re)construct identity, community, and tradition, if only temporarily” (Casey, 1995, p. 216). Narrative analysis allows researchers to take into account the larger story being told. The story itself becomes the place of analysis for not only the content of what was told, but how the participant told the story (Riessman, 1993).

Findings

Music and Identity

An early theme that arose during data collection with Chris was the relationship of music to his sexual identity. Although “out” to his friends and family, Chris did not openly discuss his sexual identity in his professional life. Prior to official data collection, in a social setting, Chris had mentioned that he was unsure if his colleagues knew he was gay, and during the study expressed that it was not relevant for them to know. It was also clear from the interviews and school observations, particularly in the final interview, that Chris kept his sexual identity hidden from students and colleagues. For example, any data
in which he used the term “gay” or “sexual identity” occurred in journal entries that were sent to me digitally. Any discussion occurring during school interviews used vague or coded language where Chris would check for my understanding using direct eye contact, a pause in speech, or ask directly if I understand.

The first time the issue of sexuality emerged was in a journal entry in which Chris discussed the important role music played for him as a teen.

As a child I wanted to be an actor. I loved to tell stories. As a gay teen, I became less willing to put myself ‘out there’ for fear of being labeled and ostracized—it was the height of AIDS panic. Music was the place I could most be myself without fear of what people would think. It was one place I was judged by what I did and not by who I was.

Music provided both a venue to be expressive without judgment and, paradoxically, a veil to hide that expression from others. The term “veil” is purposeful here, as a veil covers to obscure or conceal, as music did for Chris.

I think I knew as early as middle school that teaching was something I was interested in. And that was a pretty difficult time for me...but music was definitely becoming more and more of an interest, specialized interest. I liked different kinds of music. I wasn’t tied into one type particularly. I enjoyed playing. I felt that I could be expressive in a way that I didn’t feel like I could be as a person. Um, I think I felt a little straight jacketed—no, I know that I felt straight jacketed in adolescence.

Chris found a multiplicity in music making and listening that was freeing; various styles of music and opportunities for musical performance provided a rich palette for personal expression. He contrasts this feeling with being “straight-jacketed” as a gay teen in a heteronormative culture. The “closeted” feeling he experienced socially was released through musical expression.

When I hit adolescence I was sort of like ‘What’s wrong with me? What the hell? What’s going on?” I couldn’t deal with that and musically I could sort of relate because... it allowed me to be expressive in a way that didn’t necessarily draw attention to whatever I was, you know, struggling with, emotionally or in terms of identity. In a way it allowed me to filter that identity into something that was artistic without necessarily calling attention to it in a masculine or feminine way. And it still allowed me to be, pretty much, just another (last name) in the family without any external indications of anything other than I was a little awkward.

Music as a “filter” or veil offered a safe form of expression and proved to be an accepted activity in his family. Positioned within a family of athletes, Chris felt pressure to follow in his siblings’ footsteps. He described himself as an awkward child as compared to them, because he was more interested in putting on plays in his backyard than in participating in athletics. Chris relayed specific incidents in which his elementary physical education teacher, who was also his older brother’s coach at the time,
tormented Chris during class to try to “toughen him up.” Chris’ parents could accept, understand and support the activity of music similarly to the ways in which they supported Chris’ siblings in athletics. Well music was something that everybody enjoyed and they liked the fact that I played and they liked the fact that I got involved in things and they could go... I think part of it too was that I was never going to be a star athlete, so they needed to find what was going to be the family event that involved [Chris]. It was going to see musical things and being involved in music. So they loved coming to the concerts and if I had a solo on the trumpet or if I sang a solo in the chorus you know that was like my brother pinning a kid in wrestling. And they could make that transition - they were fine with it.

Music provided a valid substitute for sports. Attending concerts, watching Chris perform solos, and supporting his training with private lessons mirrored the way Chris’ family supported his athletic siblings.

Chris’ relationship with music was intertwined with his negotiation of a gay sexual identity in a heteronormative culture. Music provided much more than an outlet for emotion; it functioned as a space in which he could be expressive, while at the same time conceal his sexuality. The veil of music, however safe, was necessary because Chris feared the consequences of being open with his sexuality. It provided him with the ability to still express who he was, but at the cost of having a continual barrier between himself and others.

Teacher as Chameleon

In addition to describing the role that music played during his adolescence, Chris described himself as a social chameleon. 

C: It was weird because you know, while I was struggling with my own sense of identity, I think I became sort of a chameleon and I was trying sort of different outfits out, you know in a way to see what would fit. So I would hang out with the jock preppie, and I would hang out with the band music, and I would hang out with the burn-out druggie type people, just to see how they all fit...It wasn’t until I went to college and entered a much more sort of uniform environment. And then I also got to the point where it was like - come on - I have to deal with this. I went through high school, really as a kind of chameleon, and coming out in a sense not feeling like I had any really close relationships with anybody.

M: Because you were sort of bouncing around?

C: Yeah, because I was bouncing around trying to figure out where I fit. Um and there was no way, we didn’t have like, here at the high school, most of the high schools have these GSA [Gay-Straight Alliance] groups. And uh, kids that are comfortable enough with themselves, or confident enough, can go in that direction to get that kind of support. (lowered voice) I had no idea where to get that kind of support. So my way to get it was to jump around into different kids and never stay with one group too long and you know, make a lot of music, which is a place where I felt safe.
Chris’s approach to seeking out social relationships during middle and high school was to perform various identities as a way of “trying them on” to see what might “fit.” Without supportive groups like the GSA (Gay Straight Alliance) that are common in schools today, Chris was alone in his search for a group he fit into. He links this adolescent experience to the process of teaching. In a journal entry, Chris explained:

I say all this to point out that I am still “truest” when making music. My life as a teacher feels less so. As a teacher I am more [like] the actor/improviser I was as a teen in school. Some referred to me [then] as a chameleon because I appeared comfortable in most any clique. As a teacher I use this for the sake of engaging students. I find what sparks their interest and find a way of genuinely relating to it.

As a teacher I am dynamic, exciting, unpredictable, uninhibited, and empathetic, but all these traits are exhausting and less prevalent outside the classroom, except perhaps for empathy. I suppose I am these things as a musician as well, but in a less obvious way, it’s all channeled into the music.

As a person, I am more reserved, actually rather bookish and shy. I don’t socialize easily and often don’t open up much until I’ve had a few drinks. What amazes me sometimes is how automatic and immediate is the change when I enter the classroom. I suppose that has taken time, but it has always felt that way and when class ends, I feel myself retreat into myself to conserve energy for the next “performance.”

It is interesting that Chris chose the label of “chameleon” to describe himself, not only as a gay teen, but as a teacher as well. Chameleons change color to camouflage, but also as a social indicator to other chameleons. For Chris in adolescence, changing his identity in social settings was done in part to find where he might fit, but also to hide his sexuality. Similarly, as a teacher, Chris changes his identity as he moves between the classroom and life outside of school. As a teacher, he not only changes and performs particular roles to engage students, using this ability to relate and connect to them, but also to conceal his sexuality. To “relate and connect” to his students is a means to hide his sexuality and perform an expected heteronormative idea of a teacher. As Chris points out, this process is draining, both physically and emotionally.

Discussion

Music as a type of closet

When Chris was a student, a personal and private connection to music simultaneously occurred with the negotiation of his identity in a “climate of fear.” He references the height of the AIDS panic, clearly a time of overt homophobia. Looking to both express and hide his sexual identity, Chris found music to be a medium that surprisingly provided both. What is it about music that created this space for...
Chris, this dual function of expression and veil? This is similar to Brett’s (2006) discussion of the connection of music to gay identity.

Music is a perfect field for the display of emotion. It is particularly accommodating to those who have difficulty in expressing feelings in day-to-day life, because the emotion is unspecified and unattached. The piano, let us say for example, will thus become an important means for the attempt at expression, disclosure, or communication on the part of those children who have difficulties of various kinds with one or both parents. To gay children, who often experience a shutdown of all feeling as the result of sensing their parents’ and society’s disapproval of a basic part of their sentient life, music appears as a veritable lifeline (p. 17).

The abstract nature of music and its expression provides a connection to music that is, as Brett says, “unspecified and unattached.” For Chris, it created an abstracted expression, one that allowed simultaneous divulgement and concealment. Aside from perhaps lyrics to a song, one can be expressive through music without being explicit about that expression. Music, here, functions for Chris as a type of closet.

Sedgwick defines the closet as a nuanced space, resisting the binary as one who is either “in” or “out.”

“Closetedness” itself is a performance initiated as such by the speech act of a silence – not a particular silence, but a silence that accrues particularity by fits and starts, in relation to the discourse that surrounds and differentially constitutes it“ (2008, p. 3).

In other words, the space of the closet is not just dictated by what is said or not said, but how and where one is silenced. Taking Chris’s experience of music, he is “truest when making music,” as it was “the place I could most be myself without fear of what people would think.” The abstract nature of the type of music he engaged in, allowed him to be true to himself without a clear communication of that self to others. The abstract nature of music as a form of expression for Chris also functioned as a type of closet, a form of silence. Music provided both voice and silence at the same time, a safe space where he could be himself openly, while also remain hidden.

**Classroom as Discursive Field**

Identity theorized from a post structural framework adopts a notion of identity that is not unified but rather continually in process, being constructed through experience and language within discursive fields. For teachers, one discursive field is the space of the classroom where conflicting identities collide, where a professional identity is in part shaped. Chris’ description of himself as a chameleon eloquently depicts this complex process. Trying on identities to conceal himself as a teen,
reminds him of teaching, because as teachers there are particular aspects of ourselves that we choose to hide. Teaching is similar to being on stage, and in the case of Chris and band directors in general, he is a conductor on a podium in front of a large group of students. This is a position of great power and influence as well as a place of exposure and vulnerability. Not only must Chris act and perform to connect with students and engage them in the process of performing music, but he must choose which parts of himself he shares and which parts to hide.

This process is a negotiation, for Chris must become, in part, a person students expect him to be, or want him to be. He presents a particular self and depending upon their responses, he decides whether to continue or to change, to “find what sparks their interest and find a way of genuinely relating to it.” This process is not just a result of who Chris feels like presenting that day, for who he is, is partly counter to whom the students expect him to be. When I am in the classroom, for example, I often tell stories featuring my husband or son. Students expect to hear those stories from teachers, as they expect and assume me to follow a heteronormative norm. The distinction Chris makes in his personal and public life as a teacher is far more difficult and clear than a distinction I make. I might choose to share only certain aspects of my family life, but Chris chooses to completely hide his, so that he can become who his students expect and can relate to.

Chris becomes someone in the classroom that is in part dictated by the space of the school. The discursive field of the classroom suppresses parts of his self and celebrates others, a space that normalizes behavior, where identities are policed. In this case, for Chris, his gay identity is suppressed in a heteronormative space that is the classroom. This process is not an easy one, a simple turning on or off of characters that Chris has created. It is, rather, a complex process of shifting identity dictated by the needs and expectations of the classroom. He writes:

What amazes me sometimes is how automatic and immediate is the change when I enter the classroom. I suppose that has taken time, but it has always felt that way and when class ends, I feel myself retreat into myself to conserve energy for the next “performance.”

I would argue that his “retreating” to himself to “conserve energy for the next performance” demonstrates the daily emotional energy expelled as he works to hide his private self in his professional space of the classroom. The heteronormative discourses that surround his classroom, and public schools in general, have in part created the teacher that Chris has become (Friend, 1993).
Ethical Issues

It is here where I take a reflexive turn, and put the analytical lens on the research process itself. Grbich (2007) defines reflexivity as “the constantly reflective and self-critical processes undergone by the researcher at all stages of the research project” (p. 10). According to Saukko (2005), a reflexive researcher makes sure that she does not “end up forgetful of the discourses that guide the analysis itself” (p. 350). Although Chris’ experience informs us about the role sexuality plays in professional music teaching identity, there is more to this story, a parallel narrative that runs alongside the story itself.

In reflecting upon the process of collecting and analyzing data and writing, particular research issues emerged in relation to Chris and the theme of sexuality. While researching identity construction I discussed a wide variety of topics, both personal and professional, with all three participants. Yet the experience of researching Chris’ theme of sexuality proved to be far more emotional, nuanced, and demanding. Sexuality troubled the tension between the personal and professional lives of a teacher in ways that other themes, such as competition and pedagogical conflicts, did not (Alsup, 2006). The interview process with Chris created more tension and risk, and the writing of Chris’ story presented me with a heightened sense of responsibility in the representation of participant experience. What can be learned from my experience as a researcher, and what principles should guide future research?

The Final Interview

During data collection with Chris all interviews took place in his classroom or office, a setting where Chris was not “out.” I had several follow-up questions for our final interview about sexuality and contacted him ahead of time to see if he would rather discuss that topic via email, over the phone, or change the location of our final interview. Chris chose, however, to continue with our plans to meet at school because “it is late afternoon and everyone will be gone by then.” I proceeded to the interview knowing that I had to be careful in how and when I raised this topic.

To add to the challenge, when I arrived at Chris’ school, I realized that everyone was not gone. Chris immediately acknowledged that we were not alone, looked me directly in the eye to say, “We have an awards assembly tonight and everyone decided to hang around.” His tone was casual, as other teachers were standing right there, but his direct eye contact conveyed to me that we could not discuss sexuality as planned. Prior to this interview, Chris did not often use eye contact when we spoke. He
would look other places when talking, particularly as he was reflecting upon his experiences. This direct eye contact was a marked shift in his body language, and a clear signal to me of risk.

Chris directed me away from the music office, where the teachers were sitting, to the band room, as he said that no one planned to use the space. However, this space was central to the music suite. The offices, practice rooms, parking lot and the hallway were all accessible from the band room. Soon after the interview commenced, students began coming in and out, walking from the parking lot to a practice room. Again, looking right into my eyes, Chris informed me that a student-run a capella group was singing at the awards ceremony and decided to have a rehearsal after school in one of the practice rooms. There we sat, in the center of the music suite, colleagues and students visibly and audibly surrounding us, all of whom did not know Chris was gay, hoping to talk in depth about Chris’ experience as a closeted, gay, band director. I was frozen, knowing that I could not proceed as planned. In that moment was at a loss as to how to proceed at all.

As we began making small talk, I waited for an opportunity to suggest that we change our location, or continue the interview later. Then Chris paused mid-sentence, looked me directly in the eye and said, “and that probably leads directly into what you had wanted to talk about today.” He paused again, still looking me in the eye; I nodded, giving him the sign that I was ok to precede.

The interview became an intense and emotional experience where Chris proceeded to use coded language and eye contact to discuss his sexuality in a place where he was not “out,” with people circulating in the space in which he kept his sexuality hidden. I was amazed and saddened by the ease in which Chris would both share and conceal in language, his ability to use general terms, yet look at me, pause and ask, “Do you follow me here?” to make sure that I understood those codes. I felt the space closing in around me, as I, for that moment, was drawn into the closet with Chris, and felt the silencing that Chris has experienced for 19 years. The specificity of what was said is less memorable to me than the feeling I had during the interview, and the adaptations Chris had to make in order to communicate.

The space in this context clearly shaped the interview. The presence of colleagues and students in his professional climate did not give Chris the freedom to talk openly about his sexuality. Although I attempted to change the location of our interviews, Chris continued to choose for me to meet him at
school. Given that this was the final interview, there was a clear desire for both of us to talk about his sexuality, to such a degree that Chris spoke in code for almost two hours, putting himself at risk of disclosure. Why was this desire to tell strong enough to create this intense interview?

**The Confession**

Foucault’s (1990) notion of the confession is helpful here, as it uncovers the power dynamic involved in the interview process. Situating sex and truth historically, Foucault points to the Western construction of the confession as one of the main rituals we rely on for the production of truth. As the sacrament of penance became codified in 1215 (p. 58), the confession and consequent inquisition techniques and procedures became central to civil and religious institutions. As Foucault explains, the confession has since become integral to our society as a highly valued technique for producing truth.

> It plays a part in justice, medicine, education, family relationships, and love relations, the most ordinary affairs of everyday life, and in the most solemn rites; one confesses one’s crimes, one’s sins, one’s thoughts and desires, one’s illnesses and troubles; one goes about telling, with the greatest precision, whatever is most difficult to tell (p. 59).

This process of confessing is a complicated one, imbued with power relations. Confession by force is an obvious example, where for instance, those in power may use violence to force one to confess the truth. But Foucault argues that confession has become so ingrained in our culture that we misrecognize those power relations, and, rather, often view the act of confession as one of liberation or freedom, as if truth demands to surface, and any suppression of truth, is an act of violence or silencing.

In examining research, or in particular, the interview, through the lens of Foucault’s confession, we cannot ignore the power dynamics that exist between interviewer and interviewee as well as their surrounding environment. Beginning with the researcher, we must unpack the relations of power that exist in the act of asking an LGBT music educator to tell of their experience. What are our intentions, and what truth(s) are we seeking through such confessions? What risk do we place a participant in by asking? How does the relationship between interviewer and interviewee shape the truths that are told? Are we assuming, that by the act of telling a participant’s story, we provide a space of freedom or liberation, of voice? What emotional consequences occur to the participant as a result of the process of telling? What responsibilities do researchers have when we report our findings and construct the participant’s story?
Scholarship in queer research (Kong, Mahoney, & Plummer; 2001) can be used as a framework to guide our efforts. If we look to the changes that have occurred in interviewing LGBT participants over the past century, moving from a clinical and objective framework to more reflective and reflexive approaches we see a marked shift away from clinical interviews that view “homosexuality” as a disease. Researchers now view such interviews through the cultural and political discourses that shape the interviewer, interviewee and the interview itself. Interviews that essentialized gay experience have shifted to a wider range of questions that recognize a range of queer experience. Similarly, the closet is viewed as a much more nuanced and shifting concept, rather than in a strict binary of “in” or “out” (Sedgwick, 1990).

In addition, narrative researchers are at the forefront of moving beyond traditional approaches to research ethics, accounting for the interpreted, nuanced and personal meaning created in such research (Smythe & Murray; 2000). In looking to creating more appropriate and current ethical principals, narrative researchers are incorporating process consent, moving beyond pseudonyms for privacy and anonymity, acknowledging the potential risk of harm from emotional issues that arise in the course of an interview, and in having one’s story reinterpreted and filtered through the lens of the researcher. It is within the guidance and framework of this work that LGBT music education research must be situated.

To return to my story of the final interview with Chris, many of these research dilemmas are apparent. Although aware of the position Chris was in when interviewing at school, I was unprepared for the risk of disclosure that the final interview created, and the position Chris was in during that interview. He wanted to share with me, he knew I had specific questions, and he wanted to provide a good interview. Perhaps his decision to discuss his sexuality in that space, however coded, was a way for him to reclaim that space, to subvert the silencing he has felt for so many years. Or perhaps it was a conflicted emotional experience for Chris, one in which he felt pressured to share for me, and fearful of disclosure.

Foucault reminds us not to take the interview process itself for granted, simply as another objective way to gather data, but rather as a reflexive and interpretive process. It is my hope that the story of Chris not only presents important findings related to issues of gay music teachers, particularly the relationship of music and sexual identity, and the nuances of professional and personal lives, but that a reflexive look at my study also asks larger methodological and ethical questions, and gives us pause as we pursue an LGBT research agenda in music education.
References


