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On Being a Teacher-Ethnographer: Nestling the Ethical and Logistical Dilemmas among the Joys of Insiderness

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Abstract

This paper relates to an ethnographic study of a group of eighteen-year-old girls, in their final school year, in a secondary school in Ireland. The ethnography explored social class and gender discourses that presented in the girls' various relationships in the school and in broader peer culture. This paper outlines the methodological phenomena I experienced as the ethnographic researcher and a teacher in the school. In this paper, I explore my insider positionality as a teacher-ethnographer from perspectives such as: access, ethics, power and relationships, within the specific context of this girls' Catholic school in Ireland. The paper makes a specific contribution to the particular and contextualised insider-outsider positionality of the teacher-ethnographer. This dual role required me to transition back and forth between the roles of teacher and researcher, in order to access the cultural stories of the girls' lived experiences. This dual role was informed by my strong reflexive stance throughout the process. This paper argues that despite significant existing research on the insider-outsider methodological debate, there are benefits to exploring and reviewing new contexts and varied approaches to teacher-insider research. The teacher-ethnographer is a role fraught with ethical and logistical dilemmas, but this paper offers some contextualised generalizability to other practitioners considering this insider approach.

Keywords

Teacher-Ethnographer, Insider-Outsider, Ethics, Reflexivity

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On Being a Teacher-Ethnographer: Nestling the Ethical and Logistical Dilemmas among the Joys of Insiderness

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This paper relates to an ethnographic study of a group of eighteen-year-old girls, in their final school year, in a secondary school in Ireland. The ethnography explored social class and gender discourses that presented in the girls' various relationships in the school and in broader peer culture. This paper outlines the methodological phenomena I experienced as the ethnographic researcher and a teacher in the school. In this paper, I explore my insider positionality as a teacher-ethnographer from perspectives such as: access, ethics, power and relationships, within the specific context of this girls' Catholic school in Ireland. The paper makes a specific contribution to the particular and contextualised insider-outsider positionality of the teacher-ethnographer. This dual role required me to transition back and forth between the roles of teacher and researcher, in order to access the cultural stories of the girls' lived experiences. This dual role was informed by my strong reflexive stance throughout the process. This paper argues that despite significant existing research on the insider-outsider methodological debate, there are benefits to exploring and reviewing new contexts and varied approaches to teacher-insider research. The teacher-ethnographer is a role fraught with ethical and logistical dilemmas, but this paper offers some contextualised generalizability to other practitioners considering this insider approach.

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There are increasingly large numbers of teachers engaging in professional development which accentuates the role of research for practitioner learning (Edwards, 2014). Research methods modules in initial teacher education programmes bridge the gap between theory and practice and position research as part of teacher education (Kyei-Blankson, 2014). Teacher research in schools in Ireland has been prioritised in recent years with the development of a national framework for teachers' professional development and a focus on fostering a culture of research among teachers in practice (Teaching Council, 2011). The "teacher as action researcher" has become a familiar term (Bognar, 2013) and this research approach is employed in many school-based studies nationally and internationally, to enable teacher insights into student learning, in order to enhance practitioner effectiveness (Jove, 2011). The focus on pedagogical research among teachers is highlighted by Sellar (2009) with some teachers also using a self-study approach to improve practice (Whitehead, 2009). However, there are very few studies in schools where teacher-researchers provide narrative or ethnographic accounts, yet these studies provide insightful opportunities that explore the important cultural elements of school experience (Tan, 2013). Ethnography is rarely used by practicing teachers in their own school, due to the ethical and logistical challenges this approach presents. For example, issues of power dynamics given the existing teacher-student relationship and assessment role of the teacher pose ethical challenges. There are also ethical issues with the potential disclosure of sensitive or critical information about the school or other teachers. In addition, the logistics of being a full time teacher and doing ethnography, which requires prolonged timescales in the field and extensive observation is difficult to manage (Robson, 2002).

The value of this paper is that it provides valuable insights for other teacher researchers considering research in educational settings, as it details the balancing act involved in being a teacher and an ethnographer simultaneously. This paper presents dilemmas faced during the research process and discusses how these were managed. It argues that authentic insider research is possible by employing strong reflexivity; therefore, this paper is of benefit to those considering insider research in general, but also for researchers considering ethnographic approaches. Importantly, this paper adds value as a contextualised teacher ethnography, to the literature on both insider teacher research and ethnographic studies.

In this paper, I specifically discuss the beneficial aspects of being a teacher-ethnographer as well as research dilemmas, which arose due to my insiderness. Ethnography is a flexible qualitative enquiry method suitable for the study of a cultural group over time, usually employing observational data collection alongside other qualitative techniques such as interview (Robson, 2002). Ethnography has its roots in cultural anthropology with ethnographers such as Boas (1969) and Mead (2001) who researched primitive cultures rituals, practices and beliefs, but in recent decades there has been a massive expansion in ethnographic studies across a number of fields, including health studies and education. The term teacher-ethnographer represents my positionality in the dual roles I occupied during the research process. It is different to the more usual term, “classroom ethnographer” (Malin, 2003), which refers to a teacher who researches the culture of his or her own classroom. I use the term “teacher-ethnographer” as I researched the culture of the school as a structure, where practices and norms experienced by a group of final year girls were explored. Therefore, the term teacher-ethnographer presents a less used but broader application of school based ethnography. Insiderness refers to a researcher’s embeddedness in the culture of the research site (Gilligan, 1982) and as a teacher in the school for many years my level of insiderness was high.

The school context is an academic girls’ Catholic state school on the outskirts of a large city in Ireland. Admission to the school is competitive where parents use their social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1998) to ensure a place for their daughter in a school with excellent academic success and ample extra-curricular facilities. Knowledge of the context can be a positive, but as this paper discusses, can pose significant challenge. For example, in my school, the girls must never be in a room alone with a teacher. However, as a researcher, issues of confidentiality, privacy and participant anonymity are of ethical importance and therefore careful management of my dual roles was necessary. Moreover, it was a professional expectation that I would contribute to maintaining discipline at all times, yet I believed that rescinding my disciplinary role somewhat, would assist with the development of trust with the girls. Therefore, merging a teacher role with that of a researcher had clear benefits and nuanced dilemmas, as discussed throughout this paper. Ethnography is more often used by researchers who come into schools from outside to observe and research teacher and student practices (Stan & Humberstone, 2011). The researcher-practitioner experience often receives limited attention in the literature with the focus tending to be on the substantive findings of the study (Yu, 2011).

In this paper, I explore my position as a teacher-ethnographer from perspectives such as; access to the site and participants, ethics, power dynamics, and managing a dual role during data collection phases. I discuss these methodological phenomena encountered, based on illustrative accounts sourced from entries recorded in my reflexive journal (shared below). This paper provides a valuable addition to the insider-outsider debate in the way it critically appraises the possibilities, but also the challenges of teacher-ethnography. Teacher-ethnography is presented as a particular and nuanced form of teacher-researcher. The precise argument presented is that, despite challenges, teacher-ethnographers can elicit valuable insights into the cultural and relational aspects of school experience. The dynamics of teacher-ethnography and the relational and ethical aspects of this research choice (Wang, 2013) occupy

a niche position in the literature and this paper provides a contextualised contribution to a growing body of knowledge in this area.

This paper highlights that teacher-ethnography is not an easy research option and can be fraught with unexpected contextual, methodological and ethical dilemmas. It raises awareness of potential challenges for other teacher-researchers and provides some useful contextualised generalisable points. As teacher research increases, it is important to continuously consider the experiences of others, in order to manage the blurred boundaries of insider-outsider research and to explore methodological phenomena associated with insider research, in different contexts (Perryman, 2011). This paper provides such a focus due to the Irish (single sex) girls school context and the researcher's ethnographic approach.

Context

While this paper focuses specifically on the insider-outsider phenomenon of this teacher-ethnography, the context, rationale and purpose of the broader study provides a necessary insight for the readers' into the school's cultural practices and institutional habitus. Bourdieu and Nice (1977) explain the concept of "Habitus" as:

Systems of durable transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations, which are objectively regulated and regular without in any way being the product of obedience to rules. (p. 78)

Habitus is a key Bourdieu (1998) concept, which was of significant relevance to the broader study. A personal "habitus" is embodied by the individual born into it, as a set of dispositions possessed by the person. The individual has a subjective agency but it operates within the confines of the embodied cultural element of the habitus. An institutional "habitus" similarly has a set of structures, which dictate (to some degree) the practice of agents within the institution. This can lead to homogenous social reproduction of practices and high degrees of conformity, as was the case in the school in context.

I had been a science teacher in the school for over twenty years on commencement of the broader study, teaching first to sixth year students and playing a role in extra-curricular activities and all aspects of school life. I decided to research in my own school as I previously had little knowledge of the girls' lived experiences and wanted to learn more about the cultural aspects of school life, as experienced by the girls. In addition, this school is in the top 10% in terms of academic performance in the terminal state examinations, so is a very high performing school. It is highly successful in maintaining its reputation for excellence and I had not previously considered the practices and rituals that contributed to the social and cultural reproduction of high achieving students. I wondered how the girls managed the school culture from personal, social and educational perspectives. I hoped this would enable me to further appreciate and understand their experience, so that I could use this new knowledge to inform my own practice and to share the findings with other practitioners and researchers. I was interested in knowing how agency and structure were evident in the actions, practices and interactions of the girls in school and outside in broader culture. I researched how the girls' personal habitus and the institutional habitus was realised in the actions and interactions of the girls. I inquired how hegemony might relate to cultural and social reproduction and how power operated among the girls. Importantly, I sought insights into the girls' understandings of their peer and self-identities. During a year in the field, (the school site) the girls shared their stories about their time in school and their aspired futures. This study enabled reciprocal learning

between the girls in the study and myself. The broader study facilitated an understanding of the lived realities of a group of young women as they embarked on new journeys together.

Methodology

Prior to commencement of the research, ethical approval was obtained from the author's affiliated academic institution. Issues of consent, confidentiality, anonymity and beneficence (as per the institution's research ethics regulations) were adhered to prior to and during the research process. For example, the ethics committee required the Board of Management of the school to be briefed on the aims of the research and to provide written approval for the study to be undertaken. Data collection methods included extended observation, ethnographic group interview, one-to-one interviews, a researcher reflexive journal and data from a key informant and critical friends. The observation phase commenced following the ethical process with a large group of 72 girls self-selected from a year-group of 90 final year girls. The aim of the initial observation phase was to categorise the girls by friendship group and to identify early emergent themes for further exploration. I used Spradley's (1979) observational dimensions to generate fieldnotes in various social spaces in the school, to identify practices, rituals and symbols of membership to the varied girl groups. These dimensions (Spradley, 1979) required me to observe the space, actors, activity, object, act, event, time, goal and feeling for each of the observations. This enabled a focused and rigorous approach to each observation and facilitated a consistency of approach to observation. Inductive analysis of fieldnotes provided me with tentative categories to explore at group interview stage. Those girls who agreed to progress to the group interview phase were interviewed on two occasions in their assigned friendship groups of 5-6. Of the initial 72 girls, 32 girls engaged in this phase and the others cited time required to study as a reason not to continue with the interview phase.

The purpose of the interviews was to understand more about the group dynamics, beliefs and experiences relating to cultural aspects of life in school and broader peer culture. More detailed coding and categorising of these interview transcripts provided the final themes and sub-themes, which were explored in greater depth with individuals within the groups. A final group of 14 self-selected girls from across the friendship groups proceeded to the final phase of in-depth one-to-one interviews. This smaller sample was representative of the larger peer groups with 2/3 members of each friendship group continuing with the research. Final numbers for the one-to-one interview phase were small as the terminal state examinations for completion of second level education were by then within weeks of commencing. Emergent themes following data collection, and analysis using grounded theory included; peer interactions, school context, power and relationships, body and sexuality and youth culture. See (Doran, 2015) for access to the full study.

Most ethnographical studies require an immersion in the culture of the study group for a prolonged period of time (Robson, 2002). This study was conducted over a year in the field, to maintain an integrity with the prolonged ethnographic approach. Current ethnographical research employs a range of methods but usually includes observation, as is the case in this study. From the position of describing participants' social realities, the ethnographer moves towards developing theory on the culture sharing group (Flick, 2009). The theory and broader findings of this study emerge from research questions, which elicit an exploration of what is happening in the field of study. I used a key informant from the group to assist with interpretations of the findings (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, this study is in keeping with many of the key features of ethnography. The nature of an ethnographic approach lends itself to beginning with specific and embedded research questions, with an awareness and flexibility that these questions can change and develop as the study progresses (Robson, 2002). Being a teacher-ethnographer influences the data in a number of ways because insider perspectives and

biases are present. Therefore, the knowledge has been constructed and interpreted with the researcher as a member of the culture-sharing group. Partial insider perspectives facilitate an ability to describe what is heard and seen within the framework of the social groups' view of reality (Creswell, 2007). This paper explores this insider positionality as a key feature of this ethnographic study.

During the research, I realised (due to reflexive journaling) how the influence of my social background as a working class girl had influenced my interest in themes related to social class and gender. Consequently, I realised the decision to conduct a teacher-ethnography was influenced from my own educational and cultural past. This realisation helped me with methodological decisions to manage bias such as, employing two critical friends and utilising a key informant throughout.

Positioning Myself in the Insider-Outsider Literature Debate

My interpretation of the terms insider and outsider is that an insider has spent extensive time with the cultural group whereas an outsider has no intimate knowledge of the cultural group (Griffith, 1998). I was an insider as I taught in the research site for twenty years and had extensive experience of the school culture. However, I was an outsider to the peer culture of the girls, as I had no intimate knowledge of this domain. Suwankhong and Liamputtong (2015) discuss the *cultural* insider who has significant cultural and social commonalities with the researched group. This is different to an insider who may have knowledge and some understanding of a culture having spent time with a group, but may not share a common culture with the researched. This suggests there are levels or categories of insiderness. Mercer (2007) claims that the terms insider/outsider are not definitive but should be considered as fluctuating, shifting and as part of a continuum. Similarly, Dwyer and Buckle (2009) explore the notion of the "space" that allows researchers to position themselves as both insiders and outsiders rather than envisage this positionality as dichotomous. I was both an insider and outsider simultaneously. My positionality was as an insider to school culture as a staff member for many years, but an outsider to the peer culture of the girls.

Innes (2009) questions the scholarly validity of insider research, due to the potential for biased findings, over-rapport, and potential power dynamics, which may be particularly pertinent between student and teacher. Perreault et al. (2009) suggest that research training to address challenges associated with insider research such as potential bias, is effective in enabling insiders to complete more rigorous research. Notwithstanding the importance of rigour, ethics and quality processes, it is not always beneficial to enlist the stranger to gather impartial data (Hodkinson, 2005) as there is significant challenging of existing perspectives between teacher and student, made possible by insider research. It is important to acknowledge that an outsider may not be able to gain entry to a school setting as effectively as a member of staff, as schools can be cautious of outsiders (Bridges, 2009).

I believed that as a female insider, researching girls, I could elicit authentic stories from the girls. Skeggs (2013) asserts that women researching other women, does not guarantee better data, but it is also argued that women are better able to research women due to the existence of enhanced levels of understanding (Gluck & Patai, 1991). Insiders often have better contextual insights, an ability to question preconceptions and more trusting relationships (Innes, 2009). The teacher-researcher has a unique opportunity to observe and listen with an informed understanding of school context (Hodkinson, 2005) and this was my experience throughout the research process. Merton (1972) criticises "insider doctrine" which insists that researchers should only study members of their own groups and asserts that an outsider can enable new questions to be asked. In addition, the outsider is better posed to ask the naive questions, according to Pole (1999). Hodkinson (2005) believes that while outsiders may have to work

harder to gain trust, outsiders still have the ability to gain a good understanding of the field over time. He dismisses the premise of a single insider truth, arguing instead that there are multiple insider and outsider views, collectively contributing to understanding. The nature of the teacher-researcher dual roles enables benefits including continuous first hand glimpses of life in school, but also significant challenges with marrying the two positions (Mercer, 2007). The dual roles of teacher-researcher can require a constant shifting between positions, which requires management, throughout the research process. (Ellis, 1998). My management of this dual role with inherent biases and assumptions are a key focus of this paper and discussed in relation to reflexivity, use of a key informant, critical friends and by positioning the voice of the girls as dominant.

Naples (1997) argues that there is always a shifting of power relations in any cultural community and this is a natural element of cultural interaction. Power-based renegotiations enable a fluidity of the insider-outsider standpoint, and a rebalancing of power between researchers and the researched (ibid). There is an argument that any academic who does research in a school has a level of educational insider knowledge and can never be fully impartial or outside (Ellis, 2009). This suggests that we are all insiders to the school experience and that researchers are rarely complete outsiders. Alternatively, Gilbert (1994) claims that irrespective of the environment, a researcher is still an outsider by nature of their research specific role within the field. In addition, insiders to a culture tend to be repositioned as outsiders, once their researcher role is established (Gilbert, 1994).

An important consideration emerging from the literature on the insider-outsider debate is whether attention should be less on the researcher's positionality and more on the extent to which the researcher influences the study. My engagement with a strong reflexivity (Harding, 2013) provided a space to contemplate and interpret the methodological phenomena encountered as both a teacher and ethnographer. Pillow (2003) calls for a move away from the comfortable uses of reflexivity to a more disruptive use of reflexivity in order to develop greater and deeper engagement with qualitative research. Reflexive ethnography appreciates that ethnographers are never disconnected from the study. The ethnographer's presence influences the research process, confirming the need for reflexivity. Davies (2008, p. 4) defines reflexivity as; "A turning back on oneself, a process of self-reference...it refers to the ways in which the products of research are affected by the personnel and process of doing research".

Many ethnographic researchers provide personal reflexive reflections on the development of the ethnography and the way it affected them and/or the participants (Creswell, 2007). This serves to re-visit ethics and validity and provides the opportunity to balance the researcher and researched perspectives (Chang, 1992; Whyte, 2012). Hertz (1997) argues that reflexivity enables researchers to become more conscious of the ideology, culture and politics of those we study and our own position. Reflexive ethnography can highlight how a researcher's attributes become meaningful, as the researcher gains knowledge in the field (Reinharz, 1997) while Hesse-Biber (2011) specifies that reflexive researchers seek to understand how their own social background, biases and assumptions influence the research process, an approach adopted in this study.

Discussion of the Joys and Dilemmas of the Teacher-Ethnographer

This section discusses many of the issues raised in the literature, in light of my experience as a teacher-ethnographer in an Irish girls' secondary school. This discussion details the nuanced and contextualised experience of managing the dual role of teacher-ethnographer from perspectives such as; access, ethics, reflexivity, power dynamics and voice. These categories engage and contribute to the current debates in the literature and in doing so, assist with the creation of a more holistic portrait of insider research.

Insider Access

Access and permission to conduct the study was straightforward as a member of staff in the school for many years. The Board of Management and principal gave prompt permission for me to conduct this ethnographic study following a letter of request submitted to the school. I was not restricted in any way, but I was required to protect the anonymity of the school during the research process. Ease of access to the site for an insider is well articulated in the literature (Creswell, 2007, Robson, 2002). The school management were encouraged that a member of staff was engaging in scholarly research, as this added prestige to the traditional and academic status of the school. This illustrates both the ease of access and perceived prestige afforded to the school by nature of my insider status. Being a teacher-ethnographer symbolised a reciprocal relationship, whereby I gained access, but also played a role in the upholding of the school's academic reputation.

Existing Relational Trust

The importance of the relational aspects between the researcher and researched, particularly in ethnographic studies, have already been highlighted (Chang, 1992, Perryman, 2011, Wang, 2012, Yu, 2011). It was important for me to shift from my teacher identity and establish an additional identity as a researcher from the outset. My existing relationship with the girls in the study was well established. I had taught the sisters of a few of the girls who participated although I deliberately chose not to research a group I had taught, to assist with the creation my new role as researcher. It would have been challenging both ethically and relationally if I were the assessor of academic work, during the research. The girls explained following the research process, that my reputation prior to the research meant there was significant trust before the research began, because of my reputation among peers (Innes, 2009). Due to this existing reputation, it was possible the girls could have felt an obligation to take part in the research, which I addressed using stringent and careful approaches to ethical approval described below (Flick, 2009). In addition, they could have said things they believed I wanted to hear and the open conversational approach implemented in interviews, where I avoided engaging except to pose open questions meant that over time I became less visible and natural conversations evolved among the girls (Robson, 2002). Additionally, this reputation could have influenced my researcher interactions with the girls, so that I subconsciously tried to maintain this positive reputation through over rapport (Creswell, 2007) and maintaining a reflexive journal was invaluable in this regard.

The girls commented that I reinforced my reputation through things I had done differently to other teachers, prior to the research process. They remembered how I asked them not to stand up when I came into any of their classrooms, when this was a cultural expectation in the school. They knew that I insisted the girls go to the bathroom without having to ask. They knew I was confidential if a girl came to discuss an issue they were having. The girls indicated they made a more informed decision about taking part in this research than they could have with an outsider they did not know. In addition, this trust was based on a reputational knowledge the girls possessed on my teacher identity. The girls said they would not have signed up for research with any teacher, but certain teachers whom they perceived (from experiences or shared knowledge) as trustworthy. This highlights the importance of prior relational perceptions for insider-researchers, dispelling a potential assumption that all insiders might benefit from increased trust. Where access to the site may remain uncomplicated for an insider teacher-researcher, access to willing participants may benefit from existing positive preconceptions of the researcher. This point is worthy of additional attention, in order to fully

understand the importance of the insider's relational history and culturally reproduced reputation in the site of study.

Ethics as an Insider

The process of gaining consent from a large initial group of students was also very easy due to my existing relationship with the students and position as a teacher in the school. I was aware that informed, voluntary, ethical consent and clarity on the right to withdraw was important as I appreciated the power dynamic and potential pressure the girls might feel to participate. Therefore, I visited the final year girls in their respective classrooms outlining my research aims, providing consent and information sheets but also time for question and answer on the time commitment and research process. I also sought consent from all parents (even though the girls were eighteen), to ensure a partnership with the carers of the girls. Rather than collect consent forms immediately I left a box in the library for those who wanted to submit their written consent, so no formal collection or personal hand over of forms was necessary. This ethical process was facilitated by having insider access to the school timetable and a willingness among colleagues to allow me time with their class to discuss the research. It was easy to facilitate additional ethical actions during the consent phase given the open access I had to human and physical resources in the school. I was reflexively aware of the pressure the girls may have felt to take part, given the power dynamic involved in saying "no" to a teacher. I felt it was necessary to ensure the ethical procedural process was extremely thorough. It was a mutually beneficial aspect of my insiderness that I could provide additional time for discussion and dialogue about the research. I could also allow a considerable time span between the girls hearing about the study and considering it with their parents and peers. My insiderness facilitated students having a number of weeks before needing to submit the ethics forms to a neutral space in the school. I was there every day and I did not have the same pressure to arrange and maximise use of time, as may be the case with an outsider.

Managing and acknowledging my influence on the research process and providing ethical care for the girls, during the study was important, particularly given my insider status and knowledge of the culture and school context. My ethical approach was influenced by my duties as a teacher and as a researcher. I used a reflexive journal to account for and manage my influence throughout the study and to consider ethical dilemmas during the research. Ethical considerations are relevant in managing insider status because of the range of relationships that exist and develop pre, during and post research. Research ethics can be both constraining and enabling in much the same way as structures are (Giddens, 1984), as they present a professional code that could be seen to restrict actions, alongside constant decision making that enables researcher agency.

Teacher Ethics

There are ethical expectations for teachers, the norms that members of a profession adhere to, in the dilemmas and decisions that arise in practice. Knowledge of the contextualised teacher ethics within the school was another benefit of being an insider as I was aware of contextual and professional policies, which were present to safeguard staff and students. These practices included training and an in-depth knowledge of child protection guidelines. I knew who the designated liaison officer was, where to find them and exactly what to do procedurally following a disclosure. Banks (2004) asserts that an ethical emphasis on care and trust should not be dominated by an overly rigid set of ethical principles, as this may threaten the ability of the researcher to make informed ethical choices. I also knew the broad histories of the girls and potential vulnerabilities and in this way could promote an ethic of care during the research.

I knew it was not permitted to close the door if a student and teacher were alone in a room. I Where, I do not suggest a researcher from outside would not have knowledge and/or training in child protection policy, an outsider could lack awareness of the cultural and institutional nuances in how the policy is structured and enacted in a particular context. Inadvertently, they could act unethically putting the school, participants and themselves at risk. Nonetheless, it is important to note that studies conducted by outsiders can benefit from a tolerance to unintended cultural mistakes. A notable example of this was in the ethnographic study by Whyte (2012), on gang culture in an Italian slum in Boston. It demonstrated the organisational structures, which existed among a poor community in “Cornerville.” Whyte’s (2012) study was a departure from anthropological “outsider” ethnographic studies as he built close relationships with the gang in an urban setting, living with one of the gang member’s families and becoming immersed in the culture. Yet, he was still a cultural outsider welcomed into the social and cultural space over time. I saw my teacher professional teacher ethics as part of the overall ethical approach taken during the research, alongside the research ethics requirements of my institution. Adhering to the school’s ethical guidelines added a further layer of ethical safeguarding for the participants and the researcher, which is a benefit of teacher-research.

Moral Ethics in Research

It is my belief that ethics is also based on the way human beings relate to each other. Hesse-Biber (2011) contends that the adoption of care ethical perspectives incorporates ethics into all aspects of the research design and these decisions are made with responsibility towards the researched being paramount. Preissle and Han (2011) draw attention to the researcher-researched relationship and discusses how feminist ethics reflects care and justice for the researched. This intersectional relationship between professional and moral ethics served to prevent a singular, impartial form of ethical justice (Banks, 2004) to prevail in this study. This hybrid ethical approach enabled ethics to be centralised and considered in all decision making during the research process. This facilitated the dual teacher-ethnographer role I occupied in a number of ways. For example, as a teacher-researcher, I assured anonymity and confidentiality to the girls from a research ethics perspective, but I clarified at the outset that concerns, which may arise, in relation to the wellbeing of the girls, may need to be referred to school counsellors. My insider knowledge meant I could share this at the outset, so the girls were aware that some disclosures might not remain confidential. It would have been incumbent on me as a teacher to be more aware and vigilant of the girls’ wellbeing than an outsider researcher would need to be. I believe my insiderness resulted in a safer more caring research environment for the girls because the ethical approach focused hugely on beneficence. The evolving nature of “new-professionalism” (Banks, 2004, p. 45) provides a space for more egalitarian, less elitist relational opportunities for teachers and students, to emerge through research, which was a valuable feature of this teacher-research.

Insider Limitations Based on Ethics

My teacher-researcher status led to other decisions, which limited the achievement of a holistic ethnographic portrait of the girls’ culture (Chang, 1992, Creswell, 2007, Robson, 2002). I did not attempt to venture into private social spaces such as the smokers area, the girls’ parties, disco’s or the girls homes. This could be seen as a limitation of a teacher-ethnographic study as an outsider could have ventured more easily into these spaces, gathering valuable data. Equally, for other forms of teacher-research, such as action research this would not be an issue. Ethical theory professes that an “ethics of proximity” (Vetlesen, 1994) where the context and its research limitations are acknowledged is important in teacher-research. This

is relevant to my teacher-ethnographer positionality. I believe the choice to avoid spaces where deviant behaviours could have been observed, enhanced the trust during the process between the girls and I. This was an insider dilemma as the girls' school experiences were intertwined with the less savoury aspects of school life, which as a teacher, I could not explore. I believe the choice to respect the girls private spaces intensified their trust in me, which was already well established, due to my teacher reputation. This existing and developed trust was evidenced by the girls' conscious disclosure of intensely personal experiences. One such disclosure illustrates the level of trust. Below is an excerpt from Anne Marie, one of the final fourteen participants. Anne Marie is close to the terminal examinations and discusses her examination stress:

I am under major pressure I'm actually on tablets at the moment for school pressure especially after the pre-exams. I remember just the day before my geography pre I was sitting on my mother's lap with my head on her shoulder crying, I could not cope. I was out for a week from school. I was so tired I couldn't even walk. My house is 20 minutes from town and it would take me an hour to walk it. I could not walk and could not move so I went to the doctor and he said it was stress and gave me the tablets. I'm feeling much better since I started taking them. There's an awful pressure to be studious and get good grades. Your parents want you to do well, my parents say 'your best is good enough' but I know my best isn't good enough cos' I need a certain number of points and this is the only thing I ever wanted to do and I would be heartbroken if I didn't get it. There's also then the pressure that you need to have a social life as well. You need to be seen out so that you are seen by your peers to not be a social recluse either.

Prioritising an Ethic of Care

This ethical approach based on care and trust was referenced in my reflexive journal as an example of reciprocity within the research. My insider position allowed a safe space for the girls to share experiences with someone who understood the context and could empathise with the circumstances. This posed a few dilemmas for me, as a teacher in the school. The most significant ethical challenges I faced was hearing unanticipated responses from the girls. For example, when girls discussed eating disorders and when rumours of a student pregnancy emerged in the group interviews, it was necessary to check that individuals involved were being taken care of, as I still had a duty of care to the girls as a teacher. This would not have been the case for an outsider researcher, who would have ethical guidelines to consider, but not the same duty of care a teacher would have. It is worth highlighting a real need to open greater discussion on this particular teacher-researcher dilemma. This would enable the blurry boundaries of respective obligation between the teacher and researcher role to be more clearly framed. This would serve to protect both participant and researcher from risks based on inadvertent error or mis-judgement. It was difficult not to empathise with some of the girls' predicaments, especially when they described feeling inferior or humiliated by other teachers, or when they discussed stress. I often wanted to engage, reply or respond in some way but I knew it was important that I influenced the data as little as possible and maintained a listening stance. Reflexivity assisted with the management of this aspect of the research and I became adept at separating myself somewhat from the person, to focus on the data. There were many times I had to keep my own emotions in check and try to remain neutral, passive and as uninvolved as possible to avoid being perceived as criticising others, yet to be actively listening to the girls' stories.

Being a teacher-researcher carries an emotional toll, perhaps greater than an outsider may experience, due to the closeness and connection to the context. The insider-researcher needs to consider their personal and emotional care also. The importance of reacting and acting ethically and reflexively may assist a teacher-ethnographer with ensuring care for the students/participants and care for themselves. This is particularly important during a prolonged period in the field, which is a particular feature of ethnographic research, notwithstanding the potential of bias in researcher conclusions and need for strong reflexivity (Reinharz 1997), following prolonged insider ethnography. This paper argues the importance of carefully considering and conceptualising ethics as an integral element of teacher-ethnographer research design. I would suggest concerns with ethics are intensified in insider research but especially where the approach explores cultural and personal accounts of lived experience. It was the reflexive consideration of emergent ethical issues throughout the research, that enabled me to understand my influence on the research process, as well as helping me understanding the girls experiences better. This benefitted research rigour because of my use of a strong reflexivity, which enhanced the quality processes. Reflexivity was particularly useful in managing my influence during data collection, where I remained in the role of listener (Harding, 2013).

Reflexive Actions

The girls highlighted that my gender was a positive factor for them during the study. Some girls discussed feeling more comfortable speaking to a woman than they would with a male teacher-researcher. The girls had been enculturated into a single sex environment for six years at the point of the research and were familiar in an all-girls school environment. In addition, of the staff only 10% were male so the support and teaching staff were also female. Where I would be reluctant to generalise that the girls in this study are typical of other groups of girls, certainly the gendered student and staff body appeared to create a level of familiarity, if not comfort, during the research process. Others indicated that they believed there was a greater understanding and empathy among women for other women, particularly in relation to sensitive matters, which is in keeping with the literature (Skeggs, 2013). As a female insider, I expected to find it easier to interpreting emergent findings from the peer groups of girls. This was difficult as I was not part of the girls' adolescent culture. Following entries in my reflexive journal I decided to incorporate the views two critical friends from the staffroom (Flick, 2009) as well as a key informant. This decision to have two critical friends in addition to a key informant was unusual in that it would more frequently seen in methodologies to have *either* a critical friend or a key informant. This decision assisted with quality processes in the interpretation of emergent findings. It allowed me to triangulate interpretations on the data, which better managed my biases and assumptions.

The Key Informant

I used a key informant (Ruth) from the research group of girls to raise questions, check emergent findings and discuss early interpretations. It is usual that ethnographic study requires a key informant from within the group being researched (Creswell, 2007; Flick, 2009; Robson, 2002). Morse et al. (2001) suggest the key informant should have knowledge and experience of the field, be reflective and articulate and willing to participate. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) emphasise that the key informant should offer a range of insights to develop and test emerging patterns. Ruth fulfilled these criteria as a key informant, which required additional meetings with the researcher throughout the research process, to provide additional insights on the emergent data. The key informant role emerged organically as Ruth would sometimes ask how the research was progressing and offered insights from early on. Ruth was happy for me

to consider and include these additional insights in the study. This role was never formalised in any way as Ruth merely informed me of aspects of discussions I did not understand, as they arose. It was a different role to the critical friends who provided advice on bias and possible assumptions of the researcher. This key informant role enabled me to ask questions and seek clarification on, for example, adolescent phrasing, or linguistics incomprehensible to me as a non-peer, and so in quite practical ways provided a reliability check on emerging findings. Spradley (1979) emphasises the importance of a productive relationship with the informant. I fostered this through regular informal conversations with Ruth, over time. This built additional relational trust and confidence and served to diminish power dynamics between teacher-researcher and participant.

Reflexively Managing the Dual Roles of Teacher and Researcher

Many of the challenges in managing the dual role of teacher-ethnographer involved transitioning back and forth from teacher to researcher during early observational phases. This phase relied heavily on reflexive journaling to make sense of what was happening. Initially, I felt very uncomfortable watching the girls. I felt like an imposter. I felt it was unfair to impinge on the girls' free time when it was so limited. Over time, it became much easier and routine to be observing. I observed silently, avoided joining in or influencing conversations and I did not intervene at any stage so the girls' interactions would be as natural as possible. My reflexive journal was more than a research diary. I included comments about what I noticed, how I felt and also comments on anything that I felt was not working well and required consideration before the next observation. This was in order to manage my influence from a number of perspectives, as well as to record interesting aspect of the research process. The journal was invaluable in logging the unfamiliar in the apparent banal (Robson, 2002). I dated each entry and wrote semi-structured comments under headings such as logistics, feelings, discrepant or interesting incidents and included new categories as they emerged. I also made note of items I would like to include or discuss in the write up of the study. The following is an excerpt from my reflexive journal where I comment on the ethical process of visiting to classes to discuss the research (as described previously).

October 15th 2012

***Logistics:** The girls were generally very positive to be told about and included in the research study discussions. They told me they had just studied culture in English and could relate to a cultural study. A few girls asked why I was not looking at first years coming into the culture and we discussed immersion into a culture-sharing group. Most girls seemed keen to take part. This was a surprising level of engagement in face to face ethical information sessions –This worked well-Mention in methodology!*

***Interesting:** One student asked what I could really learn that was new when the students in the school were mainly from similar backgrounds and similar people. I explained there was always learning even among a group that appeared homogenous (not the word used). There were always differences and also interesting things to learn even if they are similarities between groups. I am taken aback by the level of cultural knowledge already among the girls....*

November 25th 2012

Methodology: *On analysis of the consent forms, there was a good varied cross section of students who responded, with a few critical cases from different social classes agreeing to take part. This is good for representation across social groupings.*

An example of a reflexive entry which illustrates management of insider bias and assumptions is also provided:

February 10th 2013

Bias: Up until now I felt the girls were being open and completely themselves. I was wrong. One girl asked me today, 'Why would you want to spend your lunch break down here watching us, don't you know us girls are bitches.' I was surprised at the use of bad language (naively) but didn't correct the language and just chatted to them. I think this has challenged my perception of the girls as all fairly 'nice' middle class girls....it is also good as they are now being themselves more, authenticity??

I reflexively presented as researcher rather than teacher in my actions in the school. Early in the observational phase, I regularly engaged the key informant to gauge how the group were feeling about my presence. I believe this was a good use of the informant as she was able to informally relate the group feelings about the research and my researcher role. I felt it was better than calling the group together or informally asking the odd girl, which might have been leading a positive response. Ruth was able to act as a third party reporter of the mood of the group and in this way provided valuable information on how the girls were finding the process.

One strategy I used to distinguish my teacher role from my researcher role was to avoid disciplining students in the observation settings for minor misdemeanors and by remaining in the role of researcher during the research process. This was difficult, not because I wanted to enforce the rules, but because I worried that staff or management may feel that I was letting discipline standards fall. I felt that if I intervened in a disciplinary way, the natural behaviours being observed among the girls might be modified. Some girls who sang loudly in groups during breaks (which would ordinarily have been silenced) tested my diminished disciplinary actions regularly. Some girls swore and ignored the school bell in an attempt to ascertain my positionality. I ignored it all and remained in my researcher role, continuing to take field notes. In hindsight, the girls must have been confused by my shifting role, but it was never mentioned, yet perhaps should have been raised by myself at the time? Interestingly, there was an unspoken understanding that what I was doing now was in the role of researcher and that role did not require me to interfere with established practices in the girls' social space. Had the actions escalated, I would have been faced with a greater need to intervene, as a teacher. I suppose it was serendipitous and perhaps based on a legacy of respect, that the girls tested this new found power in a way that was manageable for both parties. This is an interesting interaction based on shifting power dynamics, worthy of further study.

On the corridors, I walked to class behind my two critical friends who were aware of my research. If an incident arose, they intervened and dealt with it so I could avoid being the teacher disciplinarian, which I felt would contaminate my researcher role. Nonetheless, I was still expected by management to perform my teacher duties irrespective of my research so this arrangement was an informal one based on a longstanding collegiality and friendship. Given the lengthy research period of over a year, this was a significant commitment, for which I am grateful. It also highlights the unusual collaborative aspects particular to this insider teacher-

ethnography. Having research support and using reflexivity assisted my transition to becoming the ethnographer rather than the teacher, during the research phase.

Having this type of dual access to a member of the girls' cultural group and other teachers was helpful to me as an insider. I could clarify issues of interest within the peer groups of the girls, but also challenge potential biases with critical friends who could offer alternative perspectives, from their experiences in the school. The ethnographic feature which emphasises the importance of acknowledging and balancing the "etic" (researcher) and "emic" (participant) perspectives on the research process and findings was facilitated via these reflexive actions, which were both informed and conceptualised by my positionality as a teacher-ethnographer (Creswell, 2007, Robson, 2002).

Power Dynamics and Voice

The adherence to reflexivity throughout this study enabled an awareness of potential power relations with the girls. It facilitated a regular reflection of my thoughts and attitudes to the girls and their responses during the process. In this way, reflexivity was used as a methodological tool, which assisted with my interpretations into the multiple perspectives from this insider study. Reflexivity provided a much-needed cohesion during what was a long and messy research process. It enabled a deeper personal understanding and appreciation of the ethical and insider issues discussed. Reflexivity had a significant role in managing voice in a way that facilitated a dominant representation of the girls' voices throughout. Poles' (1999) idea of confirming voice, influenced the decision to position the girls' voices as dominant within the study. This this was a deliberate methodological decision in attempting to counterbalance the potential power dynamics implicit in teacher-research. The use of pluralist girls' voices was a consideration in the selection of data excerpts from the girls, in order to avoid a singular truth. The use of the exact words of the girls rather than paraphrasing was also an important reflexive decision. This allowed me to represent the girls' expressions of experience, by limiting my insider influence on the girls' stories. Nonetheless, I acknowledged that the choice of words are still selected and represented by the researcher (Jackson & Mazzei, 2008). The challenge around hearing and representing authentic voice remains a dilemma in insider research.

An illustrative example of an excerpt from Mary illustrates how my use of the girls' voice elicited authentic data. Mary discusses her perceived image in the school. This is presented using Mary's own words, with colloquialisms and pauses deliberately included. I asked the girls' if they were happy to have their voice represented as spoken, to be sure they were comfortable with this. I believed this empowered the girls to be proud of their linguistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1998) and their own mode of expression. It also managed my insider power to rewrite or paraphrase, potentially corrupting meaning or experience. By also allowing Mary to speak uninterrupted, this excerpt illustrates the emotion, angst and authenticity of the data gathered:

I'm always in trouble like and I hate getting in trouble like. Anything I do I get caught. If I was eating my lunch they'd find out about it... whenever I do get in trouble it's not just one teacher that knows about it, it's the whole school like, it's broadcast and it does annoy me cos' I know that teachers always talk about me in the staffroom and stuff. I think it's unfair cos' teachers who don't even teach me know my name... Now I don't think I'm a good role model for younger students cos' I don't have high grades or anything and I'm always in trouble and I'm always on the intercom . When I hear my name called on the intercom I feel a knot in my stomach. I can just feel... I know all the reactions of the teachers in their classes and they'd be like, throwing their eyes up to heaven.

Discussions where critical comments were made by some girls about teachers, management, and girls in other schools all presented dilemmas which were certainly more challenging for me as an insider. I felt an intense need to balance the student voice while managing my role as a member of staff, given permission to conduct research. There was an unstated but implicit understanding that the reputation of the school would be protected during and after the research process. This was a critical realisation for me during the data collection that I should have considered in advance how I might manage potentially sensitive disclosures. Where this could be said of all researchers, insiders are potentially more vulnerable when very critical findings about personnel or an institution emerge.

Reflexivity and Writing up Research

Decisions about the use of participant voice were made reflexively and this influenced how the findings were presented. Reflexivity assisted me with the management of my insider biases. It also minimised the risk of over rapport or going native (Chang, 1992, Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) and raised awareness of issues of power dynamics. Being an insider constrained the presentation of findings even after the study concluded. Some girls criticised the school structures and staff and where the collection of such data required me to listen, I needed to be ethically sensitive to balancing the positive and negative findings. In the selection of data excerpts for illustration of key categories and themes, I consciously chose to omit certain quotes that were particularly scathing of other teachers or management. This could be seen as a judicious selection to protect my insider status rather than a fair representation of the findings. It was impossible to ensure that I could be disassociated from the school, so in a small city, preserving the anonymity of the school was always going to be a challenge. Therefore, as an insider, I felt bound to delicately balance the findings. I was reflexively aware of the sensitivities, ethics and beneficence aspects of the research, made greater by my insider status.

To some degree, my insider status regulated excessive overt criticism of the school. Many middle class girls in the school stage-managed their responses on the school to some degree, as a form of symbolic support due to their similar cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1998). They overtly avoided discussing the more sensitive elements of youth culture such as, drugs, sex or alcohol, which reinforced a sense that they were consciously presenting a middle class portrayal of self. This portrayal presented a challenge for me as an insider as it was difficult to penetrate beneath the surface of some key sub-themes, where an outsider could have naively done so (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Nonetheless, this stage management provided useful data about the hegemonic culture that prevailed and how many of the girls fiercely protected it. Being an insider made this easier to decipher, highlighting the often dichotomous challenges of insider and outsider positionalities.

Conclusion

A number of issues relating to this study and to wider educational debate are considered in this paper. The importance and influence of ethics is highlighted. The combination of teacher ethics, professional ethics and an ordinary ethics of care, when merged in insider research, is a useful model to consider. It can offer an additional level of ethical care and beneficence for participants from logistical and relational perspectives. Insider knowledge of local or contextualised ethics can protect the researcher from deviating from the ethical requirements of simultaneously being teacher and researcher. Nonetheless, there is a distinct need for greater dialogue about where a researcher and teacher role begin and end, or indeed overlap. In order

to minimise risk to students and to teacher-researchers, this unique positionality merits greater attention.

There is arguably a greater level and depth of reflexivity required in teacher ethnographic research. The potential for power dynamics, over rapport, bias, and cultural assumptions is intensified in teacher ethnography, more so than with other research approaches. This is partly due to the prolonged length of time in the field and prior knowledge of the culture, which are key foci of ethnographic work. This partially explains the challenge of teacher-ethnography and the dearth of such studies in the literature. Nonetheless, research design that considers new approaches to the challenges of teacher ethnography, such as combining the use of critical friends with key informants, utilising strong reflexivity and managing power dynamics using the dominant voices of the researched, can contribute to the production of authentic research. Additionally, careful micro-practices in interview and observational settings can assist with the dual positionality associated with insider research. Where careful use of reflexive data can illuminate a process potentially fraught with challenge, being a teacher-ethnographer remains a difficult research option.

There is much value in considering other educational ethnographies and making some observations with regard to focus, context and positionality, for comparative purposes with this paper. Willis (1977), Fagan (1995) and Lynch and Lodge (2002) are notable examples of comprehensive school based, educational ethnographies. Outsiders, who successfully studied the school culture, without insider knowledge, conducted all of these studies. In contrast, Chang's (1992) study of adolescent life and ethos in a co-educational US high school addresses many of the tensions and challenges she experienced in balancing the establishment of rapport with the participants, whilst avoiding deception by the researcher, as she positioned herself as a covert insider, hiding her researcher status. This would be considered unethical today indicating the ethical focus, which has emerged in recent decades (Creswell, 2007). Chang's (1992) descriptions of difficulties experienced in attempting to achieve "insiderness" to gain deep access to the peer culture of the students, resonate with arguments made in this paper, around the benefits of access, existing contextual knowledge and enhanced pre-established trust.

Fine's (1987) study, although dealing with young boys, is situated in an educational context of students, parents and coaches, outside the school setting. It offers an in-depth examination of sporting culture with related issues of control and leadership among a group of boys. It examines the importance of developing trust within research relationships as well as effectively categorising the acceptance of the researcher, over time. This was measured by Fine (1987) through the increased volume of swearing by the boys, used deliberately in his presence, over time. This was given as an indication of acceptance and relates in many ways to the noisy singing and swearing, among the girls, experienced by this researcher. However, I interpreted this as a power struggle, which when ignored led to acceptance of the transition from teacher and into the researcher role. In many ways, the methodological findings are similar, but nuanced, based on insider/outsider status. The power dynamic was more initially more pronounced due to my insider positionality and less of an issue for Fine (1987) who was an outsider. Fine's (1987) study also describes issues of inequality in status between researcher and participants and how a reciprocal arrangement was managed to counterbalance this inequity. In similar ways, I attempted to minimise power inequities by adapting discipline approaches and employing small strategies with the help of other staff to enable me to step back from some of the power based aspects of the teacher-student relationship.

An ethnographic case study of particular relevance to this research is Ball's (1981) "Beachside Comprehensive". This study provides valuable insights into elements of educational ethnographic research design. For example, in terms of methodology, it offers some good illustrative insights into the management of general observations, with a steady

funnelling down to the specific interactions, which informed an effective observational approach for this researcher's educational setting. Willis's aforementioned (1977) ethnography on working class boys and Griffith's (1995) ethnography on adolescent girls offer a thorough exploration of the effects of culture on school experience. These studies provided useful insights, which aided methodological decisions for this researcher, throughout the process.

Notwithstanding the dilemmas and challenges discussed in this paper in relation to insider-ethnography, this approach could provide teachers with very valuable insights into the lives of their students, beyond academic experience. This has relational benefits for both student and teacher, due to the enhanced understanding of multiple lived experiences. The paper argues that rigorous teacher-ethnography is possible. This approach requires a willingness and ability to manage positionality, moving back and forth from teacher to researcher and being reflexively cognisant of these two distinct roles. The act of listening, reliving, empathising, reimagining and giving voice has the potential to be valuable for participant and researcher. This research did create much dialogue among the girls in relation to issues they found little space to discuss in school. It facilitated a thinking space beyond the pressures of school life. The role of the teacher-researcher can be a creator of dialogue, an active listener to the voices of the girls and can provide a means to dismantle power barriers that exist between girl and teacher. It insists on the researcher taking ethical responsibility for the findings unveiled through ethnographic insider research, by reflexively acknowledging their subjective self within it. It contributes to methodological research based on the experiences of this researcher and the comparison made with other seminal ethnographic studies.

The author urges a final word of caution prior to commencing on this route, to consider the important limitations and potential dilemmas inherent in insider ethnographic study. From a practical perspective, authentic responses from students take time to elicit and certain domains cannot ethically be explored, as a teacher in the school. Preserving the anonymity of school and safeguarding the institution and participants is important and requires judicious selection of representative material. However, the de-selection of some valuable data because you work there and must protect yourself, your colleagues and the gatekeepers, can compromise insider research scope.

Some final practical recommendations based on this researcher's experience and that of previous researchers who have worked ethnographically in educational settings include; the centrality of building rapport and establishing some level of relational trust, to yield authentic data during the process. This is cited as crucially important whether the researcher is an insider or outsider. Furthermore, the use of multi-methods (to include observation) assists with achieving that much sought after, holistic cultural portrait (Flick, 2009). This complete cultural portrait is somewhat elusive for teacher-ethnographers (due to ethical constraints preventing access into riskier private adolescent spaces). It could be argued such restricted studies are not true ethnographies, in the purist sense. The use of a key informant is particularly important for outsiders to gain additional interpretative insights from a cultural member and it should not be assumed that an insider has an automatic understanding of the nuances of culture, as experienced by others. It is especially important to appreciate how practices and actions are played out in different ways by a culture-sharing group, when there is a significant power dynamic, as is the case between teacher and student. The acknowledgement and management of power between the researcher and researched presents ongoing challenges, which have been managed to some degree by both the reflexive turn and greater emphasis on ethical processes in qualitative research, particularly insider research. It is important these discourses continue to be explored, based on research approaches applied to different contexts, using hybrid designs that can shed additional light on the importance of methodology.

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