Negotiating an apprenticeship of observation:
An investigation of second-level pre-service teachers' conceptions of teaching

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
School of Education

Submitted to the University of Limerick, February 2020
Abstract

Title: Negotiating an apprenticeship of observation: An investigation of second-level pre-service teachers' conceptions of teaching.

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This study problematised pre-service teachers’ talk about their ‘apprenticeship of observation’. This construct is consistently presented in research as a limiting factor on pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching, their agency and their professional development. Employing a discourse analysis methodology, the study engaged 42 pre-service teachers on post-primary, concurrent, initial teacher education programmes in semi-structured interviews. The study utilised two psychological theoretical lenses; the Self Memory System and Identity Status with the aim of exploring the ‘apprenticeship of observation’ construct and its impact on pre-service teachers’ teaching conceptions.

Using the Self Memory System Theory lens, the research found that pre-service teachers’ agentically constructed their memories of the ‘apprenticeship of observation’, thereby making it a unique construct to each individual pre-service teacher. Using Identity Status Theory, analysis of the participants’ career choice decisions established that a high percentage of participants appeared at the time of interview with a ‘foreclosed’ identity status; they closed on a goal of teaching early in their schooling. This identity status is associated with cognitive traits that could result in resistant, simplistic teaching conceptions and practices. This finding suggested that a high number of participants’ experience of schooling was channelled through an underdeveloped, individual schema that enabled them to interpret information about teaching to help them achieve their career goal. Furthermore, it corroborated the findings that suggested that participants had some agency in the construction of the memory-set of their schooling period, thereby reinforcing the notion of the ‘apprenticeship of observation’ as a bespoke individual construction.

These research findings highlight the need for teacher educators to re-examine the ‘apprenticeship of observation’ construct. Furthermore, they suggest that infusing psychological constructs to pedagogical work in initial teacher education could support new understandings of long-held assumptions underpinning teacher educators’ beliefs about pre-service teachers’ learning and experiences during their schooling.
Acknowledgments

I firstly wish to thank my supervisor, Dr. Oliver Mc Garr, for his expert guidance throughout this research process. I am truly appreciative of his generosity in giving time, advice and formative feedback consistently throughout my doctoral studies journey. His consistent collaborative approach, engagement, steadfast empathy, care, patience and encouragement supported this process beyond measure. Dr. Mc Garr’s academic and professional insight and vision offered inspiration that both challenged and broadened my academic and professional horizons. Our fulsome research conversations always generated new ideas and ways of thinking about my research project and my work as a teacher educator – I have a new understanding of the role of a ‘critical friend’. I am positively changed as a teacher educator consequent to working with Dr. Mc Garr on this research project.

I am very grateful to my second supervisor, Dr. Orla McCormack, for her truly insightful guidance and professional advice in the latter stages of this research project. The fresh perspectives she offered led to me checking assumptions inherent in the work at a point when I could no longer see them. I also wish to acknowledge the academic and personal support I received from the Structured Ph. D. team in the University of Limerick, led by Professor Marie Parker-Jenkins.

I am very grateful to the pre-service teachers who took part in this research for giving their time and for sharing their personal experiences and opinions on their schooling, teaching and learning.
I wish to express sincere gratitude to my colleagues in both St Angela’s College and the University of Limerick for their unflagging support and encouragement in the completion of this study. All of the kind words and unexpected kindnesses were significant to maintaining my motivation for this project. Finally, I would like to thank my network of family and close friends who supported my journey in a myriad of ways: their editing, proof-reading, periods as ‘critical friends’, emotional support and patience with my obsession for the research helped me beyond measure.
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<td>CAO</td>
<td>Central Applications Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Discourse Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>DES</td>
<td>Department of Education and Skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI-ISB</td>
<td>Ego-Identity Incomplete Sentences Blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EOM-EIS 11</td>
<td>Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>GERM</td>
<td>Global Education Reform Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRELAND/IRISH</td>
<td>Republic of Ireland</td>
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<td>ISI</td>
<td>Identity Status Interview</td>
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<tr>
<td>ITE</td>
<td>Initial Teacher Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>number in sample selected from full population of 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>U-MICS</td>
<td>Utrecht-Management of Identity Commitments Scale</td>
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<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<td>US</td>
<td>United States (of America)</td>
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Glossary of Psychological Terms

As this thesis is written for a primarily teacher education audience the following glossary of psychological terms and constructs is offered:

- **Autobiographical knowledge:**
  This has been identified as having ordered partonomic or meronomic knowledge structures which range from abstract conceptual knowledge to conceptual knowledge which is event specific and temporally bound (Conway and Williams 2008; Burt *et al.* 2003).

- **Autobiographical memory:**
  This is a type of explicit or declarative long-term memory system involving the recall of detailed personal events. Autobiographical memory has been defined as a complex, higher order mental construction which is “effortfully” maintained and which must be controlled as it influences all other forms of cognition (Tulving 2002; Wheeler *et al.* 1997).

- **Autobiographical reasoning:**
  This can be described as “the activity of creating relations between different parts of one's past, present, and future life and one's personality and development. It embeds personal memories in a culturally, temporally, causally, and thematically coherent life story” (Habermas 2011, p. 1).

- **Autonoesis:**
  Describes re-experiencing of olfactory, auditory and tactile elements of memories, supporting the rememberer’s belief in the events.

- **Critical discursive psychology:**
  Uses a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches to analyse discourse, demonstrating how discursive resources are used by individuals to build discursive processes to offer accounts and arguments.

- **Declarative memory (or explicit memory):**
  Refers is where data is both consciously stored and consciously recalled.

- **Developmental stage theories**
  These theories divide human development into distinct stages with associated behaviours. They align with discontinuous theories of development (Schultz and Schultz 2016). Examples include; Freud’s psychosexual stages, Erikson’s stages of psychosocial development, Kohlberg’s stages of moral development, Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, Piaget’s theory of cognitive development, Marcia’s Identity Status Theory.

- **Discourse Analysis:**
  Potter (2003) states that “[d]iscourse analysis is the study of how talk and texts are used to
perform actions” (p. 73). DA focuses on deconstructive reading and analysis of a transcribed text with a view to gaining insight into the core and resolution of an inquiry (Gee 2010). DA is language and discourse oriented, predicated on the understanding that language is socially and culturally constructed and frames the concepts and classifications of an individual. DA is perceived as more than data analysis and has been described as a superstructure of theoretical foundations – it can be a topic and focus of the research, not just a means to acquiring data (Wetherell et al. 2001).

- **Discursive processes:**
These describe how people say things, how people use discourse to construct their social world.

- **Discursive psychology:**
This refers to the implementation of methods and concepts from DA to psychological themes (Edwards 2005; Potter 2003).

- **Discursive resources:**
These describe what is being said, the content of peoples’ talk and how they position themselves in this world using discourse.

- **Discursive social psychology:**
This approach focuses on the way both reality and mind are constructed by people conceptually, in language, and in the course of their execution of practical tasks (Edwards 1997; Potter 1996). It recognises the performative function of talk and that talk does not reflect one’s views or thoughts but that it is a performative act influenced by the context of the situation and the intentions of the speaker.

- **Ego identity:**
This “is the sense of identity that provides individuals with the ability to experience their sense of who they are, and also act on that sense, in a way that has continuity and sameness” (Levesque 2014, p. 813). It can also be referred to as simply ‘the self’.

- **Encode (to memory):**
This can be understood as processing new facts or learning new facts by identifying them and relating them to prior knowledge (Eysenck 2012).

- **Episodic memory:**
Refers to information that is encoded with specifics of time, location and associated emotions (Schacter and Madore 2016; Tulving 2002; 1972).

- **Identity**
This term from a psychological perspective is “an individual’s sense of self defined by (a) a set of physical, psychological, and interpersonal characteristics that is not wholly shared with any other person and (b) a range of affiliations (e.g., ethnicity) and social roles. Identity involves a sense of continuity, or the feeling that one is the same person today that one was yesterday or last year (despite physical or other changes). Such a sense is derived from one’s body sensations; one’s body image; and the feeling that one’s memories, goals, values, expectations,
and beliefs belong to the self. Also called personal identity” (VandenBos and APA Dictionary of Psychology 2007).

- **Identity Status Theory**

Marcia (1966) generated this theory with a view to creating a paradigm to help understand the process of how an adolescent creates their understanding of self to ensure unity of the self (Hong et al. 2018). He used Erikson’s work on identity development in late adolescence, particularly the states / structures postulated in his theory. Marcia’s (1980) conceptualisation of the Eriksonian psychosocial construct in late adolescence embodied in Identity Status Theory, identifies the four identity statuses as originally postulated by Erikson: identity achievement, moratorium, foreclosure (or closure) and diffusion (or confusion). These statuses were designated based on evidence of exploration and commitment in relation to occupational choice and ideological formation by late adolescents.

- **Ideological dilemmas:**

Refer to the contradictions, fragmentations and inconsistencies evident in an individual’s discourse related to the everyday lived dilemmatic “common sense” ideologies of human beings (Billig et al. 1988).

- **Interpretative repertoires:**

This concept describes the common sense, but often contradictory, ways we talk to construct the social world. The construct is used to describe the flexible rhetorical resources we utilise to win arguments. These “building blocks of conversation”, as described by Edley (2001, p. 198), refer to common tropes, phrases and sayings people draw upon in constructing discourse linking descriptive practices to broader historical and ideological contexts (Bryman 2012).

- **Life stories:**

Life stories are psychosocial constructions, co-authored by the person himself or herself and the cultural context within which that person’s life is embedded and given meaning (McAdams 2001, p. 101).

- **Life story narrative:**

This describes the way people try to make a coherent narrative in an effort to make sense and meaning out of life (McAdams 2011). The construction of memory is a significant contributor to an individual’s “life-story”.

- **Long-term memory:**

This refers to the retention of information over a longer period, even indefinitely (Atkinson and Shiffrin 1968). The function of long-term memory is to store data by encoding it using various cognitive systems for recall and /or reconstruction (Baddely 2007; Squire 2004).

- **Memory:**

At a basic level, memory is the mind’s capability to encode, store, and retrieve information (Atkinson and Shiffrin 1968). At this basic level, the role of memory is to be a source of knowledge used to pre-empt future needs; it acts as a foundation for taking action now and in the future (Schacter and Addis 2007; Nelson 2003). Memory directs and sustain peoples’
behaviour, attitudes, beliefs and self-concept long after events take place and act as “the data base of the ‘self’”

- **Memory bias:**
This is a cognitive bias that either improves or hinders the recall of a memory or that modifies the content of a recounted memory.

- **Memory Retrieval Curve:**
This offers an estimate of the probability distribution of autobiographical memories encoded at various ages during the life span and is the most commonly denoted in a graph.

- **Normative identity style:**
Is associated with evading new ideas or information which might destabilise an individual’s normative props.

- **Ontological narratives:**
These are the stories that an individual tells about themselves can be described as ontological narratives (sometimes called personal narratives). These stories are critical to the formation of personal identity and as such impact on our actions (Søreide 2006).

- **Personal event memories:**
These are vivid memories of specific events which can be identified as having taken place at a specific time and place and as having sensory attributes (Pillemer 2001) and elements of autonoesis (Nelson 2003).

- **Psychosocial:**
This term is used to connote the mind (psychological) and relationships (social). Erikson’s work over many decades is characterised by his belief that his psychosocial principle (eight developmental stages over the life cycle) applies to all people; it is genetically inevitable in shaping human development.

- **Psychosocial crisis:**
Describes the upheaval and reformulation that can happen during different stages of the lifecycle.

- **Schemas:**
These describe themes that give meaning to a life.

- **Self (The):**
Broadly, in modern psychology, the term self refers to the cognitive and affective representation of an individual’s identity. From an Eriksonian perspective, that is from a psychodynamic tradition, the self is often used interchangeably with ego identity. In the context of this research, I draw on Conway’s (2005) elucidation, that “[t]he self is conceived as a complex set of active goals and associated self-images, collectively referred to as the working self” (p. 594).
• **Selfing:**
Describes “the fundamental process of making a self out of experience” (p. 302), integrating the ‘I’ (the process) and ‘me’ (the product), where the me can be called “self-concept” (McAdams1996).

• **Self-defining memories:**
Describes those personal memories that are very significant to an individual; they populate the explanation they offer to others of how they see themselves. They can be characterized by: the evocation of intense emotion when being recalled; the vividness of the memory – they will be detailed and sensorily rich; repetition of the memories, a person returns to them consistently and often unconsciously when talking about the self; the representative nature of these core memories to similar (if less significant) memories addressing significant life themes; and they link to key life goals and key life conflicts (Singer and Blagov 2004).

• **Self-Memory System:**
This is a widely accepted and much used virtual conceptual model of memory encoding and retrieval to help understand the construction of autobiographical memory developed by Pleydell-Pearce (2000). They argued that autobiographical memories are constructed within a SMS – a conceptual framework composed of two parts, the dynamic / executive working-self and an autobiographical knowledge base (Conway and Williams 2017; Haque et al. 2014; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000).

• **Semantic memory:**
This refers to memory that is encoded with explicit meaning such as knowledge of facts and events and episodic memory which refers to information that is encoded with specifics of time, location and associated emotions (Schacter and Madore 2016; Tulving 2002; 1972).

• **Social psychology:**
This branch of psychology is concerned with the processes which impact on an individual’s feelings, thoughts and behaviours (Argyle 2017; Eysenek 2012; Kruglanski, and Stroebe 2011).

• **Subject positioning:**
Relates to how an individual positions themselves, others and objects within their discourse, contributing to a dynamic and fluid representation of multiple selves (Davies and Harré (1990).

• **Working-memory:**
This is the mental faculty where information in the form of stimuli is encoded. Working-memory is the capacity to hold information temporarily (18-30 seconds), either from stimuli or memories retrieved from long-term memory, while engaging in mentally processing this information to achieve a goal (Buchsbaum and D’Esposito 2008).

• **Working-self:**
This concept is understood in terms of: interconnected goals’ hierarchy; some goal related knowledge, life schema or life-stories for example; and active self-concept models (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). The working-self is oriented around self-defining memories which connect to an individual’s goal hierarchies and self-conceptions.
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Chapter 1:
Introduction
1.1 Introduction

This chapter is organised around three goals: to describe the context for the research / study, to outline its structural underpinnings and to indicate how the thesis will proceed. To address these goals, I begin by offering a national and international teacher education context for the study. This is followed by an outline presentation of the professional setting in which my research interest evolved; I problematise the key issue in my practice which led to this research project. A short outline of initial reading which supported formulating the research question for this study is included. The next section briefly charts the evolution of my thinking and ideas as this project emerged and developed. This section includes an introduction to the research approach used, as this is germane to the structure and epistemology of the study. I then highlight the justification for engaging with the research – the rationale for this project. This chapter concludes with sections that present the underpinning enquiry, aims and objectives guiding the research, and an outline for the remainder of the thesis monograph.

1.1.1 International teacher education context

... the weight of substantial evidence indicates that teachers who have had more preparation for teaching are more confident and successful with students than those who have had little or none. ... An important contribution of teacher education is its development of teachers’ abilities to examine teaching from the perspective of learners who bring diverse experiences and frames of reference to the classroom.

(Darling-Hammond 2000, p. 166)

If universities are to continue to make the important contribution to the education of teachers that they can make, they need to pursue these ideals of knowledge building and truth finding by creating a genuine praxis between ideas and experiences, by honoring practice in conjunction with reflection and research, and by helping teachers reach beyond their personal boundaries to appreciate the perspectives of those whom they would teach.

(Ibid., p. 171)

Aligning with Darling-Hammond (2000), I believe that teacher education matters to the quality of the education system and consequently that it behoves teacher educators to pursue “knowledge building and truth finding” to support pre-service teachers to look beyond their own perspective and boundaries to teach others different from themselves (ibid., p. 171).
Cochran-Smith and Villegas (2014) identify that this pursuit can be considered one of the enduring concerns common to those engaged in teacher education. This study is focussed on an examination of a key factor that might impact on the creation of “a genuine praxis between ideas and experiences in teacher education” (Darling-Hammond 2000, p. 171).

I proffer that it is important to situate a study focussed on the development of teacher education in both international and national teacher education improvement policy contexts. This can simultaneously identify international common trends and also the differences due to specific national contexts, as it is grounded in unique social, political and historical underpinnings (Cochran-Smith and Villegas 2014). This approach aims to recognise the dominant hegemonic narratives and discourses in teacher education while offering context for my philosophical rationale and personal epistemology1 (Feucht et al. 2017) regarding the need to address improvement in teacher education, and the value of it.

Internationally, over the past two decades, there has been a sustained policy drive to improve educational outcomes for learner achievement to ensure school leavers are prepared to live in an increasingly knowledge-based, globalised society (Apple 2017). This globalised society has brought with it a drift in education policy and practice focussed on outcomes and effectiveness. Principally, education management is underpinned by neo-liberal, globalised economic theories; education is perceived as the route to productivity and performance management as a key strategy to optimise government (Conway and Murphy 2013). In this neo-liberal context, improving the quality of teachers, teaching and learning has been the focus for achieving the desired improvements to educational outcomes (Apple 2017; Darling-

1 Personal philosophies and thinking about knowledge and knowing.
Hammond 2017; 2000; Flores 2017b; Bullough 2016; Craig 2016; Suleiman 2013; Darling-Hammond and Rothman 2011). Teacher education, across the continuum of teacher-learning from pre-service, through induction and continuing professional development, is the aspect of education policy consistently identified as most significant to achieving quality improvements in teachers, teaching and learning through a focus on the effectiveness of teachers and teaching (Bullough 2016; Suleiman 2013; Darling-Hammond and Rothman 2011; Ross et al. 2011).

To achieve quality outcomes for learners, teacher educators are being asked to take a more systemic approach, focussing on their practices and programmes with a view to ensuring strong recruitment and subsequent preparation of teachers (Darling-Hammond and Rothman 2011). This task is made more difficult in an international context where the status of teaching is perceived to be at a ‘low ebb’ in terms of occupational prestige, status and esteem in a majority of developed countries (Sauku 2015; European Commission 2013; Hargreaves 2009). Consequently, this perception of poor status is considered to impact on uptake and retention within the profession (European Commission 2013; Metlife 2013; Varkey et al. 2013).

1.1.2 Irish teacher education context

The education context in the Republic of Ireland (Ireland) mirrors aspects of the aforementioned global trends and diverges somewhat in relation to the professional context of recruitment and attrition of teachers. Ireland reflects international neo-liberal globalised education developments due to the government mandated focus on outcomes and effectiveness in teacher education. In its spending in relation to education, the Irish State has focussed on getting more while spending less of the exchequer funds to assure the Irish public that they are getting value for their tax euros (Grummell and Lynch 2016; Clarke et al. 2012), thus engendering trust (Rizvi and Lingard 2009) in Irish public systems. Clarke et al. (2012) believe
that monetary decisions in relation to education in Ireland are now significantly influenced by the neo-liberal economic policies of both the European Union (EU) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

Teacher education policies associated with neo-liberal education agendas are contested in an Irish research context (Grummell and Lynch 2016). Exemplifying this, Conway and Murphy (2013) contend that consequent to this neo-liberal education agenda, Irish teacher education is moving towards what Sahlberg (2007) describes as the global education reform movement (GERM). This movement is considered to be an international crystallisation of the new public management agenda, with emphases on standardisation, narrow core curricular areas, strict accountability and compliance through performativity and its measurement (Wilkins and Wood 2009 cited in Conway and Murphy 2013).

In this context (GERM) and particularly momentous to teacher education, specifically Initial Teacher Education (ITE) – the (Irish) Teaching Council was formed in 2006 as a statutory, regulatory body for the teaching profession. The Teaching Council functions as the “professional standards body for the teaching profession, which promotes and regulates professional standards in teaching… act[ing] in the interests of the public good while upholding and enhancing standards in the teaching profession” (Teaching Council 2018). The Teaching Council is under the remit of the Department of Education and Skills (DES)² who interpret EU and OECD economic priorities in an Irish context. Galvin (2009) and Coolahan (2007) assert that the strong relationship between the OECD and Irish education bears scrutiny when exploring neo-liberal influences on education policy in Ireland. The OECD, with a

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² The DES is responsible for teacher education in Ireland as part of its portfolio of responsibility for all levels of Irish education.
predominant economic function, seeded Irish educational research in a time when the Irish state
did not invest. Significantly, they funded the research which led to the TC being put in place,
as their funded research identified that Irish education was not meeting the economic needs of
its society. It can therefore be inferred that ITE policies made by the Teaching Council as an
agent of the DES reflect the neo-liberal economic priorities and accountability orientations of
the EU and OECD (ibid.).

Conway and Murphy (2013) contend that, since the Teaching Council was established,
accountability in ITE has changed substantially to reflect a GERM policy. They acknowledge
that this shift in accountability in ITE can be traced to the confluence of a number of factors in
the broad field of education. However, they contend that the factor impacting most
significantly on accountability in ITE is neo-liberally driven economic policy. They identify
that neo-liberal economic policies have oriented Irish education discourse towards global
education reform agendas and a ‘perfect storm’ of political, social and economic
circumstances. While Conway and Murphy (2013) identify the nature of accountability in Irish
ITE as, “an essential and inescapable feature of any education system” (ibid., p. 29), they
maintain that a GERM orientation has resulted in Irish teacher education moving away from
previously underpinning restrained and moderate-stakes education accountabilities.
Accountability in terms of “to whom” and “for what” have been reframed (ibid., p. 13): ITE
providers are now accountable to the Teaching Council, in addition to their accrediting third-
level body, through programme accreditation (since 2011), for programme curricula being of
suitable quality and fit for purpose. Irish teacher education has been questioned by the
Teaching Council as to its effectiveness and, consequently, teacher education curricula across
all ITE providers have been substantially changed to address the concerns raised in relation to
effectiveness to meet accreditation criteria (Gleeson et al. 2017; Harford and O’Doherty 2016).

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While Irish teacher education has undergone significant change, consequent to GERM, it diverges from international trends relating to the demand, retention and status of teaching. Despite the demands of a neo-liberal agenda, retention and status of teaching, while unstable, still appear to be better here than in many other countries (Darmody and Smyth 2016). For example, Ireland seems to be ‘bucking the trend' in relation to the status of teaching as it continues to be seen as a high-status occupation (Conway 2013; European Commission 2013; Sahlberg 2012) with high levels of public satisfaction (Teaching Council 2010). This is evidenced by the high demand for places on teacher education courses and subsequent academic standards required for access onto third-level (university-provided as opposed to Teacher Education College provided) teacher education programmes (Darmody and Smyth 2016; Ireland 2015). In a 2012 international review of Irish ITE, it was noted by the Chair of the panel, Pasi Sahlberg, that the academic standard of entrants to ITE in Ireland “is amongst the highest, if not the highest, in the world” (Sahlberg 2012, p. 19). In relation to teacher retention, there are no current studies that offer statistics (O’Doherty and Harford 2018; Darmody and Smyth 2016). However, it would seem that despite changing employment patterns in Ireland generally, including an increasingly high volume of employment turnover year-on-year, teaching in Ireland largely continues to be seen as “a career for life” due to anecdotally low levels of attrition. For example, out of the 1.98 million persons in employment in 2016, there were over 358,000 inter and intra-occupational transitions in that period (SOLAS 2017). While Ireland has been suffering a much-touted teacher shortage in the last three years, this has been substantially attributed to issues around teacher recruitment, with a lesser focus on teacher retention (O’Doherty and Harford 2018).

1.1.3 Philosophical context

The previous section outlined common trends in ITE internationally and some key differences in the Irish national context to provide a framework for this project and recognise the dominant
hegemonic narratives and discourses in teacher education regarding the need and value of addressing improvement in teacher education. To offer context for my philosophical rationale and personal epistemology (Feucht et al. 2017), I return to the neo-liberal education context. Evidently, the drive for change and improvements in teacher education internationally and nationally over the past two decades has been dominated by neo-liberal drivers (Bullough 2016; Richmond et al. 2016). I believe that I must acknowledge these neo-liberal drivers at the outset of this project to ensure that, epistemologically, I critically interrogate the research reviewed and integrated into the thesis in relation to teacher education improvement and effectiveness. This interrogation should query both the source and intention of research knowledge (Hofer and Pintrich 1997) and establish congruence between my personal epistemology and that of the hegemonic discourse (Feucht et al. 2017).

It is in this context that I return to my opening statement; I believe teacher education matters. Furthermore, I stand with Dunn and Durrance (2014) in perceiving the need to find a balance between the reality of neo-liberal agendas in teacher education and the importance of focussing on a world that considers social justice\(^3\) as the key principle underpinning improvement and change in teaching and learning. From this perspective a key question then emerges: how best can teacher educators enable pre-service teachers to have “the knowledge, skill and dispositions to enhance the learning of students historically not well served by the system” (Cochran-Smith et al. 2016, p. 69) while simultaneously preparing them to critique the complex system which produces and reproduces inequity and injustice (Tan and Barton 2012)? Part of the answer to this question, I contend, is that pre-service teachers must be agentic, enabling them “to play a

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\(^3\) I align with a definition of social justice which encompasses two perspectives, namely recognition and redistribution (North 2006). Consequently, equity reflects both socio-material (Fenwick et al. 2011) and cultural-historical perspectives (Miettinen 2012); inequity – or the absence of social justice – is not caused by a single factor but is an outcome of the agency of individuals, cultural practices, social structures and intersecting policies and regimes of governance.
part in their self-development, adaptation, and self-renewal with changing times” (Bandura 2001, p. 2). With agentic action they can make efforts to shape their work for the overall good of education (Priestley 2011) and furthermore, as demarked by Biesta et al. (2015), this agency “is not something that people can have – as a property, capacity or competence – but is something that people do. More specifically, agency denotes a quality of the engagement of actors with temporal-relational contexts-for-action, not a quality of the actors themselves” (p. 626). Pre-service teachers must be supported to critique the education system and contexts in which they are working and be agentic about ensuring that social justice underpins their teaching for all learners in their care (Tan and Barton 2012). By replacing excessive levels of regulation and standardised curricula and measurement with agency (Biesta et al. 2015), this approach potentially redresses the de-agentic outcomes of neo-liberal education agendas which are seen to de-professionalise teachers.

In this complex, neo-liberal international teacher education improvement context and with due regard to both the specific Irish teacher education environment and my personal philosophy of teacher education, this research project broadly seeks to explore the apprenticeship of observation⁴. This sociological construct is perceived to offer an explanation for pre-service teachers’ resistance to ITE pedagogic input and ultimately to hinder its effectiveness (Darling-Hammond 2006a). While, clearly, effectiveness in education is a subjective descriptor which is often contested in terms of measurement and the above-mentioned neo-liberal agendas, I use the term as Darling-Hammond and Rothman (2011) do, that is, effectiveness in teacher education derives from improving student learning, and ensuring that efforts to improve student learning are grounded in social justice. I do not discount the questions raised in relation to Irish

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⁴ Key concepts and coined language used in this research project are introduced with single parenthesis and subsequently presented in italics.
teacher education effectiveness by the Teaching Council, but I also recognise a lack of epistemological congruence with the intention of the mandated improvements and wish to distance myself from a neo-liberal perspective on effectiveness.

1.2 Background to the study

This section addresses three themes; my professional context, initial exploratory research under key headings, and the evolution of ideas for the research study.

1.2.1 Professional context

I work as a teacher educator in a small college (800 full-time students) in the West of Ireland on a concurrent ITE programme for second-level teachers with a professional focus on pedagogy, the theory and practice of teaching. The concurrent ITE context is one of two main routes to gaining a second-level teaching qualification in Ireland. The concurrent qualification route is often referred to as an undergraduate route as it involves the integration of education studies and subject specialism from the beginning of undergraduate study. In such programmes, teacher education is offered concurrently with subject specific academic content, hence, they are frequently referred to as concurrent programmes. These degree programmes are primarily targeted at second-level school-leavers – entrants are predominantly aged 18 years – consequently, my work with pre-service teachers is generally focussed on an age profile of 18-22 years.

I started my doctoral studies with a view to improving my professional practice, and thereby deepening my understanding of facilitating pre-service teachers’ engagement with pedagogy.

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5 The other route is a post-graduate qualification. These two-year Professional Masters in Education (PME) programmes are offered to graduates with relevant subject content within their undergraduate degrees. Their ITE is offered consecutive to their undergraduate subject expertise, hence the term consecutive ITE. This qualification route accounts for the majority of Irish second-level teachers, for example, it accounted for 71.5% of second-level teachers who qualified in 2011 (Ireland, 2012).
The specific focus of my research evolved consequent to problematising an aspect of my work with second-level pre-service teachers over the last fifteen years that hinged on their conceptions about teaching, particularly their articulation of what they perceived to be ‘good’ teaching. The discourse I witnessed and participated in with pre-service teachers about good teaching at the early stages of their ITE consistently identified: a) beliefs and views about education, teachers and teaching based on their personal school experiences; b) simplistic and resistant conceptions of teaching and, c) a large cohort who seemed to validate their views and beliefs about teaching by identifying their early ‘call’ to teaching. These pre-service teachers perceived they had a vocation and they knew they wanted to teach from early childhood.

Pre-service teachers’ conceptions about teaching concerned me as a teacher educator because of the connection between what they believe about teaching, their preconceptions of teaching, and what they will try to enact in their practice (Buehl and Beck 2015; Woolfolk-Hoy et al. 2006; Calderhead 1996; Pajares 1992). It was noticeable that their talk about teaching at the beginning of their ITE programme clearly showed the effect of an apprenticeship of observation, a term coined by Lortie (1975). Rooted in their thousands of hours of exposure to teachers and teaching during their schooling experiences, pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching were generally simplistic and naïve. Consequently, they were not open to many aspects of ITE pedagogic best practice (ibid.). In effect, their epistemological beliefs about teaching seemed entrenched in their apprenticeship of observation.

I believed I had personal experience of pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching rooted in the apprenticeship of observation impacting on students’ openness to pedagogic input: I perceived that pre-service teachers would listen to ITE input and then, on placement in schools,
employ the methods that they had experienced in their own schooling. They attempted to emulate those who catered to their learning needs and ambitions, in other words their favoured and exemplary teachers. Inspirational moments and cautionary tales from their own schooling formed an epistemological base for teaching that was resistant to trying anything new or different. I noted an overreliance on conservative approaches to pedagogy and methodology and an orientation towards their own preferred learning styles and methods – they were not “reach[ing]6 beyond their personal boundaries to appreciate the perspectives of those whom they would teach” (Darling-Hammond 2000, p. 171). Furthermore, through four years of an ITE undergraduate programme, I noted that despite carefully constructed ITE pedagogic input, this talk evidencing their conceptions of teaching remained largely consistent with their incoming simplistic conceptions. This seemed worryingly significant in terms of emerging educational contexts in Ireland, both in terms of principles and practice, including; a greater focus on neo-liberal accountability practices such as standardised testing; changes to curricula, particularly a new junior level programme; purported increased levels of teacher autonomy, especially relating to assessment; and developments in Information Technology and its use in teaching, to name but a few. I wondered if pre-service teachers could engage with the new contexts which require teacher adaptability and agentic action (Bandura 2001). I wondered if they were willing to engage in dialogue concerned with education and educational change (Biesta et al. 2015). I questioned their commitment to teaching in emerging challenging contexts. I speculated as to the impact of the apprenticeship of observation on pre-service teachers’ teaching conceptions and deliberated as to how I could support them to deconstruct their tenaciously held conceptions of teaching formed before ITE in my pedagogic practice.

6 Square [] brackets in references from literature denote where the original text was altered for readability and clarity.
1.2.2 Initial research: Sugrue’s work

My thinking around this issue was heavily influenced by an article I read that highlighted the *apprenticeship of observation*. This article by Sugrue (1997) explores key issues linking long-standing lay theories and primary-level pre-service teachers’ teaching identities coming into ITE using a student narrative approach. I was struck by the ideas in Sugrue’s work, the research approaches and the conclusions drawn. In reading this article, I identified a possible research gap in relation to investigating second-level pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching. Sugrue’s research remained seminal throughout this project, offering a touchstone for: a culturally nuanced and relevant Irish context; archetypes of teachers; insights concerning the *apprenticeship of observation*, particularly its significance and possible impact on pre-service teachers; and a very interesting approach to deconstructing pre-service teachers’ talk / discourse about their schooling.

In order to develop my understanding of theory relating to my research project, I read a wide selection of literature. My reading was based both on my own observations from practice and Sugrue’s ideas. I began with an exploration of research literature pertaining to teaching conceptions in parallel with a review of Lortie’s exposition of the *apprenticeship of observation*. Following this, I examined research relating to the possible consequences of teaching conceptions entrenched in an *apprenticeship of observation* for ITE and practice. I then sought out research literature which might suggest mechanisms to deconstruct and construct pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching during ITE. Finally, I investigated

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7 (see pp. 14-15) This article referenced lay theories as beliefs developed without tutoring over their time in formal schooling and in larger communities, including but not limited to what is described as an *apprenticeship of observation* (Sugrue, 1997; Holt-Reynolds 1992; Lortie 1975).
research relating to the nature of the talk itself – the discourse – and what that might add to my understanding of pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching.

1.2.3 Initial research: the *apprenticeship of observation*

Lortie (1975) stated that the extended period of formal schooling where students have direct contact with teachers is very comparable to an apprenticeship for teaching. This led to him coining the term *apprenticeship of observation*. During this apprenticeship, pre-service teachers develop beliefs about teaching and learning without coaching, often called lay theories (Borg 2005). These lay theories represent implicit knowledge about teaching which lies unexamined by a school student. They are deemed to shape beginning teachers in terms of their engagement with ITE, their socialisation to teaching, their teaching identities and their teaching practices in schools (Hammerness *et al.* 2005; Darling-Hammond 2006b; Holt Reynolds 1992).

The perceived negative consequence to professional growth resulting from lay theories of teaching developed in the *apprenticeship of observation* – with their associated unsophisticated conceptions (Sugrue 1997) – prompted me to look at the significance of teaching identities to professional growth. My initial research on teacher identity and its formation clearly showed that it is a very large field of study with pedagogic, sociological and psychological theoretical lenses used in its exploration. Significant research, both pedagogical and sociological, has been undertaken into the process and product of pre-service teachers’ identity formation in ITE.

The *apprenticeship of observation* is generally presented in research literature as being a limiting influence on pre-service teachers’ capacity to perceive the complexity of teaching because their understanding and the bulk of their experience of teaching is from an audience
perspective only. Sugrue (1997) developed this theme in his research and identified that consequent to an *apprenticeship of observation*, pre-service teachers may be left with simplistic archetypes of teachers, for example ‘teacher as mother’\(^8\). The simplistic conceptions of teaching common among new entrants to ITE are generally presented as a significant challenge to the traction of ITE. Pre-service teachers are perceived to filter everything they are learning about teaching on their ITE programme through the lens of their *apprenticeship of observation* (Darling Hammond 2006a; Flores and Day 2006; Lortie 1975).

1.2.4 Ontological and epistemological congruence of discourse analysis (DA) to research project

Having been inspired by Sugrue’s work using the talk of participants to effectively highlight their conceptions of teaching, I developed an interest in the area of discourse. This coincided with an examination of my own value-system and assumptions about education to develop my ontological and epistemological position in order to undertake the research. Bolton (2010) advocates the exposition and examination of personal belief and value systems by professionals through reflection, as they are the drivers of decisions and actions and are evident in everything we do. Furthermore, a research project must iteratively and explicitly scrutinise the congruence between a researcher’s belief / value-system and that of their ontological and epistemological position to generate rigorous and valid outcomes (Veugelers and Vedder 2003).

I identified my ontological tendency as broadly interpretivist in that I perceive the social world as convoluted and multifaceted. There is no one reality that can be discovered or known in research as reality is contextual and thus relativistic, fluid and evolving (Bryman 2012).

\(^8\) Jung and von Franz (1986, p. 36) describe archetypes as “dispositions or dominant structures in the psyche” manifesting as recurring themes and images, a type of ‘personal mythology’ (Singer 1988). Sugrue (2004; 1997) describes some Irish culturally specific archetypes as the ‘Master’ and ‘Mistress’ archetypes with associated traits such as disciplinarian, expert, caring, mothering.
People, as individuals, construct their world through their actions and interactions – they have some agency (Bryman 2012; Charmaz 2006). More specifically within a post-modernist epistemology, I align with social constructionism, which Charmaz describes as:

… a theoretical perspective that assumes that people create social reality(ies) through individual and collective actions. Rather than seeing the world as given, constructionists ask, how is it accomplished? Thus, instead of assuming realities in an external world – including global structures and local cultures – social constructionists study what people at a particular time and place take as real, how they construct their views and actions, when different constructions arise, whose constructions become taken as definitive, and how that process ensues.

(2006, p. 189)

When investigating postmodern interpretivist research structures, I was struck by how epistemologically congruent narrative and discourse analysis were to my ontology, aligned to a genuine interest in the possibility of working with pre-service teachers’ talk / discourse. This prompted a move away from the commonly used mixed methods approach to validate research with this ontological underpinning in favour of using Discourse Analysis (DA) as a qualitative research methodology from the discursive psychology tradition9 within a postmodern, interpretivist paradigm (Bell 2010; Fairclough 2001). The particular congruence of the postmodern philosophy is evidenced in its focus on the social and linguistic construction of a perceived reality – the role of language takes centre stage in postmodernism as the mechanism individuals use to come to simultaneously know and construct their world (Becvar and Becvar 2013).

DA is language and discourse oriented, predicated on the understanding that language is socially and culturally constructed and frames the concepts and classifications of an individual. Language serves both a descriptive and performative function; language offers both accounts

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9 Discursive psychology refers to the implementation of methods and concepts from DA to psychological themes (Edwards 2005; Potter 2003).
of things but is also doing something (Austin 1975). DA focuses on deconstructive reading and analysis of a transcribed text with a view to gaining insight into the core and resolution of an inquiry (Gee 2010). Ontologically and epistemologically, DA is based on the tenet that language and discourse can be seen to produce the social world rather than just to understand it. It sets out to uncover the ontological and epistemological beliefs of the research participants and the researcher. It is constructivist in nature, as it is underpinned by the acceptance and exploration of multiple realities constructed by individual social participants (Bryman 2012). There is clear evidence in literature that it is more than a research method or a means of data analysis, rather, it provides a superstructure of theoretical keystones and ways of thinking about a question. Consequent to its structures, DA can be seen as the topic and focus of the research not just the means to acquiring data (Wetherell et al. 2001).

Viewing language and discourse as shaping an individual’s reality, epistemologically, I decided to use the methodological superstructure of DA from the discursive psychology tradition as a means to ‘drill down’ into what the pre-service teachers were saying (their discourse) about their conceptions of teaching. I concluded that using DA to explore the construction and deconstruction of the apprenticeship of observation was a novel and effective approach compared to those offered in literature and research.

1.3 Evolution of research enquiry

At the beginning of this research journey, I was excited at the idea of exploring pre-service teachers’ talk about good teaching in order to reimagine my pedagogic practice. This, in turn, could assist me in my efforts to support pre-service teachers to evolve by helping them to move on from simplistic conceptions of teaching developed during their schooling. Supporting pre-service teachers in their efforts to develop more sophisticated conceptions of teaching that were
adaptable to emerging educational contexts was, I believed, a laudable goal. However, the initial research and analysis of my practice issue revealed challenges and limitations with regard to using my original research focus of pre-service teachers’ talk about good teaching.

The initial literature review identified a substantial body of international, insightful research in relation to ‘good teaching’ and pre-service teachers’ conceptions of good teaching. However, consensus in relation to the constituents of good teaching was not evident. It is clear that good teaching is a subjective concept that is difficult to define, as evidenced in the diverse interpretations of the concept and the diversity of the metrics for good teaching in literature (Connell 2009; Korthagan 2004). For example, the constructs / terms, perceptions, beliefs and conceptions with a variety of associated metric approaches have all been used to explore how pre-service teachers think about good teaching (Muijs and Reynolds 2010; Darling-Hammond and Bransford 2007; Fajet et al. 2005; Korthagen 2004; Murphy et al. 2004; Tell 2001; Entwistle et al. 2000). Furthermore, much of the educational discourse in relation to good teaching explores metrics which favour a checklist of skills, behaviours, dispositions etc. (ibid.). I realised that focussing on the term good teaching would lead down an unwanted path. My focus would be on a nebulous and subjective concept requiring significant research to clarify; a concept which also had an unwanted metrics focus. I perceived that this could decentralise the focus on pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching, especially as related to lay theories formed most notably during the apprenticeship of observation and furthermore move me away from my interest in exploring pre-service teacher discourse.

My literature research led me to see that the apprenticeship of observation with its associated simplistic / unsophisticated conceptions of teaching and its impact on agentic professional
identity development was at the heart of my practice issue and consequently now forms the heart of this research project. When I initially problematised my practice I took the notion of the *apprenticeship of observation* for granted – this was a term and a concept I believed I understood. The further I went on with my personal learning journey, the more I could see that my research interest lay in contributing to identifying methods to analyse and deconstruct the *apprenticeship of observation* construct – a construct that I now believe is often presented simplistically in literature. I became convinced that exploring pre-service teachers’ talk about their *apprenticeship of observation* through their descriptions of good teaching could offer more than simple descriptions about their *apprenticeship of observation* in schooling, it could offer insight into their construction of their teaching conceptions.

In my review of literature pertaining to the *apprenticeship of observation*, it became clear that there has been little research in this area using psychological constructs; pedagogical and sociological perspectives have been used primarily. During this review, I was particularly impressed by the work of Friesen and Besley (2013) who explored teacher identity development using Erikson’s work (1964) on identity development and self-categorisation theory (Turner *et al.* 1994) and Marcia’s work on Identity Status Theory (1980; 1966). Friesen and Besley’s (2013) work postulates that, to the detriment of a deeper understanding of teacher identity development, there has been little study of the teacher identity construct. They specifically highlight the value in learning how to work with pre-service teachers’ “preformed beliefs” about teaching formed during schooling (the *apprenticeship of observation*) using psychological perspectives (*ibid.*, p. 23). Reflecting on this, I realised that up to this point I had not come across research pertaining to the *apprenticeship of observation* using psychological lenses. On further reading and reflection about the value of psychology in
education research, I positioned myself with Entwhistle (2013) who argues that “psychology should affect the way teachers think about their work” (p. 6) and furthermore that:

… there is now a growing belief that psychological and educational research improve practice, not in the direct way that physics can affect engineering but in an indirect way by changing the way practical situations are interpreted – by making teachers more aware of aspects of the teaching/learning process which previously had perhaps passed unnoticed … But most of all it challenges the teacher and the learner to re-examine accepted ways of thinking about the educational process.

(Ibid., p. 7)

Consequent to both perceiving the potential value of utilising psychological theory to explore the evolution of teaching conceptions during the apprenticeship of observation and an interest in discourse, I followed literature review threads to psychological theories which I thought might help me analyse and indeed negotiate the apprenticeship of observation.

As previously identified, literature research on discourse led me to DA very early in this project. I perceived DA, due to its inherent structures, could facilitate a more in-depth investigation of pre-service teachers’ discourse around the apprenticeship of observation. I found the epistemological congruence of exploring discourse in the context of an ontologically interpretive paradigm stimulating. Choosing DA further shaped my subsequent research enquiry, framework and methodology in many fundamental ways, two of which I highlight below. Firstly, it sharpened my psychological theory antennae which led to many “psychological turns” (Kornblith 1982) as I reviewed concepts related to my work presented with a sociological focus. Secondly, it led to further evaluation of the literature reviewed in relation to the apprenticeship of observation resulting in my drawing two interwoven conclusions about the complexity of the construct:

- **Conclusion one;** I needed to problematise pre-service teachers’ talk about their apprenticeship of observation with an additional layer of psychological analysis through DA – as pre-service teachers’ discourse does more than describe their
apprenticeship of observation, it is performative\textsuperscript{10} in that it offers insight into where they want to be positioned in relation to the bigger discourse of teaching.

- Conclusion two: while I had previously focussed on the talk of the pre-service teachers as being homogenous in its expression of conceptions of teaching during ITE, looking at it through a DA theoretical lens I now perceived pre-service teachers’ discourse / talk to be heterogeneous. It required a focus on the individual contextualised construction of pre-service teachers’ teaching conceptions discourse. In effect, an incongruent belief relative to my espoused epistemological position about conceptions of teaching had come to light.

In drawing these conclusions, I realised that my research ambitions necessitated an examination of the participants’ highly individualised ontological narratives\textsuperscript{11} (Somers and Gibson 1994), the stories they tell about their schooling (and apprenticeship of observation) in efforts to make sense of how they experienced their schooling – their ‘autobiography of schooling’. This examination could potentially help explain how the pre-service teachers use these narratives to both individually construct their own teaching conceptions and negotiate their individual identities (Lieblich \textit{et al.} 1998). Furthermore, it could highlight the performative function of the narrative discourse offering insight into their positioning in relation to the bigger discourse of teaching. In order to garner the ontological narratives of the proposed target group of participants, I realised that I needed to tap into their autobiographical memories about schooling, their apprenticeship of observation. Consequent to perceiving the value in

\textsuperscript{10} Language / talk / discourse does more than describe, it has a function; it is performative (Austin 1975).

\textsuperscript{11} The stories that an individual tells about themselves can be described as ontological narratives (sometimes called personal narratives e.g. the autobiography genre). These stories are critical to the formation of personal identity and as such impact on our actions (Søreide 2006). “Personal narratives are narratives of the self, typically stories which locate the narrating subject at the centre of events” (Baker 2009, p. 226).
garnering pre-service teachers’ autobiographies of schooling, memory became a key construct in my examination of the participant pre-service teachers’ discourse about their *apprenticeship of observation*.

Consequent to the shift in epistemological focus highlighted above, I researched autobiographical memory and was intrigued by its links to ontological narratives, and the mechanisms for encoding memory and the relationship between autobiographical memory construction and positioning of an individual. Applying an autobiographical memory lens to participants’ discourse about the *apprenticeship of observation* led me to question the concept of the *apprenticeship of observation* itself; and to ask if it is a construct of memory and, if so, what agency does a pre-service teacher have in its construction? If pre-service teachers have agency in its construction, then they need to engage fully in its deconstruction; the deconstruction of the *apprenticeship of observation* cannot be ‘done to them’. At a theoretical level, I found the work on memory of Conway and Pleydell-Pearce (2001; 2000), Conway (2005) and Pillemer (2001) in relation to the Self Memory System (SMS) – an autobiographical memory storage and retrieval model – and McAdams (2011; 2008; 2001; 1996) around the ‘selfing’ process to be stimulating and of potential value to me in my research.

To further investigate participants’ agency in the construction of their own conceptions about teaching, and memories formed during their *apprenticeship of observation*, I revisited Friesen and Besley’s (2013) research in relation to identity development from a psychological perspective that I had consulted at the onset of my project. I perceived that this research overlapped with the SMS and *selfing* in relation to occupational / career choice goals. As outlined previously, Friesen and Besley’s (2013) research explored teacher identity linked to
personal / ego identity\textsuperscript{12} from a psychosocial perspective. They specifically highlighted the work undertaken by Erikson (1964; 1963; 1959) and Marcia (1980; 1966) in relation to ego identity development and Identity Status Theory. Marcia’s Identity Status Theory (1980; 1966) was of particular interest due to my original interest in pre-service teachers’ talk about their career choice decision or ‘call’ to teaching. Marcia’s work exploring the identity status of individuals offered interesting concepts around ‘exploration’ of and ‘commitment’ to a career choice. His work linked the presence or absence of exploration and commitment to four identity statuses; ‘foreclosed’, ‘in moratorium’, ‘achieved’ and ‘in diffusion’ (Marcia 1980; 1966). Potentially, each identity status aligns with particular consequences for subsequent thought processes and behaviours, including agency, conservatism and openness (1980; 1966).

Foreclosed identity status, in particular, caught my attention, that is, early closure to a career-choice without exploration of other careers. I connected this to my experience of pre-service teachers’ discourse around good teaching. I wondered if a foreclosed identity status might be evident in their talk, exemplified in such statements as, “I always wanted to be a teacher” or “I always knew I’d be a teacher”. I speculated as to the prevalence of a foreclosed identity among pre-service teachers. Furthermore, I wondered if a foreclosed ego identity – consequent to, or apart from – the apprenticeship of observation provided an explanation for pre-service teachers’ resistance to pedagogic input, potentially simplistic teaching conceptions and, potentially, hampered professional growth. I reasoned that using this theory lens to analyse the participants’ discourse could enrich my understanding of their agency during the apprenticeship of observation in developing their conceptions of teaching.

\textsuperscript{12} “Ego identity is the sense of identity that provides individuals with the ability to experience their sense of who they are, and also act on that sense, in a way that has continuity and sameness.” (Levesque 2014, p. 813)
The next stage in the development of my project was thinking through the interview instrument that would be used to tap into my research cohort’s autobiographical memories. I was clear that I wanted to design a schedule that allowed me to gather participant discourse in relation to their memories of second-level schooling and, thus, the latter part of their apprenticeship of observation, including memories of their career choice goals / decisions. I also knew I needed to ensure that information in relation to their conceptions of teaching would be elicited – their thoughts during schooling, their thoughts now when they describe good and bad teaching, and their career choice decisions. The schedule needed to be exploratory in nature, yet, it also needed to prompt discourse regarding specific facets of SMS and Identity Status theories. Explicitly, in relation to SMS Theory, it needed questions to explore the concept of participants’ working-self goal hierarchy, and, to investigate identity status, the schedule of questions needed to elicit discourse in relation to both pre-service teachers’ exploration of and commitment to their career choice. As the SMS is premised on the notion that memory is driven or motivated by goals, this dictated gathering participant pre-service teacher discourse around defining memories during schooling and memories around their career choice decisions.

At the end of the data gathering and analysis phases using DA with SMS and Identity Status Theory lenses, my original assumptions had been challenged and my research enquiry had evolved organically to encompass queries in relation to the concept of the apprenticeship of observation itself: I wondered if there was a connection between early foreclosure to a teaching career, as Marcia (1980; 1966) describes it, and the autobiographical memory construction of the apprenticeship of observation inhibiting pre-service teachers’ professional growth. Furthermore, I wondered if the memory filter of the working-self supports a conclusion that the apprenticeship of observation is not always ‘done’ to pre-service teachers, but, rather, that they might have agency in its development. These new questions struck me as important in
terms of exploring pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching during the second-level component of their *apprenticeship of observation*. Guiding all this was a desire to help pre-service teachers to deconstruct or navigate and negotiate their *apprenticeship of observation*, aiding the development of sophisticated conceptions of teaching and professional development.

### 1.4 Summary of research rationale

While sections above dealing with the context for the research and the evolution of enquiry have offered insights into aspects of my rationale for this research, this section draws together and summarises a justification for why I undertook this research. I believe that supporting pre-service teachers’ development of sophisticated conceptions of teaching underpinned by agency to enable teachers to adapt and thrive in new and emerging educational contexts offers a worthwhile rationale for further investigating second-level pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching. Both my literature research and my lived experience as a teacher educator up to the time I started the data analysis for this research project led me to consider that the *apprenticeship of observation* experienced during schooling plays an important part in the development of pre-service teachers’ simplistic conceptions of teaching which are resistant to change. I believe that teacher educators need to undertake research, produce literature and develop practice that can facilitate pre-service teachers to deconstruct their *apprenticeship of observation* and associated conceptions of teaching. I also believe that psychological theory has been underutilised in this regard.

Notwithstanding the contribution that research investigating the *apprenticeship of observation* has made to understanding pre-service teachers’ practices, it seems to me that exploring it primarily from sociological and pedagogical perspectives undervalues important psychological influences. There has been little research into the *apprenticeship of observation* using
psychological constructs. Furthermore, despite recognition of the importance of teacher identity in teacher development, it has been argued that important foundational psychological concepts have been inadequately integrated into existing research and, consequently, some key influences underpinning career choice have been underexplored (Friesen and Besley 2013; Rodgers and Scott 2008). Similarly, little research has focussed on the psychological construction of memories during schooling – the apprenticeship of observation period. This also led me to conclude that a discursive psychology DA focus is a worthwhile novel approach to the exploration of the apprenticeship of observation in the context of this project. I propose that using psychological theory will generate valuable insights and new approaches for working with pre-service teachers.

In an Irish educational context, pre-service teachers’ perceptions and conceptions of teaching have not been explored beyond Sugrue’s (1997) interesting work analysing primary-level pre-service teachers’ lay theories of teaching and teaching identities. I submit that there are opportunities for further research and questions beyond Sugrue’s research on two counts. Firstly, Sugrue’s work focussed on the larger lay theories construct but, while the apprenticeship of observation is part of this construct, the nature of the apprenticeship of observation itself was not deconstructed. Secondly, the research was focussed on primary-level pre-service teachers; second-level pre-service teachers in Ireland have been the focus of limited research attention in this regard. I suggest that research into second-level teaching where subject specialism is a key component might yield different experiences of the apprenticeship of observation, different motivations to become a teacher; in effect different conceptions of teaching. This view would seem to be supported by Younger et al.’s (2004) research in the United Kingdom (UK) which identifies that choosing to become a second-level teacher is predicated by as much as 80% on wanting to continue to work with a favoured
subject. This is distinctly different from Sugrue’s (1997) findings in relation to Irish primary-level pre-service teachers’ motivations for becoming a teacher.

1.5 Research question, aim and objectives

I did not frame my research with an exact, testable hypothesis based around a preconceived theory. Instead, I put forward a prima facie, naturalistic research question which sought to garner greater understanding of the social world of the research participants and researcher, without cognisance to objective knowledge (Thomas 2013; Bell 2010). This guiding question offered guidance and focus in my research, identifying appropriate supporting literature, selecting research methodology, identifying participants and selecting instruments and analysis (Bryman 2012).

This research project grew from, and was guided by, a broad research question: *What can second-level pre-service teachers’ talk / discourse in relation to schooling and teaching during their apprenticeship of observation convey about their conceptualisations of teaching and the apprenticeship of observation itself?* More specifically, in this research project I aimed to use a DA research superstructure to analyse participant second-level pre-service teachers’ memory discourse about their second-level schooling – their *apprenticeship of observation* period – using psychological theories to gain insight regarding their agency in the evolution of the teaching conceptions they constructed or garnered during this period.

With a view to contributing to ITE knowledge and literature, this study sought to gain a deeper understanding of pre-service teachers’ agency in the construction of their teaching conceptions during the second-level portion of their *apprenticeship of observation* period. The *apprenticeship of observation* is a period associated with predominantly negative effects on
pre-service teachers’ engagement with ITE; capacity to develop sophisticated conceptions of teaching; capacity to look beyond themselves when teaching others different than themselves; agency; professional identity; and professional development. I proffer that a deeper understanding of the construction/evolution of teaching conceptions during the *apprenticeship of observation* period may support teacher educators to scaffold pre-service teachers to negotiate an *apprenticeship of observation* and develop sophisticated conceptions of teaching and robust, agentic professional teacher identities.

In order to achieve this aim, through an organic, evolutionary, reflexive post-modern research process, I divided it, using a layered DA superstructure, into the following objectives:

- I sought to elicit and analyse the discourse participants draw upon when recounting memories regarding their career choice decision making during second-level schooling;
- I sought to elicit and analyse the discourse participants draw upon when recounting memories of second-level schooling to elucidate their conceptions of teaching;
- I sought to analyse the discourse participants draw upon when describing their *apprenticeship of observation*, giving due regard to participants’ agency in the construction or garnering of their teaching conceptions memories during their *apprenticeship of observation*.

To do this, I:

- estimated the number of participants who decided on a career/occupation goal for teaching during their *apprenticeship of observation*;
- used a further analytical lens, SMS (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000), an autobiographical memory theory, to establish if during schooling (the *apprenticeship of observation*) the goal hierarchy of the working-self encoded privileged memories
associated with the goal to become a teacher, thus showing participants’ agency in the construction of memories associated with teaching – their teaching conceptions, to discover, if in effect, the apprenticeship of observation was an agentic individual construct of memory;

- then used Identity Status Theory (Marcia 1980; 1966) to explore the de-agentic consequences that could potentially impact teaching conceptions and teacher identity in the case of pre-service teachers who decided or foreclosed on teaching as an occupational goal during the apprenticeship of observation period.

### 1.6 Visual map of the theoretical development of the study

**Figure 1:** Visual map of the theoretical development of the study.
1.7 Outline of the thesis

The remainder of this thesis is laid out in chapters as follows:

Chapter 2 assesses literature pertaining to the *apprenticeship of observation*. Given the potential for undesirable consequences due to teaching conceptions entrenched in an *apprenticeship of observation* on teacher identity development, there is also an assessment of literature on teacher identity development and professional growth in this chapter.

Chapter 3 evaluates literature in relation to the SMS Theory (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000) in a context of the *apprenticeship of observation*. This incorporates an overview of literature relating to autobiographical memory – its processes and functions, particularly in connection to *selfing* (McAdams 1996; Blasi 1988). Finally, literature specifically related to the SMS Theory with respect to both the *apprenticeship of observation* and how conceptions of teaching might be formulated, particularly by those who have decided on a teaching career, is reviewed in this chapter.

Chapter 4 is a review of literature pertaining to teacher identity and Identity Status Theory (Marcia, 1980; 1966) in a context of the *apprenticeship of observation*. It begins with a review of literature pertaining to pre-service teachers’ motivations for teaching, the rationales they used in choosing to become teachers and aspects of teacher identity highlighting perspectives and approaches to teacher identity development. The remainder of the chapter offers an examination of Marcia’s work on Identity Status Theory situated in the broader field of ego development. It details the theory and analyses its relevance in the context of ego identity development. In conclusion, I propose the relevance of Marcia’s Identity Status Theory to any
examination of the *apprenticeship of observation* and the formation of conservative and perhaps simplistic conceptions of teaching.

Chapter 5 focuses on the research methodology I used. It offers an overview of, and a rationale for, the DA approach underpinning this research. An exploration of my research ontology, epistemology and ‘positionality’ are also offered. The chapter concludes with details regarding the mechanics of the research design, instrumentation and data analysis.

Chapters 6 and 7 present the results of, and, discussion generated by, the DA in two parts: the first in relation to autobiographical memory and the working-self, and the second pertaining to identity status.

Chapter 8, the final chapter in this thesis, presents conclusions in a context of the limitations of the study, recommendations for future practice and research in ITE and a reflection on my personal learning.
Chapter 2: Literature Review 1

The Apprenticeship of Observation and Teacher Identity Development
2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 assesses key literature in relation to the apprenticeship of observation. The chapter begins with a review of the apprenticeship of observation concept. It then offers a synthesis of literature pertaining to its possible consequences on ITE, on practice and on pre-service teacher professional growth. Consequent to the links made in literature between the apprenticeship of observation and professional growth, the chapter concludes with an evaluation of literature related to teacher identity formation.

2.2 The apprenticeship of observation

Lortie (1975) states that the extended formal schooling period, over thousands of hours, where students have face-to-face contact and interaction with teachers, is very like an apprenticeship for teaching, hence the term apprenticeship of observation. During this apprenticeship pre-service teachers develop lay theories about teaching and learning, that is, beliefs established without tutoring over the formal schooling period (Borg 2005). Holt-Reynolds (1992) identifies that these lay theories represent tacit knowledge laying unexamined by a student. The unexamined lay theories that evolve are judged to shape beginning teachers in terms of their engagement with ITE, their socialisation to teaching, their teaching identities and their teaching practices in schools (Darling-Hammond 2006b; Hammerness et al. 2005).

2.2.1 Conceptions of teaching and the apprenticeship of observation

As previously stated, perceptions, beliefs and conceptions can all be used to explore how pre-service teachers think about teaching (Muijs and Reynolds 2010; Darling-Hammond and Bransford 2007; Fajet et al. 2005; Korthagen 2004; Murphy et al. 2004; Tell 2001; Entwistle et al. 2000). Each of these terms is conceptually specific and nuanced. For the purpose of this research, I am choosing the term ‘conceptions’, as described by Entwistle et al. (2000), to offer a European interpretation of the term, that is, conceptions describe teachers’ own beliefs about
teaching and how they think about teaching, catering to the complexity and idiosyncratic nature of how pre-service teachers form abstract concepts.

Links between the *apprenticeship of observation* and conceptions of teaching are clear in literature. Research identifies that teaching conceptions are formed early in pre-service teachers’ lives and are heavily influenced by their *apprenticeship of observation* and lay or folk theories (Fajet *et al.* 2005; Sugrue 1997; Lortie 1975). These conceptions are resistant to change – even during an ITE programme where they prove “troublesome” for teacher educators (Darling-Hammond 2006c) – and they effect the professional growth of teachers after ITE.

2.2.2 Possible consequences of teaching conceptions entrenched in an *apprenticeship of observation* on ITE and practice

The *apprenticeship of observation* is deemed to come with limitations in relation to understanding the complexity of teaching. Essentially, the school student only has the perspective of the target audience. Consequently, they assess teacher outcomes from their own subjective position as the target audience (Borg 2005; John 1996; Lortie 1975). The student has only been witness to the teaching activity. Borg (2005) identifies that during the *apprenticeship of observation* students are not party to the intentions of the teacher and the complex planning tasks undertaken to prepare lessons, in other words, the difficulty and very particular demands of teaching tasks. Lortie (1975) states that what a student can learn in this *apprenticeship of observation* is “intuitive and imitative rather than explicit and analytical; it is based on individual personalities rather than pedagogical principles” (p. 62). It is argued that much of pre-service teachers’ tacit knowledge about teaching is grounded in their investment in consequential relationships with teachers during their *apprenticeship of observation*: they have learned how to be successful in school and attain good grades, not least by appeasing their teachers through developing empathy and by anticipating their teachers’
reactions in different scenarios. Lortie (1975) argues that during the *apprenticeship of observation* what students learn about teaching lacks analysis, particularly in relation to pedagogical principles. Their learning is based instead on their intuition and their likes and dislikes – teachers’ personalities, in particular. Sugrue (1997), in describing pre-service teachers’ lay theories about teaching, identifies that pre-service teachers might be left with unsophisticated and simplistic archetypes of what teachers are, and what they do, as a consequence of their *apprenticeship of observation*. Pre-service teachers will view teaching in a simplistic, unsophisticated way, whereas, when school students choose to pursue non-teaching occupations they tend to recognise their limited knowledge of the demands of these occupations and are more open to learning about them (*ibid.*).

Research evidence suggests that what pre-service teachers learn in ITE is filtered through firmly held beliefs about teaching and simplistic conceptions of teaching that manifest as a consequence of lay theories developed in large part during the *apprenticeship of observation* in school (Beuhl and Beck 2015; Darling-Hammond *et al.* 2005; Pennington 1996).

![Figure 2: The impact on pre-service teachers’ teaching conceptions using Lortie’s conceptualisation of the apprenticeship of observation.](image)

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It is argued that the filtering mechanism developed through this apprenticeship negatively impacts on ITE; Darling-Hammond (2006a) suggests that overcoming unsophisticated conceptions of teaching as a consequence of the *apprenticeship of observation* is one of the two most challenging issues that teacher educators must overcome in ITE (the other being enactment).

Pre-service teachers look at their ITE through a continuous rather than a discontinuous framework based on resilient predeterminations and identifications. They do not identify their new vantage point as pre-service teachers, as a contrasting one to their experiences as students in schools. One consequence of this is a continuous, and unchanged, perception of what constitutes good teaching (Flores and Day 2006; Holt-Reynolds 1992; Pajares 1992; Lortie 1975). Research into pre-service teachers’ perceptions and beliefs about good and bad teaching consistently highlights a negative consequence to this continuous framework of unsophisticated conceptions of teaching. Research evidence suggests that pre-service teachers perceive interpersonal, affective teaching characteristics as most significant when describing good teaching (Fajet et al. 2005; Murphy et al. 2004; Entwistle et al. 2000; Wilson 1996). These authors suggest that this may indicate that pre-service teachers have an under-developed concept of the complexity of teaching as well as an orientation towards a transmissive, teacher-centred, conservative approach to teaching (Scott and Dinham 2008; Fajet et al. 2005; Minor et al. 2002). Literature on the subject also proposes that an emphasis on affective characteristics instead of cognitive ones may inhibit pre-service teachers’ openness to and assimilation of crucial pedagogical and subject knowledge input in ITE\(^\text{13}\) (Fajet et al. 2005;...

\(^\text{13}\) ‘Personal narrative’ (Doyle and Carter 2003; Kelchtermans and Ballet 2002; Beijaard et al. 2000), ‘institutional culture’ (Zeichner 1999; Tierney 1988) and the ‘didactic contract’ (Brousseau et al. 1997) between ITE lecturer and pre-service teacher with a resulting ‘strategic compliance’ (Ball and Lacey 2012) can also be seen to impact on pre-service teachers’ assimilation of ITE input.
Murphy et al. 2004). The apprenticeship of observation is thus “an ally of continuity rather than of change” (Lortie 1975, p. 67). This aligns with reports of pre-service teachers’ often conservative teaching approaches resulting from their apprenticeship of observation (Shkedi and Laron 2004; Grossman 1990; Lortie 1975).

I questioned if these worrying effects regarding a conservative approach to teaching related to the apprenticeship of observation could be linked to or help explain Hattie’s empirical research (2009), which seems to contradict the notion that ‘teacher education matters’, where he identified a very low impact effect (effect size) of teacher education on overall teacher outcomes as reported by teachers (d=0.11). In this research, Hattie links this low effect size of teacher education to pre-service teachers’ resistance to changing their attitudes and beliefs about teaching and learning (ibid.), thus inhibiting engagement with ITE and professional growth.

2.2.3 Are there only negative consequences of apprenticeship of observation on ITE and practice?

I was unable to source literature which countered the notion that an apprenticeship of observation exists in the form identified by Lortie (1975). I found a small body of research arguing against a wholly pejorative perception of the influence of the apprenticeship of observation on ITE and practice. Mewborn and Tyminski (2006), for example, contend that the frequently reported negative consequences associated with the apprenticeship of observation and teaching represents a myth where an idea has become established as a result of repetition rather than empirical evidence. They suggest that people experience both positive and negative teaching models as students. They further assert that Lortie’s own evidence supports this view, citing that Lortie himself expressed surprise to learn that researchers had distorted his findings with a solely negative interpretation. Smagorinsky and Barnes (2014)
build on this premise and contend that perceiving the *apprenticeship of observation* as being responsible for continued conservative teaching while reinforcing the idea that incoming teachers’ conceptions of teaching are impervious to change is overly deterministic and static, especially as the context of teaching has changed dramatically since the cold-war era in which Lortie was writing. These arguments interested me, but I was unconvinced by them as they seemed to contradict my lived, albeit anecdotal, experience. In terms of the idea that the *apprenticeship of observation* with its associated impact on teaching conceptions was a myth without empirical evidence, I believed that my experience as a teacher educator evidenced the filtering of ITE through the lens of pre-service teachers’ schooling experiences to the detriment of developing sophisticated teaching conceptions. Similarly, in relation to the idea that Lortie’s construct required reinterpretation in a post-cold-war era, where teaching had changed dramatically, from reading Lortie’s work (1975) I did not think that the teaching contexts he described were dramatically different from my perceptions of schooling in the early 21st century.

2.2.4 Good teaching perspectives

Consequent to the importance of the concept ‘good teaching’ to this study – it runs as a theme throughout – I consider it necessary to position the concept in relation to this study. No research of this nature could be done without considering what constitutes good teaching due to its direct relationship to professional identity development. As stated in the introduction, good teaching is a contested concept consequent to the number of disparate perspectives on what constitutes good teaching (Connell 2009; Apple 2008; Korthagan 2004). Good teaching has been described as a ‘messy’ narrative with conflicting, difficult to align aspects (Simmie *et al.* 2019; Nixon 2004). From a metrics perspective, the introduction to this study highlighted the lack of consensus in the body of international research in relation to pre-service teachers’ conceptions of good teaching and the constituents of good teaching. Indeed, the concept and expression
‘good teaching’ is subjective, as evidenced in the diverse interpretations of the concept and the diversity of the metrics for good teaching in literature such as checklists of skills, behaviours, dispositions and characteristics (Entwistle et al. 2000; Fajet et al. 2005; Korthagen 2004; Murphy et al. 2004; Darling-Hammond and Bransford 2007; Muijs and Reynolds 2010; Tell 2001).

Neo-liberal perspectives on good teaching assert that the concept has been reshaped as “a clinical practice of standardised knowledge, and prescriptive knower dispositions, based on a self-steering entrepreneurial audit culture” (Simmie et al. 2019, p. 55). With this understanding, good teaching can be measured in terms of teacher effectiveness towards successful market outputs – good teaching meets the needs of the market (Bullough 2016; Suleiman 2013; Darling-Hammond and Rothman 2011; Ross et al. 2011). In opposition to neoliberal understandings of good teaching, holistic perspectives on the concept, as offered by Giroux (2015; 2013), contend that at its best, good teaching makes spaces for transformative intellectuals focused on holistic education that is underpinned by public interest values / a public good, reasoned judgement and agency. Consequent to the diversity of perspectives in relation to what constitutes good teaching, there is an inevitable challenge to identifying what pre-service teachers should learn in ITE to foster good teaching (Zeichner et al. 2015; Apple 2008).

In line with my position outlined in the introduction to this thesis, I believe that the drive for change and improvements in teacher education internationally and nationally over the past two decades has been dominated by neo-liberal drivers (Bullough 2016; Richmond et al. 2016) to which I do not ascribe. In congruence with my educational philosophy and epistemology
already outlined, I align with the holistic understanding of good teaching as presented by
giroux (2015; 2013). Notwithstanding this positioning, the remainder of this research is
presented with the understanding that good teaching is a contested concept and pre-service
teachers’ discourse around good teaching may be drawing on a variety of perspectives.

2.2.5 Deconstructing and constructing pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching

In relation to ameliorating the negative effects of conceptions of teaching entrenched in the
apprenticeship of observation, research and literature overwhelmingly advocates for teacher
educators to help pre-service teachers to articulate and explore their conceptions of teaching.
This exploration process should facilitate pre-service teachers’ engagement with and
assimilation of best pedagogic practice and, thus, enable professional growth. It is a key
component in their teaching identity formation (Izadinia 2015; Bauml 2009; Fajet et al. 2005;
Borg 2004; Murphy et al. 2004; Minor et al. 2002; Entwhistle et al. 2000; Sugrue 1997; Pajares
1992). Teacher educators are, in effect, encouraged to support pre-service teachers to
decompose their incoming conceptions of teaching entrenched in their apprenticeship of
observation. Sugrue (1997) suggests that lay theories founded in the apprenticeship of
observation “… need to be deconstructed and understood if they are to be open to critical
scrutiny and the postmodern project of continuous renegotiation and reconstruction with, it
shall be argued, important consequences for the quality of teaching and learning in our schools”
(p. 215). He further suggests that:

An immediate challenge to teacher education is to acknowledge existing teaching identities and their
epistemological legitimacy and tenacity and the discontinuities between lay theories and research based
approaches to teaching … teacher education programmes cannot persist with … a "deficit view of the
student" rather than "acknowledging the understandings that the learner brings to the situation." The
present analysis supports Holt-Reynold's (1992, p. 345) conclusion that we must "probe preservice
teachers' rationales rather than assess their abilities to apply our rationales".

(Quoted from p. 223)

Efforts to unpack students’ experience of the apprenticeship of observation due to its inhibiting
effect on their engagement with ITE, their formation of a dynamic and robust teaching identity
and their teaching practices, which are often conservative and confined, have tended to be undertaken mostly from sociologically and pedagogically grounded perspectives. For example, pedagogical studies have asked students to engage in reflective practice by integrating a review of their schooling experiences when considering their current practices and then writing about it using forms of reflective writing such as journals, portfolios and blogs (Boyd et al. 2013; Friesen and Besley 2013; Holt-Reynolds 1992). More recent research by Westrick and Morris (2016) has highlighted characteristics of effective pedagogy that can disrupt the apprenticeship of observation’s negative impact on ITE. One example of this is pedagogical content that offers dramatic new ideas, often disconfirming ideas, about teaching and learning that aims to raise pre-service teachers’ awareness of their unexamined assumptions about teaching. Using this approach, the teacher educator ensures that there is a focus on the effect raising this awareness has on pre-service teachers. Another strategy employed by Westrick and Morris (2016) is to use writing to support metacognition about teaching during ITE to begin a process of new understandings. Notwithstanding the contribution that research into the apprenticeship of observation has made to our understanding of pre-service teachers’ practices, based on my review of literature, I suggest that it is fair to conclude that the research lenses to explore the apprenticeship of observation have been primarily sociological and pedagogical, underestimating what I now consider to be important psychological influences at play.

2.3 Teacher identity development and the apprenticeship of observation

As stated above, pre-service teachers’ capacity to deconstruct incoming conceptions of teaching to support the development of a dynamic and robust teacher identity would appear to be limited by the apprenticeship of observation. A large body of research associates lay theories of teaching developed in the apprenticeship of observation with unsophisticated conceptions of teaching, inhibiting effects on pre-service teachers’ engagement with ITE and robust agentic teacher identities (Sugrue 1997). Consequent to the perceived negative impact
of the *apprenticeship of observation* on pre-service teachers’ professional growth and their development of robust teaching identities, I sought to further explore the significance of teaching identities in the context of professional growth.

### 2.3.1 Teacher identity

Everyone has multiple identities associated with both their person – who they are – and societal perceptions (Gee 2000). In this context, the term teacher identity does not represent a “unitary” concept or single identity, rather it is used to label the collection of identities developed to support a teacher to react to and negotiate their professional life (Beijaard *et al.* 2004). Furthermore, Beijaard *et al.* (2004) identify that professional teacher identity “… is not something teachers have, but something they use in order to make sense of themselves” (p. 123). Olsen (2008) offered the following description of teacher identity:

> I view identity as a label, really, for the collection of influences and effects from immediate contexts, prior constructs of self, social positioning, and meaning systems (each itself a fluid influence and all together an ever-changing construct) that become intertwined inside the flow of activity as a teacher simultaneously reacts to and negotiates given contexts and human relationships at given moments.

(p. 139)

Research on teacher identity posits that teacher identity is a process and a product\(^{14}\), one that is fluid, evolving, interactive and dynamic which can be best understood within a sociocultural perspective; a teacher’s identity is shaped and reshaped through ongoing interactions with others and the school environment (Pillen *et al.* 2013; Beauchamp and Thomas 2009; Flores and Day 2006; Beijard *et al.* 2004). Through these interactions, a teacher learns their own expected roles and learns how to interact with others’ roles within the professional context through constant negotiation between school contexts, their teaching philosophies, approaches and inclinations (Beijaard *et al.* 2004). Thus, teacher identity formation is a continuing,

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\(^{14}\)“Teacher identity acts both as a methodological lens through which teacher development can be studied, and as a content or assemblage itself, in and upon which development operates. In other words, it is both a process and a product” (Olsen 2012, p. 1123).
unending process of interpreting and reinterpreting the ‘self’ and environmental contexts (Schutz et al. 2018; Olsen 2008; Beijaard et al. 2004; Gee 2000).

In their comprehensive review of literature pertaining to teacher identity, Beijaard et al. (2004) argue that there is one further aspect that is critical to a teacher’s professional identity, that of teacher agency; a teacher must be active in the development of their own professional identity. Lewis et al. (2007) highlight the importance of agency in ongoing teacher identity development stating that agency is “a way of positioning oneself so as to allow for new ways of being, new identities” (p. 5). Teachers, therefore, can enhance their professional identities throughout their careers by engaging in ongoing professional learning, decision-making and adapting to change.

2.3.2 Dimensions of teacher identity

Day and Kington (2008) align with Beijaard et al. (2000; 2004) in stating that teacher identity is not unitary, rather it is made up of sub-identities that evolve and compete as teachers strive to make sense of themselves in their environment. They elaborate on this to support understanding of how professional learning interacts with the professional environment by classifying three dimensions of teacher identity, each made up of competing sub-identities. They identify: (1) professional identity, (2) situated located identity and (3) personal identity, explaining them as:

(1) Professional identity. The professional dimension reflects social and policy expectations of what a good teacher is and the educational ideals of the teacher. It is open to the influence of policy and social trends as to what constitutes a good teacher. It may have elements that conflict such as professional development, workload, roles and responsibilities, etc. (2) Situated located identity within a school or classroom. This dimension is located in a specific school context and is affected by the surrounding environment. It is affected by pupils, leadership support and feedback loops from teachers’ immediate working context, and shapes the teachers’ long-term identity. (3) Personal identity. The personal

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15 The pronoun ‘they’ is used throughout the project as a singular pronoun for gender neutrality. English language dictionaries including the Oxford English Dictionary, Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary, and dictionary.com recognise the singular pronoun ‘they’ as grammatically correct.
dimension is located outside school and is linked to family and social roles. Feedback or expectations from family and friends often become sources of tension for the individual’s sense of identity. (p. 11)

This identity formation involves the dynamic alignment of a pre-service teacher’s personal and emergent professional identities into a coherent whole with a view to minimising conflict between these two identities (Flores and Day 2006; Beijard et al. 2004). This aspect of teacher formation\(^\text{16}\) is deemed significant. Teacher identity has been recognised as a very important facet of beginning teachers’ ability to adjust to the challenges of the teaching profession with a minimum of tension and dissonance that could impact on classroom practice and professional development (Olsen 2016; 2008; Pillen et al. 2013; Beauchamp and Thomas 2009). Beauchamp and Thomas (2011; 2009) have proposed that gaining a greater understanding of identity, both generally and specifically in relation to teaching, could facilitate ITE to better support this crucial process by creating opportunities for pre-service teachers to explore their teacher identity and emphasise their agency in its development to support their professional practice in challenging educational environments.

Based on this initial review of literature on teacher identity, I aligned my fundamental understanding of the construct with that proposed by Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) – the idea of a “common notion” of teacher identity (p. 177). This is a view of teacher identity as an indistinct combination of personal and professional identity; it is not a stable product – it is dynamic and fluid, changing over time in relation to circumstances and experiences and thus, it can be identified as an evolving process (Pillen et al. 2013; Beauchamp and Thomas 2009;

\(^{16}\)Teacher formation is understood here as the processes by which teachers grow knowledge and skills and adopt a professional identity (Hordern 2014).
Flores and Day 2006; Beijard et al. 2004). To illustrate the mix of personal (ego) and professional identity which make up a teacher’s identity, this process is acknowledged as being shaped by pre-service teachers’ personal characteristics, beliefs and their experiences of learning and life before entering ITE (Beauchamp and Thomas 2009; Beijard et al. 2004). Professional teaching identity is not only formed by the values and beliefs of teachers, but also by the influence of social contexts (Johnson 2003; Lasky 2003). This understanding was particularly pertinent in the context of this study.

2.3.3 Teacher identity development: sociological frameworks

In broad terms, research on teacher identity has focussed on sociological issues connected to teacher motivation and retention, inclusive of such issues as job stress, burnout and satisfaction (Hellman 2007; Scheib 2007; Day et al. 2006). There also has been a significant amount of study undertaken into teaching identity tensions and dissonance evident in ITE practicum and early classroom teaching practices, for example, transitioning from student to teacher and the boundary between ITE and the teaching community (Olsen 2016; Pillen et al. 2013; Beauchamp and Thomas 2009; 2011; Beijard et al. 2004).

Beijaard et al.’s (2004) meta-analysis of primarily sociological teacher identity research proposes three threads of research on teacher identity: 1) research focussed on teachers’ professional identity formation, 2) research focussed on identifying characteristics of teachers’ professional identity, and 3) research focussed on presenting teachers’ professional identity as stories. Significantly, they conclude that the majority of the research undertaken into these areas, to date, does not offer appropriate in-depth definitions, nor does it present concise or theoretically sound information. In a similar vein, Beijaard et al. (2004) recommend that future
research in this area be premised on clear definitions, and that accounts of teacher formation ought to focus on examining the relationship between self and identity (see Chapter 4).

Lerseth (2013), in a study exploring pre-service teachers’ identity development, offered three complementary theoretical perspectives to help understand the various ways that teacher identity can be defined, understood and researched: the Gee Framework (1996; 2000), the Beijaard, Verloop and Vermunt Framework (2000) and the Moje and Luke Framework (2009)\textsuperscript{17}. I will briefly outline the first two here as they are more broadly applicable to teachers of all disciplines while the Moje and Luke Framework (2009) is closely aligned to teachers of literacy.

Gee’s analytic framework marries theoretical and practical perspectives to focus on ‘who a person is’. He contends that teaching links inextricably to what a person does as a professional. The framework Gee developed was based on his definition of identity generated by considering four crucial constituents related to ‘who a person is’: nature, institution, discourse, and affinity group membership (Gee 2000, p. 99). He contends that research supports the view that identity is a useful analytic tool to understand both schools and society. He advocates that teachers must engage dynamically with recognising their identities and sub-identities, as well as with what has shaped these identities especially at a structural / power level, and the effects that these identities have on their self and their dispositions and practice as teachers (Schutz et al. 2018; Gee 2000).

\textsuperscript{17} The Moje and Luke Framework explores teacher identity within a context of literacy research. Their construct is premised on an understanding that identity is complex, multifaceted and inextricably linked with literacy.
Gee’s research describes four types of potentially co-existing identities; Nature(N)-Identity constructed by characteristics that are natural, Institution(I)-Identity constructed by imposed positions of an institution, Discourse(D)-Identity constructed by how individuals see attributes and achievements and how these are recognised by others, and Affinity(A)-Identity constructed by identifying with groups where an individual feels an affinity. He does not, however, identify that these exist singly within an individual. He reminds researchers that everyone, including teachers, has multiple identities “connected not only to their ‘internal states’ but to their performances in society” (p. 99).

The teacher identity framework developed by Beijaard et al. (2000; 2004) grew from their assertion that insufficient research had been undertaken in relation to the teacher identity construct resulting in inconsistent conceptions of professional and teacher identity. These issues notwithstanding, they align with the views of other researchers who see teacher identity in terms of being an ongoing process where the personal and professional are assimilated to form a teacher identity or professional identity (Beijaard et al. 2000). Their research focuses on ‘what a teacher does’ rather ‘than what a teacher is’ – the emphasis is on teacher actions. Their research approach asks teachers to consider their teacher identity by assessing themselves in terms of pedagogical decisions, content knowledge expertise and didactical experiences. They pay particular attention to content knowledge expertise as they believe this to be underestimated in research undertaken to date. They argue that teachers see expertise based on how well they know their subject knowledge as being critical to their assessment of teacher effectiveness. In relation to pedagogical decisions, Beijaard et al. (2004; 2000) align with the conclusions of other research in this area; they recognise that a teacher’s capacity to balance didactic and pedagogical skills impacts significantly on teacher identity development. When these skills are in balance, the teacher is in a position to perceive student learning within a
matrix of student needs, student knowledge bases, student issues and the impact of broader societal issues on education. Along with this, didactical experiences followed by reflection, reflexively shape and support growth of both content knowledge and pedagogical skills (ibid.).

2.3.4 Teacher identity development from a psychological perspective

As previously stated in this thesis, it has been argued that important foundational psychological concepts have not been integrated satisfactorily into the research on teacher identity. This is a consequence of insufficient investigation of the psychological aspects of identity generally and teacher identity specifically (Clarke et al. 2017; Friesen and Besley 2013; Rodgers and Scott 2008; Korthagan 2004). In response to addressing this lacuna in the conceptualisation of teacher identity development, there is growing awareness in ITE of the contribution psychological constructs such as reflection, pedagogical approaches, self-awareness, dialogue – and even elements of psychoanalysis – can offer to support the development of teacher identity (Hong et al. 2018; Clarke et al. 2017; Meijer et al. 2014; Pillen et al. 2013a; Beijaard 2013; Galman 2009; Rodgers and Scott 2008; Atkinson 2004; Korthagan 2004). A seminal study by Friesen and Besley (2013) investigated how pre-service teachers view themselves by applying Turner et al.’s Self-categorisation Theory (1994) to shed light on teacher identity development. Friesen and Besley (2013) concluded that another psychological construct, ‘identity statuses’ (Marcia 1980; 1966)\(^{19}\), an elaboration of Erikson’s (1964) Psychosocial Theory, may offer insight to understanding identity tension (Pillen et al. 2013b) or identity

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\(^{18}\) From a psychological perspective, identity is: “an individual’s sense of self defined by (a) a set of physical, psychological, and interpersonal characteristics that is not wholly shared with any other person and (b) a range of affiliations (e.g., ethnicity) and social roles. Identity involves a sense of continuity, or the feeling that one is the same person today that one was yesterday or last year (despite physical or other changes). Such a sense is derived from one’s body sensations; one’s body image; and the feeling that one’s memories, goals, values, expectations, and beliefs belong to the self. Also called personal identity” (VandenBos and APA Dictionary of Psychology 2007).

\(^{19}\) Marcia began his work on identity statuses in the 1960s and published a seminal article in 1966 laying out his paradigm. Marcia refers to work on this issue published in 1980 as his mature conceptualisation / formulation of identity statuses. This 1980 restatement of terms will be used predominantly from here on in this thesis to represent Marcia’s Identity status theory / paradigm.
dissonance (Chong 2011; Galman 2009; Alsup 2006). This tension / dissonance can occur when pre-service teachers encounter disconfirming situations and information in classrooms and schools. If left unheeded, this tension can result in an under-developed professional teaching identity that constrains pre-service teachers’ decision-making, effectiveness and wellbeing as teachers (Friesen and Besley 2013; Sammons et al. 2007; Beijaard et al. 2004).20

The vast majority of research undertaken to date in relation to teacher identity formation has focussed on teachers’ identity development in the early stage of their career. There is a significant body of literature addressing the ‘reality shock’ beginning teachers encounter, or, as it has been variously labelled in recent literature, “identity shifts in the boundary space” (Beauchamp and Thomas 2009; 2011), “professional identity tensions” (Pillen et al. 2013) and “tensions in learning to teach” (Smagorinsky et al. 2004). Significantly, in the context of this research project at least, a small minority of studies have focussed on pre-service teachers’ identity formation, and fewer still have looked at this formation before entry to ITE and during such programmes (Hong et al. 2018).

As a result of adopting this understanding of teacher identity, my subsequent exploration of teacher identity in the context of this specific study was pedagogically oriented around the development of an adaptable teaching identity capable of professional growth (Darling-Hammond 2006b; Hammerness et al. 2005). In effect, this is a teacher identity capable of positively influencing the decisions teachers make about their teaching practices, content, and the relationships they have with their students (Beijaard et al. 2004) – an identity supporting teacher agency. Izadinia’s (2015) call to teacher educators to support pre-service teachers in

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20 See Chapter 1, pp.17-19, for further review in relation to teacher identity formation.
their efforts to find out “who they are as teachers, what goals they are pursuing and what they want to achieve by being a teacher” (p. 7) resonated with my epistemological position. ITE research identifies pre-service teachers’ formation of a teacher identity as significant in the process of ‘becoming’ a teacher (Flores 2017a) – constructing how to be, act and understand their work as teachers (Sachs 2005) – with a coherent and robust professional identity that is capable of withstanding and adapting to an evolving teaching environment and possible adversity (Hong et al. 2018; Olsen 2016; Beauchamp and Thomas 2011; 2009; Hong 2010).

This conceptualisation of teaching identity fits neatly with the idea of the agentic teacher that I believe is critical to negotiate the teaching profession with a focus on social justice.

In summary, the examination of literature in this chapter highlights the common conviction that during the apprenticeship of observation pre-service teachers develop resistant, unexamined, lay theories about teaching and learning over the formal schooling period (Borg 2005; Hot-Reynolds 1992). The resistant lay theories that evolve are generally judged to negatively shape beginning teachers in terms of their engagement with ITE, their socialisation to teaching, their teaching identities and their teaching practices in schools (Darling-Hammond 2006b; Hammerness et al. 2005). This review highlights the perception that what pre-service teachers learn in ITE is filtered through firmly held beliefs about teaching and simplistic conceptions of teaching consequent to the lay theories developed during the apprenticeship of observation (Beuhl and Beck 2015; Darling-Hammond et al. 2005; Pennington 1996). Furthermore, a large body of research associates lay theories of teaching developed in the apprenticeship of observation with inhibiting effects on pre-service teachers’ development of robust, agentic, teacher identities capable of supporting a teacher to react to, negotiate, and, positively influence their professional life facilitating student learning (Beijaard et al. 2004; Sugrue 1997). This understanding of the apprenticeship of observation grounded primarily in
sociological and pedagogical research highlighted that: 1) the potential negative impact of an *apprenticeship of observation* on teacher formation and student learning merits further research; 2) psychological research constructs have been underutilised when exploring the *apprenticeship of observation* construct. Consequently, the next two literature review chapters review two different psychological theories in the context of the *apprenticeship of observation*. Figure 3 offers a diagrammatic summary of the key ideas from the literature review pertaining to the *apprenticeship of observation* in the context of elaborating the visual map of the theoretical development of this research project presented in Figure 1.

*Figure 3: Elaborating the visual map of the theoretical development of the study 1.*
Chapter 3: Literature Review 2

The ‘Self’, Identity and the Self Memory System
3.1 Introduction

Chapter three assesses key literature in relation to the SMS, as theorised by Conway and Pleydell-Pearce (2000), and selfing as defined by McAdams (1996) and grounded in autobiographical memory in a context of the apprenticeship of observation. To achieve this contextualised assessment, the chapter opens with a brief review of the concept of the apprenticeship of observation. Following this, a synthesis of literature pertaining to autobiographical memory, both its processes and functions, is provided. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the literature specifically related to SMS Theory and selfing (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000; Mc Adams 1996; Blasi 1988), contextualised in the apprenticeship of observation period of identity formation, and theories relating to how conceptions of teaching might be framed by those who have decided on a teaching career during this period.

3.2 Context of apprenticeship of observation revisited

The apprenticeship of observation is discussed in Chapter 2, but I consider it expedient to revisit some of its key concepts at the beginning of this chapter in order to offer context for the psychological theories that will be explored here.

Lortie (1975) described the prescribed schooling period as being very like an apprenticeship for teaching. During this time, pre-service teachers develop lay theories about teaching and learning which lie unexamined by a pre-service teacher (Borg 2005; Holt-Reynolds 1992). It is argued that much of a pre-service teacher’s tacit knowledge about teaching is grounded in their investment in consequential relationships with teachers during their apprenticeship of observation – they draw personal conclusions because they have learned how to be successful in school. Significantly, pre-service teachers have assessed teacher outcomes throughout their
This *apprenticeship of observation* is perceived to consequently limit pre-service teachers’ understanding of the complexity of teaching, as they only have the vantage point of the audience – they are witnesses to the teaching activity, not involved in the planning and preparation, difficulty and demands of teaching. Literature reviewed herein suggests that consequent to the *apprenticeship of observation*, pre-service teachers’ firmly held beliefs and simplistic conceptions about teaching act as resilient filters for what they learn in ITE.

As stated in Chapter 2, while efforts have been made to unpack and explore the *apprenticeship of observation* in ITE, it is notable that these investigations have been from sociologically grounded perspectives. I contend that limiting research lenses to sociological and pedagogical perspectives undervalues key psychological influences on the *apprenticeship of observation*. There has been little research into the *apprenticeship of observation* using psychological constructs, and in the particular context of this study, autobiographical memory. The construction of memory is a significant contributor to an individual’s “life-story” – the way people try to make a coherent narrative in an effort to make sense and meaning out of life (McAdams 2011). Using McAdams interpretation of life-story, I contend that it could be reasonably concluded that the *apprenticeship of observation* experienced by pre-service teachers is a key aspect of their life-story, more specifically their life-story as a teacher, and is a construction of memory.

### 3.3 Memory

Pillemer (2001) states that memory is more about the future than the past as vivid memories
direct and sustain peoples’ behaviour, attitudes, beliefs and self-concept long after events take place and act as “the data base of the ‘self’”\(^{21}\) (Conway 2005, p. 594). It is from this perspective that I proffer that memory is the tool that constructs pre-service teachers’ *apprenticeship of observation*; their personal data-base of lay theories and tacit knowledge about teaching and learning gleaned from schooling.

Memory as a mental process is studied as part of the cognitive branch of psychology and is often incorporated into other branches of psychology including educational, developmental, personality and social. For the purposes of this research, investigating pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching by using DA, the fields of psychology of greatest interest were cognitive psychology and social psychology\(^{22}\).

As a teacher educator with a background and remit in pedagogy rather than psychology, it was both necessary and pragmatic to understand some of the key psychological concepts with regard to memory to begin to unpack the concept of autobiographical memory. I present some of the concepts in the sections that follow.

### 3.3.1 What is memory?

At a basic level, memory is the mind’s capability to encode\(^{23}\), store, and retrieve information (Atkinson and Shiffrin 1968). At this basic level, the role of memory is to be a source of knowledge used to pre-empt future needs; it acts as a foundation for taking action now and in

\(^{21}\) “The self is conceived as a complex set of active goals and associated self-images, collectively referred to as the working self” (Conway 2005, p. 594).

\(^{22}\) Social psychology is concerned with the processes which impact on an individual’s feelings, thoughts and behaviours (Argyle 2017; Eysenek 2012; Kruglanski, and Stroebe 2011).

\(^{23}\) This can be understood as processing new facts or learning new facts by identifying them and relating them to prior knowledge (Eysenck 2012).
the future (Schacter and Addis 2007; Nelson 2003). The capacity to recall past events is important across life phases. It begins in early childhood (Fivush 2011) and continues across the life phases supporting the developing identity and sustaining social bonds (Alea and Bluck 2003). Psychological literature across the last century states consistently that it is valuable for people to remember, to recall, and to share their past (Bluck 2017). However, more than a century of research shows that memory is not a single faculty of the mind but is a composite of different faculties which are supported by different systems in the brain (Squire and Dede 2015; Squire 2004).

Baddely (2007) describes memory as a processing system for information made up of working-memory (or short-term24) and long-term memory. Working-memory is the mental faculty where information in the form of stimuli is encoded. Working-memory is the capacity to hold information temporarily (18-30 seconds), either from stimuli or memories retrieved from long-term memory, while engaging in mentally processing this information to achieve a goal (Buchsbaum and D’Esposito 2008). Long-term memory refers to the retention of information over a longer period, even indefinitely (Atkinson and Shiffrin 1968). The function of long-term memory is to store data by encoding it using various cognitive systems for recall and/or reconstruction (Baddely 2007; Squire 2004). This research project focusses on long-term memory.

3.3.2 Long-term memory

Tulving’s (1972) exploration of the functions of long-term memory distinguished between three types of long-term memory; episodic, semantic and procedural. This was further

24 The term working memory has gradually replaced the term short-term memory and other related terms among theorists due to its emphasis on manipulating data or processing it rather than merely holding it or storing it (Aben et al. 2012).
developed by Cohen and Squire (1980) who postulated that long-term memory has both explicit and implicit functions, also known as declarative and non-declarative systems (Schacter and Addis 2007; Squire 2004; Graf and Schacter 1985) (see Figure 4). Declarative / explicit memory is where data is both consciously stored and consciously recalled. The declarative memory system encompasses semantic and episodic memory where semantic memory refers to memory that is encoded with explicit meaning such as knowledge of facts and events and episodic memory which refers to information that is encoded with specifics of time, location and associated emotions (Schacter and Madore 2016; Tulving 2002; 1972). Schacter and Addis (2007) postulate that episodic memory is a constructive process by its nature as people tend to imagine future events when recalling past ones. They add that, consequently, it is susceptible to inaccuracies and impressions because people prefer to recall the idea or essence of something rather than details that they perceive as inconsequential to the future imagined events. I consider that this facet of episodic memory may have particular significance to a pre-service teacher’s recall of memories associated with schooling (their apprenticeship of observation period) when they imagine themselves in their future roles as teachers.

Non-declarative long-term memory, often referred to as implicit memory due to its capacity to learn skills automatically and unintentionally, is where data is accessed unconsciously through performance as opposed to recall. It enables rote actions; a person can execute activities without declaring the information related to them, that is, without consciously trying to remember the activity (Squire 2004). This non-declarative memory is an umbrella term used to encompass procedural memory (Cohen and Squire 1980) and priming (Tulving et al. 1982). Procedural memory permits a person to carry out actions that they have previously learned with ease; they can carry out the action spontaneously. They do not have to recall consciously the steps to carry out an action, indeed they may not be able to articulate the memory (Squire 2004).
This generally refers to skills and habits. In a social psychology context, priming as a non-declarative long-term memory is connected to stimulus and response. A person’s mind is predisposed to remember things (stimuli) that have most often been experienced and thus, when a similar but different stimulus is introduced the most recent and/or most repeated experience is called to mind; we are primed by our experiences (Bargh and Chartrand 2000). Priming is a facet of non-declarative memory which must be considered when asking pre-service teachers to speak about their schooling and *apprenticeship of observation* which is often both very recent and very connected to their current endeavour in ITE. Non-declarative knowledge in the more recent past has also been said to include simple conditioning, perceptual learning – changes in performance (the pick-up of information) following repeated sensory experience/stimuli – practice (Squire and Dede 2015). When people talk about memory, they are most usually referring to declarative memory (Eysenck 2012). This research project focusses on declarative long-term memory.

![Figure 4: Declarative and nondeclarative long-term memory. “The everyday experience of different aspects of memory” (adapted from Breedlove et al. 2010, p. 526).](image)
3.4 Autobiographical memory: basic constructs

Autobiographical memory is a type of explicit or declarative long-term memory system involving the recall of detailed personal events. Autobiographical memory has been defined as a complex, higher order mental construction which is “effortfully” maintained and which must be controlled as it influences all other forms of cognition (Tulving 2002; Wheeler et al. 1997). Autobiographical memory has been described as significant to the self 25, constructive in nature and made up of influential episodes which act as a continuity conduit between the present and the past (Nelson 2003; Pillemer 2001; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000).

Conway and Williams (2008) assert that despite the prevalence of research into aspects of memory since the 1880s, the study of autobiographical memory has only come into vogue since the early 1990s. They suggest that this might be consequent to the need for basic concepts of memory to be understood before the more complex nature of autobiographical memory and its implication for the self and emotions was explored; “science moves from the simple to the complex” (ibid., p. 894).

Autobiographical memory has been researched under many psychological sub-domains, including cognitive, developmental, clinical and social (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). As previously outlined, in the context of this research cognitive and social interpretations, in addition to integrations, were prioritised and explored. In the next section, this cognitive

25 Broadly, in modern psychology, the term self refers to the cognitive and affective representation of an individual’s identity. From an Eriksonian perspective, that is from a psychodynamic tradition, the self is often used interchangeably with ego identity. In the context of this research, I draw on Conway’s (2005) elucidation, that “[t]he self is conceived as a complex set of active goals and associated self-images, collectively referred to as the working self” (p. 594).
psychological focus results in an exploration of aspects of autobiographical memory related to representations and availability over time. This focus is keenly oriented on the set of all mental processes related to knowledge, which impacts on attention, memory, judgement, evaluation, reasoning, problem solving and language acquisition (Conway 2005; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). Additionally, from a social psychology perspective, pertinent to the exploration of pre-service teachers’ career choices, this exploration also includes how feelings, beliefs and goals are constructed, the development of self-concept and an examination of the conditions where certain behaviours can occur (Argyle 2017; Kruglanski and Stroebe 2011).

3.4.1 Autobiographical memory: a type of episodic memory

Despite including both episodic and semantic memory (Tulving 2002), autobiographical memory is often referred to as a type of episodic memory that acts as a historical context for who we are now (Williams et al. 2008; Conway 2005; Conway and Holmes 2004; Nelson 2003;1993). As the development of ego identity is relevant in the context of this research, it is worth noting that episodic memory helps to form and subsequently constrain the self, where "the self is conceived as a complex set of active goals and associated self-images, collectively referred to as the working self" (Conway 2005, p. 594). What distinguishes episodic autobiographical memory from other declarative episodic memory is the need for autonoetic consciousness in recall, that is, the ability to re-experience an event by mentally travelling back in time to the event being recalled (Tulving 2002; Wheeler et al. 1997). It is important to recognise that while episodic autobiographical memories are very significant to the formation of the self, semantic autobiographical memories are significantly connected to the recall of episodic memories due to their capacity to trigger memory retrieval. In this context semantic autobiographical memory recall refers to general self-knowledge and facts, for example, age
and/or hair colour, which are not time or event specific and do not require autonoesis\(^\text{26}\) (Williams et al. 2008; Tulving 2002; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000).

\[\text{Autobiographical Memory} \quad \text{.... A type of long–term, declarative memory}\]

\[\text{Episodic Memory} \quad \text{Critical to the formation of the self}\]

\[\text{Semantic Memory} \quad \text{Important to recall of episodic memories... Acts as a trigger ...}\]

\[\text{Information encoded to memory with time, event and emotional specificity ... with autonoetic qualities}\]

\[\text{Re-experience an event... vivid recall with olfactory, auditory and tactile elements}\]

\[\text{Information encoded to memory relating to general self-knowledge}\]

\[\text{Self-memories without time or event specificity e.g. age, eye colour... these memories prompt episodic memories}\]

**Figure 5:** Autobiographical memory as a type of long-term, declarative, episodic memory.

### 3.4.2 Functions of autobiographical memory

In recent literature autobiographical memory has been mostly identified as serving three broad functions (although others may exist): ‘directive’, using past experiences to solve current problems; ‘social’, facilitating social interaction through providing memories for conversations; ‘self-representative’, where autobiographical memory allows for coherent and continuous self-identity (Vranić et al. 2018; Bluck et al. 2005). Williams et al. (2008) posited

\[\text{Autonoesis or re-experiencing is a phenomenon in personal event memories. It describes re-experiencing of olfactory, auditory and tactile elements of memories, supporting the rememberer’s belief in the events.}\]
an additional adaptive function, where memories can be recalled to alter poor mood or maintain
good mood but this function is not as established (Vranić et al. 2018). Pillemer (2003) frames
the three core functions in a way that is conceptually congruent in the context of this research
project. Firstly, he describes a self function, a multidimensional set of active goals and
connected self-images (Conway 2005) encompassing both psychodynamic27 and intrapersonal
issues. In the context of this study, the self function is crucial in exploring the recounted
memories of an individual’s apprenticeship of observation. Secondly, Pillimer (2003)
identifies a social and communicative function; and thirdly, he frames a directive function,
concerned with problem solving.

3.4.3 Veridicality of autobiographical memory

Of significance to this research project exploring pre-service teachers’ memories of their
schooling, is the fact that much of the cognitive psychological research on autobiographical
memory over the last 25 years has focussed significantly on the veridicality of events recalled
by an individual, that is the degree to which memories accurately represents reality. This
psychological research has focussed on the organisation of autobiographical memory and
rationales for why some memories are retained and others forgotten (McAdams 2001; Koriat
et al. 2000; Barclay 1996). Two approaches dominate this psychological research representing
two essentially different constructs or metaphors of memory; the ‘storehouse’ and
‘correspondence’ metaphors. The storehouse metaphor comes from a quantity-oriented,
traditional memory research approach. The correspondence metaphor comes from an

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27 Psychodynamics is an approach to psychology rooted in Freudian tradition which explores the psychological
forces which underpin feelings, emotions and behaviour. It is based on the following assumptions: the
unconscious mind is the principle basis of human behaviour; there are mental processes that influence feelings,
judgments and / or behaviour; and, [most significantly in the context of this research project] that past
experiences (from childhood) stored in the unconscious powerfully influence feelings, motives, and decisions
(McLeod 2017).
accuracy-oriented, more contemporary memory research approach focussed on real-life memory work (Koriat et al. 2000).

In relation to veridical research, theories referred to as veridical copy theories have been postulated which assert that significant events are remembered accurately as they are captured like photographs using a camera flashbulb (see, for example, Brown and Kublik’s work from 1977). On another side of this veridical debate are reconstructive theories (for example, those offered by Barclay 1996; 1986) which assert that autobiographical memory is not an accurate account of past events but instead consists of constructs of events into memory that will offer coherence and continuance to self-image; the self (McAdams 2001). Middle-ground hypotheses have also been published, such as that presented by Schacter and Squire (1996) who state that “most recent memories retain a relatively large amount of specific information from the original phenomenal experience (for example, location and point of view) but that with time, or under strong schema-based processes, the original experience can be reconstructed to produce a new non-veridical personal memory that retains most of the phenomenal characteristics of other memories” (p. 44).

To conclude this brief review of literature in relation to veridical autobiographical memory, I propose that, for the purposes of this qualitative research project, the accuracy of the memories to be drawn from the participants is of lesser significance than what can be inferred from their choice of the memories, and their elaboration of them. This aligns with Koriat et al.’s (2000) concluding remarks in their review of the psychology of memory accuracy:

…. however, memory clearly does not operate in a vacuum, and hence memory accuracy and error may need to be analyzed in the context of the personal and social goals of the rememberer. In fact, several authors have argued that memory should be evaluated in terms of its utility … This pragmatic view of memory, which has gained prominence in social psychology (Fiske 1993, Swann 1984), entails the idea that “accuracy is not absolute, it depends on one’s purpose” (Fiske 1993:156). Thus, Neisser’s (1996)
proposal that remembering should be seen as a form of purposive doing, resonates well with Fiske’s (1992) assertion that “thinking is for doing” in social cognition. In general, the issue of accuracy has been examined within a much wider range of perspectives in social psychology than in cognitive memory research...

(p. 523)

In this study, I align with both the reconstructive and middle-ground theorists, as their theories fit well with the premise of the SMS that autobiographical memory is always a construction aligned to the working-self goal hierarchy.

3.4.4 Narrative identity, life-story and autobiographical memory

Significant research relating to autobiographical memory has been carried out into story concepts and methodologies associated with narrative over the last 30 years (Goodson 2016; McAdams 2001; Habermas and Bluck 2000). McAdams identifies that there is now a proliferation of methods of enquiry associated with narrative including his own ‘life-story model of identity’, a developmental psychological construct first introduced in 1986. Researching this theoretical model elicited a number of the ‘psychological turns’ referred to in the introduction to this thesis. In relation to this research project, the ‘life-story model of identity’ offered a corroborating perspective to that of DA regarding the value of narrative in research generally, and in relation to the construction of autobiographical memory specifically. This will be explored in greater detail later in this chapter. In relation to the idea of the apprenticeship of observation being a construct of an individual’s memory, it provided an insight into McAdams’ notion that a person’s past, their autobiographical memory, is a construction to ensure their life-story shows purpose and coherence. Efforts to substantiate this theory led to a focus on concepts such as the self / working-self, memory coherence and memory reconstruction. In support of his ‘life-story model of identity’ McAdams argued that:

… identity itself takes the form of a story, complete with setting, scenes….in late adolescence and young adulthood, people living in modern societies begin to reconstruct the personal past, perceive the present, and anticipate the future in terms of internalized and evolving self-story, an integrative narrative of self that provides modern life with some modicum of psychosocial unity and purpose….Life stories are psychosocial constructions, coauthored by the person himself or herself and the cultural context within which that person’s life is embedded and given meaning.

(McAdams 2001, p. 101)
Furthermore, the concepts associated with this model led to another significant ‘psychological turn’ as they also linked ‘identity as story’ to the evolving *self* in adolescence (McAdams 2001). This brought Erikson’s concept of ego identity development (1963), and the stages of the process, to the foreground of my thinking. The ego identity concept, significant to career choice decision making in late adolescence, resonated with research undertaken early in the project.

Narrative ‘life-story’ literature has produced the concept of autobiographical reasoning (Habermas 2011; Habermas and Bluck 2000). This can be described as “the activity of creating relations between different parts of one's past, present, and future life and one's personality and development. It embeds personal memories in a culturally, temporally, causally, and thematically coherent life story” (Habermas 2011, p. 1). Autobiographical reasoning can also involve an individual making sense of their self-defining memories28 (Singer *et al.* 2011; Singer and Blagov 2004), thus contributing to causal-motivational coherence (Habermas and Köber 2015; Habermas and Bluck 2000). Consequently, autobiographical reasoning which develops in early adulthood is perceived as a positive reflective process for human understanding and action (Habermas and Köber 2015; Singer and Blagov 2004). This autobiographical reasoning may be relevant to the constructive nature of the *apprenticeship of observation* in autobiographical memory.

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28 Self-defining memories are those personal memories that are very significant to an individual; they populate the explanation they offer to others of how they see themselves. They can be characterized by: the evocation of intense emotion when being recalled; the vividness of the memory – they will be detailed and sensorily rich; repetition of the memories, a person returns to them consistently and often unconsciously when talking about the self; the representative nature of these core memories to similar (if less significant) memories addressing significant life themes; and they link to key life goals and key life conflicts (Singer and Blagov 2004).
3.5 Self Memory System (SMS)

In relation to research addressing the organisation of autobiographical memory Conway and Pleydell-Pearce (2000) developed a widely accepted and much used virtual conceptual model of memory encoding and retrieval to help understand the construction of autobiographical memory. They argued that autobiographical memories are constructed within a SMS – a conceptual framework composed of two parts, the dynamic / executive working-self and an autobiographical knowledge base (Conway and Williams 2017; Haque et al. 2014; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). Another conceptualisation of the SMS presents it as an emergent memory system as it only arises with the interaction of the working-self and the hierarchically ordered knowledge base during memory retrieval (Haque et al. 2014; Moscovitch 1995; Tulving 1983).

The central, critical tenet of this model is that memory is driven or motivated by goals (Conway 2005). This model, which was formulated to illuminate how the self and memory connect, showed that autobiographical memory is constructed within a SMS which connects the self (working-self) and memory (Conway 2005; Conway et al. 2004; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000) or, as Conway and Williams (2017) describe it, the model illustrates the: “… interaction between currently active, dynamic, or fluid aspects of the self with more permanent, long-term, or crystallized representations of the self and attributes of the self” (p. 896).

The purpose of the SMS is, firstly, to ensure ‘coherence’ of memories with an individual’s self-concept, so that dissonant memories can be managed through a range of strategies such as

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29 I did not find a critique of this construct in my review of literature.

30 Haque et al. (2014) outline that the SMS is composed of three parts, see memory retrieval pp. 70-74.
justification, closure, rumination or preoccupation. Secondly, it ensures ‘correspondence’ – memories should correspond to experience – protecting the self from change, thus maintaining coherence. In relation to the functionality of the SMS, Rathbone and Moulin (2017) add that:

The SMS is proposed to be bi-directional, in that the working self governs what is retrieved from autobiographical memory whilst information stored in autobiographical memory constrains the working self. The SMS predicts raised accessibility for memories that are most relevant to the active goals of the working self, in contrast to memories that are less relevant. In turn, the accessibility of particular self-images (i.e. self-descriptions, such as being faithful, lonely, or an athlete) would be raised in the context of retrieval of a congruent autobiographical memory (recalling memories of competing in sporting events would activate the goals and self-images associated with being an athlete, for example).

(p. 1063)

This bi-directionality is significant in a context of memory retrieval relating to self-images congruent with goals during the apprenticeship of observation.

3.5.1 SMS: a multidimensional knowledge base

To further elucidate the structure of the SMS, the complex multidimensional knowledge base represents the personal history of a person, both as knowledge and as specific memories – this can be presented as autobiographical knowledge and episodic memories (see Figure 6) (Williams and Conway 2017). Conway (2005) further elaborated on the interaction of the knowledge base and episodic memories. He postulated that autobiographical knowledge ends in episodic memories. Autobiographical knowledge has been identified as having ordered partonomic or meronomic knowledge structures which range from abstract conceptual knowledge to conceptual knowledge which is event specific and temporally bound (Conway and Williams 2008; Burt et al. 2003). A further elaboration of autobiographical knowledge is offered in section 3.6, addressing selfing. The SMS knowledge base as proposed, has three levels of specificity that are often presented as being hierarchical in nature: firstly, at the top of the hierarchy are “lifetime periods”, the most general and inclusive type of knowledge typically measured in units of years, for example, the years at school; secondly, at the middle level of the hierarchy, are “general events”, in other words, clusters of memories with a common theme, often repeated events lacking time specificity measured in units of months, weeks and/or days,
for example, break times in first year of second-level school; thirdly, and lowest on the hierarchy, is “event specific knowledge”, which can be described as vividly specific memories of individual events typically measured in minutes and seconds such as opening examination results (Haque et al. 2014; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000; Conway 2005).

**Figure 6:** The relationship between the working-self and the autobiographical knowledge base (adapted from Conway and Williams 2017, p. 896).

3.5.2 SMS: working-self

As a component of the SMS, Conway (2005) identifies the working-self as a useful construct to understand the patterns of psychological research findings in relation to personality and autobiographical memories as it offers an expedient collective term for the goals and self-images which make up the *self*. The concept of working-self is understood in terms of: interconnected goals’ hierarchy; some goal related knowledge, life schema or life-stories for example; and active self-concept models (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). The working-
self is oriented around self-defining memories which connect to an individual’s goal hierarchies and self-conceptions.

As stated by Conway and Pleydell-Pearce (2000), “… the working-self routinely gates access to knowledge and thus can be inhibiting or facilitory” (p. 272). The goal hierarchy of working-self constrains cognition / behaviour by reducing dissonance between real and desired goal states (Conway 2005; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). It is connected to self-schemas31 – possible selves, either desired or feared – which also act as a constraint on behaviour (Markus and Ruvolo 1989). These self-schemas are constantly changing and are potentially in conflict; the “actual self” clashes with the “ideal self” with regard to how an individual would like to be and the “ought self”, which refers to how an individual perceives they should be (Higgins 1987; Markus and Ruvolo, 1989).

Table 1: Summary of key aspects of SMS Theory (Conway and Pleydell Pearce 2000).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose:</th>
<th>Central Tenets:</th>
<th>How does it work?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...to help understand the construction and retrieval of autobiographical memories which support the self</td>
<td>1. memory is driven by goals 2. autobiographical memory has a self-representative function which the working-self controls to support a stable identity</td>
<td>A conceptual framework made-up of 2 interconnected parts which together build autobiographical memories: 1. working-self made up of an individual’s interconnected goal hierarchy, (career goal of particular relevance at this stage of ego development), conceptual self and self-images 2. which gates access to /controls an autobiographical knowledge base</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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31Schemas are themes that give meaning to a life.
3.5.3 SMS: memory retrieval

Manifestly, an important consideration in relation to autobiographical memory concerns the retrieval of memories. How are memories retrieved? What is the nature of the memories recalled? And, why are some memories more accessible than others? Haque et al. (2014) identify a further feature of the SMS when describing the conceptual model as a superordinate memory system working to construct a memory using its three sub-ordinate systems – working-self, a knowledge base and retrieval models. The working-self creates the retrieval model, this is a mechanism by which knowledge is accessed, assessed and developed when a cue to access an autobiographical memory is received. The working-self also filters the autobiographical memories as they are being retrieved.

While Haque et al.’s (2014) representation of the SMS, which includes retrieval models, offers some insight into how the models are generated, other psychological research identifies that a multitude of factors effect memory recall such as emotionality, memory age, cultural factors, gender, trauma and personality (Williams et al. 2008). As this research project did not engage participants in psychoanalysis, I chose to focus on two particular key aspects of memory recall. The first of these is ‘memory bias’, as I deem this to be very significant to the formation of life-goals and, also, to be accessible through the interview methodology adopted. Memory Bias Theory explains how some memories are favoured over others and how some memories are distorted. A memory bias is a cognitive bias that either improves or hinders the recall of a memory or that modifies the content of a recounted memory. Examples of memory bias examples which distort memories include egocentric bias, rosy retrospection and cross-race effect (Schacter 1999).
With due regard to the participants and parameters of this study, I focussed on what is deemed Natural Memory Bias Theory which explains the access to or availability of memories over a lifetime, the Life Span Retrieval Curve (see Figure 7). This is premised on the notion that autobiographical memory storage is not consistent through the life span. Natural Memory Bias Theory holds that during significant times of change in the self and in life goals – such as during identity development in adolescence, for example – memory storage surges (Conway and Haque 1999). This was first explored by Sir Frances Galton in 1879 when he examined his own autobiographical memories using random cue words. His work has been replicated often and affirmed in research (Janssen et al. 2005).

The Memory Retrieval Curve is most commonly denoted in a graph representing an estimate of the probability distribution of autobiographical memories encoded at various ages during the life span (See Figure 7). It contains three different stages: a) from birth to five years old, labelled a period of ‘childhood amnesia’; b) from 10 to 30 years old labelled the ‘reminiscence bump’; and, c) a period of forgetting, covering the period of time from the end of the ‘reminiscence bump’ to present time, referred to as the period of ‘recency’ (Conway and Holmes 2004; Schacter 1999; Rubin et al. 1998). Of all the stages on this curve, the ‘reminiscence bump’ has been researched most due to the disproportionate number of memories that can be accessed / retrieved from this time-period. Research on motivation for memory recall suggests that the prominent bias in memory availability at this time is related to the goals of the self, making those parts of the SMS knowledge base that relate to currently active goals highly available (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). Memories that are most vividly remembered are supported by the goal-hierarchy of the self (McAdams 2011), a central tenet of this research project.
It is worth noting that the Lifespan Retrieval Curve links closely with another cognitive bias theory around memory recall accuracy, the ‘serial position effect’. This term, coined by Hermann Ebbinghaus in the early twentieth century to describe an aspect of his own theory, is apt. Interestingly, Ebbinghaus also refers to the ‘recency effect’ in his work. He states that the order or sequence in which something is learned / experienced affects its recall: a person remembers best the last things they learn / experience (the ‘recency effect’), followed by the first things they learned / experienced (‘primacy effect’), but remember little of the learning / experiences in the middle (Lieberman 2003).

Figure 7: The Lifespan Retrieval Curve (adapted from Conway and Haque 1999).

A second aspect of memory recall of particular relevance to this study relates to research around the influence of context for the retrieval of memories. Theorists in this area point out that the context of the interview process in an ITE setting would most likely influence the participants’ retrieval of autobiographical memories. To begin an exploration of context in relation to
memory, it is useful to recognise that context can refer to a number of settings – for example: internal context, that is a person’s state of mind when memory encoding happened; temporal context, that is the specific time when a memory was encoded; and, external context, that is situational and/or physical environments when memory encoding happened (Smith and Vela 2001). Both temporal and external context are of particular interest to this research project. Similarly of interest are differences in the effects of context dependent on the nature of a task to be performed. Godden and Baddeley’s studies (1980; 1975) suggest that the effects of context on autobiographical memory retrieval are significantly larger in recall tasks than in recognition tasks. As this study is focussed on recall tasks, due attention will be paid to Godden and Baddeley’s findings.

Research has identified numerous factors that are perceived to affect the interaction of contextual information with memory recall (Woike et al. 2009; 2001; Smith and Vela 2001; Johnson et al. 1993; Godden and Baddeley 1975; 1980; Steinberg 1966). Environmental factors are mentioned frequently in this regard. They are of considerable significance vis-a-vis the interview research methodology for this project. The most widely researched aspect of environmental context-dependent memory is ‘environmental reinstatement effect’. Smith (1988), in a definition of environmental context-dependent memory, discusses a singularity where cognitive processing is influenced by environmental context; he describes it as the ‘environmental reinstatement effect’. This effect occurs when an environmental context is revisited (or reinstated) and cues the recall of autobiographical memories related to that particular environmental context. Smith (1988) also suggests that peoples’ autobiographical memories may be classified by their environmental surroundings. Environments such as home, school, work places and social-settings are connected to specific memories and significantly different roles. It is worth noting that Smith and Vela’s (2001) meta-analysis of environmental
factors influencing autobiographical memory recall suggests that when the contextual environmental information is not pertinent, its effects on memory are reduced.

Of particular relevance to this project is research that suggests changes in a person’s motivational state between encoding an autobiographical event memory and its retrieval can affect the recall of events. Woike et al.’s research (2009; 2001) found that recall was biased towards information matching participants' motivational state. Schutz et al. (2001) state that:

[Research investigating these issues has indicated that affective responses to autobiographical memories are related in part to the relevancy of the memory to one's goals (Singer 1990). In other words, the connections among goals, memory, and emotion help explain the process of goal clarification and development. What people perceive in the world ties in with their beliefs about the world and the goals they are attempting to attain and maintain. In addition, what people tend to remember is associated with the successes and failures related to those goals.

(p. 304)

In line with Memory Bias Theory, as outlined above, a person’s motivational state at the time of autobiographical memory encoding and recall is particularly germane in the context of the SMS’s working-self goal hierarchy. This, I suggest, provides a theoretical foundation for gathering and analysing pre-service teachers’ memories of the apprenticeship of observation in this research project.

3.6 Life-story narratives revisited: selfing

In section 3.4.4 above, life-story, narrative and identity were explored in relation to autobiographical memory. Kroger and Marcia (2011) describe McAdams work as a major contributor to understanding identity development over a lifetime and to expanding on Erikson’s constructs. What follows focuses on the specifics of McAdams ‘life-story model of identity’ and one its core tenets, selfing, in parallel with the SMS model of autobiographical memory.
As previously stated, research into narrative approaches to understanding behaviour identifies a ‘life-story model of identity’ as one approach to address the self and autobiographical memories (McAdams 1986). McAdams states that, like a dramatist, “a person defines him- or herself by constructing an autobiographical story of the self, complete with setting, scene, character, plot and theme” (1990, p. 151). The resulting narrative (story) provides an individual with coherence and therefore is their identity (McAdams 2006). Bullough (2015) states that like Freud, McAdams put memory at the core of identity development.

The basis of the model is that during the late adolescent ego identity phase individuals begin to make meaning of their lives by reconstructing their past and foreshadowing their future. They do this by crafting personal histories that integrate all of their past events and bind them together meaningfully. They filter their autobiographical memories to craft their personal histories. Memories relating to past events do not necessarily need to be true, but they do need to contribute to the coherence of the self – truth is fluid and coherence trumps truth (Bullough 2015; Baskin 2005). This ‘story’ (or life-story) is then used to elucidate who ‘they are’, what that means, and where they are ‘going’ (Levy et al. 2007). McAdams (2008; 2001; 1996; 1986) contends that memories are key to the formation of a coherent life-story, a story of identity. These life-stories are made up of life-phases or “chapters” (similar in scope to ‘lifetime periods’ in the SMS) which give rise to schemas – themes that give meaning to a life – showing progress in goal attainment, for example, a life-story schema for schooling. These schemas which make up the life-story always have an evaluative element linked to goals and are used to ground the self (McAdams 2008; 2001; Conway and Holmes 2004).
McAdams (2011; 2008; 2001; 1996) argues that exploring the critical psychosocial life-story construct through examining autobiographical memory construction can explain how an individual “self-constructs a self-defining story” as part of the agentic selfing process (2011, p. 103). The selfing process is outlined by McAdams (1996) as “the fundamental process of making a self out of experience” (p. 302), integrating the ‘I’ (the process) and ‘me’ (the product), where the me can be called “self-concept”. Ashmore and Jussim (1997) further elaborate:

The first step to discerning unity in the self is to understand that … the I is not a thing. Nor is it a part, a piece, component or even a facet of the self. The I is rather the process of being a self – a process we give the label selfing (McAdams 1995; 1996). To self – or to maintain the “stance” of an I in the world (Blasi, 1988) – is to apprehend and appropriate experience as a subject, to grasp phenomenal experience as one’s own, as belonging “to me”. To self, furthermore is to locate the source of subjective experience to oneself. Thus selfing is responsible for human feelings of agency, the sense that one is potentially a causal agent in the world (Blasi 1988).

3.6.1 Selfing and autobiographical knowledge

McAdams’ work overlaps with Conway and Pleydell-Pearce’s (2000) work on the SMS in relation to how autobiographical memories are organised. In order to make a self out of experience – an agentic selfing process – an autobiographical knowledge base must be generated from autobiographical knowledge and episodic memories. This is where selfing overlaps with the SMS; the autobiographical memory organisational and retrieval model facilitates understanding of selfing for the generation of a coherent life-story in the ‘Narrative Model of Identity’ (McAdams 2001). Bullough (2015) summarises how the three levels of the autobiographical knowledge base work together to ensure coherence:

… goals and memories – from each of the three levels – intertwine and are more or less mutually reinforcing, establishing tone as well as influencing how and what memories can be and are accessed and how they are organized for telling … Autobiographical knowledge and cultural expectations in turn delimit what goals, what ‘possible futures’ (Shanahan and Macmillan 2008, 41), are thought plausible, reasonable. In this way discrepancy is reduced and the stories we tell of ourselves are generally confirmed and strengthened, thereby supporting continuity even if based on distortions.

(p. 56)
Different types of memories make up autobiographical knowledge (part of the SMS, see Figures 4 and 5) – episodic memory, biographical or personal, copies versus reconstructions, specific versus generic and field versus observer (Williams, Conway, and Cohen 2008). This research project, which explores second-level pre-service teachers’ apprenticeship of observation primarily concentrates on generic and specific autobiographical memories recalled with ‘lifetime period’ specificity, ‘general-event’ specificity and/or ‘event-specific knowledge’.

3.6.2 Selfing and personal event memories

Pillemer (2001) is among those who have focussed attention on a type of specific episodic autobiographical memory labelled “personal event memories”, which are linked to ‘event specific knowledge’. They are vivid memories of specific events which can be identified as having taken place at a specific time and place and as having sensory attributes (Pillemer 2001) and elements of autonoesis (Nelson 2003). This definition aligns with Conway’s (2001) description of episodic memory as that which is largely sensory-perceptual in nature. These memories remain vivid because they are made up of corner stones of the adult self and are connected to goals (Pillemer 2001).

The personal event memories which integrate all of the functions of memory are resistant to decay over time because of the presence of originating, anchoring, analogous and self-defining events (Singer and Salovey 2010; McAdams 2001; Pillemer 2001). Originating events, of which there are very few, are specific memories of the origins of significant interests such as an occupational choice, preoccupation or hobby, or relationship (McAdams 2001). Anchoring events in personal event memories are linked to transitional events and provide an episodic foundation of belief systems; the memories of these events offer the affirmations and warnings
that fortify a belief system (Pillemer 1998). Analogous events can be understood as exemplars for present behaviour – figuring out how to behave in a new situation by looking back at analogous events – using analogy as lessons for present actions (McAdams 2001; Pillemer 2001; 1998). Self-defining moments describe memories of vivid, emotionally intense events concerned with life themes – critical knowledge of success and failure of life-goals – leading to the adoption of a superordinate life-goal (Singer and Salovey 2010; Pillemer 2001). Blagov and Singer (2004) identify that, when present, these memories have four key dimensions – specificity, meaning, content and affect – which can help analyse personality and personality disorders.

In the context of what this research set out to explore, it is interesting to note that Schutz and colleagues’ (2001) psychological assessment of the personal event memories a cohort of pre-service teachers used to form their goal to become a teacher, found that they tended to have, “4 sources of influence for their goal to become a teacher: (a) family influences, (b) teacher influences, (c) peer influences, and (d) teaching experiences … In addition, influences such as critical incidents, emotions, and social-historical factors, such as the status and pay of teachers, were prominent in the goal histories of the participants” (p. 299).

In summary, this examination of literature has shown that autobiographical memory is critical to the formation of the self and that it facilitates the development of a coherent life-story which encompasses the apprenticeship of observation. This review highlights the concept of working-self, which is understood as being oriented around self-defining memories which connect to an individual’s goal hierarchies and self-conceptions and as being useful to understand the individual constructive nature of autobiographical memories. Furthermore, the
working-self gates access to memories (filters them) to ensure their coherence with self-concept, thus protecting the *self* from change.

The SMS Theory is one of the two theoretical foundation stones used in this study to facilitate an exploration of the participant pre-service teachers’ *apprenticeship of observation*. Figure 8 offers a diagrammatic summary of the key ideas from the review of literature review pertaining to autobiographical memory and the SMS Theory in the context of elaborating the visual map of the theoretical development of this research project presented in Figure 1.

*Figure 8: Elaborating the visual map of the theoretical development of the study.*
Chapter 4: Literature Review 3
Motivations for Teaching and
Identity Status Theory
4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 focusses on assessing key literature in relation to Identity Status Theory, as defined by Marcia (1980), in a context of teacher identity development and the *apprenticeship of observation*. Connecting SMS Theory to Identity Status Theory, and thus connecting the theoretical framework underpinning this research, is the theme of the opening part of this chapter. Following this, pre-service teachers’ motivations for teaching and their rationales for their career goal are reviewed with a particular focus on perspectives and approaches to teacher identity development. The remainder of the chapter offers a synthesis and evaluation of literature pertaining to Identity Status Theory, contextualised in the *apprenticeship of observation* period, and with a focus on how conceptions of teaching might be framed by those who have decided on a teaching career during this period.

4.2 Evolution from autobiographical memory

As a backdrop to this chapter, I draw on the autobiographical memory work of McAdams (2001), in particular, to highlight the confluence of ideas and psychological theory that emerged as this research project evolved organically.

A core motivation for this research project was to support pre-service teachers in their development of a robust teaching identity by helping them acquire a constructive understanding of their *apprenticeship of observation* and conceptions of teaching. Having reviewed psychological autobiographical memory literature, I was especially struck by McAdams’ (2001; 1986) grounding of his work in Erikson’s (1959; 1963) concept of ego identity development in the adolescent phase. On further exploration of this grounding in Erikson’s ego identity concept, I noted McAdams’ (2001; 1986) use of Marcia’s (1980) expansion of Erikson’s work in his Identity Status Theory. Marcia’s (1980) theory focussed on identity
formation in late adolescence (18-22 years), that is, the process of developing a coherent and integrated identity during this phase. Furthermore, as stated in the extended introduction to this thesis, the SMS Theory and Identity Status Theory significantly overlapped in relation to their focus on career / occupational goals and identity formation. To emphasise the value of exploring Marcia’s Identity Status Theory, it is worth reiterating from an early stage, my research of theory and literature around teacher identity formation, particularly Friesen and Besley’s (2013) psychological research on teacher identity, had already highlighted Erikson’s and Marcia’s theories as potentially significant to my analysis of the participant pre-service teachers’ discourse around their apprenticeship of observation. In sum, literature and theories relating to autobiographical memory, ego identity in late adolescence and teacher identity formation signposted the value of using the lenses of both SMS and Identity Status Theory to explore conceptions of teaching in the context of an apprenticeship of observation (Hong et al. 2018; Friesen and Besley 2013; McAdams 2001; 1986; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000; Marcia 1980; Erikson 1959; 1963).

4.3 Motivations for teaching

As previously stated, the aim of this research project was to deepen understanding in relation to the apprenticeship of observation and the formation of pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching. My rationale for engaging in this research was to make a contribution to ITE knowledge and theory and thus help to scaffold pre-service teachers’ capacity to negotiate an apprenticeship of observation during ITE and move towards sophisticated conceptions of teaching and the development of a robust, agentic professional teacher identity. As per my conclusion in section 3.2, goals are significant in linking SMS Theory and Identity Status Theory. Goals impact on pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching and their teaching identity during their apprenticeship of observation as they both drive autobiographical memory construction (SMS) during the period; and, occupational goals in particular underpin identity
development in late adolescence (Identity Status Theory). The key goal in question, then, for the cohort of participant pre-service teachers in this research project was their goal to become a teacher. An important facet of this research was to learn more about this goal; how, when and why it was conceived – what were the participants’ motivations for choosing to become a teacher? In light of the significance of motivations for teaching, the next part of this chapter examines literature pertaining to pre-service teachers’ motivations for teaching.

Notwithstanding the significance of pre-service teachers’ motivations for teaching to the development of their occupational / career goal from the perspective of the two psychological theories underpinning the theoretical framework of this research, there also exists a considerable and separate body of research on teaching motivations due to their strong correlation with teacher retention allied to teacher identity (Thomson 2018; Worth 2018; Watt et al. 2012; Hong 2010). Specifically, this research identifies an association between pre-service teachers’ motivation for a teaching career and their commitment to ITE and their general well-being and resilience during an ITE programme (Olsen 2008).

In the context of research into teacher retention, it has been recognised that the influences on an individual’s choice of teaching as a career have been both under-researched and poorly researched in recent years (Cornejo et al. 2018; Watt et al. 2012). It is argued that research has been overly technically oriented and non-transferable due to poor instrumentation and a predominant focus on research into personality traits (Cornejo et al. 2018). The authors assert that teachers’ motivations for teaching are, or can become, a critical mechanism to support a teacher to meet the challenges in dynamic classroom environments (ibid.).
In dynamically changing and challenging classroom environments where internationally there are high levels of teacher attrition, there has been an increasing interest in understanding what motivates teachers to choose a teaching career with a view to understanding what might support them to stay in the profession (Thomson 2018; Watt et al. 2012). The importance of this endeavour is borne out in the following facts: in the United States of America (USA), currently, up to 50% of teachers leave the profession in the first five years of their career (Hong 2010) and, in the UK, an attrition rate of 33% after five years was identified in 2017 (Worth 2018). As stated in the introduction, figures for Ireland are not available but teacher shortage has been a consistent issue in relation to Irish schools at all levels in the last number of years leading to questions being raised in relation to teacher recruitment, attrition and retention (O’Doherty and Harford 2018; Heinz 2015). Internationally, Watt et al. (2012) assert that teacher shortage followed by surplus is a cyclical pattern of teacher supply in most countries, thus, in addition to current teacher shortage issues, it also behoves Irish policy makers to engage in research to proactively support teacher recruitment and retention as these appear to be perennial and ‘wicked’ problems that must be addressed. Placing this in an international context, Hong et al. (2018) highlight the key significance of incoming pre-service teachers’ motivations for a career in teaching stating that:

Increasing attention to pre-service teachers’ career development in the climate of escalating teacher shortage is related to the recognition that teacher attrition is rooted in teachers’: (1) initial motivation and commitment to teaching …. (2) early experience in the teacher education program …. and (3) the importance of recruitment and retention of pre-service teachers in providing a quality supply of teachers …

(p. 408)

### 4.3.1 Intrinsic, extrinsic and altruistic motivations for teaching

Motivations for choosing a teaching career have previously been explored from sociological perspectives, including personality traits, typologies and cultural differences (Rinke 2014; Thomson and McIntyre 2013; Watt et al. 2012; Watt and Richardson 2008; Watt and Richardson 2007; Manuel and Hughes 2006). From a sociological viewpoint, Thomson and
McIntyre (2013) identify that in much of the recent research that has been undertaken, pre-service teachers’ motivations for teaching have been classified generally into three main categories: 1) intrinsic – such as an aspiration to teach children or work with a favoured subject discipline; 2) extrinsic – exemplifying issues not connected to the teaching activity itself such as pay, status and holidays; and, 3) altruistic – such as the desire to help children and improve society (Watt and Richardson 2008). Ryan and Deci (2000) distinguish between intrinsic and extrinsic categories identifying intrinsic motivation as a personal disposition where pleasure is derived from teachers’ own inherent characteristics as they engage in a task, and extrinsic motivation as that where pleasure is derived from rewards associated with a task. Both of these types of motivation are predicated on a notion of attributes, dispositions and skills influencing an individual’s decision making in relation to a teaching career (Watt and Richardson 2008).

In the USA, where most of the research on these motivational categories has been undertaken, a meta-analysis of research from the 1960s to the 1990s identified that “altruistic, service-oriented goals and other intrinsic motivations are the primary reasons teacher candidates report for why they chose teaching as a career” (Brookhart and Freeman 1992, p. 46). This sociological research has linked the different motivational loci as significant to how a pre-service teacher will think and learn while in ITE (Cornejo et al. 2018). Interestingly, in a meta-analysis of international research on teachers’ motivations for teaching, Heinz (2015) identifies that altruistic motivations tend to be more dominant in developed countries where financial rewards are not as critical – thus highlighting that cultural differences are significant in understanding teachers’ motivations for teaching.
4.3.2 Teaching as vocation – a ‘call’ to teaching

As altruistic motivations have been shown to be dominant in developed Western European contexts, I believe it pertinent to explore a specific aspect of this type of motivation, the notion of vocation or calling. This was a prevalent motif in pre-service teachers’ discourse around their career choice decisions that I had identified in my practice before starting this research project.

Schutz et al. (2001) state that the notion of ‘being called to teach’ is based on their altruistic motives or reasons and encompasses pre-service teachers’ resolve and disposition to make a positive impact in students’ lives. Hong et al. (2018) offer an interesting connection between teaching as a vocation, teacher identity development, motivations for teaching and Identity Status Theory. They outline that a variety of studies, for example, Manuel and Hughes (2006) and Day and colleagues (2008; 2006) have highlighted pre-service teachers’ vocation, or their sense of calling, as one of the most common motivations for choosing a career in teaching, something that is inextricably linked to their progress, well-being and success in an ITE programme (Olsen 2008).

The language and concepts associated with teaching as a vocation have been researched to a greater degree in South America than in Europe and the USA in recent years (Cornejo et al. 2018; Alliaud 2015; Esteve 2009; Tenti 1999). The concept of teaching as vocation is broadly interpreted in a religious context and quite prevalent in Christian teaching publications. Cornejo et al. (2018), in summarising the key work of South American research in this area, outline that, historically, perceiving teaching as a vocation has been underpinned by three premises: teaching as a call, teaching as a virtue and teaching as a profession.
The first of these premises is religious in nature and perceives teaching as a calling from the Spirit and not a coherent choice – an individual is born with the calling as part of who they are. This perception aligns closely with attributional theory that Scott and Dinham (2008) refer to as a nativist myth, the idea that a teacher is ‘born and not made’. Darling Hammond (2006c) further asserts that this is one of the myths most damaging to ITE, education and indeed schooling. In the case of the second premise, Cornejo et al. (2018) identify that, underpinning teaching as a virtue is also religious in nature. This notion of teaching perceives it as a selfless endeavour, where individuals serve others with no need for external rewards, even payment. The third underpinning premise is not necessarily religious in nature and is linked to the notion of a profession as a rational or coherent choice. In this space, the individual perceives teaching as a profession which requires content to be studied and training over a long period of time. Cornejo et al. (2018) align themselves with others researching altruistic motivations for choosing teaching, identifying that these motivations lead to negative consequences for the profession, particularly ITE. Such negative consequences might include idealised images of teachers (archetypes), a dominant perception of teaching being about personal or innate attributes or dispositions, a perception that teaching does not require study or training – that it will ‘come to a person’ because of their calling. They advocate that the concept of vocation be integrated into the space of teacher identity development – offering insights into motivations for choosing teaching as reference points to understand evolving teacher identity.

This predominantly sociological research offers important insights in relation to pre-service teachers’ motivations for deciding on a career in teaching and the consequent potential impact on their teacher identity formation. However, I am persuaded that using a psychosocial construct to investigate career choice decisions and motivations may offer an alternative perspective to the intrinsic / extrinsic / altruistic rationales. I submit that it may offer a
multidimensional, complex perspective on teacher identity formation, addressing what Izadinia (2013) highlights as a “rosy picture of teacher formation” (p. 709). She asserts that in research to date, simplistic constructs around teacher formation have emerged consequent to a dominant focus on the positive effects of social contexts in teacher formation. She asserts that being overly focussed on simplistic positive aspects of teacher formation:

… keeps teacher educators and STs [student teachers] ignorant of difficulties and challenges that are an inevitable part of the identity formation process. This ignorance hinders STs’ identity formation, which, from a sociocultural perspective, is the key component of learning to teach (Nguyen, 2008). Thus, failing to incorporate a realistic and sophisticated understanding of teacher identity construction into teacher education amounts to failure to fulfil the most fundamental aim of teacher education, which is helping teachers learn to teach.

(Izadinia 2013, p. 709)

4.4 Linking psychological approaches to teacher identity development

This section follows the section on motivations for choosing a career in teaching due to the clear and significant relationship between motivations for choosing teaching and teacher identity formation / development from a psychological perspective (Hong et al. 2018; Hong 2010; Olsen 2008; Schutz et al. 2008; 2001). 32 Hong et al.’s (2018) psychological research on identity formation highlights that using Marcia’s Identity Status Theory, particularly using the theory dimensions in relation to exploration and commitment to a teaching career, can offer insights regarding identity formation and retention in the teaching profession. They state that:

… by focussing on the pre-service teachers’ career exploration and commitment patterns, this study opens up the possibility and necessity to investigate pre-service teachers’ entry motivation and initial commitment in relation to the development of stable and effective identity development of early career teachers and their decision to stay in or leave the career.

(p. 16)

By utilising the identity statuses psychosocial construct in my research, I hope to interrogate the participant pre-service teachers’ discourse around their conceptions of teaching to discover if they reflect narratives of teaching they have constructed due to deeper psychological

32 A more detailed exploration of the teacher identity development is offered in Chapter 2.
processes impacting on individual identity formation, whether known or unknown to
themselves, before entering ITE. I contend that using a psychosocial construct, namely Identity Status Theory, can add further depth to my understanding of how pre-service teachers’ apprenticeship of observation impacts their conceptions of teaching before entry to ITE by examining processes at play in their career decision-making process.

4.5 Identity Status Theory

In order to understand the key principles of Marcia’s work (1980), a brief account of Erikson’s work on psychosocial development is useful as it explains how Marcia developed the referents he used for identifying identity status in his theory.

4.5.1 Psychosocial theory: a brief exploration of Erikson’s work on identity

Erikson’s psychosocial theory is generally regarded as being profoundly important to an understanding of human identity development from a psychological perspective, particularly psychoanalysis (Feist and Feist 2002; Louw 1998). His work is considered to be of such significance that he has often been referred to as “identity’s architect” (Kroger 2017). Erikson identified ego identity as a concept that was central to his theory of psychosocial development (1963; 1959). Broadly speaking, Erikson believed that identity development as part of personality development was more influenced by experience and learning than by heredity (Schultz and Schultz 2016). In this theory, he proposed eight chronological stages of ego growth, each marked by a specific identity crisis or turning point, what Erikson called a ‘psychosocial crisis’, each one changing how an individual sees themselves (see Table 2).

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33 The term ‘psychosocial’ is used to connote the mind (psychological) and relationships (social). Erikson’s work over many decades is characterised by his belief that his psychosocial principle (eight developmental stages over the life cycle) applies to all people; it is genetically inevitable in shaping human development.
Table 2: Erikson’s eight stages of psychosocial development (adapted from Erikson 1963, p. 202 – highlight added by researcher).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>Key challenge /crisis</th>
<th>Positive resolution of challenge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oral-sensory</td>
<td>Birth to 12 to 18 months</td>
<td>Trust versus mistrust</td>
<td>The child develops a feeling of trust in his or her caregivers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muscular-anal</td>
<td>18 months to 3 years</td>
<td>Autonomy versus shame/doubt</td>
<td>The child learns what he or she can and cannot control and develops a sense of free will.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locomotor</td>
<td>3 to 6 years</td>
<td>Initiative versus guilt</td>
<td>The child learns to become independent by exploring, manipulating, and taking action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latency</td>
<td>6 to 12 years</td>
<td>Industry versus inferiority</td>
<td>The child learns to do things well or correctly according to standards set by others, particularly in school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescence</td>
<td>12 to 18 years</td>
<td>Identity versus role confusion</td>
<td>The adolescent develops a well-defined and positive sense of self in relationship to others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young adulthood</td>
<td>19 to 40 years</td>
<td>Intimacy versus isolation</td>
<td>The person develops the ability to give and receive love and to make long-term commitments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle adulthood</td>
<td>40 to 65 years</td>
<td>Generativity versus stagnation</td>
<td>The person develops an interest in guiding the development of the next generation, often by becoming a parent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late adulthood</td>
<td>65 to death</td>
<td>Ego integrity versus despair</td>
<td>The person develops acceptance of his or her life as it was lived.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Within this paradigm, he postulated that late adolescence marked a *psychosocial crisis* (upheaval and reformulation) chiefly concerned with identity, which involved letting go of ego-centric childhood to move towards adult responsibilities with a view to strengthening ego processes. Marcia and Kroger (2011) describe Erikson’s depiction of the psychosocial task of ego identity development or reformulation as:

… essentially one of integration. The achievement of ego identity involves a synthesis of childhood identifications in the individual’s own terms, so that she/he establishes a reciprocal relationship with her/his society and maintains a feeling of continuity within her/himself. It represents a reformulation of all that the individual has been into a core of what she/he is to become.

(p. 33)

Significantly, Marcia and Kroger (2011) identify that one cannot observe an ego or an identity but that the behaviours of a formed identity can be observed and measured. Erikson (1963) theorised that two key issues of late adolescence could be used as referents to observe and measure identity formation, choice of occupation and construction of an ideology (inclusive of religious and political positions). He concluded that of the two, choice of occupation was the more significant issue in late adolescence. Erikson (1966) argued that there are two criteria essential for identity formation, namely, *exploration* and *commitment*, where *exploration* describes the process whereby an individual thinks through and tries out different roles and life-plans, and *commitment* describes how much personal investment an individual makes in occupational and ideological choices. In seeking to engage with the issues, an individual, potentially, has to undergo some degree of ‘crisis’ while trying to maintain the continuity of the *self* from childhood as changes occur to ego and personality structures. This *crisis*, even when it is a result of positive ego and personality changes, elicits anxiety in the individual which must be controlled (Marcia and Kroger 2011).

Erikson’s (1963; 1959; 1958) subsequent work exploring these criteria focussed significantly on the process of identity formation rather than on the nature of the occupational choices and
ideologies. He stated that modern society is tolerant of – and even expects – adolescents consciously searching for identity, meaning and direction though active struggle or crisis, and described this stage as a ‘psychosocial moratorium’. He concluded that the best identity outcome for an individual emerging from this stage is an achieved identity, robust enough to cope with and adapt to life. Furthermore, Erikson argued that many adolescents attempt to minimise the stress of the necessary identity crisis associated with this psychosocial stage by resolving it prematurely. This may result in the individual foreclosing (or closing) to a particular occupational choice and ideology, hence the expression identity foreclosure (1963; 1959). Lastly, Erikson identified that some adolescents do not emerge from this stage of psychosocial development successfully, with a robust and adaptable identity. They are said to have a confused or diffused identity. This can result in emergent adults with underdeveloped personal, vocational capacities (Shaffer and Zalewski 2011). Erikson believed that an individual’s identity resolution can be mapped to a continuum / spectrum between identity achievement (optimal) on one end and role confusion on the other (Kroger 2017).

As stated, while Erikson’s theory has broad acceptance in the field of developmental psychology, criticisms have been levelled at his work on a number of other fronts. Firstly, it has been suggested that the stages identified are gender biased – there are incomplete descriptions of male / female differences (Schultz and Schultz 2016; Fleming 2004). It has been argued that the original research was carried out with an implicit male gender focus due to the methodology used and Erikson’s own subjective approach (Shaffer 2009; Schultz and Schultz 2016). Furthermore, critics suggest that there was much more development of the childhood and adolescent stages than of the adult stage, and thus the lifecycle is not evenly represented (Sokol 2009). It has also been critiqued on the grounds that it lacks generativity because the original methodology is hard to reproduce. Marcia (1980) concluded that it was
difficult to evaluate Erikson’s work due to the number of parts it claims contribute to identity formation and the unique way each individual synthesises these parts. Another significant criticism of Erikson’s theory refers to the notion that adults cannot change over the lifecycle in response to experiences, that is, that the theory was overly deterministic and representative of a discontinuous model of development (Sokol 2009). Despite these critiques, the theory is a solidly accepted foundation for identity work in the field of psychology.

4.5.2 An overview of Marcia’s Identity Status theory

Meeus (2011) describes Marcia’s model of ego identity statuses as the most important elaboration of Erikson’s work on ego identity. This is demonstrably clear from Kroger’s estimation that by 2017 there had been over 1000 studies carried out using the model since its inception. Marcia’s model, as shaped in 1966, was an attempt to create a paradigm to help understand the process of how an adolescent creates their understanding of self to ensure unity of the self (Hong et al. 2018). He used Erikson’s work on identity development in late adolescence, particularly the states / structures postulated in his theory, and addressed concerns he had in relation to its empirical basis by designing empirical measures. Marcia highlights the challenge he attempted to address as follows:

The problem for empirical research was how to determine the presence or absence and qualities of this structure. No one ever sees an ego, or a superego. One observes only the behavioral referents for hypothesized states of these personality structures. Likewise, no one can observe an identity. What can be seen and measured are behaviors that should result if an identity has or has not been formed. The task at the onset of identity research was to determine what observable referents were available that would point to the presence, absence, and nature of the hypothesized underlying identity structure.

(Kroger and Marcia 2011, p. 33)

Marcia’s (1980) conceptualisation of the Eriksonian psychosocial construct in late adolescence embodied in Identity Status Theory, identifies the four identity statuses as originally postulated by Erikson: identity achievement, moratorium, foreclosure (or closure) and diffusion (or confusion). These statuses were designated based on evidence of exploration and commitment
in relation to occupational choice and ideological formation by late adolescents. Kroger and Marcia (2011) elaborated on this, stating that:

The two life areas in which exploration and commitment were to be assessed were *occupation* and *ideology*, the latter being composed of religious and political positions … [these] domains were used here to point to a hypothesized underlying identity structure, not as “identities” in themselves. Essentially, they were a “map” used to indicate a more fundamental “territory”.

Marcia identified that each status could show a high or low emphasis on each of the two issues (see Figure 9). An individual could thus be identified as being in a particular status when their *exploration* of and *commitment* to an occupational choice and an ideology was examined. However, Marcia (2007) does remind researchers that individuals never belong fully to just one status; analysis will always identify a mix of status correlates.

![Figure 9: Marcia’s identity statuses.](image-url)
Hong et al. (2018) offer a succinct summation of Marcia’s representation of the four identity statuses, as follows:

Achieved individuals are committed to identity-defining roles and values based on a thoughtful exploration process. Foreclosed individuals are equally committed to identity-defining roles and values, but have not necessarily gone through an exploration process. Instead, their commitment conforms to the expectations of significant others. Individuals in the moratorium status actively explore options and try on potential roles and values, yet remain undecided and uncommitted to any key identity-defining roles and values. Lastly, diffused individuals are characterized by little or no exploration or commitment and general apathy toward the topic.

To determine identity status reliably and empirically, Marcia and colleagues designed both quantitative paper-and-pencil questionnaires and quantitative-qualitative semi-structured interviews (Kroger 2017; Crocetti and Meeus 2015). Notable questionnaires they designed included the Ego-Identity Incomplete Sentences Blank (EI-ISB) (Marcia 1966) and a later Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOM-EIS II) (Adams and Ethier 1999). These quantitative measures were designed as time-efficient, easily administered instruments which could yield an overall score aligning with an identity status (Kroger 2011). The EI-ISB and EOM-EIS II set out to measure overall ego identity. Careful scoring of materials along with analysis based on Erikson’s identity formation concepts provide an overall score. The scoring manual was created with due regard to criteria aimed to answer the question: what should an individual participant’s responses be in relation to exploration and commitment behaviours if they have an achieved ego identity (Marcia 1966)? Such criteria include:

…the following characteristics excerpted from Erikson’s theory: self-reflection, a realistic sense of the future, commitment to occupation and ideology, self-initiated action, relatively safe expression of impulses, reformulation of childhood personality antecedents in adult terms, autonomy, group affiliation, social integration, and internal locus of self-evaluation.

(Kroger and Marcia 2011, p. 34)

Other quantitative approaches to determine identity status and explore its development have been designed and used subsequently, including the Utrecht-Groningen Identity Development
Scale (U-GIDS) (Meeus 1996), the Utrecht-Management of Identity Commitments Scale (U-MICS) (Crocetti et al. 2008) and the Ego Identity Process Questionnaire (EIPQ) (Balistreri et al. 1995).

The Identity Status Interview (ISI), a highly regarded semi-structured interview instrument with associated scoring manual (Marcia and Archer 1993), was designed to tap into identity defining issues with a view to assigning an identity status using a degree of clinical judgement (Kroger 2017; Marcia 2007). It aims to assess the depth and range of exploration and degree of commitment to occupational choice and ideology through an interview and an accompanying scoring manual. The aim of the interview is to expose a developmental process, in other words, the process of how participants reached the identity resolutions they held at the time of interview. The interview aims to gain in-depth responses in relation to: how participants form current commitments, if present; what influences them when making these commitments; and, what rationales and processes are used during the transition from their childhood selves (Marcia 2007). Kroger and Marcia (2011) stress that:

[T]he actual content of occupational choices and beliefs was not important. The focus was on the developmental process: how were choices arrived at; how thorough was the respondent’s exploration; what were the related feelings accompanying exploration; how firm and how actualized were commitments; and under what foreseeable circumstances would commitments change.

(p. 34)

In order to validate the identity status model, Marcia’s subsequent work – and a vast array of other studies – have focussed in on the associated behavioural variables for each identity status. These variables offer useful characteristics to describe the behaviours associated with each of the identity statuses. Furthermore, research has evidenced that each of the statuses can be associated with observable behaviours such as tendencies or alignments to: openness or defensiveness, flexibility or intransigence in relation to life-direction, a solution or circular
discussion focus in relation to problems, authoritarian or liberal-permissive behaviour, internal or external locus on control, robust or brittle life-positioning (Cramer 2017; Kroger 2017; Arnett 2014; Lillevoll et al. 2013; Ryeng et al. 2013; Kroger and Marcia 2011; Meeus 2011).

Erikson believed that an achieved identity was a desirable outcome for the resolution of identity formulation. Accordingly, an exploration of the characteristics of this status is well worthwhile. Marcia’s Identity Status Theory proffers that individuals with an achieved identity can be said to have “constructed identities” as a result of both high exploration and high commitment. He views identity foreclosures in terms of “conferred identities” as they would seem to have been acquired by taking on commitments of significant others without a crisis of exploration. Marcia identifies that those in moratorium are active in exploring a way forward in their identity formation but struggle to commit to it, while those in diffusion are neither exploring nor committing to any particular direction (1980). Individuals with achieved and foreclosed identities evidence the highest levels of adaptability and those in a foreclosed identity status evidence the highest levels of authoritarianism, normative processing-oriented decision making and an external locus of control (Kroger 2000). For example, those in moratorium status evidence the highest levels of anxiety but also the highest levels of openness to new ideas. Marcia (2010; 2002) is clear that individuals often exist in more than one status and move or transition between the statuses at all stages of life through identity reconstruction, aligning to a fluid or dynamic construction of identity.

In the context of this study, involving participants who mostly entered undergraduate second-level ITE as adolescent 18-year olds, Marcia’s (1980; 1966) elaboration of identity statuses as a framework and approach to exploring the process of adolescent identity formation was of
particular interest. It is noteworthy that, in validating the identity statuses construct, empirical research has been dominated by exploration of occupational choice above ideological concerns due to Marcia and Erikson’s views on the significance of occupational choice at the point of late adolescent ego development (Mancini et al. 2015; Germeijs et al. 2012). In line with the bulk of research undertaken in this area, the exploration of identity statuses in this research project is limited to the occupational choices of the participants.

In recent years, psychology has offered refinements and extensions of the identity status model, most notably through Luychx and colleagues (2006, 2008), and Meeus and collaborators, (Crocetti et al. 2008; Meeus et al. 2010) who suggested dual-cycle models of identity formation, evaluation, maintenance and revision over time. These newer dual-cycle models claim to be more focussed on the process of identity formation rather than the classification of the outcomes of identity formation in terms of the statuses (Crocetti and Meeus 2015; Josselson and Flum 2015). Dual-cycle models maintain that there is a key distinction in relation to the nature of exploration – exploration in both breadth and depth (Meeus 2018; 2011). A dual-cycle model offers further differentiation of identity statuses arising from the conception that identity research should focus on the process of identity development (implying that Marcia’s model did not have this focus). Dual models are based on the premise that exploration and commitment can be further divided, for example Luychx et al. (2006; 2008) divide commitment in two; that is, making a commitment and identifying with a commitment. They also suggest that exploration processes can be divided into exploration in breadth, exploration in depth, and ruminative exploration (Luychx et al. 2008). To elucidate Luychx et al.’s work on this topic, Verschueren et al. (2017) state that:
… individuals often start the identity process by actively exploring different options (exploration in breadth) before making decisions (commitment making). Subsequently, they may re-evaluate these commitments based on personal beliefs and values (exploration in depth) through which these choices may or may not become integrated into their sense of self (identification with commitment).

(p. 32)

Arising from this refinement, Meeus et al. (2010) as proponents of the dual-cycle model have distinguished between two types of moratorium, classical and searching. Luyckx et al. (2008) have distinguished two forms of diffusion; diffused and carefree diffusion. In the context of this research project, dual-cycle theory is of particular interest when it addresses exploration in the context of career-choice goals, and when it identifies the characteristics associated with a foreclosed identity status, rather than seeking to examine the developmental nature of the identity status continuum any further or adding to that aspect of the theory. While these refinements offer useful insights into the developmental nature of identity statuses and aspects of diffused and moratorium statuses, this research focusses on Marcia’s original elucidation of commitment and exploration.

Marcia’s work, while generally popular and well accepted, has had critics. Côté and Levine (1988) postulated that Marcia’s work was a misrepresentation of Erikson’s ego identity concept due to its overemphasis on the categories and its disregard for context as an influencing factor in identity status, thus implying that identity status was a result of individual choice (Schwartz et al. 2013). Another critique is exemplified in a significant debate that peaked in the late 1990s in relation to the developmental nature / continuum of the identity statuses. The debate was led by van Hoo f (1999). He believed that the identity status model was not suitable for assessing identity development and indeed that the objective measures were insufficiently robust to measure identity statuses. These critiques were discussed (Côté and Levine 1988; Waterman 1988), refuted and answered (Berzonsky and Adams 1999; Meeus et al. 1999) in the years that followed. In relation to the objective measures and testing, significant
longitudinal studies have proven that the measures are acceptably accurate (Meeus 2016; 2011; 1999; Kroger et al. 2010).

Whether the identity status model is or can represent a developmental continuum is a debate that continues to roll. The key questions are: does identity status remain a stable disposition over time? And, if it does change, does identity status progress along a continuum? (Meeus 2018). Research since the late 1980s has suggested that the statuses can be seen to occur in a general order with relative consistency – diffusion, to foreclosure, to moratorium and then achievement. This order is still adhered to today as a starting point in identity status research (Meeus 2018; 2011; Kroger et al. 2010; Waterman 1988). None of this is to suggest that an individual cannot change status over a lifetime, or start somewhere other than diffusion, or bypass a status, just that this order is developmentally desirable. Meeus (2018) concludes that Marcia’s model of identity statuses does not offer a developmental model to understand identity development but rather, a model to identify identity status transitions. Having started his research stating that the model developed represented a continuum (1967), Marcia’s more recent work states that the statuses are fluid; people can move in and out of them at different life stages (Marcia 2010; 2002). Furthermore, Marcia (2007) has advocated that researchers remember that identity statuses are invented labelling constructs which should be revised and discarded as newer constructs that can address the same issues are devised.

Another thread of criticisms presented by Côté (2006), a prominent critic of Identity Status theory, focusses on three aspects of the theory. Firstly, in relation to the sequential / developmental order of the four statuses, Côté was in agreement with those who concluded that the statuses do not progress in a developmental order. Secondly, Côté (2006) critiques
Marcia’s assertion that in order to reach identity *achievement* an individual needs to consciously explore their occupation and ideology. He argues that identity *achievement* can be reached with unconscious *exploration*. I would suggest that this raises interesting questions around autobiographical memory and its articulation into language / discourse. Questions such as; what counts as conscious *exploration*? – is articulation necessary? Does a person need to be able to label career or ideological *exploration* for it to be conscious exploration? And, from a postmodern philosophical perspective, where language is perceived as the mechanism used by individuals to come to know and construct their world (Becvar and Becvar 2013), how could unconscious *exploration* be assessed? In relation to the third aspect of Marcia’s theory critiqued by Côté (2006), he asserts that the volume of studies undertaken which support the Identity Status Theory affirms the classification issues over the developmental issues of identity formation. Within the field, researchers agree with Côté’s assessment that Marcia’s paradigm\(^{34}\) offers a model to describe identity status classifications and transitions over their development (Meeus 2018; van Hoof 1999; Meeus 1996). While indeed this may be true, the focus of this research project was on the classification issues with associated behavioural correlates, rather than on the developmental ones.

Kroger (2017) states that: “[o]ver the time since Marcia’s initial studies, the identity statuses have been examined in relation to personality and behavioural correlates, relationship styles, and developmental patterns of change over time” (p. 6). Over many years, Identity Status Theory has been applied in a diversity of contexts outside of either classical psychology or psychoanalytic theory, for example, gender studies, sports education and remedial youth

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\(^{34}\) Both ‘theory’ and ‘paradigm’ constructs are used to describe Marcia’s identity status model (1980) in research literature. I use both constructs in this thesis to describe Marcia’s identity status model. It fits a ‘theory’ construct when understood as an explanation of identity statuses and a ‘paradigm’ construct because it also provides the model or frame based on a world view / way of ordering the complex world that allows this theory (and others) to be tested and measured (Bryman 2012).
projects (Kroger and Marcia 2011). However, in a negative development, this has moved the focus away from the processes underpinning how and why these identities are formed. In this context, this research project seeks to reconnect some of this theory to the applied setting of ITE in order to establish the implications of foreclosed identities and, in particular, to shed light on how conceptions of teaching might be framed by those who have decided on a teaching career during the apprenticeship of observation period.

**Table 3: Summary of key aspects of the Identity Status Theory (Marcia 1980).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Status Theory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... to help understand where an individual 'is at' in relation to their identity development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central Tenets:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Ego development in late adolescence is concerned with the formation of an identity in terms of goals, beliefs and values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Identity status can be recognised by exploring a late adolescent’s exploration of and commitment to occupation e.g. career choice or life goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>How does it work?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through examination of an individual's exploration of and commitment to:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. occupation (including career choice goals) and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ideology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identity status can be identified as:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Achieved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) In moratorium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) In foreclosure or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) In diffusion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5.3 A focus on identity foreclosures

In light of the reportedly long-held and relatively early career choice decisions of the participants in this study, it seemed prudent to try to discover whether or not they had foreclosed a teaching career before entry to their ITE. This literature section focuses specifically on this foreclosed identity status. In line with Erikson (1964; 1963), Marcia (1967) describes identity foreclosed individuals as those who have never experienced crisis in relation to their career / occupational choice yet have committed to one; they have not sufficiently
explored diverse vocational options and, thus, have committed prematurely to an occupational choice.

In validating the identity statuses construct, empirical research has been dominated by exploration of occupational choice above ideological concerns (Blustein et al. 1989). In the late twentieth century, this research focussed largely on near, rather than far dependent variables, near variables being those that align most closely to the definition of the construct (Kroger and Marcia 2011). Of particular interest are the variables used to establish the face validity of a foreclosed identity; these include an authoritarian orientation, susceptibility to positive and negative feedback and an alignment with the overall measure of ego (Kroger 2017; Arnett 2014; Lillevoll et al. 2013; Ryeng et al. 2013; Schwartz et al. 2013; Kroger and Marcia 2011). These variables are of particular interest when looked at from a teacher education perspective.

According to the findings of some well-regarded studies, those with foreclosed identities measured strongest against the near variable of authoritarianism. They demonstrated a tendency to unquestionably follow the rules and regulations laid down by significant authority figures from childhood, such as parents and teachers, and to be suspicious of anyone not inclined to do the same (Arnett 2014; Mestvirishvili et al. 2014; Ryeng et al. 2013; Schwartz et al. 2013; Marcia 1967; 1966). Indeed, Kroger and Marcia (2011) identify that authoritarianism can be a way of identifying a foreclosed identity. This tendency would further imply that such individuals continue to look at childhood authority figures for guidance in relation to their life positioning rather than doing so by reformulating their childhood values and positions. This tendency could impact negatively on a pre-service teacher’s inclination to
reassess their favoured teachers from school in light of ITE input, resulting in resistant, simplistic conceptions of teaching. Interestingly, Schwartz et al. (2013) question the nature of the relationship with parents in particular, flagging that the relationships are often presented in idealised ways, with all conflict removed, for example. This supports the notion that those with *foreclosed* identities have an identity conferred on them. In sum, Marcia (2001) states *foreclosed* identity “individuals are the least cognitively flexible of the statuses and the most highly endorsing of authoritarian values, suggesting a relatively unmodified ego ideal” (p. 7161).

Another near validity measure to which *foreclosed* individuals closely align is a vulnerability to the vagaries of positive and negative feedback from significant authority figures. It was found that those with *foreclosed* identities were prone to reassess their own abilities based on feedback from authority figures (Shaffer and Zalewski 2011). This tendency can be linked negatively to an individual’s capacity to engage in critical self-reflection and to self-assess performance, key skills that have been identified as essential to teacher identity formation (Alsup 2006).

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that research indicates that *foreclosed* individuals can be perceived as being as strong and controlled as identity *achieved* individuals (Mestvirishvili *et al.* 2014; Kroger and Marcia 2011). Schwartz et al. (2013) state that those late adolescents with a *foreclosed* identity often take responsibility easily, without thought, but they may do this because they have difficulty processing and discussing alternatives. They avoid losing the safety of known environments – they avoid *crisis*. Kroger and Marcia (2011) characterise those with a *foreclosed* identity designation as having the appearance of being strong and self-
directed but that this often masks a fragile, brittle identity evident in the defensive positions they take up when disconfirming information is presented to them. Their position is often maintained by polarising any opposition into ‘them’ versus ‘us’ arguments. These individuals are identified as being better off than those in identity diffusion as they have some measure of identity. However, although they achieve a sense of security, ultimately individuals in this identity status can be characterised as living quite satisfying but limited lives (ibid.).

More recent research on identity foreclosure has focussed on the personality variables or cognitive traits in greater depth (Kroger and Marcia 2011). Personality variables such as self-esteem, anxiety, locus of control, authoritarianism, moral reasoning and ego development have all been the subject of research (Lillevoll et al. 2015; Mancini et al. 2015; Germeijss et al. 2012). Foreclosed identity individuals can be summarised as having: “defensibly high self-esteem scores, in attempts to shore up their rather rigid and superficial self-concepts and defend themselves against feelings of uncertainty” (Kroger and Marcia 2011, p. 41). They consequently tend to have low anxiety scores as their identity status defends against anxiety by avoiding crisis (Lillevoll et al. 2013). Significantly, Marcia (2010) has identified that foreclosure individuals find the disequilibrium necessary to crisis when moving identity status to be particularly overwhelming. Research further identifies that identity foreclosure individuals’ locus of control is far more external than internal; they demonstrate a poor sense of personal efficacy and control over their world (Kroger and Marcia 2011). They align with a conformist stage of ego-development due to lack of identity exploration. While acknowledging that life-long reformulation is part of identity status theory (Marcia 2010; 2002), these tendencies or alignments, if evident in pre-service teachers or practicing teachers, could inhibit teacher agency.
Another research approach to investigate the link between identity statuses and personality traits has focused on linking what are described as the “big 5” personality traits – openness to experience, extraversion, conscientiousness, agreeableness and emotional stability (Arnett 2014; Muck et al. 2007; Lounsbury et al. 2005). Significantly, foreclosed identity individuals have scored high in research testing conscientiousness, agreeableness and emotional stability traits but low on extraversion and openness to new experience experiences (Pop et al. 2015; Lounsbury et al. 2005; Luyckx et al. 2005). The high score in the conscientiousness trait is often manifest in very academically successful second-level students, learners who thrive due to their committed academic persistence where the intellectual rigours of third-level education are not evident or required (Petitpas 1978). Consequently, this trait does not necessarily align with success during third-level study.

**Figure 10: Foreclosed identity status; a focus on near variable measures and cognitive traits.**
To help explain how identity status impacts an individual’s capacity to adapt to college life, Berzonsky (1985), building on Marcia’s work, proposed three identity-processing styles (Berzonsky and Kuk, 2005; Boyd et al. 2003, Berzonsky 1989). The ‘information-oriented style’ (similar to Marcia’s achievement status) is perceived as the most effective as, with this style, students both look for and remain open to new ideas and information, even if these ideas are disconfirming to long held or current plans and values. They will use these new ideas to examine and even revisit their current identity (Berzonsky 1985). On the other end of the effectiveness spectrum for identity processing styles, Berzonsky (1985) identified ‘diffuse / avoidant style’ (this correlates with Marcia’s diffused identity status). In this style an individual avoids all information or ideas that do not align with current beliefs about the self and the world. These individuals avoid conflict with defensive thinking by avoiding critical self-reflection (Berzonsky et al. 2005). Of particular interest in the context of the foreclosed identity status, Berzonsky also articulated a ‘normative-oriented identity processing style’ (1989; 1985). This style is in the middle of the effectiveness continuum as it supports individuals with characteristics that make them appear stable, committed, agreeable, hard-working and confident while defensively avoiding ideas and beliefs that may be in conflict with their normative baseline. This is summed up in the following extract:

… [normative-oriented identity processing style offers] a mixture of more and less adaptive features. On the one hand, to maintain the norms that anchor their normative orientation, students using a normative-oriented style develop a relatively automated, mindless, and dogmatic defensiveness that leads them to avoid contact with new information or ideas that may challenge convictions; they adopt a straight and narrow approach to all of their commitments, whether they be religious, political, moral, or vocational. On the other hand, normative-oriented students show signs of stability because they are agreeable, conscientious, confident in their beliefs, and are consciously and tenaciously committed to these convictions.

(Shaffer and Zalewski 2011, p. 70)

As a critic of aspects of Identity Status Theory, Meeus (2018) offers a different perspective on the adaptive nature of foreclosed identity status individuals. He argues that a foreclosed identity status is less adaptive than either achieved or moratorium identity statuses on the
developmental continuum—only a diffused identity is less adaptive. He points out that Marcian theorists reach their conclusions based on individuals with this status having high levels of commitment with low levels of exploration of other occupational goals. Meeus refutes this and states that empirical findings highlight a different interpretation. He argues that research identifies foreclosure, together with achievement, as the most adaptive identity statuses (Meeus 2018; Meeus et al. 1999). He supports this contention by citing a number of research pieces which show that when assessed, using different indices of psychological well-being, people with both identity achievement and foreclosed statuses (the statuses with high commitment levels) have a higher score than those people identified with a moratorium and diffusion status (Meeus 2018; Berman et al. 2006; Burrow and Hill 2011). Schwartz et al. (2013) proffer a twist on this when they suggest that an individual with a foreclosed identity is as adaptive as an achievement identity individual when the norms from authority figures are reliable; when these norms change or are in flux, these individuals are not as adaptive. It is interesting to note that Kroger et al. (2010) explicitly refute this view on the adaptability and stability of a foreclosed identity status in their meta-analysis of research on identity statuses during adolescence.

A significant amount of research has been undertaken in relation to the high scores foreclosed identity individuals achieve for conscientiousness, and the correlation between this and academic success, particularly at third-level. It has been noted that, during third-level courses, foreclosed identity individuals may experience limited success if the environment is similar to second-level. This is a result of their being very committed and consequently academically persistent; however, when confronted with unfamiliar learning situations and professional socialisation they are at risk of failure as “they tend to resist change at almost any cost” (Shaffer and Zalewski 2011, p. 69). They adopt what Berzonsky (1985) identified as a normative
identity style evading new ideas or information which might destabilise their normative props. This lack of openness is also manifest in how *foreclosure* identity individuals react to negative feedback in relation to their performance in their chosen occupation; they maintain high expectations and a defensive positioning when confronted with disconfirming feedback and tend to manage any stress regarding occupational choice by avoidance (Boyd et al. 2003). In counterpoint, those with an *achieved* identity status outperform all other statuses in almost all aspects of the academic and professional dimensions of third-level study (Berzonsky and Kuk 2005; Lounsbury et al. 2005).

It is also worth noting that, in relation to the conscientiousness trait in *foreclosed* identity third-level students, there is an interesting research focus on exploring antecedent social conditions such as prematurely following a family legacy occupation in order to gain positive reinforcement and validation from significant others (Shaffer and Zalewski 2011; Schultheiss and Blustein 1994). Shaffer and Zalewski’s paper (2011) on *foreclosed* identity third-level students moots another interesting antecedent condition, that is, community and significant others pressuring students into what are perceived as high-status occupations. This pressure can make it difficult for a student to change career choice if they experience an identity *crisis*. Forced to stay in a *foreclosed* occupational choice, their identity is formed by the weight of expectation due to their reliance on the approval of significant others such as parents, significant family members or teachers (Shaffer and Zalewski 2011; Greene 2006). Marcia linked identity *foreclosure* to the desire to fulfil family expectations about career. This can be especially strong in families where career choice demonstrates the characteristics of a family tradition or legacy, including military service, professions, family businesses, family farms, and so forth (Petitpas 1978; Waterman and Waterman 1976). In the context of this research
project, it is important to recognise that teaching is considered one of these high-status occupations in Ireland (Coolahan 2003).

‘Credentialism’, the belief that a college degree rather than any specific career orientation or exploration of career / occupational choices is a guarantee of a good job or success, has also been identified as a potentially important factor in the make-up of foreclosed identity individuals in third-level education (Rysiew et al. 1999; Rysiew et al. 1994). International research on identity status in Europe, the near East and Africa reports similar findings to research in the USA (Hofer et al. 2007; Bergh and Erling 2005; Luykx et al. 2005; Cakir and Aydin 2005; Uzman 2004). The low scores achieved by foreclosed identity individuals on the personality trait ‘openness to new experience’ is deemed very significant due to the role this may play in hindering these individuals’ exploration of their identity in relation to occupational choice (Lounsbury et al. 2005). In the context of teacher education, if those in identity foreclosure evidence this trait it could be contended that this might result in lack of openness to ITE.

Thus far, all of the characteristics presented in relation to foreclosed identity status have been presented as having negative consequences on pre-service teachers’ development. Espousing a pejorative view of foreclosed identity status individuals – a critique levelled at research into foreclosed identity status (Schwartz et al. 2013) – is not for all. It is important to be cognisant of potentially positive aspects of foreclosed identity status. Firstly, it has been argued that the characteristics associated with foreclosed identity status may be culturally appropriate in some instances where conforming and hierarchical relationships are the cultural norm (ibid.). I suggest that this may be the case in the context of education in Ireland, but it is not something that I support as an educator working to support teacher agency and its development during
ITE. Another possible positive aspect of this identity status is offered by Meeus (2018; 2011) in critiquing aspects of Identity Status Theory; he believes that *foreclosure* may be a desirable end-point of identity formation due to its stability, adaptability and association with well-being, stating:

… five conclusions from the longitudinal research into Marcia's model: The studies show identity maturation; There is no evidence at all that identity maturation unfolds as stepwise development along the identity continuum; No information is available on the frequency of identity status changes during adolescence, but the probabilities of chains of three identity status transitions are extremely small … The theoretically impossible regressions M [moratorium]-> F [foreclosure] and A [achievement]-> F suggest that foreclosure might be closure; Findings on the link between identity status and well-being suggest foreclosure to be a viable endpoint of identity development.

(Meeus 2018, p. 292)

Hong et al. (2018), using Marcia’s research tools in a very recent study of the identity status of pre-service teachers in two ITE programmes among 326 participants in the USA, found that 41% of the cohort evidenced having an *achieved* identity status, 26% as having a *foreclosed* identity, 23% as being in identity *moratorium* and 10% as having a *diffused* identity. These figures are consistent with other studies carried out among USA college age students, and also with research on identity status in late adolescence (Kroger and Marcia 2011). It is supported by Shaffer and Zalewski’s (2011) analysis of empirical studies of identity statuses among USA third-level students. They found that participants evidencing identity *foreclosure* often exceeded 25% of a study sample. These studies encompassed a variety of programmes and predominantly used Marcia’s quantitative-qualitative ISI interview and EI-ISB questionnaire. Furthermore, a recent study carried out in Romania using the U-MICS with a cohort of pre-service teachers, identified that 18% of those surveyed were considered to be in identity *foreclosure* status (Pop et al. 2015). International research on third-level students’ identity status in other parts of Europe, the Near East and Africa offers similar findings to that in the USA (Germeijs et al. 2012). Kroger (2000) notes that studies show that less than half of those who were in *foreclosed* identity status on entry to college had moved out of this status at the
end of third-level study. This prompts interesting questions and challenges for teacher education.

The role of education structures has also been examined in the context of occupational identity \textit{foreclosure}. Shaffer and Zalewski (2011) submit that policies and practices such as forcing students to select a ‘major’ in third-level education can exacerbate identity \textit{foreclosure} by forcing premature occupational decisions. In Ireland, this situation arises much earlier as second-level students are required to choose subjects to study for their high-stakes final examinations based on occupational decisions at age 16 years. Marcia (2002; 1980) strongly advocates not forcing adolescents to make premature occupational decisions that have the effect of exacerbating identity \textit{foreclosure}. Professional college courses, he argues, should focus more on ideas and values rather than fast-tracking the acquisition of a professional degree. Furthermore, Hong et al. (2018) conclude from their study among pre-service teachers in the USA that:

\begin{quote}
… instead of assuming that pre-service teachers have stable commitments to the teaching career, teacher educators should encourage pre-service teachers to engage in activities and conversations that provide a more holistic understanding of teaching in relation to other areas of life. Otherwise, their commitment may not be well informed and thus, may not persist.
\end{quote}

(p. 14)

In this context, it behoves the teacher educator to both understand this identity status and to recognise the frequency of its existence among incoming undergraduate pre-service teachers with a view to informing debate and influencing ITE programmes and practices. Figure 11 offers a diagrammatic summary of the key ideas from the review of literature review pertaining to Identity Status Theory in the context of elaborating the visual map of the theoretical development of this research project presented in Figure 1.
4.6 Literature review: a final word

The rationale offered in the introduction to this thesis identified my belief that notwithstanding the contribution that primarily sociological and pedagogical research investigating the apprenticeship of observation has made to understanding pre-service teachers’ practices and teaching conceptions, there has been little research into the apprenticeship of observation using psychological constructs. This review of literature focussed on two psychological theories, SMS Theory and Identity Status Theory, with a view to examining the apprenticeship of observation from a more psychological perspective.

Chapter 2 of this review focussed on exploring the apprenticeship of observation construct with its proposed attendant impact on pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching, teacher formation and professional identity and teaching practices. The review proceeded to explore memory in Chapter 3, specifically the memory encoding and retrieval model focussed on
working-self goal hierarchies, the SMS. This chapter highlighted that memory is an individual construction used to support the self by making coherent life-story narratives. Consequent to this review, I propose that the apprenticeship of observation period encompasses an important part of the ‘life-story narrative’ of late adolescence, thus, exploring memory construction offers useful insights to the apprenticeship of observation construct. Chapter 4 reviewed literature on Identity Status Theory linked to teacher identity development. This theory associated with ego identity development is predominantly associated with late adolescence and therefore has particular relevance to the apprenticeship of observation period. Its focus on the exploration of, and, commitment to career choice in late adolescence provides valuable ways to explore pre-service teachers’ career choice. I particularly highlighted foreclosed identity status because of its associated consequences for thought processes and behaviours, including agency, conservatism and openess to new experiences and ideas. I consider that many of these associated consequences could be viewed as corresponding to the perceived impact of the apprenticeship of observation on pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching and professional formation.

As the review of literature draws to a close, I conclude with a brief overview of how the two key theories explored in the preceding chapters emerged as complementary theoretical lenses to explore second-level pre-service teachers' conceptions of teaching in the context of their second-level schooling apprenticeship of observation. To this end, I offer a diagrammatic summary of the overlap between the SMS Theory and Identity Status Theory in Table 4, drawing on summaries offered in Tables 1 and 3. This diagram highlights that consequent to both theories focusing on career choice goals during late adolescence at the end of second-level schooling, they could offer a unique psychological perspective in examining pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching.
Table 4: Overlap of key aspects of SMS Theory (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000) and Identity Status Theory (Marcia 1966; 1980).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overlap in purpose:</th>
<th>Overlap in central tenets:</th>
<th>Overlap in how they work:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Both theories are concerned with the development of the self</td>
<td>1. Both theories propose identity as being central</td>
<td>1. SMS - goal hierarchy of working-self is particularly premised on career choice goals in late adolescence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Both theories centralise stable identity development as core to supporting the development of the self</td>
<td>2. Both theories propose Goals ... life goals and career choice goals as being central</td>
<td>2. Identity Status Theory-exploration of and commitment to career choice goals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Career choice goals
- Identity

Figure 12 (overleaf) draws together in one diagram all of the elaborations of the visual map of the theoretical development of the study from the previous chapters. The figure aims to offer a final summary representation of the key ideas relevant to this study associated with the theories addressed in this literature review.

In the chapter that follows, I offer an account of how these theoretical lenses were integrated into the DA superstructure to form the research framework and guide the operationalisation and evaluation of the research.
Figure 12: Elaborating the visual map of the theoretical development of the study 4.
Chapter 5:
Methodology
5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to outline the research methodology employed in this project and the rationale for its selection. The first sections of this chapter locate this study ontologically and epistemologically. Next, the use of DA as an over-arching superstructure for the research design is explained. Following this, the ‘positionality’ of the researcher is explored. The final section of the chapter outlines the study design, detailing the participants, research instrument and method of analysis used.

5.2 Ontological and epistemological considerations

To establish my research approach to this research, I began with an interrogation of my ontology and epistemology. I recognised the need to identify these philosophical underpinnings to ensure that what I want to know is epistemologically congruent with my ontology\footnote{‘Ontology’ reflects how I see the social world and its phenomena. This ontology consequently explicates my ‘epistemology’, my understanding of what and how knowledge is generated in the social world.}, and that the information or data generated through the research will add to my understanding, the understanding of the research community and the understanding of the participants in relation to the social world. I was aware that clarity in relation to these core issues would inform my choice of research methodology and framing (Thomas 2013) by enabling me to choose philosophically compatible research approaches and use a consistent style when critically reflecting on interpretations of research data (Thomas 2013; Bryman 2012; Bridges and Smith 2007).

However, in locating my work, ontologically speaking, I was and am mindful of Bryman’s (2012) observations; he suggests that it is more useful to speak of ontological and epistemological tendencies rather than fixed links because of the contested use of research
language and frameworks in the social sciences. He describes research paradigms and positions in the social sciences as very complex and “messy”, just like human phenomena (p. 16). In my research practice, I endeavoured to factor in this ‘messiness’ when choosing methodological approaches to analyse my research data, in order to facilitate the richest, deepest meanings (DeMarrais and Lapan 2004).

My initial reading and reflection in relation to ontologies and epistemologies highlighted the key principles with which I align in relation to knowledge. As a starting point, self-reflection led to a recognition of myself as a product of an education system which perpetuates the notion of validation through statistical means. This may explain why I was fearful of choosing a research approach which would not allow me to make generalisations about my research, thereby detracting from its currency. In a seeming contradiction, I also recognised that I agree with the assumption that there is no indisputable knowledge – statistics and generalisations, while useful, are limited; they do not expose and explain the complexity of a ‘messy’ reality in individual education contexts. To reach beyond this contradiction, my reading and reflection led me to a key principle underpinning this research, that is, that the fallible nature of heuristics can be made to analyse complexity through studying the individual case (O'Sullivan 2005; Hennessy et al. 2011). One implication of this is that large research samples, with objective measures built in to research methods, are not a necessity for valid research outcomes (Thomas 2010). This supports the premise that “the spirit of fallibilism” can offer the best epistemological approach to ensuring quality in research (Lincoln and Guba 1985 cited in Seale 2002, p. 105). In adopting the spirit of this premise, I recognise that I am pre-disposed towards interpretive (Denzin and Lincoln 2005), postmodern (Bryman 2012), constructivist (Burr 2003) and qualitative approaches to research.
Following this, I proceeded to review research paradigms aligned with my ontological and epistemological tendencies. From the outset, I deemed it important to locate this study within a specific research paradigm, or at least to recognise its position within the educational landscape. When referring to the term paradigm, I draw on Kivunja and Kuyini’s (2017) definition:

In educational research the term paradigm is used to describe a researcher’s ‘worldview’ (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). This worldview is the perspective, or thinking, or school of thought, or set of shared beliefs, that informs the meaning or interpretation of research data. It is the conceptual lens through which the researcher examines the methodological aspects of their research project to determine the research methods that will be used and how the data will be analysed. The paradigm defines a researcher’s philosophical orientation and … this has significant implications for every decision made in the research process, including choice of methodology and methods. And so a paradigm tells us how meaning will be constructed from the data we shall gather, based on our individual experiences …”

(p. 26)

5.2.1 Interpretivist

Subsequent engagement with literature to refine my research position focussed on deepening my understanding of interpretive, postmodern and constructivist dimensions in relation to research. Philosophically, my ontology in relation to social phenomenon is broadly interpretivist; this means that I perceive social reality to be subjective, multiple and constructed in the cognition of individuals (Bryman 2012; Cohen et al. 2007; Charmaz 2006). I believe that individuals, naturally and of their own free will, construct their own world through their actions and interactions – reality is contextual, and individuals have agency. Bonded to this, the interpretivist epistemology I subscribe to perceives knowledge to exist everywhere, to be nominalist, subjective and unique to individuals because it is constructed by individuals through interaction (Thomas 2013; Bryman 2012; Cohen et al. 2007; Charmaz 2006).

Interpretivist researchers perceive that there are multiple, relativistic social realities because reality is fluid and evolving through individual agency. Research within the interpretivist paradigm, according to Morgan (2007), is characterised by a recognition that the world cannot
be understood from one standpoint alone. Instead, realities are multiple and socially constructed by an individual interpreting the world around them (Kivunja and Kuyini 2017):

“This approach makes an effort to ‘get into the head of the subjects being studied’ so to speak, and to understand and interpret what the subject is thinking or the meaning s/he is making of the context”, so, in effect this paradigm privileges the participant’s viewpoint over that of the observer (ibid., p. 33). Furthermore, while the participant’s viewpoint is privileged, Morgan (2007) adds that there is also an acceptance that context is critical to interpretive research and consequently there is an inevitable interaction between the researcher and the participants (the social construction of multiple realities). These assumptions underpin research which is fundamentally subjective in nature, as the researcher cannot be removed from the research process and thus their intentions, biases, values and beliefs must be factored into the research, reinforcing the need for researchers to examine their ontological position. Interpretivist-oriented research uses an idiographic approach to understanding the unique, subjective behaviour of an individual, rather than of a group. Research methods which lend themselves to words, thoughts and images, as opposed to numbers, to describe processes happening in groups are favoured. The researcher normally situates themselves within the research, as an insider, and establishes their role in the research context (Thomas 2013; Cohen et al. 2007).

5.2.2 Postmodernist

In line with the above, my approach to knowledge and enquiry in relation to education fits in a relativist, postmodern, eclectic framework. In relation to understanding postmodernism, I drew from Zeeman et al.’s (2002) description where they start their exposition by distinguishing the key differences between postmodernism and the paradigm construct, identifying that postmodernism is neither a school of thought nor a cohesive intellectual movement with a positive aim. They cite Ward’s (1997) definition of the construct to support their position: “[p]ostmodernism can be the set of ideas which try to define or explain the state of affairs in
society or a word used in many different contexts to cover many different aspects” (p. 4). Postmodern theory focusses on pulling apart how we normally think about making meaning, interpreting meaning, and, more generally, reality. A postmodern philosophy consequently necessitates a qualitative research approach premised on the belief that nothing is value free; there is no objective world. Becvar and Becvar (2013) identify that language and conversation are at the core of postmodernism as the building blocks of reality. It is through language in the context of conversation that individuals construct, understand and know their world.

Disassembling thinking and meaning are at the core of postmodern theory; this argument is well made in educational research (Zeeman et al. 2002). The complexities of teaching and learning cannot be simply categorised into one right way of organising inquiry in a metanarrative as exemplified in a modernist approach (Thomas 2013). I believe that knowledge is constructed in many different ways and that, as a result of this, there is no one right way of understanding the world, and no one right way of doing research. I am sceptical of any research which purports to have found the one true path to knowledge.

In the context of the two developmental stage theories36 used in this research which have often been aligned with modernist frameworks, Erikson’s (1963; 1958) Theory of Psychosocial Development and Marcia’s (1980; 1966) Identity Status Theory, I offer the following reasoning for their inclusion in my stated postmodernist approach. While these theories are aligned with modernist theoretical approaches and subjected to postmodernist critique, most notably by Rattansi and Phoenix (1997), following literature research I perceived that their use in a

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36 These theories divide human development into distinct stages with associated behaviours. They align with discontinuous theories of development (Schultz and Schultz 2016). Examples include; Freud’s psychosexual stages, Erikson’s stages of psychosocial development, Kohlberg’s stages of moral development, Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, Piaget’s theory of cognitive development, Marcia’s Identity Status Theory.
postmodernist framework could be justified. Significant literature has been produced critiquing Rattansi and Phoenix’s (1997) work on this issue and supporting the use of Erikson’s and Marica’s theories in a postmodern framework. This literature consistently highlights that both Erikson’s and Marica’s approaches to identity development are grounded in individualised goal-orientations and contextually generated and culturally sensitive constructs that focus on an individual’s agency in identity formation (Berzonsky 2005; Schachter 2005; Kroger 2005). These are all core facets of postmodernism. Furthermore, in using DA as the research superstructure, a strongly postmodernist research paradigm, I believed that I was superseding any potential modernist approach by its highly individualised premise, that is, that a person’s language and conversation are core as the building blocks of reality (Becvar and Becvar 2013).

Upon some initial consideration of Critical Theory and Grounded Theory, I have further refined my ontological and epistemological positions, and see them as being within a constructivist grounded theory (often referred to as constructionist) paradigm, where theory may be seen to evolve from and be grounded in research data analysis generated through co-construction between the researcher and research participants (Bryman 2012; Charmaz 2006; Henning et al. 2004; Glaser 2002; 2008).

5.2.3 Constructivist and constructionist

While the terms constructivist and social constructionist have been used interchangeably heretofore in this chapter, I will use the terms more judiciously going forward as I perceive differences between the two and align with both depending on the context. In simple terms, constructivist research approaches denote an epistemological locus where knowledge is regarded as constructed (Neimeyer and Levitt 2001). The key principle of the interpretivist paradigm is premised on the ontological view that reality is socially constructed; that is why
this paradigm has sometimes been referred to as ‘the constructivist paradigm’. This may provide an insight into why my initial philosophical research focus was on constructivism. As I began to discern and articulate my views on interpretive research; it became clear that I strongly valued the constructivist nature of knowledge creation. This focus on social constructivism was strengthened due to my perception that my research project had a constructivist-oriented ambition – co-construction of knowledge (Henning et al. 2004) – in relation to exploring pre-service teachers’ memories of schools and their reasons for entering the teaching profession.

Some researchers use the term constructivism as a term to encompass social constructionism. However, literature identifies differences between the terms, but it does not establish general agreement about them (McLeod 1997). In simple terms, social constructivism holds that reality is constructed within the mind of an individual with the help of a group, while social constructionism focusses on reality being constructed through social interaction in discourse / language / conversation. Van Niekerk (2005) states that while both concepts share a postmodern world-view of multiple realities, there are differences in relation to how language, narratives and stories are perceived and used. Social constructionism perceives that language is about more than communicating, that people use language to construct reality and that this impacts on how facts are perceived. Social constructionists perceive facts as social constructions which may or may not convey a truth as social constructions are bounded by social norms and structures over time (ibid.). It is this focus on discourse / language that is of particular relevance to this research. This constructionist paradigm highlighted DA as an effective, fundamentally interpretive, qualitative ‘research superstructure’ (Wetherell et al.

37 “Discourse analysis is the study of how talk and texts are used to perform actions” (Potter 2003, p. 73).
The distinction highlighted below between constructivist and constructionist research methodology effectively sums up the rationale for the DA model I adopted for this research project:

> Whereas constructivist methods tend to focus on the meaning-making efforts of individuals, families, and small groups, social constructionist methods shift attention to the broader systems of ‘languaging’ that characterize public speech, disciplinary discourse, or cultural contexts. Even when applied to individual language users, such methods tend to have a critical thrust, such as when careful ‘deconstructive listening’ is used to bring to light the hidden assumptions that constrain a speaker’s view of what positions are permissible for self or others. Social constructionist methods are in this sense more radical than constructivist methods, attempting to uproot oppressive and marginalizing forms of thinking and speaking that have dehumanizing consequences.

(Neimeyer and Levitt 2001, p. 2653)

DA as a methodology is touted as being more than just a means of understanding the social world consequent to language being held to make up the social world (Bryman 2012; Potter and Edwards 2001). DA is seen as the essence of an interpretive paradigm that views the world as multiple realities, without one absolute or unchanging discourse. Hence, it is strengthened by re-interpretation and counter-interpretation (Bryman 2012; Gee 2010; Potter 1996). Significantly, DA has a successful track record in interpretive research seeking multi-layered analysis for complex sociological research (Fairclough 2001; Potter 1996). DA is perceived as more than data analysis and has been described as a superstructure of theoretical foundations – it can be a topic and focus of the research, not just a means to acquiring data (Wetherell et al. 2001). These claims intrigued me, and I decided to further investigate this methodology as a potential ‘research superstructure’ for my research project.

**5.3 Discourse analysis (DA) superstructure**

This section introduces the methodology which offered a superstructure for this research project. My ontological and epistemological research position, as outlined in the preceding sections, aligns with the view that the deepest and most valid representations of unique meanings are garnered by listening to research participants’ spoken words – their discourse –
and mediating the unique meaning of the discourse through interacting reflexively with participants (Krauss 2005; Poland and Pederson 1998; Lofland and Lofland 1995). Ontologically, I believe that discourse is powerful as a means of understanding the social world, and I align with Beynon (1997) who proffers that the study of teacher discourse reveals both identities and the way identity is negotiated by individuals within external settings.

5.3.1 Discourse

Whilst there are a broad range of techniques and approaches within the discourse tradition, all draw on essentially the same understanding of discourse: discourse is socially and culturally constructed framing the concepts of an individual. It is central to social life – even when activity is non-verbal its sense is communicated verbally; according to Potter and Edwards (2001), this implies discourse as an object and as practices. At the core of discourse-oriented research is understanding and examining talk and text as social practices that are situated in a particular context, action-orientated and constructed (Potter and Edwards 2001). More explicitly, in relation to the contextualised nature of talk or text, it is recognised that they are always situated within some kind of sequence of interaction or context – hence, they can be seen to have emerged from a given context and cannot be understood outside of the context in which they were produced. Being action-orientated, talk and text construct cognitions and have a sense-making function that is performative in nature. Finally, discourse draws on a repertoire of common metaphors, idioms, words and accounts to construct versions of reality that can be communicated to and understood by others; in a sense, it is both constructed and constructive (ibid.).

5.3.2 Discursive social psychology

Given the focus of this research project and the areas under investigation, I elected to use DA, a discourse oriented qualitative research approach framed by Potter and Wetherell (1987). Potter (2003) states that “[d]iscourse analysis is the study of how talk and texts are used to
perform actions” (p. 73). This research approach, which is focussed on words and thoughts and is language and discourse oriented, belongs to the discursive social psychological tradition. To unpack this psychological tradition, discursive psychology can be defined as the implementation of methods and concepts from DA to psychological themes (Edwards 2005; Potter 2003). At its core, this approach sees discourse as both being about something and also about doing something – fulfilling a function – as discourse can be seen to construct attitudes, emotions and memories (Potter and Wetherell 1987). The discursive social psychology approach focuses on the way both reality and mind are constructed by people conceptually, in language, and in the course of their execution of practical tasks (Edwards 1997; Potter 1996). It recognises the performative function of talk and that talk does not reflect one’s views or thoughts but that it is a performative act influenced by the context of the situation and the intentions of the speaker. Central to discursive social psychology is an emphasis on the construction of specific versions of reality. This understanding of the world / reality can seem counter-intuitive to positivist psychological researchers’ views on an objective reality, as discourse activity is at the centre of the research rather than viewed as the output of stimulus conditions and cognition. Discursive social psychology focuses on peoples’ discourse practices (activity) in constructing their external world / realities and how, based on this, they subsequently construct their internal reality of beliefs, values, emotions and dispositions (Potter and Edwards 2001).

5.3.3 Potter and Wetherell’s discursive psychological analysis framework

For the purpose of this research project, I chose to use the discursive social psychology DA methodological framework offered by Potter and Wetherell (1987; Wetherell and Potter 1988) based on its goal to understand the use of discourse in the construction of accounts, rationales, social classifications, attributions, and, of particular relevance to this project, identities. The Potter and Wetherell (1987) framework uses a hybrid of psychological and sociological
approaches to achieve this goal. Traditional social psychological approaches alone could not achieve this goal due to their focus on internal cognitions and thus a new psychosocial hybrid approach was proposed by Potter and Wetherell (1987) based on three main epistemological influences from outside social psychology: linguistics, poststructuralism and ethnomethodology. To elaborate a little on these non-social psychology epistemological influences on Potter and Wetherell’s (1987) DA framework, I begin with linguistics. Linguistics, from discursive psychology, is premised on the belief that language is more than the simple reflection of reality – language is seen to be both functional and performative. Poststructuralism, as conceptualised by Foucault, questions wider cultural and historical practices with a view to showing how power operates in the hegemonic discourses of everyday social actions and processes – a top-down approach to examining social inequality. Ethnomethodology, as a sociological methodology, focusses on social interaction, the micro-processes of how the social order is maintained and reproduced in everyday life resulting in social consequences, most notably inequality – a bottom-up approach to examining inequality (Potter 2003).

These early influences on Potter and Wetherell’s approach to DA diverged over the decades with top-down Foucauldian researchers focussed on the content of the discourse, the ‘discursive resources’ 38, and bottom-up researchers such as Edwards and Potter (1992) focussed on the detail / micro-processes of social interactions – how people build their accounts of the world in talk – called the ‘discursive processes’ (Willig 2015). The discursive processes aspect of the DA research approach sits well with the aims of this research project due to its potential to show how identities are constructed in talk or how people explain motivation.

38 A different interpretation of ‘interpretive resources’, as framed by Edley (2001), is used consistently in this thesis.
Following further research into DA methodology, I settled on an expanded version of the DA strand using the Potter and Wetherell framework (1987) which has come to be called ‘critical discursive psychology’ as it uses a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches to analyse discourse, demonstrating how discursive resources are used by individuals to build discursive processes to offer accounts and arguments. I perceived that the analytic concepts associated with this iteration of DA offered the greatest scope for analysing pre-service teachers’ discourse in relation to teaching conceptions contextualised in an apprenticeship of observation, and that this would facilitate analysis not just of the way talk constructs identities and motivations but also, potentially, of how talk can be culturally, historically and structurally bound. This appeared to be the type of analysis which could challenge cultural depictions and hegemonic social practices. From a bottom-up perspective, it focusses on discursive resources (what is being said, the content of peoples’ talk and how they position themselves in this world using discourse) and the discursive processes (how people say things, how people use discourse to construct their social world). From a top-down perspective it focusses on hegemonic depictions of truth and how these representations of truth are embedded in cultural and historical contexts and how these relate to power and the construction of inequality. This study primarily focussed on a bottom-up perspective.

5.3.4 Analytic concepts of DA approach

There are three underpinning analytic concepts in DA when viewed in terms of critical discursive psychology, namely ‘interpretative repertoires’, ‘subject positions’ and ‘ideological dilemmas’. The first of these concepts, interpretative repertoires (Gilbert and Mulkay 1984 cited in Potter and Wetherell 1987), is a refining of the discursive social psychology concept ‘discursive repertoires’. This concept describes the common sense, but often contradictory, ways we talk to construct the social world. These repertoires are patterns of meaning which evaluate our experiences and narrate events from a personal perspective. They create versions
of reality which are always ideological, that is, constructed in accordance with the values of the speaker. Edley (2001) describes the expressed and often fluid values of individuals in *interpretative repertoires* as the flexible rhetorical resources they utilise to win arguments. These repertoires are seen to be made up of *discursive resources*. These “building blocks of conversation”, as described by Edley (2001, p. 198), refer to common tropes, phrases and sayings people draw upon in constructing discourse linking descriptive practices to broader historical and ideological contexts (Bryman 2012). Wetherell and Potter (1988) maintain that a range of accounts of the same phenomenon will contain the same “relatively internally consistent, bounded language units … called … interpretative repertoires” (p. 171). Reynolds and Wetherell (2003) contend that *interpretative repertoires* include the routines of arguments, descriptions and evaluations evident in talk; they are “the building blocks through which people develop accounts and versions of significant events and through which they perform social life. Interpretative repertoires consist of what everyone knows about a topic” (*ibid.*, p. 49). These repertoires manifest a precise grammatical and stylistic approach often derived from metaphors and signalled by figures of speech and clichés. For example, Reynolds and Potter (2003) in their study of female singleness identify an *interpretive repertoire* of ‘singleness as deficit’, through participants’ use of language like “spinster”, “on the shelf”, “not able to find a man”, “not able to have a relationship” and references to well-known Victorian literature such as the novel, ‘Jane Eyre’. These repertories illuminate / construct *subject positions* and *ideological dilemmas*.

The notion of *subject positions* represents the culturally available classifications – *discursive resources* – used by individuals to define themselves and their identities (Edley 2001). They are embedded in *interpretative repertoires*. *Subject positioning*, according to Davies and Harré (1990), relates to how the individual positions themselves, others and objects within their
discourse, thus contributing to a dynamic and fluid representation of multiple selves. This is done either by interactive positioning relative to others, or reflexive positioning where one positions the self. Søreide (2006) notes that these different subject positions are “central in the construction of different understandings of the world and our place in it” (p. 529). When taking a top-down analytical approach to DA, the presumption is that there is very little scope to choose a subject position as subject positions are culturally and historically dictated. I align with Edley (2001), who perceives that choice is possible, if limited, in the context of some social interactions when subject positions are viewed as actively taking up positions in conversation. As outlined in my review of literature on memory, individuals have agency in relation to their discourse around autobiographical memory based on the goal hierarchy of their working-self.

_Ideological dilemmas_ refer to the contradictions, fragmentations and inconsistencies evident in an individual’s discourse related to the everyday lived dilemmatic “common sense” ideologies of human beings (Billig et al. 1988). _Interpretative repertoires_ are often contradictory and consequently different conversations from any one source can evidence a number of ideological dilemmas. Critical discursive psychology focusses on identifying the dilemmas that arise for an individual consequent to their choice of interpretative repertoires to offer explanations, and to construct arguments and representations of the world and themselves (Edley 2001). I perceived that these analytic concepts could facilitate multi-level analysis that sat well with my view of the world; they offer frames, ways of defining, problematising and relating issues to my core theme (Goffman cited in Potter 1996). Analysis of this kind could make it possible to construct and deconstruct pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching.
In relation to the first analytic concept, this research project aimed to identify the *interpretative repertoires* in the participants’ discourse, that is, the flexible language resources for social interaction which offer repositories of meaning characterising and evaluating events and their actions (Potter and Wetherell 1995) during schooling in relation to teaching. For example, in relation to their rationale for becoming a teacher, what *interpretative repertoires* did they draw on to justify their decisions? Similarly, when describing their past experiences of schools, what *interpretative repertoires* did they draw on, from the common shared images of schools and teachers, to describe their experiences (Edley 2001)?

In relation to the second analytic concept, this research project aimed to explore the multiple positions / *subject positions* that the participants identified in relation to their past schooling experiences and their reasons for choosing teaching. Through this approach, the aim was to explore what was being accomplished within the local context of production of their *subject positions* (that is, what and how were the participants aiming to present the *self*) and what ideologies within the broader context were evident in their discourse (Edley 2001) in relation to teaching and career choice. For example, in relation to teaching, did they position themselves in a particular manner? How were past teachers and their practices positioned?

The third, and final, analytic concept aimed to highlight and explore the *ideological dilemmas* (the dilemmatic nature of ‘lived ideologies’) of the cohort of pre-service teachers, the common and expected contradictions evident in all discourse. Of particular interest to this study was the participants’ rationale for career choice and their memories of schools as it was expected that, since talk is used for rhetorical purposes to discursively navigate and position,
contradictions in talk are inevitable. As with the assessments of interpretative repertories and subject positions, the local and broader cultural contexts were also of interest.

5.3.5 Discourse analysis and this research project

While DA has been used extensively in social psychology research, its use in education research is relatively more recent, less prolific and less diverse, with a particular focus on socio-linguistics (for example, Godley et al. (2015) and Bartels (2005)) and Foucauldian critical discourse analysis, (for example, Rogers (2017) and Rogers et al. (2016)). Its use in exploring pre-service teachers’ discourse in relation to teaching conceptions, the apprenticeship of observation and motivations for teaching appears to be limited to studies addressing identity (for example, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), Cohen (2008) and Søreide (2006)). There has been a recent increase in the number of texts supporting teachers to engage in DA in their classrooms to unpack classroom interactions (Warriner and Anderson 2017; Rymes 2016; 2009; Rex and Schiller 2009). In a review of DA in education, Warriner and Anderson (2017) contend that its use in educational research offers opportunities if researchers are willing to combine elements of different theories and DA approaches:

Educational researchers are attracted to the systematic analysis of discourse for a variety of reasons. Some see value in the close analysis of the minute-by-minute construction of talk, identity, positioning, and meaning when two or more people interact. Others prefer to connect individual practices with historical structuring influences, focussing on the ways that language mediates the two. Still others want to find textual evidence for the claim that all relations are power laden and argue that we must therefore explicitly foreground power in our analyses. More recently, analyses that blur conceptual, theoretical, and disciplinary boundaries seek new methods and connections that discourse analysis might offer. Combining elements from different theories and methods of discourse analysis has become more common than rare, as the thoughtful combination of multiple approaches to the study of discourse allows researchers to continue addressing old questions in new ways as well as find new questions to pose, including those that respond to the ever-changing nature of communication, location, and being.

(p. 306)

In terms of educational research, researchers are advised that DA should be understood to represent an eclectic amalgam of theories and methods:
Because it is important for educational researchers to recognize that the terms discourse and discourse analysis have been used by researchers to mean a variety of things, discourse analysis in educational research must be understood as an eclectic set of theoretical and methodological approaches to the systematic study of discourse, language in use, notions of context and contextualization, questions of power, and increasingly discussed issues of embodiment, spatiality, virtuality, and complex ecologies shaping educational contexts. (Warriner and Anderson 2017, p. 305)

Having established that DA was a very comfortable methodological fit, so to speak, with my ontology and my epistemology, careful consideration was given to the choice of DA as the methodological superstructure for this research project to ensure it could address my research aims. Following an exploration of aspects of autobiographical memory theories, I concluded that DA was indeed a very good methodological fit, an approach that would allow me to neatly address my research questions exploring pre-service teachers’ memories of their apprenticeship of observation and conceptions of teaching. Early on, research into methodological approaches led me to believe that using an analytical lens focussed on Identity Status Theory to explore pre-service teachers’ motivations and goals for a teaching career would not work well as a methodological approach. I engaged in further research about Identity Status Theory and methodological measures associated with it and concluded that DA could offer a useful perspective, a novel approach and ultimately an insightful methodology to explore my research questions in relation to identity status. I perceived that using DA to explore identity status could have the primary focus of facilitating an exploration of participants’ goals in relation to a teaching career to better understand their conceptions of teaching. This seemed preferable and more appropriate than an in-depth review of pre-service teachers’ identity statuses.

Research utilising Marcia’s (1980) theory has predominantly employed two methodologies, the first is qualitative pen-and-pencil questionnaires with associated scoring manuals to
determine identity status, and the second is the quantitative-qualitative semi-structured Identity Status Interview (ISI) designed by Marcia (1966; 1993) with associated scoring manual to explore the developmental process of identity formation (Kroger and Marcia 2011). Having explored the idea of using the questionnaires with scoring manuals, I concluded this to be a poor fit with my strongly interpretivist discourse-oriented research philosophy. I aligned with those who critique these instruments and who argue that, in the name of objectivity and efficiency in establishing identity status classification, the rich data potential from discourse is lost and, potentially, only snapshots of identity status are offered. Using these research instruments can mean that opportunities to probe for greater depth, establish an individual’s genuineness and explore the extent of exploration and commitment are all limited, resulting in potential superficiality disconnected from psychological theory (Crocetti and Meeus 2015; Josselson and Flum 2015; Kroger 2011; Marcia 2007).

In relation to the ISI interview, while I consider it more epistemologically congruent with my position as it potentially allows for discourse around shared understandings of how, when and why an individual explored and committed to a career or ideology (Josselson and Flum 2015), I perceived that it was still an uncomfortable fit with my belief in the potential of discourse to construct the individual realities of participants. The interview was designed to point to an unobservable, hypothesised identity status in an empirically generalisable way (Kroger and Marcia 2011: Marcia 2007). But this was not the core focus of my interpretivist research philosophy or ambition for this study. I was not attempting to test or validate the Identity Status Theory. Additionally, the ISI needs a degree of clinical judgement to assign identity status (Kroger 2017) and this was not my specialism. I wanted to garner research data around some of Erikson’s original concepts; I sought to use Marcia’s paradigm of identity statuses to provide the frame based on Erikson’s way of ordering the complex world of ego identity to enrich my
understanding of career motivations and their impact on conceptions of teaching. I was not intending to explore participants’ ideology (part of the ISI assessment of identity status) as this was not the focus of the research. Conscious of Erikson’s fear that empirical research on identity statuses could result in a superficial analysis of ego identity due to lack of cognisance of the extensive theoretical underpinning and nomological network of the construct (Erikson 1968), I ensured that the DA instrumentation for this aspect of the study was thoroughly embedded in the key constructs suggested by Erikson and crystallised by Marcia from early interviews he conducted on identity statuses; namely, exploration and commitment to career choice goals. Additionally, I used Marcia’s work on both the ISI interview and the scoring criteria to inform the interview design and analysis (Marcia 2007; Marcia et al. 1993; Marcia and Archer 1993) (see Appendix D). This research project was designed on the premise that the DA methodological superstructure based on semi-structured interviews (but without Marcia’s ISI coding manual), underpinned by the key constructs of exploration and commitment to a career goal, might offer a valid in-depth, psychosocial research alternative to the psycho-analytical interview approach advocated by Marcia and associates. Along with this, I perceived that the Potter and Wetherell DA approach (1987) offered a means of ensuring an interpretive, in-depth focus on psychological ego constructs while simultaneously integrating some of the psychosocial facets of teacher identity formation such as experience of schooling and past teachers (their autobiographical memory of schooling).

I hoped that this approach to dissecting pre-service teachers’ talk could ultimately help teacher educators unpack pre-service teachers’ memories of schooling and their reasons for choosing teaching, both of which strongly influence their views of teaching. This method of ‘drilling down’ might be used subsequently by teacher educators to reshape input and practice on teacher education programmes.
For the reasons outlined above, I chose to use Potter and Wetherell’s (1987) DA methodological framework as a key approach in my research project as, based on its evolution, I perceived it offered an eclectic array of theoretical and methodological approaches best suited to add depth and validity to my research question (Bryman 2012; Flyvberg 2006). In particular, I believed that DA’s successful track record in interpretive research (Potter 1996), through its focus on words and thoughts (language and discourse), would take account of participants’ inner-worlds, as opposed to countering the alienation of the individual from their inner-world as can happen with other reductionist research approaches such as closed surveys (Charmaz 2006). I contend that the use of this technique made it possible to construct and deconstruct pre-service teachers’ autobiographical memories of their apprenticeship of observation, their motivations to pursue a teaching career and their conceptions of teaching through its use of deconstructive reading to move towards insight and the resolution of this inquiry (Flyvberg 2006).

Figure 13 (overleaf) offers the final elaboration of the visual map of the theoretical development of this research project. It highlights the key aspects of DA which I believe supported its suitability to providing the project’s research superstructure.
5.4 The location of the researcher in the research: my ‘positionality’ as a researcher and teacher educator

Given the focus of this research project and its interpretivist underpinning, my ‘positionality’ as the researcher was very influential. I recognised the need to reflect on my value-orientation (Veugelers and Vedder 2003) in relation to “the value-laden practical activity of education” (Whitehead 1989, p. 44) before I could hope to explore that of others. For this reason, in the following section I unpack the values and beliefs that I hold as a researcher and teacher educator that undoubtedly influenced the design, framing and interpretation of the data in the study.
My personal history as a student in school, a pre-service teacher, a teacher and teacher educator all influenced my beliefs and values and shaped how I view my practice as both a researcher and teacher educator. Consequently, I considered it important to reflect on the relevant elements of this past to unearth the motivations, assumptions and beliefs that I hold that could consciously or unconsciously influence this research project. My experiences of schooling had a significant motivating influence on my career choice and my beliefs and values about schools, teaching and education. My first memories of wanting to be a teacher are oriented around my late primary school experiences. I changed school for the last two years of primary education and recall having a difficult transition to the new school; this included having what I viewed as an unpleasant first teacher in the new school, a hard time making new friends and eventually telling my parents that I did not want to go to school. My parents intervened, and things settled down for my last year in primary school. I can recall very clear, autonoetic memories of this unpleasant teacher and I know that I used this teacher as a template for what I did not want to be as a teacher. Significant during this period, my brother was a pre-service primary school teacher and I recall being very keen to help all pre-service teachers when they were on placements in my new school as I knew the difference this made to their success. I suspect I was very zealous, quite possibly annoyingly so. In summary, my first conscious thoughts about wanting to be a teacher were tied up in disliking a teacher who turned me off school when I had previously enjoyed it and wanting to emulate my older brother who made teaching sound fun and fulfilling.

I attended a very large, urban, all-girls second-level school (1200 students) where I saw myself as being anonymous. I was a very diligent student who only enjoyed subjects that I perceived myself to be good at. Half-way through this period, I was told by a career guidance teacher
who did not know my name that I would attain an average Leaving Certificate\textsuperscript{39} and should think about nursing as a career. I recall being very upset at being labelled and limited by this experience of career guidance and furthermore it reinforced my belief that I was not known in the school. As I moved through second-level school, I recall becoming largely disillusioned with the school I was attending. I perceived it to be too large at the time and felt that no one really knew me as a student. On a positive note, I did come into contact with another category of teachers during this period, inspirational teachers: I had a small number of teachers who I perceived either went above and beyond their contracted teaching role for me and for others or who taught particularly well or were passionate about their subjects despite challenging students and classroom environments. I was quietly thinking about teaching all through this period while also investigating nursing and law careers. By now, my brother was teaching in a socially disadvantaged primary school and living at home. I recall that I enjoyed hearing about his experiences and recognise that this was influential on my career choice exploration. As I approached the end of second-level school, I settled on primary school teaching, second-level teaching and law as potential careers.

Having completed the final second-level school examinations successfully, all three career options were open to me. I remember being very conflicted and upset while making my choice in relation to my college course and career at this time. I also recall being significantly influenced by family at this point. My father believed that law would be too difficult for me and I remember being frightened to try it in case I would not be successful. My mother wanted me to opt for second-level teaching, specialising in Home Economics, as she perceived that this would suit my skills and be a genteel kind of teaching, while my brother was keen that I

\textsuperscript{39} The Leaving Certificate is the terminal, high stakes examination that Irish students undertake at the end of second-level education.
would follow him into primary teaching. I eventually settled on second-level school teaching largely consequent to my strong desire to teach, having an affinity with children, my love of food and organisation, my mother and father’s influence and, additionally, that this offered me the only college course not based in my home city. Having undertaken this research, I now consider that I undertook exploration of career choice goals with a level of crisis and had a reasonable degree of commitment to teaching on entering ITE.

During ITE, as in my second-level schooling, I was diligent, keen to be successful and enjoyed the things I saw myself as being good at. I began to question things more explicitly and vocally as my ITE progressed; in particular, I questioned traditional teaching norms, the role of religion in Irish education and myself to a considerable degree. However, I would not say that I was a rebel or nonconformist; I was not comfortable with confrontation or rebellion in myself or others and was a conformist at heart. I did not perceive myself as having agency to change things in teaching, and felt that agency was for someone more experienced, older, or more powerful than myself. I recall vaguely feeling sorry for those who were not sure about their career choice, feeling loyal to my ITE college and offended by those who were disparaging about teaching and the ITE they were experiencing. I was rather ‘knowing’ in identifying those who I believed should reconsider their career choice as I perceived they were not good at communication. I was too immature and in need of external validation to ask the right questions or to be brave enough to dissent or admire dissent in others. I now consider my ITE experience to have been of its time; it was a time where my late adolescence with all its inherent drawbacks to mature cognition and reflection met with a very traditional ITE offering in Ireland, one largely unchanged from the 1960s. I hope I have moved on from this period of my life in terms of my agency and my views on ITE and education itself, in the years since then.
In the context of this examination of my value-orientation arising from my educational experiences up to ITE, I found resonance with the idea of ‘the living contradiction’ (Whitehead 1989). Conflicting values pose a significant challenge for my research project due to the conflict that exists between the values that underpin the context of my research project, the Irish education system and my personal and research values, on one side, and my experiences of mediating this value conflict in my on-going teaching role with my research participants, pre-service teachers, on the other. As an older teacher educator today, who has performed a variety of teaching roles, undertaken more formal education, more self-exploration and more research, I now perceive the Irish educational system as a utilitarian, technicised cognitive culture, propagated by the system’s structure and rewards (Eisner 2003; Hogan 1995). I consider this as being at odds with the value I place on a Deweyan constructivist philosophy of education (Noddings 2012; Hogan 1995). I acknowledge that I act contrary to the values of a broadly constructivist philosophy of education by teaching students that they must aspire to support the values and goals of the Irish education system as teachers. I am, therefore, what could be considered a ‘living contradiction’ (Whitehead 1989). I explored the implications for my research process of acknowledging this, including, how my students, who were my research participants, perceived the conflicting messages I must have been giving them and how this impacts on their perceptions of teaching. With this in mind, I have worked hard to centralise the value dissent and agency in my teaching and interactions with pre-service teachers.

I recognised that these issues could impact on my discourse with the pre-service teachers during the data collection process and my subsequent interpretation of their discourse. I reached an appreciation of the need for further and on-going critical reflection with a view to mediating these challenges in the research process, so that I would not unduly influence / bias my research participants, and thus impact the validity of my research.
I was aware of the need to make my research project a dynamic, holistic process (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2010). Through engagement with literature and reflective practice, I needed to continue to explore that which is seen and unseen in my philosophy and attendant values (Brookfield 1995; Osterman and Kottkamp 2004) to strengthen the rigour and validity of my research. This required a commitment to dynamically challenge and inform my ontological and epistemological assumptions and research design so that they were more than labels and formed the guiding light for my research project (Charmaz 2006).

Specifically, as a researcher who is a teacher educator, I took great care to be cognisant of my educational and teacher educator experiences in the choices I made, choices about research design, research participants, data analysis and the interpretive lenses I used. As detailed above, while undertaking the research, I used the literature I was exploring to self-examine my apprenticeship of observation and the storing and retrieval of autobiographical memories formed during this period. I am aware that my memories were a reconstruction rather than a reflection of events; I constructed memories in line with my goal hierarchy which focussed on what I perceived as success validated by my parents, brother and authority figures in school. My apprenticeship of observation was coloured by the goal to be a teacher, a career option I was considering at this time. Furthermore, my views on teachers and teaching were influenced by my desire to be seen as successful and compliant, and empathy with my brother’s ITE journey. My memories may not be accurate, but they allowed me to construct a coherent image of myself as I was then. Accordingly, I was aware that these memories should be probed and tested for motive and accuracy. Finally, I explored my likely identity status at the time of late adolescence. I concluded it to be somewhere between foreclosed and achieved identity status.
My early educational experiences pre-dispose me to hear the voices of those like the young me – they are an echo of my past. I was mindful to ensure that I did not privilege those opinions echoing the young ‘me’ as being more or less worthy of analysis and comment. Ill-informed, nascent, naïve beliefs such as those I had at the start of my career did not require greater attention in the analysis phase of the research. Equally, with regard to voices which were an echo of the ‘me’ now, I did not want to privilege these opinions or positions by deeming them to be automatically right. On a more global level, I constantly located my conformist tendencies when assessing participant data. I was always mindful of my responsibility and power to see the opportunities for agency in both my work as a teacher educator and as a researcher.

I realised quickly that the conceptions of teaching expressed by some of the pre-service teachers who sparked this research were of particular interest to me because they were an echo of the young ‘me’, grounded in traditional and conformist perspectives on teaching and resistant to ITE and change. I realised that my choice of psychosocial theories to analyse these conceptions sprung from my interest in understanding myself with a view to understanding others. This led to an acknowledgment of my belief that ITE can only be impactful for individuals when it is processed by those with self-awareness informed by knowledge of their cognition. However, as an interpretivist researcher who does not believe that I can offer objective truths for other people in relation to their schooling, for the purposes of study I remained conscious of only offering an interpretation of other people’s reality in order to reach a better understanding of cognition in relation to the apprenticeship of observation, conceptions of teaching and possibilities for ITE. As this section draws to a close, I note that having reflected on value orientation, I came to feel very strongly that as a teacher educator without a psychology background I should not stray into psychoanalysis. I perceived that consequent to
utilising my chosen psychological lenses and associated theories that there was a danger of over-reaching in my analysis as I did not possess the skills or qualifications of a psychologist or therapist. I, therefore, constantly self-checked as the analysis work was in progress to ensure that I did not step into this territory, thereby bounding my interpretations.

5.5 Research design

In the previous section I reflected on my positionality with a view to exposing the values and beliefs that I hold as a researcher and teacher educator that influenced the design, framing and interpretation of the data in the study. Grounded in that reflection on my positionality, this section addresses the specifics of the research design, namely; the setting, the participants and the instrument.

5.5.1 Research setting

With a view to enhancing the transferability and credibility of the data set (Bryman, 2012), participants for this study were invited from two Irish third-level providers of ITE for second-level school teaching offering four-year undergraduate programmes. While the providers differ in size and subject specialism, they are among the largest providers of four-year undergraduate second-level teaching ITE programmes. The first of these is a large university of some 14,000 students which offers both undergraduate and postgraduate second-level teacher education programmes in the areas of Physical Education, the Arts and STEM Education. This institution has a long history of provision and had approximately 1100 ITE students enrolled at the time of the data collection. I focussed on the undergraduate ITE programmes for this research project. The second institution is a much smaller institution with a strong record and a long history of undergraduate second-level ITE provision, mostly in the areas of Home Economics, Science, Irish language and Religious Education. It had approximately 350 ITE students enrolled at the time of data gathering. As the students enrolled on the ITE programme in this
institution were predominantly female (98%), this influenced how data was subsequently analysed. To ensure anonymity of participants, I decided not to identify gender in the analysis.

5.5.2 Research participants and selection

I elected to invite volunteers to participate in this study from a cohort of students similar to the pre-service teachers who initially provoked my research interest. However, I wanted the group to be expanded in terms of subject choices and this necessitated seeking participants from another ITE institution, as described above. I did not seek a strictly representative sample of pre-service teachers, aligning with Nikander (2012), who identifies that: “[t]hose practicing DA do not see [research interview] participants as directly representative of various demographic categories in the same sense as statistical researchers do. The task is to collect a corpus large enough to allow for discursive repetition and recurrent patterns of argumentation to emerge and then proceed to form data collections on particular discursive phenomena of interest for further analysis” (p. 407).

Participants for this study were invited from the four-year undergraduate second-level ITE (concurrent) programmes in the two participating institutions. As stated in the introduction, concurrent ITE in Ireland traditionally offers a four-year undergraduate bachelor’s degree programme to second-level school-leavers, predominantly beginning at age 18 years, where teacher education is offered simultaneously with subject specific academic content. The alternate ITE route in Ireland is a post-graduate route; ITE is offered consecutively after an undergraduate subject specialism. Pre-service teachers who had completed at least two years of their ITE programme were selected as it was perceived that this cohort would have greater perspective on their career choice decisions yet still be in the period of late adolescent ego development (18-22 years). Furthermore, with two years of concurrent model ITE completed, it was ascertained that participants from the two institutions would have studied both ITE
foundational content, such as psychology and sociology of education, and ITE professional preparation content, such as pedagogy and curriculum. All participants would have also completed at least one school placement; in the case of participants from the larger ITE provider, one placement, and, in the case of the smaller ITE provider, two placements. I believed that ensuring this baseline experience of ITE for all participants was important in terms of their knowledge and experience of ITE, teaching, and their commitment to their career choice of teaching. Congruent with an interpretivist epistemological research paradigm, participants were selected using non-probability, self-selection sampling; all third-year undergraduate second-level pre-service teachers in the institutions were invited to take part in the study subject to meeting the parameters / criteria identified. Potential participants were offered an overview of the project and the type of interview questions which would be asked (see Appendix A). The study engaged 42 participants, 21 in each institution. All of the participants were in year three of their programme. Prior to commencement of data gathering, I assured the participants that analysis would be carried out on anonymous transcripts, consequently, due to the homogenous nature of Irish ITE students (female-dominated and white) (Heinz, 20013), neither gender nor race of the participants was identified in the study to assure anonymity. It was hoped that this approach would increase participants’ engagement with the process. That being said, across the two sites there was a mix of males and females; 30 females and 12 males participated in the study with an average participant age of approximately 20 years.

5.5.3 Research instrument

“The interview involves the thoughtful assessment of one individual by an empathic other in a relationship of rapport …” (Kroger and Marcia 2011, p. 39). I chose to use interviews as the only research instrument for this DA study as I perceived that they could elicit high quality narrative data in a setting optimised for interactive co-construction of meaning of social
knowledge (Kvale 2007; Kauss 2005). In making this methodological choice I was cognisant of the robust debate concerning the value of qualitative interviews as a method of data generation in the field of discursive psychology in recent years. Generally speaking, researchers have taken up two opposing research positions, one perceiving that interviews are necessary to garner analysable data on a subject, and the other perceiving that researchers should use only naturally occurring discourse data to combat the perceived contrived, public-performance, self-monitored nature of discourse data emerging from interviews (Nikander 2012, Potter and Hepburn 2005; Silverman 1998). Those favouring naturally occurring discourse data have suggested that the interview method in a discursive context can suffer from: “chasing its own tail, offering up its own agendas and categories and getting those same agendas and categories back in a refined or filtered or inverted form” (Potter and Hepburn 2005, p. 51). In countering these arguments, Potter and Hepburn (2005) remind researchers of the relative agency of interviewees in the interview situation: if they are not imprisoned by the interview agenda they can move away from the questions should they so choose. Furthermore, in relation to the contrived, public performance nature of the data generated, Nikander (2012) argues that interview participants are familiar with interview conventions including the scientific categories, theories and debate as these form part of modern culture in everyday life as are reflected in media. She describes this modern interview-versant culture as follows:

… the interview society and the deprivatization of personal experience mean that public mundane theorizing “for the record” and “opening up” to an interviewer are more commonplace, to the point that the interview is almost a “naturally occurring” occasion for narrating one’s personal experience” (citing Holstein and Gubrium 1997, p. 126). The informed and reflective use of interview materials as discourse data has clear benefits and continues to provide insight into a range of topics and their characteristics in specific social and cultural contexts.  

(ibid., p. 404)

In sum, I align with Nikander (2012), who contends that discursive analysis on interview data recognises the active roles of interviewer and interviewee, demonstrating “interviews as discursive spaces and as interactions in their own right” (p. 413). Furthermore, I perceive interviews in a DA setting “as an economic and efficient means of eliciting ‘talk on topic’”
Based on my background research and use of DA, I perceived that using another instrument to enrich or validate the interview data was inappropriate.

In addition to the epistemological congruence of interviews with DA, interviews are also the key research instrument used for autobiographical memory studies. As an education researcher without a psychology qualification, I was clear that I was not going to use a psychoanalytic interview strategy, for example, the cognitive interview. I did not intend to test any memory theory or indeed any aspect of autobiographical memory such as the veridicalty of participants’ memories. Additionally, while very interested in participants’ personal stories and narratives in relation to their schooling, I was clear that I was not using the ‘narrative unstructured interview’ instrument, as the domain of the research enquiry was known; the apprenticeship of observation. Furthermore, I knew the questions I needed to ask in relation to the enquiry if not the answers (Morse 2012) (see Table 5). Consequent to this, I elected to use a semi-structured interview technique which was tried and tested in general good DA interview practice and autobiographical memory theory. The choice of this instrument was also in line with Marcia and collaborators’ belief that only an interview can explore how, when and why an individual comes to their identity status, allowing for more in-depth exploration of the psychological constructs (Kroger 2017; Kroger and Marcia 2011; Marcia 2007; Marcia and Friedman 1970). As rationalised earlier in this chapter, I opted not to use the prescribed ISI with coding manual. Using criteria identified by Morse (2012) (see Table 5), I reviewed a variety of interview types to help me choose an appropriate one for the study.
**Table 5: Characteristics and Use of Interview Types with Mixed-Method Design** (adapted from Morse 2012, p. 197 – highlight added by researcher).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Type of Interviews</th>
<th>Unstructured (Narrative Interviews)</th>
<th>Guided Interviews</th>
<th>Focus Group Interviews</th>
<th>Semi-structured Interviews</th>
<th>Quantitative Questionnaires (Close-Ended)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domain</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Partially known</td>
<td>Partially known</td>
<td>Known</td>
<td>Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction of inquiry</td>
<td></td>
<td>Inductive</td>
<td>Inductive</td>
<td>Usually inductive</td>
<td>Deductive or inductive</td>
<td>Deductive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach</td>
<td>Investigator learns about phenomena during the course of the inquiry Investigator assumes listening mode</td>
<td>Investigator guides the order and direction of the interview but not the specific content</td>
<td>Interviewer develops questions designed to stimulate conversation among participants, thereby eliciting the necessary data</td>
<td>Interviewer knows the questions that need to be asked but not all the possible responses</td>
<td>Interviewer knows that questions and responses are necessary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions</td>
<td>Not planned in advance but developed during the course of the inquiry</td>
<td>Broad questions (6-10) developed to guide the course (but not the content) of the interview</td>
<td>Questions and prompts planned in advance in advance</td>
<td>Question stems (and sometimes prompts) planned in advance</td>
<td>Questions and response choices planned in advance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responses</td>
<td>“long responses” conducted with minimal interruption. Interviews not equivalent</td>
<td>Interviewer guides participants’ “long responses”. Interviews only partly equivalent</td>
<td>Discussion among participants with facilitator prompts to elicit various perspectives. Group interviews only partly equivalent</td>
<td>Unscripted (free) responses to set open-ended questions. All respondents are asked the same questions</td>
<td>All respondents are asked the same questions in the same order. Participant selects responses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>Sample changes according to the informational needs of the emerging analysis</td>
<td>Sample characteristics identified</td>
<td>Sample characteristics identified</td>
<td>Sample characteristics identified</td>
<td>Sample randomly selected from the selected population</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample size</td>
<td>Depends on the scope and complexity of the phenomena</td>
<td>Depends on the scope and complexity of the phenomena</td>
<td>Number of groups and number of participants and purpose of study must be considered</td>
<td>If data are to be numerically transposed, at least 30 participants are required</td>
<td>Large size determined by number of questions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>Concurrent with collection</td>
<td>Concurrent with collection</td>
<td>Concurrent or at the end of data collection</td>
<td>Analysis at the end of data collection</td>
<td>Analysis at the end of data collection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point of Interface for QUAL</td>
<td>QUAL-qual, results narrative point of interface</td>
<td>QUAL-qual, results narrative point of interface</td>
<td>QUAL-qual, results narrative point of interface</td>
<td>QUAL-qual, results narrative point of interface</td>
<td>QUAL-qual, results narrative point of interface</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point of Interface for QUAN</td>
<td>QUAN-qual, results narrative point of interface</td>
<td>QUAN-qual, results narrative point of interface</td>
<td>QUAN-qual, results narrative point of interface</td>
<td>QUAN-qual, results; if textual data are transformed, analytic point of interface</td>
<td>QUAN-qual, results</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** QUAL-qual = qualitatively driven mixed-method design; QUAN-qual = quantitatively driven mixed-methods design
I concluded that: I knew enough about my topic to identify the research domain; that I intended to use both inductive and deductive inquiry; that I knew the questions I wanted to ask if not the answers; and that I intended to analyse the data at the end of the collection phase. These conclusions led me to selecting semi-structured interviews to gather essential data, as they seemed most appropriate in terms of achieving my research ambitions.

5.5.4 Interview questions

On reviewing literature regarding the framing of questions for a DA research approach, I drew on the work of Nikander (2012; 2008). I was mindful that the questions should not be seen either as a way of tapping into the inner world of participants or as: “linguistic precision tools carefully designed and tested to reach and tap into the same target area of true or authentic thought, beliefs, and attitudes in each interviewee” (ibid., p. 405). In designing the interview questions / question stems, I was cognisant that the active role of the interviewer and the questions themselves were a crucial part of the data and should feature in the analysis generated (ibid.). I aimed to ensure that the question schedule I designed with DA in mind, did not “try to apply a litmus test” to assess the absolute accuracy of explanations, views, or beliefs of the participants, but instead, that it unashamedly and deliberately revelled in the inconsistencies and contradictions achieved in the interaction between interviewer and interviewee (Edwards 2003, p. 32). The interview schedule was designed to offer a type of naturalistic approach to DA, as per modern discursive psychology (Edwards 2005) – the relative looseness of the interview questions was intended to get participants talking about their experiences of schooling (as opposed to gathering data), teaching and learning and their views on same in the context of being engaged in ITE.

More explicitly, the questions / question stems were designed with both analytical lenses and DA in mind (see Table 6 for overview of interview questions aligned to the core analytic
concepts of the research project). In relation to autobiographical memories and the SMS, questions were framed to elicit participants’ experiences of schooling using cued recall conditions (Conway and Holmes 2004). With a view to eliciting participants’ beliefs about teaching and learning and their motivations for a teaching career, the semi-structured interview schedule was constructed using a small number of semantic memory recall questions to trigger episodic memories (Williams et al. 2008; Tulving 2002; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). These general questions elicited general self-knowledge and facts, through questions such as, what stage of the ITE programme are you at now? The majority of questions included on the schedule were designed to tap into the SMS knowledge base made up of the schooling ‘lifetime period’, ‘general events’ and ‘event specific knowledge’. ‘General event’ memories (including repeated events) were targeted initially to establish the mini-histories connected to goal-related memories (Conway and Holmes 2004; Wheeler et al., 1997). While many goals feature in the goal hierarchy of the working-self, this research focussed on the career goal to be a teacher. As previously stated, this focus on career choice can be supported by Erikson’s (1959) hypothesis that alongside ideological positioning, career choice is one of the two main concerns of adolescence in terms of ego development, thus connecting it to goal hierarchies during second-level schooling.

Question / question stems were constructed to elicit, at the outset, very general schooling memories over ‘lifetime periods’ and ‘general events’. For example, participants were asked to describe the type of second-level school they attended and to describe what a typical school day would be like. More focussed trigger questions then followed in relation to outstanding schooling memories and effective / ineffective learning and teaching moments, these questions being designed to access both generic and sensory/perceptive episodic memories (personal event memories) important to the participant’s life-story schema. The participants were also
asked to recount how and why they chose a teaching career, in other words, to recount their memories in relation to the evolution of the goal of becoming a teacher.

In relation to my second analytical lens, Identity Status Theory, there was significant and not unexpected overlap in terms of the questions I proposed to ask, due to the overlap between Identity Status Theory and the SMS Theory in relation to goals and identity. The questions / question stems designed to tap into goal related memories were also used as a starting point to explore the identity statuses of the participants. Additional explicit questions and / or probes, to be used as dictated by the flow of the interview, were prepared. Cognisant of Marcia and Archer’s (1993) scoring manual for the ISI, these questions sought to elicit information in relation to the two key criteria for the presence of identity formation, *exploration* and *commitment* to occupational choice (Erikson 1966). These questions addressed both antecedent and consequent conditions to identity status: in relation to *exploration*, participants were explicitly asked what motivated them to become a teacher and what consideration they gave to other careers, and their memories about their beliefs about their suitability for teaching. To assess *commitment*, participants were asked for their views on what makes a good teacher (with associated probes around effective / ineffective learning experiences, values, beliefs and goals in teaching) and whether they perceived they had the necessary attributes to become a good teacher when they were selecting their third-level course, and what they now thought in this regard (Marcia and Archer 1993). The question stems / questions were designed to facilitate subsequent analysis of answers using a central feature of DA, *interpretative repertoires*, the common-sense ways that individuals talk about the world (Wetherell and Potter 1988).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Stem</th>
<th>Alignment to Core Analytic Concepts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **1. Describe the type of secondary school that you attended as a student?**  | **Apprenticeship of Observation:**  
  • Tap into the period with cued recall  
  **Memory:**  
  • Semantic memory to trigger episodic memory  
  • Tap into SMS knowledge base (autobiographical knowledge and episodic memories) with life-time period and general event memories...mini-history of goal related memories  
  **Identity Status:**  
  • Garner any initial evidence of commitment to teaching (see Appendix D) |
| **2. Describe a typical school day?**                                        | **Apprenticeship of Observation:**  
  • Tap into the period with cued recall  
  **Memory:**  
  • Semantic memory to trigger episodic memory  
  • Tap into SMS knowledge base (autobiographical knowledge and episodic memories) with life-time period and general event memories evident in repeated events...mini-history of goal related memories  
  **Identity Status:**  
  • Garner any initial evidence of commitment to teaching (see Appendix D) |
| **3. What key memories of school stand out for you?**                         | **Apprenticeship of Observation:**  
  • Tap into the period with cued recall  
  • Elicit teaching conceptions  
  **Memory:**  
  • Trigger specific episodic memories; both generic and specific personal event memories with associated autonoetic qualities  
  • Tap into SMS knowledge base (autobiographical knowledge and episodic memories) with life-time period and personal event memories...mini-history of goal related memories important to life-story schema  
  • Elicit evidence of memory filtration for goal congruence and coherence – coherent life-story narrative  
  **Identity Status:**  
  • Garner evidence of commitment to teaching in exposition of these significant personal event memories  
  • Garner any evidence exploration of career choice (see Appendix D)  
  • Elicit characteristics/cognitive traits associated with identity status, particularly foreclosed identity status |
| **4. Describe learning experiences that you thought were particularly effective from secondary school ... what contributed to these?** | **Apprenticeship of Observation:**  
  • Tap into the period with cued recall  
  • Elicit teaching conceptions  
  **Memory:**  
  • Trigger specific episodic memories; both generic and specific personal event memories with associated autonoetic qualities  
  • Tap into SMS knowledge base (autobiographical knowledge and episodic memories) with life-time period and personal event memories...mini-history of goal related memories important to life-story schema  
  • Elicit evidence of memory filtration for goal congruence and coherence – coherent life-story narrative |
5. Describe any ineffective learning experiences you remember from secondary school...what contributed to these?

Identity Status:
- Key question to garner evidence of commitment to teaching in exposition of these significant personal event memories
- Garner any evidence exploration of career choice (see Appendix D)
- Elicit characteristics/cognitive traits associated with identity status, particularly foreclosed identity status

Apprenticeship of Observation:
- Tap into the period with cued recall
- Elicit teaching conceptions

Memory:
- Trigger specific episodic memories; both generic and specific personal event memories with associated autonoetic qualities
- Tap into SMS knowledge base (autobiographical knowledge and episodic memories) with life-time period and personal event memories...mini-history of goal related memories important to life-story schema
- Elicit evidence of memory filtration for goal congruence and coherence – coherent life-story narrative

6. What motivated you to become a teacher?

Identity Status:
- Key question to garner evidence of commitment to teaching in exposition of these significant personal event memories
- Garner any evidence exploration of career choice (see Appendix D)
- Elicit characteristics/cognitive traits associated with identity status, particularly foreclosed identity status

Apprenticeship of Observation:
- Tap into the period with cued recall
- Elicit teaching conceptions
- Elicit link between experiences during the period and career choice

Memory:
- Trigger specific episodic memories; that is personal event memories with associated autonoetic qualities
- Tap into SMS – particular focus on establishing the goal of a teaching career in the working-self goal hierarchy to establish the history of goal related memories important to life-story schema
- Tap into the SMS knowledge base (autobiographical knowledge and episodic memories)
- Elicit evidence of memory filtration for goal congruence and coherence – coherent life-story narrative

7. What do you think makes a good teacher?

Identity Status:
- Key question to garner evidence of exploration of career choice in exposition of these significant personal event memories
- Key question to garner evidence of commitment to teaching in exposition of these significant personal event memories (see Appendix D)
- Elicit characteristics/cognitive traits associated with identity status, particularly foreclosed identity status

Apprenticeship of Observation:
- Elicit teaching conceptions
- Elicit integration of ITE knowledge
- Elicit link between experiences during the period, teaching conceptions and self as teacher

Memory:
- Trigger specific episodic memories; both generic and specific personal event memories with associated autonoetic qualities
- Tap into SMS – both the working-self goal hierarchy and associated knowledge base (autobiographical knowledge and episodic memories) with a focus on the life-time period to establish the history of goal related memories important to life-story schema
- Elicit evidence of memory filtration for goal congruence and coherence – coherent life-story narrative
Prior to commencing the data collection phase of this study, ethical approval was attained from the relevant ethics committee of the University and the study was conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the University (See Appendix F). Once ethical approval was granted, I focussed on the interview process. Cognisant of power dynamics (Mann 2008) that
exist between third-level lecturers and students, two site-external experienced interviewers who were teacher educators were employed to reduce potential bias and increase participants’ engagement with the process. With a view to ensuring that the interviews were conducted in line with best practice for DA, I ensured that these interviewers were appropriately prepared in terms of epistemological and theoretical assumptions and reflective and reflexive interview practice (Roulston 2012) by ensuring both were thoroughly briefed in relation to the research ambition, superstructure and specific design. Both interviewers, while teacher educators, were conversant with the psychological theories central to the study. In relation to Identity Status Theory, due to the specificity of the analytical concepts, exploration and commitment as advocated by Marcia (2009), both interviewers upskilled in relation to these core psychological concepts before engaging with the interviews.

5.5.5 Piloting of the interview

With a view to establishing quality assurance with respect to the research design and the interview instrument, two pilot interviews were undertaken. These pilot interviews were a ‘complete pilot’, in that a review of both the research instrument as well as data analysis was carried out (Harvey 2012-2019). These interviews took place on the larger ITE interview site. The interviews were reviewed both through conversations with the interviewers and by analysing the interview transcripts for any practical issues that might impact on the data-gathering. They were also analysed to identify flaws and limitations necessitating refinements to the interview questions and data analysis protocols (Kvale 2007).

In the interview schedule (see Appendix A), the number of interview questions /question stems was reduced by two questions and two questions were adapted to be more open as a result of the piloting process. The first of the questions removed asked participants to talk about their
commitment to teaching. Having reviewed the transcripts, I perceived that this question as it was first framed was leading; the responses offered up formulaic idealised answers. I was satisfied that another question stem (in relation to being a good teacher) adequately addressed this issue in addition to also addressing motivations for teaching. I also removed a question stem asking participants to share their feelings about their second-level school experience. The pilot transcripts showed that this question was redundant as participants had already answered it when describing their second-level school, a typical school day and their stand-out memories of school.

In relation to amended questions / question stems, Question One in the draft schedule originally asked the participant a series of linked, stepped and factual questions about the type of second-level school attended. In the pilot interviews this was found to hinder the build-up of rapport as I perceived that the participants believed there were right answers and they were very careful in their replies. This question was adapted to elicit information about schooling in general in order to establish conversational rapport and to prompt key memories about school without specific triggers at this point. Question Six was also adapted to be more open. This question in the draft schedule asked participants to state why they wanted to become / be a teacher. This question garnered too much information on the ideals of good teachers as understood by the interviewees, who presented their answers in what seemed like a formulaic manner, telling the interviewer what they perceived was the correct answer. This question stem was amended so as to ask about motivations for teaching to overcome the formulaic answering, and also to ensure that motivations in general were addressed.
The sequence of the questions was also reordered to ensure that memories of schooling were addressed throughout the interview. It was hoped that this would ensure that the key lenses of the research were applied appropriately in a variety of questions to elicit uninhibited responses. For example, where all of the memory questions had originally been grouped together with questions about conceptions of teaching were at the end of the interview, the interview questions were reordered so that every second question, at least, was about memory.

In relation to data analysis, I undertook initial coding of the pilot interview transcripts in line with the Potter and Wetherell (1987) framework DA approach. I coded the transcripts’ *discursive resources, discursive processes, interpretive repertoires, subject positions* and *ideological dilemmas* and perceived that the scheduled questions elicited a data set which could facilitate the research ambitions of the project.

**5.5.6 Conducting the interviews**

Subsequent to this piloting, 42 semi-structured interviews were undertaken across the two campuses. In keeping with autobiographical memory theory in relation to memory bias, a school-like / education environment was deemed appropriate to help trigger or reinstate the school and learning memories (Smith and Vela 2001; Smith 1988). Each interview lasted approximately one hour. The interviews took place over a week-long period in one institution and across two days in the other institution. For consistency, questions were generally asked of all participants in the same order unless the flow of the conversation precluded this (Morse 2012). The interviews were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed by a professional transcription service to ensure accuracy and anonymity. To ensure that the transcripts remained anonymous, participants were rendered with a number (P1-P42) rather than a name as gendered names might lead to assumptions by a reader. The transcripts focus on the content of the
participants’ discourse rather than on the emphasis, thus the use of typical transcription symbols is limited. For ease of reading in this thesis, pauses in participants’ talk are represented by the symbol ~ in the analysis that follows, and gaps in the transcript by the use of three dots (...). Underlining of participants’ discourse is used to present the findings when drawing attention to particular phrases or words. Interviewer discourse is presented in red, italicised text in rounded brackets {...}. Square brackets [...] are used to offer explanations of participant discourse that may be unclear, colloquial or abbreviated.

5.6 Data analysis

In the specific data analysis context of this study using DA, I aligned with advice given by Nikander (2012) in treating the discourse from the interviews as an “accounting rather than reporting” (p. 414). To begin the analysis, the interview transcripts were reviewed holistically, as establishing the overarching tenor of a transcript is a key component of DA analysis (Gee 2005). This is in line with Marcia’s (1970) view that the tone of an identity status interview should be examined to illuminate the process of identity formation. This ‘higher level’ reading provided me with an overview of each interview. I recorded the higher-level reading analysis at the end of each interview (see Appendix C for a summary included at the end of each transcript).

Following this level of analysis, all interviews were coded using the DA analytic devices, namely *interpretive repertoires, subject positions* and *ideological dilemmas*. This coding was undertaken with a view to identifying the common themes and issues emerging in the pre-service teachers’ discourse. The coding process was stepped: I first sought out what I perceived as the *interpretive repertories* in relation to each question in a transcript; I then reread the participant’s discourse with the coded *interpretive repertoires* to assess the *subject positions*
and ideological dilemmas, as these were inherent in the interpretive repertoires; furthermore, I noted the key discursive processes or resources evident in participants’ discourse. Each question in the coded transcripts evidences colour coded boxes identifying the interpretive repertoires, subject positions and ideological dilemmas (see Appendix C). Inter-rater reliability with one of the site external interviewers was employed in the coding of the interpretative repertoires and the identification of the subject positions and ideological dilemmas of the transcripts from both sites (42 interviews) (Potter and Wetherell 1988). Coding by both the site external interviewer and myself was compared, discussed and a shared interpretation was agreed.

At the end of the coding process, I collated all of the interpretive repertoires and ideological dilemmas under themed headings: Broad Education Context; Schooling; Beliefs about Teaching, including summary of dimensions of good and bad teachers; Motivations for teaching (see Appendix E).

This coding enabled exploring the function of each participants’ discourse by drawing on the concept of “reflexivity” as explained by Wetherell and Potter (1988); that is, that narrative descriptions are both ‘about’ something and ‘doing’ something. The transcripts were thus examined in relation to their content about the questions asked (the discursive resources) and then further analysed to explore the function of participants’ discourse (the discursive processes) in relation to six key aspects (not necessarily in order):

- the type and nature of schooling memories recalled in relation to participants’ goal of becoming a teacher, for example, originating or self-defining memories;
- participants’ stated rationale of a goal to become a teacher;
• participants’ beliefs about teaching based on their *apprenticeship of observation*;
• participants’ conceptions of teaching;
• evidence of construction of the *apprenticeship of observation* through the memory filtration central to the working-self goal hierarchy;
• participants’ *exploration* and *commitment* to their occupational choice / goal to become a teacher.

This analysis was undertaken using the aforementioned DA analytic constructs designed to explore the function of the participants’ discourse (evidencing the DA research superstructure – the coding tool also provided analytic devices). These constructs were supplemented with some use of the more fine-grained analysis derived from exploring the *discursive resources* and *discursive processes*, particularly in relation to the goal hierarchy of the SMS. For example, when reviewing data on *commitment* and *exploration* of career choice, it was notable the extent to which the pre-service teachers drew on a lexicon of sayings and tropes signifying ‘uncertainty’ – an *interpretative repertoire* – in justifying their career choice and when talking about teacher characteristics. To demonstrate this, in explaining their career choice, one participant said:

**P5:** I was starting to fill out my [college application form] … going through different courses and there was nothing that linked to me more than teaching, so I put it down and I said look I’ll try and I’ll see what happens.

The utilisation of the various phrases underlined\(^\text{40}\) in the text is drawing from a repertoire I coded as one of ‘uncertainty or uncommitted’ in relation to their career choice (see Appendix E, overview of interpretive repertoires). The use of this lexicon therefore has a purposive,

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\(^{40}\text{Underlined text in excerpts from participant transcripts generally highlights discourse related to *interpretive repertoires*}.\)
active function of presenting the speaker in this light and hence suggests a less than committed rationale for choosing teaching as a career.

*Interpretative repertoires* similarly facilitated the analysis of how the working-self goal hierarchies influenced the encoding and retrieval of memories congruent to the goal of becoming a teacher if this goal was identified by a participant during the *apprenticeship of observation*. For example, when exploring participants’ views on good and bad teaching, one member of the cohort who had decided to become a teacher during their *apprenticeship of observation* recalled memories utilising connected *interpretative repertoires* of ‘knowing better than the teacher’ and the ‘limited teacher’. These repertoires demonstrated the participant’s encoding to memory of very specific experiences in order to justify their decision to teach:

**P19:** There was a folder up the top of the class with all of the answers and you could just … just go up and get the workbook corresponding sheet, bring it down and just copy it … It was just a matter of copying in the writing which made no sense. There was definitely no learning taking part really. It was just a time-wasting exercise. I was looking at this going on saying “if I was a teacher, I would do something else, I wouldn’t do this … I knew that I could see the mistakes that he was making, really clear like.

The analytic concept of the *subject position* is also evident in the extract above from **P19**; the participant aligned with and distanced themselves from teachers or teaching practices that they recalled from their schooling memories. The participant was clearly recalling memories which positioned them as a ‘born teacher’, while also positioning themselves away from lazy, disengaged teaching and learning classrooms. This construct was also helpful in exploring *commitment* to and *exploration* of career / occupational choice. In analysing the data, the pre-
service teachers presented various *subject positions* in relation to teaching. These were mostly positioned in a very positive light and therefore indicated a *commitment* to the profession. For example, in the following excerpt the respondent is positioning teaching as a career for caring and kind people:

**P8:** She was an older lady … *Happy disposition* but made us work … *always be enthusiastic* and get you motivated … she really did *make you believe what you are capable of doing* … No one could ever have a bad word for her because … she was *like this mother away from home*.

Søreide (2006) refers to this as “positioning by positive identification and recognition” (p. 535). Similarly, participants also discursively positioned themselves as being committed, or not, to the teaching profession. For example, in explaining their decision to become a teacher one participant said:

**P12:** … the idea of working *in industry* just seemed *so abstract* to me … I couldn’t figure what doing a course in applied physics was. What … do *these people* do?

As can be seen from this extract, there are a number of reflexive and interactive discursive devices used to position teaching as different and separate from other careers. Seeing working “*in*” industry as “abstract” and referring to employees in the sector as “*these*” people discursively positions industry as something distant from the student and, in doing so, presents teaching as an inevitable career decision.

The construct of *ideological dilemmas* offered analytic windows to explore participants’ contradictions and inconsistencies in their talk which could be linked to larger issues in their conceptions of teaching, their *commitment* to teaching and their identities as teachers. In the extract offered below, the participant was asked why a particular teacher stood out in their memory. Their responses flagged an inconsistency in their recounting of memories in relation to discipline and control in the classroom:

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P23: I don’t think there was ~ I think she just had this personality in the class ~ she was always so friendly, and she had the craic [fun] with us, she never had to get cross. She just created this atmosphere in the class and you knew not to step over the line, but you knew also that you could have some craic [fun] with her … Interviewer… any other memories that stand out from your time in school …? There’s stuff that stands out to me now because I’m training to be a teacher now, things we used to do in the classroom ~ we used to have sub-teachers and if there was a sub-teacher in the class and they couldn’t control the class, learning just didn’t happen … I think everyone thought I was always going to be strict and that would have worked, but I don’t think that works as a teacher. I don’t think a strict teacher going into a classroom is necessarily going to help students to learn.

In relation to exploring the function of participants’ discourse concerning the key aspects central to the research project outlined above, I offer the following summary of the data analysis procedure. Regarding the SMS, the analytic devices were used to explore the participants’ conceptions of teaching with a particular focus on establishing the degree of naïve, simplistic conceptions evident. To do this, I looked for evidence of pedagogically informed discourse about teaching and education; in effect, I looked for evidence of ITE theory being integrated into the participants’ teaching conceptions. For example, I identified reductionist, narrow, distilled, archetypical explanations and elaborations of good / bad teaching and teachers as evidence of simplistic teaching conceptions, highlighting poor recognition of the complexity of teaching.

The analytic devices were subsequently used to confirm that autobiographical memory was at work in participants’ schooling discourse. They were also used to establish information in relation to participants’ career choice, specifically, how many participants had the goal of a teaching career during their apprenticeship of observation period and/or at the time of interview. This layer of analysis supported the subsequent analysis in relation to the SMS, that
is, that the working-self goal hierarchy, central to the SMS, was filtering participants’ encoding and retrieval of schooling memories for goal congruence and coherence to fit with their goal of a teaching career.

Consequent to using DA to examine identity status as opposed to the more quantitative measures generally used, and following discussion at the inter-rater stage, I deemed it necessary to address the coding and analysis of data using this theoretical lens with further metrics to assess commitment and exploration. I perceived that, generally, criteria from Marcia and Archer’s (1993) scoring manual for the ISI interview could be assessed using DA’s analytic concepts. For example, in relation to exploration of a career choice; a participant’s knowledge of the career, their exploration of alternatives, and when the goal was decided could be assessed in interpretive repertoires and subject positions. Similarly, in relation to commitment to a teaching career, the tone of the talk in relation to a career and the influence of significant others could be assessed using DA analytic constructs (ibid.) (see Appendix D). However, I believed that in relation to commitment, Marcia and Archer’s (1993) criteria; being knowledgeable about the chosen career and activities to show commitment to the ideals of the career choice, needed some further metrics to support DA assessment in a specific education context. Accordingly, I decided to further assess commitment against norms relating to values and beliefs about teaching from two key sources used in the Irish Education system, the Teaching Council and the OECD. This focus on values and beliefs is in line with Erikson’s interpretation of commitment to career choice. The Teaching Council highlight the key values underpinning teaching in their key document, the Codes of Professional Practice for Teachers (2016). This document identifies the values of respect, care, integrity, trust, equality, inclusion and positive relationships as core to the teaching profession. Furthermore, the OECD’s education policy
document, *The Future of Education and Skills, Education 2030* (2018), points to similar desirable teacher values and beliefs and a similar vision of education:

> We are committed to helping every learner develop as a whole person, fulfil his or her potential and help shape a shared future built on the well-being of individuals, communities and the planet … Education has a vital role to play in developing the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that enable people to contribute to and benefit from an inclusive and sustainable future. Learning to form clear and purposeful goals, work with others with different perspectives, find untapped opportunities and identify multiple solutions to big problems will be essential in the coming years. Education needs to aim to do more than prepare young people for the world of work; it needs to equip students with the skills they need to become active, responsible and engaged citizens.

(pp. 3-4)

Therefore, when exploring participants’ *commitment* to teaching, I additionally searched for discourse relating to these espoused teaching values and beliefs.

Discussion with the inter-rater also yielded the decision that two negative references to *commitment* would trigger consideration of a participant as having a potential *moratorium* or *diffusion* identity status (low *commitment*). We concluded that two negative *commitment* references were a reasonable trigger point to review participants’ transcripts for further evidence of *moratorium* or *diffusion* identity status in the context of the relatively small number of questions asked which aimed to address *commitment* to teaching (see Table 6) and the timeframe of the interview. Participants who evidenced very positive *commitment* to teaching through their discourse relating to teaching values and beliefs as outlined above were flagged as having a potential *foreclosed* or *achieved* identity (high *commitment*). In relation to *exploration* of career choice, in line with Marcia’s use of questionnaires and interviews, I decided that a participant must show *exploration* of other career choices in addition to some element of *crisis* with associated anxiety or upset in relation to career choice to merit consideration of either an *achieved* or *moratorium* identity status (high *exploration*). For example, *P42*’s discourse evidences upset and anxiety when describing their *exploration* of career choice just before their final second-level examinations, indicating *crisis* in their career *exploration*:
Participants who evidenced little or no exploration of other careers or crisis in relation to their career choice were considered to have a potential foreclosed identity or identity in moratorium (low exploration). This lack of exploration was commonly evident among participants who stated that they had the desire and ambition to become a teacher from early childhood and never wavered from this pathway. Furthermore, this cohort were often unable to articulate a clear, well developed rationale for their career choice. In sum, to assign an identity status evidence was sought as follows:

**Achieved:** High exploration of career choice    High commitment to career choice

**Moratorium:** High exploration of career choice    Low commitment to career choice

**Foreclosed:** Low exploration of career choice    High commitment to career choice

**Diffused:** Low exploration of career choice    Low commitment to career choice

With a view to shedding light on participants’ teaching conceptions, the analytic devices of interpretive repertoires, subject positions and ideological dilemmas were further used to examine foreclosed identity status in particular, focussing on possible associated characteristics.
in a teaching context (see Table 3 for an overview of participant pre-service teachers’ identity status).

5.6.1 Issues of ethics, validity and reliability

A quality assurance system for valid empirical research was developed by paying due attention to ontological and epistemological rigour and issues like transferability, dependability, confirmability and credibility (Denzin 2008; LeCompte 2000; Lincoln and Guba 1985). Aligning with Tracey (2010) and Denzin (2008), who advocate that quality criteria are useful when used in conjunction with acknowledged epistemologies providing an over-arching or ‘big tent’ structure to guide researchers, I adopted Tracey’s eight marker universal quality measure grounded in broadly interpretivist-oriented assumptions: “(a) worthy topic, (b) rich rigor, (c) sincerity, (d) credibility, (e) resonance, (f) significant contribution, (g) ethics and (h) meaningful coherence” (2010, p. 839). The research design of this research project was framed using these criteria.

As ethical considerations were central to the research design, I offer some further detail in relation to the considerations I undertook. Throughout the historical ‘moments’ identified in qualitative research, the nature of an ethical research relationship has been heatedly debated and adjusted as each age has looked afresh at the culturally bound nature of ethics, the limits and anchors for moral behaviour and the nature of privacy in an increasingly technically-advanced, global information society with a shifting boundary between the public’s ‘right to know’ and an individual’s ‘right to privacy’ (Lincoln and Guba 1987). In the recent history of qualitative research ‘moments’ there has been an increasing focus on categorising ethical convictions in research and strong encouragement to researchers to explore and acknowledge

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41 The phrase “big-Tent” was coined by Norman Denzin (2008).
their ethical convictions, theories and approaches\textsuperscript{42}, the intention being to ameliorate emerging ethical issues to some degree for participants, thereby improving the chances of honest and rich research outcomes and stories (Bryman 2012; Tisdale 2003). Tisdale (2003) urges researchers using qualitative research methods to recognise the substantial vulnerabilities of participants, such as their structurally limited life choices and the power dynamics implicit in negotiating research agendas, mitigating for them by seeking true informed consent and its associated full disclosure. Furthermore, developed reflexive research practice on the part of the researcher is deemed, by many advocates of the interpretive-oriented approach to qualitative research, to be critical to gaining reciprocity and addressing the inherent unequal social roles and resulting difficulties with building trust in a research process (Flood 2010; DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006; Creswell and Miller 2000). I believe that this developed reflexive research practice is central to building ethical research relationships that will allow rich and honest stories to emerge from the research process. I worked consistently to build the research project on this foundation.

In general use of qualitative research, Creswell and Miller (2000) suggest that validity is increased, and subjectivity managed when the researcher consciously explores and acknowledges their existing conceptions and biases before engaging with participants. More specifically, the phenomenological movement and critical science / theory paradigm offer strong guidance to mitigate the subjective nature of qualitative research. Descriptive phenomenological researchers advocate that the intentions, biases, values and beliefs of researchers must first be recognised by the researcher and then reduced, by ‘bracketing’ or setting them aside to minimise their limiting effect on the research participants and thus the

\textsuperscript{42} These are categorised in many ways and include universalism, teleological, deontological, situational and covenantal approaches, utilitarian / consequentialist and critical philosophies (Tisdale 2003; Bryman 2012).
research (Flood 2010; Laverty 2008). Bracketing is viewed by both hermeneutic phenomenologists and constructivists as not being possible or desirable, as the researcher’s pre-suppositions and expert knowledge are needed to guide an investigation (Bryman 2012; Flood 2010; Kleiman 2004). In exploring and establishing my ‘positionality’ as a researcher, I strove to identify and lay aside my biases in an effort not to guide participants based on researcher supposition (Fine 2006).

In exploring quality assurance issues of validity and reliability within interpretivist research, Guba (1981) notes that the positive criteria of validity and reliability are not suitable and instead one should consider the research study in terms of its trustworthiness and authenticity. In later work, he articulated four criteria – credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability – to address trustworthiness and authenticity. It is these criteria which have gained acceptance in the educational research community (Lincoln and Guba 1985). I opted to use these four criteria in this research project to replace measures that test validity and reliability to manage subjectivity and quality assurance.

‘Credibility’ refers to whether the data is believable and authentic. For interpretivist research, this term and ‘criterion’ is used in preference to that of ‘internal validity’ used in positivist research. The credibility criterion behoves the researcher to question how the findings align with reality as constructed by the researcher and the research participants. To ensure credibility during the research, I consistently checked the level of researcher interpretation recognising that, while core, the researcher’s interpretation is only ever an interpretation of interpretations; only the words of the participants are honest, respectful and valid, in effect authentic (Denzin and Lincoln 2005).
‘Dependability’ refers to observing the same outcome or finding under different circumstances. In interpretivist research, Guba (1981) recommends this term over the positivist one of ‘reliability’. Given the subjective nature of interpretive studies and how a reproduction of the exact same results by other researchers is not possible, it is imperative that the researcher ensures that every effort is made to ensure that the findings emerge truly and accurately from the data and that care is taken to ensure particular voices that may align with the researcher’s views do not dominate the reporting of the data (Guba and Lincoln 1981). I endeavoured to ensure the dependability of the work by revisiting regularly and in a systematic way all of the participant transcripts and the layers of analysis I undertook. I took care not to focus just on those transcripts that easily aligned with the theoretical lenses I was using. I reengaged routinely with the two analytical layers I chose for this research project which addressed the tone and the descriptive content of the discourse. This allowed me to hear new voices, to hear dissenting and disconfirming voices and to see new spaces in the discourse.

‘Confirmability’, a comparable term to the positivist ‘objectivity’ – a term which is deemed antithetical to the epistemology of qualitative research – has been used as a quality measure by some qualitative researchers (Tobin and Begley 2004). Confirmability refers to the extent to which the findings of the research project can be confirmed by others in the field. In effect, it confirms if the researcher has shown that interpretations of data have been derived from data collected or generated (ibid.). Shenton (2004) further notes that “steps must be taken to help ensure as far as possible that the work’s findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the informants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher” (p. 72). Again, in relation to this aspect of ensuring the quality of my research, I referred frequently to the initial analytical layers I adopted. This allowed me to retain a broad sense of each participants’ discourse in terms of tone and content without getting bogged down in the fine-grained DA
constructs. I also iteratively reviewed my ‘positionality’ in the research to seek out unchecked assumptions and tacit biases. Additionally, the use of inter-rater reliability in the coding of the data ensured that the reality presented by the participants was accurately captured as best as possible.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) consider ‘transferability’ a more epistemologically appropriate term than ‘generalisability’. The criterion of transferability reflects the efforts of the researcher to ensure that they adequately contextualise their study to ensure that other researchers and practitioners can relate the findings to their own contexts. I took care to ensure this research project was set in both a local and national context so as to situate the findings within their unique context. I also endeavoured to explain the nature of Irish concurrent second-level ITE to offer context to international readers so that findings and conclusions could transfer to other jurisdictions.
Chapter 6: Results and Discussion 1

The Self Memory System
6.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the key research findings, alongside an analysis of these findings, in the context of the theoretical framework and SMS analytical lens underpinning this study. The findings, and discussion of same, have been presented together in one integrated chapter consequent to the key focus of the interpretivist-oriented research design, that is, the idiographic approach used in this research project to understand the unique, subjective behaviour of an individual in preference to a group. The research method focussed predominantly on interpreting the words, thoughts and images of participants, as opposed to collating numbers, to describe processes happening within the research cohort (Thomas 2013; Cohen et al. 2007). The DA approach used, purported to be the essence of an interpretive paradigm (Bryman 2012; Gee 2010; Potter 1996), did not seek to reduce the rich data from participants to absolute numbers or unchanging discourse or findings; it utilised its ontological strength by re-interpretation and counter interpretation of the participants’ discourse (Bryman 2012; Gee 2010; Potter 1996). For this reason, the findings are aligned with the discussion of them.

In brief review, the study was designed with the aim of exploring pre-service teachers’ own agency in the construction of their teaching conceptions during their apprenticeship of observation in second-level school. The rationale for this study was premised on the pejorative presentation of the apprenticeship of observation in teacher education research as a limiting factor on pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching, their ability to teach others different than themselves, their agency and their professional development. To operationalise this research aim, I engaged in data gathering through field research with a view to gaining a deeper understanding of how teaching conceptions evolve or are constructed during the apprenticeship
of observation period of second-level schooling. This data is analysed in this chapter with a view to potentially assisting teacher educators to support pre-service teachers to interrogate their apprenticeship of observation during ITE. I hope that this capacity to negotiate the apprenticeship of observation can lead to better engagement by pre-service teachers’ with ITE pedagogic input aimed at the development of sophisticated conceptions of teaching and subsequently the development of a robust, agentic professional teacher identity. Furthermore, I hope that the data analysis can enable teacher educators and providers to reflect on current approaches to ITE.

Using the layered DA superstructure outlined in the previous chapter, the remainder of the chapter follows the sequence of objectives identified in the introduction to this thesis. At a macro-level, I analyse the discourse participants drew upon when recounting memories regarding both their: 1) career choice decision-making during second-level schooling, and 2) their conceptions of teaching in the context of considering participants’ agency in the construction of these during their apprenticeship of observation.

At a finer grained meso-level, I firstly offer a basic analysis to evidence that in line with theory on the apprenticeship of observation, simplistic conceptions of teaching are prevalent in the participants’ memory discourse (a further analysis of teaching conceptions follows in the next chapter). Using SMS, this is followed by an estimation of the extent of participants who apparently decided on a career / occupation goal for teaching during their apprenticeship of observation to ground the ensuing analysis. The subsequent section confirms that the autobiographical memory constructs necessary for analysis using SMS are present. I then use the SMS autobiographical memory theory (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000) to analyse if the goal hierarchy of the working-self encoded privileged memories associated with the goal
to become a teacher during the second-level schooling *apprenticeship of observation*. This analysis seeks to establish the participants' agency in the construction of memories associated with teaching – their teaching conceptions. In essence, this analysis seeks to establish if the *apprenticeship of observation* was an agentic individual construct of memory.

### 6.2 Simplistic Conceptions of Teaching

At the core of this research project was the assumption that the *apprenticeship of observation* pejoratively results in pre-service teachers undertaking ITE with incoming and ongoing simplistic conceptions of teaching which are unhelpful and hard to change (Darling-Hammond 2006b; Lortie 1975). Analysis of the transcripts evidenced significant levels of simplistic teaching conceptions in the memory discourse of the participants. Identifying and subsequently analysing these simplistic beliefs, lay theories and rationales about teaching using the various theoretical lenses in this research served to help unpack the complexity and idiosyncratic nature of how their abstract concepts about teaching were formed (Entwhistle *et al.* 2000).

An overwhelming majority of 98% of pre-service teachers in this study (n=41)\(^{43}\) recounted autobiographical memories identifying their lay theories, beliefs and perceptions of teaching. The recounting of these memories suggested at least some degree of unsophisticated, simplistic conceptions of teaching as a possible consequence of their *apprenticeship of observation*. This aligns with international research on the impact of the *apprenticeship of observation* on pre-service teachers’ teaching conceptions and lay theories (Darling-Hammond 2006b; Hammerness *et al.* 2005; Holt-Reynolds 1992; Sugrue 1997). These were apparent in the *interpretive repertoires, subject positions* and a relatively small number of *ideological*

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\(^{43}\) n= number in sample selected from full population of 42.
dilemmas relating to good and bad teaching attributes matched to their ITE learning in the transcripts.

6.2.1 Simplistic conceptions evident in interpretive repertoires

The interpretive repertoires present in the pre-service teachers’ discourse were often presented as distilled, reductionist, narrow and often singular descriptions of good and bad teachers based on participants’ experiences of the apprenticeship of observation. Such interpretive repertoires included: ‘good teaching is being in control’; ‘bad teaching is poor discipline and punishment’; ‘good teachers are always relational teachers’; ‘bad teachers use text-based teaching’; ‘teaching is an altruistic profession’; ‘teaching is a certain personality’; ‘some subjects are just suited to didactic teaching’; ‘ICT makes teaching better’; ‘bad teaching uses didactic methodologies for language teaching’; ‘good teaching is peer teaching’; ‘bad teaching is a simple lack of planning’; ‘subject teaching matched to personality’; ‘good teachers are open to lack of certainty’ (see Appendix E for a selection of repertoires from transcripts).

In the extract from P26 that follows, they use a repertoire of ‘good teaching uses methods suited to my learning’ to describe good teaching:

P26: … when I was in like for instance Home Ec.[Economics] or Irish, the teachers they were two very good teachers and like I knew like you know, by doing the work, I trusted them because you know they done the peer teaching you know and all that and I learnt from it, so …

Exemplifying another unsophisticated conception of teaching, when asked to remember ineffective learning experiences, P7 drawing on a repertoire of ‘rote learning is always bad’,

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44 As previously stated, the pronoun ‘they’ is used throughout the project as a singular pronoun for gender neutrality. English language dictionaries including the Oxford English Dictionary, Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary, and dictionary.com recognise the singular pronoun ‘they’ as grammatically correct.

45 Underlines and material in square brackets [ ] added by researcher. Underlines generally signify material associated with interpretive repertoires or subject positions. Curved brackets {} with enclosed italics in red indicate interviewer discourse / questions.
identified rehearsal / oral practice in language learning as negative rote learning. The participant did not integrate pedagogical theory from ITE to expand on this conception:

**P7:** … French was something similar too, where she would have repeated something over and over again and we would have repeated it, you know, we would have practised. But we were rote learning, like, and it was very, very ineffective”.

Another simplistic conception of teaching in line with research on the *apprenticeship of observation* evident in the *interpretive repertoires* showed that participants chose teaching based on an unsophisticated understanding of the complexity of teaching; they chose it because of what they saw and experienced without examining it from the perspective of the teacher (Darling-Hammond 2006b; Borg 2005; Lortie 1975). For example, **P33**, below, identifies through use of *interpretive repertoires* around ‘I knew what teaching was’ and ‘teaching is simple’ that their *apprenticeship of observation* led them to teaching as they knew nothing else and then offers a really simplistic view of what teaching entails:

**P33:** it’s the one career where you know you have so much experience of it before you even step foot in it. I think that is one of the things, as well, part of me probably chose it because it was something that I knew, to a point. Not that I knew how to do it but I knew what it was about. Whereas the idea of working in industry just seemed so abstract to me that I couldn’t, I couldn’t figure what doing a course in applied physics was. What, what do these people do, I just kind of, didn’t know. Whereas I could, kind of, just look at a teacher and say ‘that’s what they do’. The get up to go to school at 9 o’clock, they finish school at 4, they stand in front of class all day ~ And I thought, with a bit of training, I could learn how to be this.

Furthermore, in relation to motivations for teaching, there was significant evidence in the *interpretive repertoires* of career decisions being based on simplistic conceptions of teachers and teaching focussed on imitative practice and on personal attributes, particularly affective characteristics (Fajet *et al.* 2005; Borg 2004; Murphy *et al.* 2004; John 1996; Lortie 1975). For
example, P10 below identifies that they chose teaching because they wanted to ensure that nobody felt left out in the classroom and wanted to model themselves on an enthusiastic teacher. They use repertoires of ‘feeling bad in school’, ‘feel-good teachers’ and ‘I wanted to be just like…’ supported by strong language discursive processes to position themselves towards this favoured teacher and away from the perceived bad teacher:

P10: I always remember that feeling of being left out at the back of the classroom going “I am screwed here because the teacher doesn’t want to help me and I can’t help myself” and I always thought that was a terrible feeling to have ~ And I was like ~ “I don’t ~ ~ I wouldn’t like someone else to have that feeling as well” So if I could be a teacher I would hope that I could help all the students in my class and they would have, they would go home having that feeling everyday like. So that, kind of ~ really motivated me to be a teacher … and then in fifth year then I had that enthusiastic teacher, that English teacher. And I was like “if every teacher could be like him”. Not even 100% him, 80% him would have done the job like ~ And I was like “jeez, if I could try to encapsulate that, I could be a great teacher like ~ I could make sure that no one has that feeling in the back of the classroom”.

In relation to this theme of good teaching and attributes of good and bad teaching, 50% of participants evidenced at least some teaching archetypes (Sugrue 1997) in their interpretive repertoires. Such archetypes as ‘all knowing’, ‘teacher as bully’, ‘teacher as mother’, ‘teacher as kind parent’ and ‘teacher as strict parent’ were evident in transcripts. For example, P9 below exemplifies ‘the teacher as altruist’ through their use of repertoires of ‘teacher as selfless do-gooder’:

P9: … just the way the teachers made me feel when I was in the class. Even if there was something that I found a bit difficult, they would stay and work with you until you got it. If they were using up too much of the class time, they would be there at break or at lunch if you would come back to them if you wanted. You know, they gave up their free time to try and help everybody understand more. I remember in the run up to the exams they did basically almost like grinds, but they weren’t charging, at the weekends for a couple of hours for us.
While the *apprenticeship of observation* does offer an explanation for this focus on affective teaching characteristics, another explanation for this focus is offered by autobiographical Memory Bias Theory. The pre-service teachers created relationships between goals, memory and emotion to help maintain their process of goal development based on what they saw in schooling tied in with their beliefs and the attainment of their goal to be a teacher (Schutz *et al.* 2001; Singer 1990). They focussed on teachers’ attributes and how they made them feel. This emotional connection in the memory supported the goal of becoming a teacher.

In line with research, analysis of the *interpretive repertoires* in the transcripts garnered abundant evidence about the lay theories in relation to consequential relationships with teachers where the pre-service teachers learned how to be successful in school and acquire good grades (Darling-Hammond 2006b; Hammerness *et al.* 2005). In the extract below, P6 uses repertoires in their memory recall of ‘teachers who taught me well’, such as, ‘I engaged with my good teachers’ and ‘teaching for exam results’ to position themselves towards engaging with consequential relationships with teachers. The *discursive processes* in this transcript added to the impression of consequential relationships, particularly what seemed like skipped words to avoid saying that the teacher believed in their ability and wanted the best for them:

**P6:** Like, I would have identified the good teachers as the ones that, that I could ~ like I never studied, I never studied. I always just paid attention in class. And then, kind of, based on that I learned, or I asked questions so I understood and they would translate into my exams, which would be fine. And then I identified the teacher who could get me good marks, because they believed ~ because they taught me well because they know I wouldn’t do anything at home.

### 6.2.2 Simplistic conceptions evident in subject positions

The *subject positions* (Søreide 2006; Potter and Wetherell 1987) related to good and bad teaching adopted by participants consistently aligned with or away from memories of teachers
experienced during the *apprenticeship of observation*. The positions often evidenced simplistic understandings of teachers’ motivations for their actions and simplistic explanations of future teaching approaches. For example, **P10** recounts an experience which positions them away from a teacher at school when asked to describe attributes of good teaching:

**P10**: there was one teacher that ~ ~ like if anything happened in the classroom he would lose the rag like. He even threw a chair at me one day. So, you know ~ that just shows you ~ that’s not what you want in the classroom like. A teacher has to be able to take all of those kind of frustrations and leave it go like. Like ~ literally, water off a duck’s back like … if that was, if I was feeling adversary in the classroom or a student was acting up like, I would be able to just brush it off and deal with the situation as it is and not let my emotions run like.

**P10** does not recount what led up to the episodes of frustration demonstrated by the teacher in question nor do they detail strategies that could be used by teachers for ‘letting something go’. They make it seem simple for teachers to not let emotions ‘run’ high and show frustration in the classroom.

Furthermore, on holistic analysis of the transcripts, it was clear that when participants were asked to describe the attributes of good teaching or what made a good teacher, they generally presented attributes that aligned with the *subject positions* they articulated from their schooling memories. They did not add attributes learned in ITE that they had not already spoken about when recounting their memories of schooling. This resulted in a relatively small number of *ideological dilemmas* being evident in relation to incoming conceptions of teaching and ITE learning in relation to teaching. It may be interpreted as evidence of limited articulations of conceptions of teaching.

6.2.3 ... not all conceptions of teaching were simplistic

However, contrary to my expectation, there was significant evidence of ITE learning being
integrated to some degree into the participants’ discourse, demonstrating evolving conceptions of teaching. In some cases, this was evident in the contradictions apparent around good teaching in their discourse. For example, they would cite an example of teaching they found effective / ineffective at school but then highlight what seemed a contradictory position in relation to the teaching strategy when asked to identify their opinions on attributes of good and bad teaching now. In P9’s transcript, they positioned themselves towards teacher-produced notes as opposed to use of a text book, and exemplified a very effective teacher from their schooling memories as being able to cut out all unnecessary information and condense a course from a text-book to notes useful for an exam:

**P9:** She always did out her own set of notes rather than just purely out of the text book because there is a lot of useless information in the text book not relevant to it. So, one thing she did, she would go through it, go through the different revision books, take out the relevant things, the easiest methods to work from and compile a set of notes for the chapter with exam questions ... And she did that for every single chapter for the leaving cert course ~ And I remember we found it an awful lot easier to be working from that than to be working from the textbook ... I found chemistry was an awful lot easier to follow throughout the year working from the condensed notes as opposed to working from the book.

Subsequently, when **P9** was asked about attributes of good and bad teachers now, they positioned themselves towards a view of ineffective teaching as being when the teacher does not use the textbook well and showed that the use of ‘the book’ has to be supported with quality explanations and examples. This demonstrated a more sophisticated understanding of the complexity of teaching strategies:

**P9:** … now I think, like, from college like ~ it’s bad just purely reading from the text book. Trying to get you to read the textbook and understand it, without any proper further explanation. Like, trying to teach from a text book would be fine if he was actually able to give ample explanation for what it was ~ So ~ that’s what I believe ~ from that I believe that just reading from the text book and expecting people to almost just get it, it just doesn’t work.
This evidence of more sophisticated conceptions was likely a consequence of all the participants being half-way through their ITE curriculum, with at least one episode of practicum completed. It is reasonable to expect that good ITE pedagogic practice had influenced some participants. That stated, this researcher was still surprised at the level, and extent of, evolving conceptions of teaching among the research participants. My literature review of the *apprenticeship of observation* had not prepared me for this. The negative consequences of the *apprenticeship of observation* did not seem to be as extreme as I originally anticipated.

Additionally, all of the pre-service teachers referenced ITE learning during their interviews to give weight to their *subject positions* in relation to teaching and learning despite there not being a direct question asking them to do so. This might be explained by the context of the interview – they knew that they were being asked about their schooling experiences as part of a study with ITE at its core, with an ITE lecturer and with other ITE students. This is likely to have influenced their introduction of ITE to the discourse (Woike et al. 2001; 2009; Smith 1988).

This being the case, though, what was striking was that the aspects of ITE learning referenced by participants consistently either fitted with or were retrofitted to align with their memories of good and bad learning experiences. For example, P31, below, initially identified subject knowledge matched with knowledge of learners as the reason why they deemed a particular memory of learning effective. They then went on to adopt a *subject position* as a teacher who wants to focus on subject knowledge and differentiation, before they finally identified with appropriate theoretical material from ITE to identify what they considered good teaching at the time of the interview:
P31: (Like why was it effective? Why do you think it was an effective learning experience) ... Subject knowledge, it came down to the fact that there was such a mixture of us in the class, from very weak to very higher level, that she was able to dumb it down to the very last like and then bring it back up to very complex stuff yea know she just knew her stuff inside out back to front, and she knew how she knew us on ~ [yeah] a level as well, d’ yea know she knew, oh this person’s isn’t good at that now so I’ll bring it down that way or that person’s good at ~ we’ll say visual stuff, she’d include visual stuff.

P31: ... the teacher didn’t know what she was talking about like, you don’t know what type of students you’re going to have in your classroom so like you need to know as much as you can about your subject in order in change it around to suit every learner yea know ...

P31: ... you do need a set of skills in order to adapt ~ like the fact that we learn about we’ll say Travellers in education or SEN’s and stuff like that, if you don’t have the skills to deal with them ~ the tools we learn in college to deal with that, then you’re not going to be able to apply it inside in the classroom.

P3, below, identified that they can recognise that they had a different perception of good teaching during their apprenticeship of observation, in comparison to the time of interview, consequent to their ITE. This was demonstrated through their subject positioning towards being more knowledgeable about teaching at the point of interview, distinguishing then and now as different.

P3: {...When you think about it, did you believe when you were filling out the CAO that you had the attributes to be a good teacher? And how so?} Yeah I did. I thought I had the potential to be a good teacher. But, like ~ I wouldn’t have the same understanding back then as I would now of ~ I suppose, well ~ I have a different perception now of what a good teacher is than I did then like. But at the time I would have thought, yeah, I’d have the potential to be a good teacher.

This example shows how ITE learning was fitted into a schema of teaching articulated in autobiographical memories from the apprenticeship of observation period of second-level

46 Red font italics in round () brackets indicate interviewer discourse.

47 CAO is the abbreviation of Central Applications Office, the mechanism that Irish second-level students use to apply for third-level courses.
schooling. While this use of ITE learning did not necessarily result in overwriting incoming conceptions of teaching, it did signal a greater degree of sophistication in how they presented their conceptions; they recognised that theory could support their adopted position. This finding was simultaneously in line with knowledge of the consequences of the *apprenticeship of observation* – resistant conceptions of teaching based on schooling experiences – and theory in relation to the SMS of autobiographical memory – that memory serves to ground the *self* based on the goals of the working-self. It was clear that some filtration of ITE learning was happening. The key question was, what degree of agency did the participants have in filtering these experiences of schooling?

I also questioned if sophisticated conceptions were more prevalent in the discourse of participants who had the goal to be a teacher during their *apprenticeship of observation*. I did not perceive evidence of this on holistic analysis of the transcripts and found only one participant who consistently evidenced more sophisticated conceptions. This participant had chosen a career in teaching while still in school but had completed an initial degree before starting on their ITE programme.

6.3 SMS working-self goal hierarchy: career choice decisions during the *apprenticeship of observation*

Establishing if participants had the goal to be a teacher both during the *apprenticeship of observation* and at the time of interview was central to using the SMS analytical lens centred on the functionality of the executive working-self goal hierarchy. This SMS is based on the central premise that memory is driven by goals aimed at ensuring that an individual’s autobiographical memories have coherence and correspondence to self-concept (Conway and Williams 2017; Haque *et al.* 2014; Conway 2005; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000).
Superficially, it would seem logical that all participants had a goal to become a teacher during their *apprenticeship of observation* as the research participants were all on concurrent undergraduate ITE programmes. These pre-service teachers had to select teaching as a career choice during school to apply for the courses. However, consequent to the way that the Irish third-level system allocates university undergraduate places using a Central Applications Office (CAO) set of processes, I perceived that there might be some participants who had not selected teaching as their first choice of career, and, in effect, they had not chosen it as a principal career goal.

An initial analysis of the discursive resources (the content of the discourse) of the 42 participant transcripts identified that 37 participants, approximately 88%, identified teaching as a primary career choice during their *apprenticeship of observation* (see Figure 14). Four of these participants identified that teaching was not their first choice of career based on the CAO application, but that they had thought of it as a possible career option during their schooling. One participant in this cohort of 37 decided on their college course preferences very late in their final year of schooling but although they did not select teaching as a first-choice career, they had thought of it as a possible career option during their schooling. One participant in this cohort of 37 said that they had not wanted a teaching career when filling out the CAO application but, later in their interview, identified that they had always thought of teaching as a career when younger in school.

Of the five participants (12%) (see Figure 14) who did not choose a goal of teaching, two participants opted for the concurrent ITE programme as a second college degree, having decided to become a teacher either during or at the end of their first degree. One participant made their decision after repeating their Leaving Certificate examinations and admitted that no
real thought had been given to it before that point. Another participant selected teaching because they could see no other way to continue to study their favourite subject. The final participant in this cohort of five participants identified that teaching was a second-choice career and while they did select it as second choice on their CAO application, they had not wanted to include it as an option at all but had been forced to “put something in” by a career guidance teacher in second-level school.

**Figure 14:** Extent of pre-service teachers who recalled having the goal to be a teacher during apprenticeship of observation.

As could be expected, given the nature of the undergraduate ITE programmes being studied, the vast majority of participants had the goal to become to teacher during their apprenticeship of observation. Establishing this base-line facilitated the analysis of the rich data pertaining to schooling memories, career choice decisions and teaching conceptions using SMS and Identity Status theory.
A further analysis of the transcripts established the extent of participants who currently had a goal to become a teacher. I perceived that establishing this information was important to the work of interpreting the retrieval of memories as per the SMS consequent to memory retrieval being significantly influenced by current motivational state (Woike et al. 2001; 2009); the current career goal hierarchy of the working-self. The answers analysed to assess this related to autobiographical memories of motivations for teaching, in addition to their current thoughts on personal attributes for teaching. From the full cohort of 42 participants, 32 (76%) were clearly focussed and committed to becoming a teacher (see Figure 15). Of the 10 participants (24%) without a currently active goal to teach, four (10%) could be described as being in a state of identity *moratorium*, uncommitted to teaching, searching for a new career goal and expressing certainty that they would not like to teach when finished with ITE (Marcia 1980). The remaining six participants (14%) indicated uncertainty that they would teach after completing ITE.

*Figure 15: Extent of pre-service teachers who indicated they had the goal of a teaching career at the time of interview.*
Analysis of the cohort of 10 participants (24%) who were either unsure about their career goal (14%, n=6) or did not have the career goal of teaching at the time of interview (10%, n=4) garnered interesting implications (see Figure 16). This cohort was made up of: the participant who identified that they had been forced into teaching by career guidance, the participant who identified it as the only way they saw to continue working in their favoured subject area, two participants who had chosen teaching as a second choice career option on the CAO, two participants who had chosen the goal very late in the *apprenticeship of observation* (the final year), two participants who did not have the goal during the *apprenticeship of observation* and two participants who had the goal of teaching during their *apprenticeship of observation* but who, during the course of their two years of ITE, had changed their mind about teaching as a career. In sum, seven (19%) out of the 37 participants from the cohort who had the goal of teaching during the *apprenticeship of observation*, either no longer had the goal of teaching or were not sure about this goal at the time of interview. Of the five participants who did not have the career goal of teaching during the *apprenticeship of observation period* but acquired it afterwards, as third year ITE students, two (40%) were no longer sure that they wanted to teach.

![Figure 16: More about the participants who did not have the goal of teaching at the time of interview.](Note: AoO refers to the *apprenticeship of observation.*]

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This significant finding may suggest a potential relationship between the goal hierarchy of the working-self during the *apprenticeship of observation* and professional identity formation during ITE. The vast majority (nine out of ten) of those participants who did not have the goal of teaching at the time of interview were either not fully committed to the goal of teaching or did not have it at all during their *apprenticeship of observation*. When looking at teacher identity formation as an evolving process integrating personal and professional identities, it would seem that the personal identity of the participants – the self or ego formed before ITE – was a significant factor in terms of their capacity to form a teaching identity and commit to the career (Pillen *et al.* 2013; Beauchamp and Thomas 2009; Flores and Day 2006; Beijard *et al.* 2004). In line with literature, these pre-service teachers’ personal identities shaped by their beliefs and experiences of learning and their social contexts including schooling (Beauchamp and Thomas 2009; Beijard *et al.* 2004; Johnson 2003; Lasky 2003) did not gel with the professional identities being scaffolded in ITE. These teachers could not acquire or be forced to take on the goal of teaching by ITE curricula. In the case of these pre-service teachers, progressing to a teaching career without a goal change towards teaching would surely constrain their professional identity development and potentially impact on their committing to staying in teaching. Conversely, it would appear that the participants who had the goal of teaching during their *apprenticeship of observation* would have a more stable identity in relation to teaching than those who were not as clear on their career choice goal. While there may be many reasons for this, and, indeed this may not be a wholly positive thing, I suggest that identity status may offer interesting insights in this regard and, accordingly, this is explored in the next chapter.
6.4 Evidencing autobiographical memory constructs in participants’ memories of second-level schooling

This section outlines the key findings and initial analysis in relation to autobiographical memories of second-level schooling in a context of establishing that autobiographical memory constructs, particularly those associated with the SMS, were evident in the transcripts and that they are in line with theory, and also, to establish that DA could isolate and add value to understanding these memory processes.

6.4.1 Functions of autobiographical memory

Having engaged in an analysis of the discursive resources of the transcripts, in other words what the discourse was about, I noted that the findings were consistent with the research on autobiographical memory. Figure 17 offers a reminder of some of autobiographical memory:

**Figure 17 (also Figure 5):** Autobiographical memory as a type of long-term, declarative, episodic memory.
When asked to recall their schooling experiences, there was clear evidence of the functions of autobiographical memory in the memory talk of the participants, the aim of which was to ensure that memory effectively acted as the conduit between the present and the past (Nelson 2003; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000; Pillemer 2001). All 42 of the participants recounted memories which demonstrated Pillemer’s (2003) articulation of the functions of memory – the self (representative), directive and social functions of autobiographical memory. Furthermore, in most cases, these functions could be explicitly linked to the goal of becoming a teacher. In relation to the self function, the discursive resources in all participants’ discourse evidenced a proliferation of memories that concerned behaviours, feelings and emotions about the self, encompassing both psychodynamic and intrapersonal issues (Conway 2005). For example, P5 evidences concerns about their suitability for teaching, while P18 and P38 talk about themselves as learners:

P5: I was doubtful. I was very shy in school. Like ~ if there was a project or something like that I could go away and do it. And sometimes, with a core group of people I could do stuff but … other than that I was always very good and if there was somebody making noise I would be like “what the hell are they at now.” Asking stupid questions and stuff like that ~ so I was a little bit sceptical of myself going in and whether I have the patience for doing it or will I be able to adapt to everyone inside in the classroom.

P18: Am ~ well ~ I suppose ~ I can see how things weren’t working out and they were kind of frustrating at the time. I suppose ~ the most positive learning was when I was, kind of, self-directed and interested and wanting to learn more myself rather than just learning towards the exams or just to pass a subject, or whatever. You know? But ~ the best thing was that I was so self-motivated, I did well that way, like.

P38: … even though I was a chatty student myself. {yeah} I could still always pull it down whenever the rest of the class started raising the noise levels ~ ~I really, it was embarrassing, that’s the main thing for it I think, I was actually embarrassed at how we were all being so disrespectful ~ I’m going to include myself in it because I’m sure there were some stages where I was part of it, you know it’s embarrassing how you can treat a teacher like that when all they’re trying to do is help you.
The directive function also abounded in memory recall, with all 42 participants evidencing some directive function. While no question was explicitly asked to ascertain if they used lessons from their schooling to inform their actions now or in the future as teachers, approximately 93% of participants (n=39) evidenced the directive function explicitly in relation to teaching, unsurprising given that all were engaged in ITE at the time of the interview. The three participants (7%) who did not evidence the directive function were from the cohort of pre-service teachers who did not have a clear goal at the time of interview (24%, n=10). This was evidenced in *discursive resources* identifying lessons they learned from their schooling to problem-solve issues in their current role as pre-service teachers and prospective teaching roles. A variety of *interpretive repertoires* (Potter and Wetherell 1987) such as ‘mean teacher’, ‘good disciplinarian teacher’, ‘cool teacher’ and ‘caring teacher’ facilitated identifying these *discursive resources*. The excerpts below using ‘lazy teacher’, ‘effective teacher’ and ‘approachable teacher’ are examples of *interpretive repertoires* and demonstrate the directive function:

**P19:** There was a folder up the top of the class with all of the answers and you could just ~ just go up and get the workbook corresponding sheet, bring it down and just copy it ~ It was just a matter of copying in the writing which made no sense. There was definitely no learning taking part really. It was just a time wasting exercise. I was looking at this going on saying “if I was a teacher, I would do something else, I wouldn’t do this” ~ I knew that I could see the mistakes that he was making, really clear like.

**P25:** My Biology teacher and my Home Ec.[Economics] teacher especially, em ~ for Leaving Cert ~ em they really did motivate me to become a teacher I wanted ~ I looked up to them, I wanted to be like them, and you know I could see very clearly with them the changes they were making to us as we learned and stuff and I wanted to be able to do that to other people ~ so I think that’s why ~

**P40:** {... and who are the teachers that influenced you most strongly? ...} Well, like one I had for all ~ like from 1st year to Junior Cert for English and History like, she was an excellent teacher and I got on really well with her but like I mean you’d be afraid to put your hand because she was really kind of traditional and note taking, and like you wouldn’t ~ you’d kind of feel like scared in the class like.}
but you’ve said she was a very good teacher] yeah so, it’s…yeah I know [but she’s…you’re putting her in the bad category if you know what I mean?] Yeah kind of, just ~ kind of I personally when I’m a teacher, I just hope that students won’t be afraid to put up their hands like … yeah’ cause the fact my one for English was really good but still I wouldn’t like to be like her kind of ~ I dunno because you would be nearly afraid in the class, {right} but she was good at like certain elements, like explaining and note taking …

Among this cohort, it is worth noting that while every transcript did not have explicit sentences linking past schooling experiences to present / future actions as teachers, there was evidence of the directive function in relation to teaching in every transcript, when looked at holistically with a subject position DA lens. When participants were asked to articulate their views on good and bad teaching, they integrated the key points they had recalled in relation to stand out memories of school to align their position with their recounted experiences of teaching and schooling. They used their experiences of schooling to align with a subject position in relation to good teaching (Søreide 2006; Potter and Wetherell 1987). For example, P34, below, starts out talking about the stand-out memories they recalled about school and recalls good memories of teachers who put effort into classes and pitched them at learners’ abilities, interests and needs. They later go on to identify that this is what they now consider good teaching and what they intend to emulate – they use memories of schooling to position themselves based on a favored teacher they considered good:

P34: {... what would be your abiding memories of school...that still stand out for you?} Like …
Personally like I prefer if a teacher is more kind of down on your level like and they’re, like they’re interested in what you’re saying and like they’re like easy going … the teacher putting effort into the class and not just reading from the book and like taking notes … games and like active learning methodologies to try and get you involved and get you actually interested in the topic.

P34: {... what do you think makes a good teacher?} Just someone who … like[s] taking time to get to know your learners and then like developing the whole class around them like so like in our school
like… tractors and farming was a big thing so they [good teachers] used to bring that into the classes which really worked well ~ so it’s just kind of about like finding out what your learners’ interests are, like what their skills are and everything like that and then catering the class to their needs … that’s what I’d like to be.

Even among the three participants (7%) who did not evidence the directive function of autobiographical memory in relation to teaching, there were discursive resources evident that linked lessons from episodes in their past to the kind of people they wanted to be now, evidencing the directive function. P13, below, identifies key learning for them from a bullying episode at school using interpretive repertoires of ‘forgiveness’ and ‘maturity’ to position towards who they wanted to be as a person now:

P13: I remember ~ I remember being bullied to an extent and being ~ Having to deal with people. But I also remember the fact that got better in fifth year and I remember that there were more people. I remember this knowledge that there are better people out there ~ And if you find terrible people, that’s okay, because there’s occasionally going to be people that need to grow up. Actually, one thing that does stand out for me was the memory of the person who snapped my neck. After he did TY [Transition Year], and I didn’t, he came up to me… I was in sixth year and he was in fifth year. He apologised to me. He said that he needed the year to grow up and mature out. And it struck me, people mature, and they change. You can genuinely accept that when they do. There is no need to bear a hard grudge against them.

All participants also engaged with the social function of autobiographical memory; using their autobiographical memories to facilitate social interaction and to nurture social bonding through judicious use of memories in conversations (Nelson 2003; Pillemer 1998). This was evident in the participants’ discursive processes, how they said things (Willig 2015) to build up their account of the world through the pauses, repetition and language choices. As all interview conversations were about teaching and learning, most of the social function was linked to
teaching and participants’ choice of a teaching career. One interesting aspect of social bonding evident in a small number of transcripts was when participants sought to nurture a social bond with the interviewer. They adopted a subject position aligned with the interviewer which could be perceived as an effort to elicit empathy from the interviewer. For example, P7: “…when for me personally, as you probably know yourself as a [subject name] teacher, doing things practically suited me” and P21: “…I think discipline, like being strict when needed is like really at the core of good teaching, I know that you know that because you ~ like you’re qualified, a teacher, a lecturer probably”.

In relation to the transcripts of the 88% of participants (n=37) who had the goal to be a teacher during the apprenticeship of observation, the functions of memory evident in their transcripts align with McAdams’ (2008; 2001) life-story schema. When the participants had the goal to become a teacher while still at school, their autobiographical memory discourse consistently identified themes that gave meaning to their life, which, through evaluation show progress towards the goal of becoming a teacher (ibid.). They used their autobiographical memories to ground the self. This is exemplified by P6, who when asked to describe a particularly ineffective learning experience, evaluated their experience of a specific teacher using an interpretive repertoire that I have labelled ‘performativity’:

P6: … Like the business teacher for example, would give us sample question from past papers. “Try to answer these, if you can answer these you will do well” and sure enough ~ a select number of those exact questions would come up in his tests every week … And, so we learned-off answers rather than understanding them. The emphasis was on regurgitating answers because at the end of the day it is something that we are going to have to do.

When subsequently asked what attributes are needed to be a good teacher, P6 used this evaluation of performativity to exemplify the attributes of a good teacher:
P6: … but I am also going to try ~ to incorporate my own personality and what I have learned from my teacher education. Like, some form of innovation rather than just conforming to an emphasis of performativity, because I am just completely against it at this point.

P38 grounds their current beliefs about discipline and respect for a teacher by positioning themselves towards a teacher’s perspective in an evaluation of a teacher’s approach to discipline:

P38: … there was one teacher in particular that stands out who just had {ok} no control over {ok} any of the classes and the students knew that as well {alright} so they would take advantage of that {ok}, it was a bit of a pain for the students who did want to learn because you didn’t want to say it to the rest of the class, you know come on, we need to learn something and it’s not fair. Even back then in the secondary\textsuperscript{48} school you could see it’s not fair on the teacher, obviously now you’re on other side of the desk you can see much more {yeah} how frustrating it can be …

6.4.2 ‘Personal event memories’

All 42 participants evidenced vivid episodic ‘personal event memories’ from their second-level schooling due either to the ‘reminiscence bump’ and/or the ‘recency effect’ (Rubin \textit{et al.} 1998; Conway 1996). These important corner-stone memories of their young adult selves (Pillemer 2001) were key to analysing the SMS in relation to the \textit{apprenticeship of observation}. Consistently, the strong personal event memories integrating all functions of memory were imbued with autonoesis to help the rememberer believe in the veracity of the memory, making them very resistant to decay over time (Singer and Salovey 2010; McAdams 2001; Pillemer 2001). The autonoetic memories evident in the \textit{discursive processes} of participants’ transcripts were generally in relation to ‘event specific knowledge’, in that they were very specific to time and place (Haque \textit{et al.} 2014; Conway 2005; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). For example, when asked to recall a stand-out event from second-level school, one participant recalled details

\textsuperscript{48} Second-level schools are generally called ‘secondary schools’ in Ireland.
including voice tone, the exact subject being studied, the words spoken and the duration of the episode:

P16: But there was one particular case where I was screamed at by the Home Ec. [Economics] teacher. I didn’t do Home Ec, I think we were doing CSPE [Civic, Social and Political Education] in English. And I was screamed at to “stop talking”. And it came out of the blue ... I remember that went on for three days.

When asked the same question, another participant similarly recalled a very specific set of memories with exact quotes, actions, voice tone, names and animated imitation of the teacher demonstrating the autonoetic qualities of ‘personal event memories’:

P10: I suppose, one of my English teachers, he was very enthusiastic in class. There was never a day he wasn’t going “right lads, open up your books” [said in dull tone]. He was like [participant claps hands] “OKAY LADS! This is what we are going today. We are going to do this, do this. We are going to meld these together…” Then he’s “Sean! What’s this? Jack! What’s that?” [All said in enthusiastic style]. You know, very up-tempo. He actually seemed enthusiastic and that just spread to everyone in the classroom. Like, I can’t remember one of his lessons that was bad.

In line with Schutz et al.’s (2018) research on pre-service teachers’ goal histories, among the 88% (n=37) of participants in this research project who had the goal to be a teacher during their apprenticeship of observation, the four influences on the goal to become a teacher were evident in their ‘personal event memories’ – family, teacher, peer and teaching experiences. These are apparent in all of the discursive resources extracted below in relation to ‘personal event memories’. Within this same cohort, all of the types of ‘personal event memories’ – origination, self-defining, anchoring and analogous (Pillemer 2001) – were present when the discursive resources of the transcripts in the data set were analysed.
Origination memories were sought specifically when participants were asked to recall what motivated them to become a teacher. Therefore, it is no surprise that all participants who had the goal to be a teacher during second-level schooling / apprenticeship of observation (88%, n=37) recalled memories of their awareness that they wanted to become teachers. For example, when asked to identify their motivation for teaching, P7 recounted memories of specific teachers inspiring them through their passion for teaching using an ‘inspirational teacher’ interpretive repertoire:

P7: … watching the construction studies teacher. He only came in the last couple of years … it kind of motivated me to be a teacher like, I thought about it. That I could do it like … it inspired me a small bit as well like … I saw how much he enjoyed teaching as well, like. Same with the principal as well like. The principal taught English in first and second year in school. And I seen how much he loved teaching and that’s really what inspired me.

P23 recalled a specific event telling peers that they wanted to be a teacher, citing an episode early in second-level where they along with peers all ‘knew’ that teaching was the obvious career choice:

P23 ...I remember the night of my debs [Debutante Ball at the end of final year of second-level schooling] and we were talking about what we were going to do at college and I said I wanted to become a teacher and everyone was going like, “yea, a definite teacher, remember that time you stood up and told everyone to be quiet”. One day we had Science for Junior Cert[ificate] and two people were fighting down the back of the classroom and no one done anything about it and I stood up and was like “lads stop”.

P28 recalled early childhood events teaching their siblings and wanting to be a teacher. There are interesting interpretive repertoires also evident here regarding ‘teacher as boss’ and ‘teacher as didact’:

P28: … being a teacher was all they ever wanted to do. I’m the oldest in my family ~ and, even from when I was little I was always the person when we had the black board, I had the chalk and I was the boss, I was the one who was teaching the class which consisted of my brothers and sisters, so …
It is noteworthy that among this cohort of 37 participants (88%) who had the goal of teaching during the *apprenticeship of observation*, 10 recounted versions of “they always knew” they wanted to be a teacher, rather than being able to identify a memory which helped them to define this goal. These participants recounted memories which seemed to indicate they had foreclosed (Marcia, 1980) to a teaching career in early childhood or earlier schooling periods (see Chapter 7 for further analysis).

Self-defining memories, that is vivid life event memories linked to the success and failure of goals leading to the adoption of a superordinate life-goal (Pillemer 2001; Singer and Salovey 1996), featured to varying degrees in the *discursive processes* and *discursive resources* of the memory discourse of all of the participants who had adopted the goal of teaching during the *apprenticeship of observation*. P4, below, talks about their experiences of two different types of teacher with rich detail, emotion, autonoetic quality and repetition – this is the third time in the interview that they talk about these teachers and the participant mentions the subject ‘physics’ 36 times in the course of the interview:

P4: And I remember a week before the leaving cert being asked to recall all of an essay. 45 points one after another, three or four lines each. I can see ~ her type of learning was great for the exam. I just walked in and wrote about my whole story and it was great, for the exam. But, she was getting 11 As. I think the year before I did it. She had honours and got 11 A1s. You can see how it is effective towards the exam but I just wonder as an overall learning technique how it really developed us like. If you ask me. Now I couldn’t speak a word of Irish versus him and his physics like. There was stuff I learnt in that, that were totally not to do with physics ~ Well not totally not to do with physics but totally not to do with the exam. Which I will always love about physics. Like it was the first time I had heard about the CERN collider ~ And we spoke about it. Nearly every class ...
In the extract from P16, below, the self-defining memory recounted is vivid in relation to what they perceived as a poor teacher. P16 uses it to support their goal in relation to teaching by positioning themselves as an able teacher even before ITE. Their discursive processes using the expression ‘wanted to’ repeatedly contributes to strong interpretive repertoires of ‘natural teacher’ and ‘always knew I’d be a teacher’:

**P16**: … I wish I could have gotten up and explained it better. Because I wanted to ~ ~ I wanted to be able to explain it to the person next to me ~ but when something was explained badly it was like a little pin prick. I don’t know what you would call it. But I just wanted to ~ I knew I could do it better there and then. I was almost living in a dream world where I could do it.

When the Blagov and Singer (2004) dimensions of specificity, meaning, and content and affect were applied to the self-defining memories of this cohort of participants, there was great variance in the narrative quality of the memories. While all evidenced memories were personal and significant to life goals, there were narratives that lacked specificity, detail, emotion and autonoesis which was very evident in the discursive processes of their transcripts. For example, when P24 was asked for stand-out memories of second-level school, while the discursive resources identified the stand-out memory as being transition year, they used discursive processes with substantial pauses indicating hesitancy, and offering very little detail despite a number of follow up questions to tease out the statements made below, ultimately resulting in a vague answer:

**P24**: It was transition year [non-academic year between junior and senior cycles], it was the year I came out of my shell, because I was involved in the school musical and that was a better experience for me, rather than the first few years ~ ~ it was all much the same ~ there was nothing that stood out greatly ~ in TY ~ it was just the different experiences in TY ~ going different places ~ getting involved in different competitions and stuff, I really enjoyed that.
While some of this lack of specificity fitted with theory relating to ‘lifetime periods’ and ‘general events’, in that some of the memories concerned summary memories of school periods like junior cycle or primary school (Haque et al. 2014; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000; Conway 2005), I believed that there might be other explanations. I hypothesised that these participants’ early decision (often at age four and five) to become a teacher – they foreclosed to teaching (Marcia 1980) – might be one reason to explain why the self-defining memories were not as vivid, detail-rich and evident in the discourse of some participants who had the goal to be a teacher during the apprenticeship of observation. This was epitomised in the number of students who recounted versions of “they always just knew” they wanted to be a teacher. This theme is explored in Chapter 7. Further analysis of the variance in narrative quality of self-defining memories in the transcripts from an autobiographical memory perspective would necessitate psychoanalysis, so, in this regard, I only offer that there was variance in line with different personality types and personality disorders as would be evident in any cohort of society.

In the memory discourse of the 12% (n=5) of participants who did not have the goal of teaching during their second-level schooling, the self-defining memories are not clearly linked to teaching, as one could expect. While memories of effective and ineffective learning experiences were offered with vivid detail, these were not as clearly linked to moments when participants decided to become a teacher or used as the template for the teacher they wanted to be. P12 decided on a teaching career after they finished an initial degree, they did not get a place on an ITE programme at that time and went into industry for a period. When asked what motivated them to teach, they identified significant intrinsic (love of subject) and altruistic (love of children) interpretive repertoires for their motivation but failed to mention previous effective and ineffective learning experiences or even schooling memories – they were not used
as self-defining memories towards a teaching career. Furthermore, their assessment of the maths teacher recounted before this point was of a mediocre teacher:

P12: … I just enjoy children and even at that age. It’s just nice to see the way they develop and the different characters, you know? And ~ I suppose, the fact that I love maths was a big part of ~ I could do maths, you know what I mean, I would be quite happy to sit there and do maths all day every day. Well, I won’t say every day (laugh) ~ But, you know, a lot of the time I think a lot of it was the love of maths as well. I suppose~ I was still using maths as well in my own job, you know. You would still ~ there were certain aspects ~ there was a lot of numbers and things like that that you would be using. I would have helped my nephews with maths. So, I was never totally gone from it. From the time that I would have finished my degree ~ like, I would have helped a few of them in primary school and then as we went on, as they went to secondary school, so I suppose I was in touch with it all of the time. You know? ~ So that is, yeah ~ I just felt ~ you know, that I would like to give it a shot, just see how I liked it or not.

The self-defining memories in the case of this 12% (n=5) of the cohort were less distinct, showing a lack of clarity in relation to their superordinate life goals. None of these participants identified a definite career goal during the course of their interviews.

Anchoring memories, the episodic foundations for their belief systems about teaching and analogous memories that offer exemplars for present behaviours (Pillemer 2001; Singer and Salovey 1996), proliferated in the discursive processes of the transcripts, with all 42 of the participants sharing both of these kind of memories regardless of whether they had the goal of teaching during their apprenticeship of observation or not. Given that all of the cohort were engaged in ITE, the context of the interview and the interview questions asked, it is not surprising that all participants offered some anchoring memories. For example, when asked to recall particularly effective learning, P18 offered an anchoring memory for their perception of good teaching:
P18: … in Irish [school subject studying the Irish language], I think is just keep doing things and making mistakes and fixing your mistakes and learning from your mistakes. With construction [school subject], I think, because it is so – it is based on things that you see all of the time in your houses or buildings or timber or whatever… you can relate to that. And you can do things, like actually physically do things … that’s good teaching to me.

In another example of anchoring memories, P22 recalls a very specific and detail-rich memory of a class using repertoires to position themselves towards a teacher who makes learning relevant and uses innovative methods. When later asked to talk about their views on good teaching they use this memory as an episodic foundation for their beliefs about teaching and cite planning, innovative practice and making learning relevant to learners as key attributes of good teaching:

P22: … one teacher in particular in the Home Economics classes … like I’ll never forget we were doin’ personal hygiene and skin and she was talking to us about aerosols ~ like she knew her stuff; she had all the relevant research about aerosols possibly being carcinogenic ~ ~it was outside of the curriculum, it was something that we could use and I still remember it, you know to this day ~ it was innovative and it was something that wasn’t done in other classrooms … more useful than just being didactic and reading out of a book and just getting us to write notes.

P15 offered the following analogous memories, drawing on an interpretive repertoire of ‘prepared teachers are good teachers’ among others, to offer an exemplar for effective and ineffective teachers when asked what makes a good teacher:

P15: Someone who knows what they are talking about and who is prepared. Like ~ as I said, that history teacher, she would just arrive into class five minutes late, wouldn’t be prepared. That is why she was a bad teacher to us ~ didn’t give us any information. Didn’t help us. We went to other teachers to get help for history if we needed ~ So then compared to someone like my physics teacher … always prepared, always followed through with what he said. So if we were having a test on this day, we got a test on that day. If we were getting notes that we asked for, we would get notes. We could come up to him and approach him anytime if we had a question. We knew that we were going to learn every class. He helped
everybody out – We enjoyed his class. He had respect for us, we had respect for him. He was ~ I dunno. I just thought he was great.

Another participant shared the following analogous memory drawing on the ‘calm teacher is a good teacher’ repertoire to exemplify what they thought was a good teacher:

P36: I remember a day ~ we were a rowdy bunch sometimes but I remember a day where ~ one or two got quite ~ cheeky to the teacher in the class and I remember that 'cause ~ as a way of dealing with ~

if it ever happened to myself, the way she dealt with [it] ~ she was nice and calm and do yea know probably whatever procedure was in place was applied or whatever but the students really respected her for that afterwards when the situation was over ~ stuff like that I think ~ are really effective, and it’s why I would never really go crazy or stress out now as a teacher in dealing with those situations.

6.5 Constructing the apprenticeship of observation: agentic filtration of autobiographical schooling memories through the SMS

The SMS model of memory encoding and retrieval proffers that autobiographical memory is constructed within a SMS that connects the self (working-self) and memory with the core principle that memory is motivated by goals (Conway 2005; Conway et al. 2004; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). Figure 18 offers a reminder of how the working-self functions.

Figure 18 (also Figure 6): The relationship between the working-self and the autobiographical knowledge base.
Consequently, central to looking at filtration through the SMS is the notion of the current goal hierarchy of the working-self – the collective term for goals and self-images making up the self\(^{49}\) – as SMS filtration happens at both the time of memory encoding and memory retrieval (Conway 2005; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). For this reason, I distinguish between those 37 participants (88%) who had the goal of teaching during schooling / the apprenticeship of observation and the 32 participants (76%) who had the active or current goal to become a teacher at the time of interview. This section mainly focuses on the cohort of 32 pre-service teachers’ who had the goal of teaching at the time of interview, offering an examination of their agentic construction of the apprenticeship of observation through the SMS that emerged in analysis.

6.5.1 Filtering for goal congruence

All of the 32 participants (76%) who were committed to the goal of becoming a teacher at the time of interview recounted schooling memories that were congruent with their goal of becoming a teacher. Their memories served a purpose in line with theory on the SMS (see directive, origination, anchoring, self-directive and analogous memory examples, section 6.4.2 above). Even when memories of negative learning experiences were recounted, they were purposefully included to support their conceptions of good teaching or their motivation to become a teacher – they had a directive function. For example, P34, in the extract below, identifies what they hated from a particular teacher using strong interpretive repertoires including, ‘fear of teacher’, ‘I’ll never be like that’ and ‘getting results the wrong way’ to position themselves away from this teaching approach, using it as an anchoring memory for who they want to be / become as a teacher:

\[
\text{P34: } \ldots \text{ were there some experiences in hindsight you say 'they were not very good learning} \]

\(^{49}\) While the SMS is made up of two key components, working-self and an autobiographical memory base, as previously identified, this research focussed predominantly on the working-self component of the model.
experiences’?} Yeah like obviously there’s like some teachers that you look back now, when you are teaching now and you’re like oh they were terrible like they ~ {What was so terrible about them?} Like ~ for Junior Cert Maths like, we had one teacher and she just ~ ~ like you’d leave the class just feeling so like deflated like if you didn’t get a ~ right question, you had to write out the question like 50 times and you’d never get like encouragement or praise for doing your work and she just really ~ ~you really like kind of left the class feeling depressed {yeah} and that like your work kind of wasn’t good enough, well like she scared you so much then that you felt like oh well like I can’t go in and not have the question right, so you still did the work so she was still like getting the good results but wasn’t getting them in a positive way, like everyone was really negative about the class [small laugh] ~ that’s someone I do not want to be in a classroom.

Interpretive repertoires such as ‘I’ll never be like that’, s/he inspired me’ and ‘I wanted to be just like her’ clearly show how participants form and reinforce their goal of teaching using their memories as evidence of their commitment. All of the autobiographical memories of these pre-service teachers served a function for the self.

This is a significant finding as the dominant wisdom relating to the impact of the apprenticeship of observation on ITE would assert that if pre-service teachers saw bad teaching they would replicate it, as it acts as an agent of continuity rather than change (Lortie 1975). Instead, when the participants experienced what they perceived as bad teaching, they appeared to have had some criteria by which they judged it; this, in effect, is the agentic filter of the working-self. The participants agentially constructed the autobiographical memory to establish congruence with their goal of becoming a teacher, either at the time of memory encoding or retrieval. For example, P8 recalled in great detail a number of memories associated with being bullied and subsequently went on to position themselves towards good teachers having a responsibility to make themselves mindful and available to students who may have issues outside of the classroom.
The one participant (P22) who was not committed to the goal of teaching during the *apprenticeship of observation* but had the active goal of teaching at the time of interview recounted interesting memories that were incongruent with the goal of teaching held at the time of interview. For example, when P22 was asked about their overall memories of school, they summarised with: “… I had **struggled so much** in school. Like I wasn’t able to handle stress or the pressure … my classmates, you know, I was a mess for a lot of my time in school”. I consider that the memories were filtered through the working-self goal hierarchy at the time of encoding, when the goal of teaching was not there. When cued to recall schooling in the interview, despite it being incongruent with the participant’s current goal of becoming a teacher, the summary was still recounted with *interpretive repertoires* oriented around school being a negative experience and positioning themselves away from school having any potentially positive role. Interestingly, subsequent analysis of this transcript evidenced some ongoing and open reflection of the schooling experienced by the participant, showing that their current goal of becoming a teacher was a stimulus for them to re-evaluate some of their memories of schooling. They looked back on their schooling memories and evaluated some of them through the lens of their current goal to be a teacher – they filtered them through their current goal hierarchy of the working-self.

Filtration for goal congruence was not as clear in the case of the seven participants who did not have the goal of teaching at the time of interview but did have it during schooling (19%, see section 6.3 and Figure 16). While these participants did recount memories associated with their goal of teaching that they held during schooling, they were not as consistent or coherent in their purpose. For example, P1, below, uses repertoires of ‘others deciding for me’ and ‘inevitability
of going into teaching’ to move away from taking responsibility for adopting the goal of teaching during schooling, a goal that they no longer had:

P1: {You didn’t see yourself as being able to do anything else? What do you mean by that?} Like there was, there was no point trying to be anything else. I suppose I had kind of been, we’ll say for 14 years before I filled out the CAO it was “you are being a teacher, you are going to be a teacher” and there was no “you can do something else” or “would you look at something else?” It was always… {And that… The way you were talking, it doesn’t seem to be that it is a personal motivation to become a teacher. It seems to me that seems to be more of an external pressure for you to become a teacher.}

Yeah, at the time I argued that it was the opposite, but I actually think that it was external.

6.5.2 Filtration for coherence and correspondence to self-concept

This SMS is built on the foundation that memory is driven by goals with the purpose of ensuring that a person’s autobiographical memories have coherence and correspondence to their self-concept (Conway and Williams 2017; Haque et al. 2014; Conway 2005; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). Those participants who had the goal of being a teacher either during the apprenticeship of observation or at the time of interview had a self-concept in some way associated with the goal of teaching. The strategies to ensure coherence and correspondence of memories such as rumination or preoccupation, justification and closure were clearly present in the cohort of 76% (n=32) who had the goal of teaching at the time of interview. For example, in relation to preoccupation or rumination, P21 recounted an incident with a teacher who belittled them in front of peers. In subsequent questions relating to effective and ineffective learning memories, they consistently both returned to memories related to this story and highlighted attributes of good teachers using repertoires of respect and rapport to position themselves clearly away from the belittling teacher – key features of the same story shaped the majority of schooling memories recounted in P21’s interview.
In relation to justification, when P12, a participant with the goal of being a teacher during school and at the time of interview, was asked about outstanding memories of second-level school, they said they could recall no negatives about this time despite alluding to negatives within the same discourse. Through their *discursive processes*, such as the use of words and expressions for certainty and their use of expressions implying a negative such as ‘just’, ‘learned stuff off’, ‘or even’ and ‘other people might …’, they clearly indicated their *subject position* towards school and teachers. Likewise, their *interpretive repertoires* such as ‘school is about enjoyment’ and ‘school was easy for me’ justified their superordinate goal of becoming a teacher by filtering out and disregarding the disconfirming experiences:

P12: … [in] the other subjects it was probably more, just ~ you went in and you learned the subject off and that was it. But, definitely, I would look back on it totally as an enjoyable time. There is no negative memories of it, or of even any of the teachers in the way I was taught. You know ~ other people mightn’t feel the same way but it certainly had no negative impact on me.

Regarding closure, in recounting the memory of “free physics Friday”, the participant below closed out any further evaluation of a favoured teacher who was largely absent from class, an attribute normally considered negative to good teaching. Curious as to the apparent contradiction in this evaluation which was evident in the *ideological dilemmas*, especially in the *discursive processes* of apparently sarcastic language, I holistically evaluated the interview and concluded that the participant was not being sarcastic in their judgement of the teacher. By both justifying the teacher’s actions and evaluating him as a very good principal and excellent physics teacher, the participant positioned themselves towards this teacher as an exemplar of who they wanted to be by closing out further evaluation and finding a way of turning a potential negative memory about teaching into a positive one:
P13: … stuck out as exemplary of what I want to be ~ My physics teacher was largely absent for the majority of sixth year. We had something called “free physics Friday.” Where he wouldn’t show up for the double period on Fridays and we would have a lovely free class to do our homework in or just relax on a Friday. Because ~ you know, you need a little relaxation when you’re doing the Leaving Certificate examinations. It was very considerate of him to allow us to have that. He went on to become the principal of the school. He is a very good principal too. He was an excellent physics teacher ~ when he came in.

As stated previously, coherence and correspondence of autobiographical memories to the self will not always be consistent, as the goal hierarchy of the working-self constrains cognition and behaviour by reducing dissonance between real and desired goal states (Conway 2005; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). In the transcripts, there was evidence of self-schemas that were constantly changing and in conflict; particularly schemas concerning the ideal self, how an individual would like to be and the ought self, how an individual perceives they should be (Higgins 1987; Markus and Ruvolo 1989). This was evident in a lack of consistent coherence and correspondence apparent when participants’ recounted memories of effective teaching juxtaposed with how the participants view themselves as teachers now. The ideological dilemmas they themselves identified in their memories about effective and ineffective learning offered insights into the developing nature of the participants’ teaching conceptions; this was an acknowledgement, to some degree, of their incoming simplistic conceptions of teaching. For example, P8 identified that they learned very well using rote learning strategies and that rote learning was the only effective strategy for some subjects. They subsequently went on to identify that they knew from their ITE that rote learning was not a very student centred, active strategy, and that they would not use it or advocate it for their own students. The recall of these memories was clearly filtered by the participant when being encoded (thus agentically constructed) to align with what they thought was good teaching then, but it appeared that their
values and beliefs about teaching at the time of interview were in a state of transition due to their engagement with ITE.

With respect to the 24% (n=10) of participants who did not have the clear goal of teaching at the time of interview, as could be expected, the coherence and correspondence of autobiographical memories of schooling is less consistent. In a context where some participants were not fully committed to teaching, all were still engaged in ITE and some participants had a clear goal of teaching during their apprenticeship of observation, the strategies to ensure coherence and correspondence were present to a degree. In effect, this means that some aspects of self-concept at the time of memory encoding and retrieval were associated with becoming a teacher. The cohort’s overall lack of consistency in the coherency and correspondence of autobiographical memories was evident in the greater number of dissonant memories associated in particular with negative learning experiences evident in the transcripts of participants who had not employed the above strategies.

6.5.3 Selective filtration

It is theorised that memory prioritises goal-related experience at the time of encoding (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). Furthermore, evidence shows that memories are susceptible to inaccuracy and editing to distil a desirable memory where individuals leave out what they consider inconsequential details (Schacter and Addis 2007). As stated in Chapter 3, I align with Barclay (1996; 1986) and McAdams’ (2001) reconstructive theory and middle-ground veridical theorists such as Schacter and Squire (1996) as regards the veridicality of memory. Autobiographical memory is not an accurate account of events but a construction that offers coherence and continuance to the self. As the memories being recounted were made close to the time of experience they retained the original phenomena of the experience but may have
been altered subsequently or reconstructed to fit with strong personal schema. This raises an interesting question about which memories were omitted out of the participants’ recall of schooling. I situate this question by acknowledging firstly, that the context of the interview may have limited what participants felt was appropriate to share – they were being interviewed for a research project related to their ITE, in effect their profession – and, secondly, that it is impossible to state what is missing from the transcripts. Nonetheless, it might reasonably be expected that participants would incorporate information about relationships with peers, friendships and romantic liaisons into ‘lifetime periods’ about schooling when very general non-leading questions about the school, its environment and their enjoyment of it were asked in a context of what they would recount about school with friends, over a drink. No participant in the full cohort of 42 referenced a personal relationship and only three participants (8%) identified a close friend in any memory story from their general schooling. It might be surmised that these memories, while important to the self, were not as significant to their goal hierarchy of becoming a teacher at the time of encoding.

In line with ITE research on what pre-service teachers consider critical attributes for good teaching (Bauml 2009; Wilson 1996), relationships with teachers, on the other hand, abound in the participants’ memory discourse. Every participant strongly referenced the relational aspects of memories of teachers and school authority figures; the transcripts were laden with interpretive repertoires of ‘caring teacher’, ‘bully teacher’, ‘mean teacher’, etc. They did so, not just in their recounting of their memories of effective and ineffective learning, as could be expected, but also, significantly so, in their general memories of their second-level school and schooling when asked to recount what they would discuss about school with friends, over a drink. This is exemplified here in an extract from P34:

P34: {... a couple of years after being away from school and you’re all sitting down in the pub one
night having the craic [fun], you start reminiscing about your time in school ... what would be your abiding memories of school ~ that still stand out for you? ~ Just like the craic [fun] that we used to have like everyday like, we just like...the teachers that this as well like, they were really kind of very easy going and like...they were up for the craic [fun] like.

6.5.4 Filtration and retrieval

When SMS is perceived as a superordinate memory system, with subordinate systems of working-self, a knowledge base and retrieval models, the retrieval of memories becomes very significant (Haque et al. 2014). There was evidence that some schooling memories were easier and faster to recall than others. The retrieval times, as measured between cue words and responses to them in the interviews, averaged between 2-8 seconds, the faster recall times being associated with memories that showed clear signs of elaborative rehearsal, showing that the memories had become established in neocortical areas; in other words, they were long-term memories (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). This in in keeping with Wheeler et al.'s (1997) assertion that autobiographical memory is “effortfully” maintained.

The memories that took longer to retrieve were often recalled in broken sentences. These slower autobiographical memories were recalled with support from the interviewer through affirmations, cue words and elaborator questions (Conway et al. 2004). For example, in the extract that follows, P24 outlined an uncomfortable memory of their own poor behaviour at school: “you know like, what I ~ I might have been in class (~ 2 second pause) and I (~ 4 second pause) might not have been always ~ been well behaved ~ like very ~ I was ~ I was very blessed ~”. While some of this hesitancy can be explained through recall factors such as memory age, cultural factors, trauma and personality (Williams et al. 2008), I propose that a possible interpretation for P24’s hesitancy comes to light when their goal hierarchy is examined. This participant articulated that they decided on the goal of teaching late in
schooling. This memory was from junior level school and thus was encoded before the goal to become a teacher entered their working-self goal hierarchy. According to SMS Theory, retrieving the memory would also necessitate filtration through the current goal hierarchy which involved becoming a teacher (Haque et al. 2014; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). Consequently, this memory was being recalled while being filtered through a retrieval model assessing the knowledge relative to working-self goal hierarchy and filtered as dissonant to their current goal, hence the hesitancy (Haque et al. 2014). This can indicate an avoidance of disconfirming memories to the working-self – where self-incongruent memories / knowledge are inhibited.

In the transcripts of those participants who were either unsure of their goal to become a teacher or no longer committed to the goal of becoming a teacher (24%, n=10), there was consistent evidence in the discursive processes of contemporaneous filtrations in the hesitant and sometimes defensive recounting of some second-level school memories. This might be interpreted as highlighting their lack of commitment to the goal of becoming a teacher now, generating over-general recall – the inability to recall specific events, relying instead on general and repeated event memories (Williams et al. 2008). For example, when asked about a typical school day, P2 used discursive processes with interpretive repertoires, signalling hesitancy in the memory recall: “I don’t know, it was, it was very like every other school. You would have ~ I’m trying to think now, there was nothing ~ that would stand out as in, you know, being different from any other school~”. These participants also recounted memories which could be described as abstract / summarised memories (Singer and Salovey 2010) utilising discursive processes that included repertoires of vagueness. When asked what memories stood out from school, P20 responded:
P20: Just hanging out with my friends playing football basically would be the biggest ones. That is pretty every break time...there would be a gang of maybe 10 or 20 depending. We would all just play football at break time and just hang out and mess around and stuff.

Furthermore, analysis of the transcripts of those with the goal of teaching during the apprenticeship of observation (88%) identified that all bar one of these participants recalled schooling as a very positive ‘lifetime period’, even when more negative memories were recalled contemporaneously with this self-evaluation. Significantly, the more negative memories of schooling, which in some cases were extreme and damaging, for example, repeated bullying and teacher violence, were recounted in transcripts of those who self-evaluated schooling as positive and were committed to the goal of teaching.

6.5.5 Retrieval filtration consequent to memory bias

Memory Bias Theory explains how some memories are favoured over others and how some memories are distorted. This cognitive bias which either improves or hinders the recall of a memory or that modifies the content of a recounted memory (Schacter 1999) was evident in all participants’ transcripts, as one could expect but not necessarily measure. Specifically, in relation to memory bias and the goal hierarchy of the working-self, despite being asked general questions, the data set of 76% (n=32) of participants who had the goal of teaching during their interview evidenced clear memory bias (Schacter 1999) at the time of retrieval towards memories relating to the goal of becoming a teacher (Schutz et al. 2001). In addition to the context to the interview and the fact that all participants were engaged in ITE, literature supported that this memory bias could be further explicated in the context of the Memory Retrieval Curve linked to the SMS as both the ‘recency effect’ and ‘reminiscence bump’ were in evidence (Conway and Holmes 2004; Schacter 1999; Rubin et al. 1998). The participants had in the main only finished second-level schooling two-three years previously – the ‘recency
effect’ – and consequent to the ‘reminiscence bump’ bias, they favoured memories associated with the SMS knowledge base that related to the active goal of becoming a teacher when they were in second-level school and/or at the time of interview. When asked to talk about their schooling experiences participants’ discourse was biased towards schooling memories which impacted on their choice to be a teacher. For the 24% (n=10) of participants who did not have the clear active current goal for teaching at the time of interview, the data set also evidenced alignment with autobiographical memory retrieval research as retrieval bias was still evident to a degree but with greater numbers of contradictions, uncertainty and ideological dilemmas present in their discourse. What clearly distinguished these transcripts was that there were few clear origination memories and there were very few anchoring and analogous memories. The fact that there was some memory bias towards teaching memories was likely influenced by the fact that all the participants were still engaged in ITE at the time of interview, and by the Memory Retrieval Curve, the context of the interview, the questions asked and the fact that some had the goal of teaching, to some degree, during schooling.

All participants who had the goal of teaching at the time of interview (76%, n=32) evidenced some explicit memory bias upon analysis of the discursive resources in their transcripts, as could be expected due to the fact that they were recounting origination, anchoring and analogous memories associated with key moments related to their goal, as identified in section 6.4.2 above. A particularly obvious bias manifested in the anchoring memories they recalled related to effective or ineffective learning or schooling to validate their goal of becoming a teacher. In the extract below, P40 used a number of discursive processes in an anchoring and analogous memory to position themselves as being able to judge teachers because they had a passion for teaching and education. They then anchored the goal of teaching further by recounting analogous elements with ‘passionate teacher’ repertoires, which further positioned
them towards teachers they admired who were effortful and passionate, and positioned them away from teachers who were lazy and under-planned:

P40: Probably the way I used to analyse the teachers, {right} like ~ some teachers were excellent and I would always say ‘oh if I was a teacher I’d definitely want to be like her’, {yeah} and then other teachers, I’d be like ‘oh my god like, who gave him a degree’ kind of thing {yeah} because you know they’d just go up {ok} and sit there and {ok} look up … I just think like you should just put 100% effort into it [ok] you should just put the learners first. {Ok and that’s what stands out for you …} Yeah, it’s frustrating then like you know, when you just come across ~ you know the polar opposites of each other basically like. {Why was it frustrating?} … I always kind of had a passion for education and wanted teaching and all that like ~ {ok} ~ I don’t know because it was just hard to see the teachers who I mean were just up half the night planning for the lesson and then the other teacher who just did nothing, came in and was like, ‘what page are we on there?’ you know {ok}.

There was further interesting evidence of memory bias on the retrieval of schooling memories when the general questions about the school environment were analysed. In response to the questions about a typical school day and the most notable memory from school, the participants favoured memories which were teacher-centric, often from the perspective of the teacher, and regularly used as anchoring and analogous memory events. I suggest that these memories were retrieved to align with their goal hierarchy. In the extract below, the participant, who had the goal to be a teacher while still at school, focusses on the teacher experience when they were asked to describe a typical school day, clearly adopting a subject position towards a view of teachers being the relevant vantage point from which to assess school. Interestingly, the discursive processes in this extract, through the contradiction and self-corrections around who should be in focus, also add to the sense of active filtration for goal congruence, even when talking about a typical school day:
... each student ~ they had to move around the school like, no sorry, well ~ the teachers actually came to the students so that would’ve been hectic for the teachers you could tell, ‘cause they were coming in at the start of every class do yea know ~ trying to get books organized ...

The transcripts told a story of significant individual memory filtration in relation to the working-self goal hierarchy. In particular, the transcripts showed that consequent to having the goal of being a teacher during the *apprenticeship of observation*, memories encoded during that time and retrieved during interview evidenced SMS filtration indicating memory bias, goal congruence, selective filtration and selective retrieval in line with the goal to become a teacher. Participants who no longer had a clear, active and current goal to be a teacher evidenced all of the above filtrations, but with more hesitancy; this showed that the role of the goal hierarchy at the time of memory encoding was the dominant filtration at the time of retrieval.

Theory and research identifies that autobiographical memory and episodic memory specifically, is an individual constructive process of memory encoding and retrieval (Schacter and Addis 2007; Nelson 2003; Pillemer 2001; Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). In the preceding sections, I presented an outline of results from my research to demonstrate that memory filtration in line with the goal hierarchy of the working-self was at work in relation to the participants’ schooling memories during the *apprenticeship of observation* period: their schooling memories, including their memories of teaching and learning, were individually and agentically constructed through this autobiographical SMS filtration to align with their goal of a teaching career. I suggest, therefore, that it can be reasonably extrapolated that the *apprenticeship of observation* as an individual creation of memory is also an individual construction.
6.6 Aligning SMS filtration and ‘selfing’

To further support this contention, clear evidence of participants’ individual construction of their *apprenticeship of observation* was also apparent in the participants’ related agentic *selfing* efforts to create a life-story narrative of identity related to their journey to becoming a teacher (McAdams 2008; 2001; 1996; 1986). Based on McAdams’ (*ibid.*) conviction that memories are key to the formation of a coherent life-story, a story of identity, the narratives of those participants (76%, n=32) who had the goal of teaching at the time of interview evidenced both coherence and correspondence, thereby fulfilling the central purpose of the SMS (McAdams 2006; Conway 2005; Beike and Landoll 2000; McAdams 1996). This corroborates the notion put forward by McAdams (2001, p. 101) that life-stories are co-authored by the individual and the cultural context which give meaning to their lives: the participant pre-service teachers’ life-stories encoded to memory during the cultural context of their *apprenticeship of observation* were co-authored psychosocial constructions. These pre-service teachers crafted their histories, editing and combining memories for coherence and correspondence to a story of their identity as students becoming teachers charted and measured in schemas (Bullough 2015; McAdams 2008; Baskin 2005). Evaluative schemas associated with schooling, examination success and relationships with teachers were all evident in these transcripts – clearly presenting each participant’s perceived progress towards their goal attainment and grounding of the *self*.

When the autobiographical memories of second-level schooling were looked at in a holistic life-story narrative, they generated lifetime themes and generally had coherence showing correspondence when the goal of teaching was still clear (excluding those pre-service teachers no longer committed to the goal of teaching). These recounted memories evidenced autobiographical reasoning at work; participants’ memories created links between their past, present and future life alongside their personalities (Habermas 2011; Habermas and Bluck
2000). For example, **P6**, below, recounts their motivation to be a teacher, mixing past, present and future alongside their personal attitudes to align themselves with ‘inspiring teacher’ and ‘I have the attributes’ repertoires; they position themselves towards becoming an inspiring teacher:

**P6**: No, I just didn’t want ~ I knew what kind of a teacher I expected, what I wanted. I wanted to be able to…like I know the teachers that I had had a profound effect on my life and I just really wanted to have that same effect on others but in a positive way as much as I could ~ Because I would consider myself observant and I would, kind of, monitor my own feelings. Why I am feeling this way and why I am not this, why am I interested in this, why am I doing well in this and not in the other. Like I did this throughout school like ~ So I kind of picked apart the pieces that I liked and what served me well.

Above, as in many cases, autobiographical reasoning was used to make sense of self-defining memories (Singer *et al.* 2011; Singer and Blagov 2004), and this, in turn, contributes to causal-motivational coherence (Habermas and Köber 2015; Habermas and Bluck 2000).

Both the SMS and Life-story Narrative Theory require that an autobiographical knowledge base be generated from autobiographical knowledge and episodic memories (Bullough 2015). The SMS autobiographical memory organisational and retrieval model offers this base, thus facilitating understanding of *selfing* for the generation of a coherent life-story in the ‘Narrative Model of Identity’ (McAdams 2001). Analysis of the transcripts evidenced that the participants in this research project engaged in an agentic *selfing* process to make “a self” out of experience in relation to the *apprenticeship of observation* through their efforts at ensuring memory coherence and correspondence and autobiographical reasoning.
6.7 Summary of findings in relation to pre-service teachers’ memories of schooling / apprenticeship of observation

As these findings have highlighted, in recalling their memories of school, the directive function of memory was evident throughout the interviews with pre-service teachers. The memories recalled appeared to be used to provide guidance and a rationale for their current practices as teachers. In this way, the retrieval of particular memories, and the integration of them within their autobiographical narratives, performed a unifying function, linking interviewees’ past schooling experiences with their current practices and reasons for becoming a teacher. Personal event memories were assigned significance in these recollections and there was evidence of self-defining, anchoring and analogous memories being used. It was also evident in the recollections that there was a bias towards memories of becoming a teacher where positive and inspiring teachers were recalled; the absence of discomforting memories would also suggest that negative experiences, that would disrupt the particular narrative in operation, were generally not recalled. There was also evidence that the SMS supported significant memory filtration to ensure that the memories recounted fitted with a coherent life-story narrative in keeping with their goal hierarchy both at the time of memory retrieval and memory recall.

The participant pre-service teachers’ recollection of events from school were context specific and determined by both the demands of the given context and the working-goal hierarchy of the individual at the time of encoding and recollection. In line with theory around the influence of environmental factors on memory recall tasks, as the interviews took place within their higher education campuses and were related to their teaching courses, it is therefore not surprising that participants used the opportunity to provide a coherent narrative as to why they
decided to become teachers and therefore recalled memories that supported a coherent justification for their career choice (Godden and Baddeley 1989; 1975).

Although the context of the research was significant to the coherent narrative being constructed by the participants, it could be argued that the data set supports the view that pre-service teachers’ autobiographical memories of schooling are not necessarily a biography of events experienced during the apprenticeship of observation, rather, they are a purposeful selection of what was encoded in keeping with their goal hierarchy at that time – they had agency in the construction of their autobiographical memories of schooling. I reviewed the simplistic conceptions of teaching evident in the interview transcripts and used the SMS lens to analyse them and, as a result, I drew a different conclusion. My analysis of the findings seemed to support the conclusion that if each pre-service teacher had agency in the construction of their memories of the apprenticeship of observation, making it a memory construct, then the apprenticeship of observation must be a construct unique to each individual predicated on their agentic use of the SMS. If that is the case, then I pose the question, is it reasonable to suggest that, instead of ITE pedagogic practice being filtered through the apprenticeship of observation, it is instead filtered through the SMS?

If we accept the apprenticeship of observation construct as it has evolved in teacher education research since Lortie (1975) coined the term, then we must accept that the participants had very little agency during their apprenticeship of observation; their apprenticeship period and its role in filtration of ITE pedagogic practice was determined by the structures, processes and personnel of the schools they attended. With this understanding of the construct, in order to support the participant pre-service teachers to unpack this apprenticeship period, cognisance of
this lack of agency in the construction of the *apprenticeship of observation* would be essential to planning ITE. If, on the other hand, the apprenticeship period is understood as an individual autobiographical memory construct, then the participant pre-service teachers had a large degree of agency in constructing the mechanism that filtered their ITE, resulting in the simplistic conceptions of teaching they held. Additionally, given the bi-directionality of the SMS (Rathbone and Moulin 2017), another point worthy of consideration is that pre-service teachers’ goal hierarchy at the time of interview (their then current goal hierarchy) might have been constrained by their autobiographical memories. If so, then, this may have impacted on the career goals of the working-self of those who no longer had a goal of teaching or were unsure of their goal at the time of interview. Supporting the student teacher to assess and address this filtration process requires that account is taken of their agency both in its construction and its deconstruction.
Chapter 7: Results and Discussion 2

Identity Status Theory
7.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the key research findings alongside an analysis of these findings, in the context of the theoretical framework and Identity Status Theory analytical lens underpinning the study. As rationalised in Chapter 6, the findings and discussion of same have been combined in an integrated chapter consequent to the interpretivist-oriented research design. Using the layered DA superstructure outlined in Chapter 5, the remainder of the chapter follows the sequence of objectives that were identified in the introduction to this thesis. At a macro-level, I analyse the discourse participants drew upon when recounting memories regarding their career choice decision making during second-level schooling, and their conceptions of teaching in the context of considering participants’ agency in the construction of these during their apprenticeship of observation.

At a meso-level, in this chapter I use Identity Status Theory (Marcia 1980) to explore the potential de-agentic consequences for pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching and teacher identity among pre-service teachers who decided or foreclosed on teaching as an occupational goal during the apprenticeship of observation period. Through an analytical examination of participants’ exploration of potential career choices and their expressed commitment to their career choice of teaching as recorded in the interview transcripts, all four identity statuses appeared to be present among the cohort (that is, achieved, foreclosed, moratorium and diffuse). This chapter identifies and establishes the presence of these statuses and then moves on to examine, in particular, aspects of the foreclosed identities pertinent to teacher education that emerged in the study. The final section of the chapter unpacks some of the possible reasons for the high level of foreclosed identity status evident among the research cohort and considers the implications of these for teacher education.
7.2 An overview of the statuses apparent among participants

As outlined in Chapter 4, Marcia’s Identity Status Theory (1980; 1966) used Erikson’s work on identity development in late adolescence to develop a paradigm to help understand the process of how an adolescent creates their understanding of self to ensure unity of the self (Hong et al. 2018). This unifying or integration process of the self is key to identity formation; it strengthens ego processes that let go childhood ego-centric concerns and adopt adult responsibilities (Marcia and Kroger 2011; Erikson 1963). Consequent to the behaviours of a formed identity being to some degree measurable (ibid.; Erikson 1963), the key identifiers of exploration of career choices and commitment to current career goal were analysed to consider identity status in this study.

![Marcia's Identity Statuses](image)

**Figure 19 (also Figure 9):** Marcia’s identity statuses.

Each interview transcript was reviewed in three ways to establish evidence of commitment to the career choice of teaching. 1) There was an examination of the direct articulation of the
participants’ personal beliefs about teaching and themselves as future teachers through their use of interpretive repertoires and subject positions. These beliefs were then reviewed in the context of core broadly accepted education values such as: the holistic development of individuals, preparation for life after schooling, educational equality, inclusion, relationship-focussed education, and qualities such as respect, care and integrity for learners (OECD 2018; Teaching Council 2016). 2) There was an examination of the recounting of good and bad teaching and learning memories used to position / align themselves towards the type of teacher and learning environment they valued or disliked. 3) Also examined were direct statements about their commitment to the profession at the time of interview. While all transcripts evidenced some aspects of commitment to teaching, as could be expected from those in an ITE programme, I deemed more than two negative commitment references to flag a potential diffuse or moratorium identity (see section 5.6).

In relation to exploration, I firstly sought out any references to career exploration in the interviews I conducted. I then sought evidence of “crisis moments” or on-going crisis through finding repertoires of doubt, self-doubt, anxiousness or reflective decision-making regarding a career choice. When evidence of exploration with crisis was found in participants’ discourse, I deemed this to flag a potential achieved or moratorium identity status. Having undertaken this analysis for exploration and commitment, I then used Marcia’s (1966) rubric to establish a tentative identity status.

Consistent with Marcia’s (2010; 2002) findings, many participants in the research population appeared to be engaged in identity reconstruction. Factors that supported this conclusion included participants’ appearing to exist in more than one status, and their active transitioning
between statuses at the time of interview. Consequently, what follows offers an estimation rather than a definitive assessment of the identity statuses of the research cohort, aligning with a dynamic construction of identity.

**Figure 20:** Identity status of participant pre-service teachers.

### 7.2.1 Foreclosed identity status

By far the most frequent identity status amongst the research participants was *foreclosure*; these participants had ‘conferred identities’ and this was evident in how they took on the *commitment* values and beliefs of significant others – authority figures such as teachers and parents (Marcia 1980). Of the 42 pre-service teachers, 29 (69%) showed evidence of a *foreclosed* identity position at the time of interview (see Table 7 and Figure 20). When contextualised, in terms of the 78% of participants (n=37) who had the goal of teaching during the *apprenticeship of observation* (see section 6.3), this figure becomes even more striking: 28 of this cohort of 37 were in identity *foreclosure*. 
### Table 7: Overview of Participant Pre-service Teachers’ Identity Status

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Towards → moratorium</td>
<td>AoO 5th-6th Age 35,6</td>
<td>P22</td>
<td>Achieved</td>
<td>Weak, limited exploration after 1st degree, some foreclosure</td>
<td>AoO-weak goal in 2nd level, ↑ after 1st degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early 2nd level</td>
<td>P23</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Doubt re goal late in schooling</td>
<td>AoO-early primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early 2nd level</td>
<td>P24</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO- primary level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Towards → moratorium</td>
<td>AoO-early 2nd level*</td>
<td>P25</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P5</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-late and weak goal*</td>
<td>P26</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Towards → moratorium</td>
<td>AoO-early primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P6</td>
<td>Moratorium</td>
<td>Weak, teachers in family swayed*</td>
<td>P27</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Not clear in DR</td>
<td>AoO-early primary, sister a teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P7</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early 2nd level, Teachers in family</td>
<td>P28</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Limited 2nd level exploration. No crisis</td>
<td>AoO-early primary, mother a teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P8</td>
<td>Achieved</td>
<td>Exploration-2nd level</td>
<td>P29</td>
<td>Moratorium</td>
<td>From foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early primary**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P9</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO early second-level</td>
<td>P30</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early primary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P10</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Limited exploration-2nd level. No crisis</td>
<td>P31</td>
<td>Achieved</td>
<td>Weak, from moratorium</td>
<td>AoO-late 6th year, 2nd choice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P11</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-age 5</td>
<td>P32</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early 2nd level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P12</td>
<td>Achieved</td>
<td>Exploration in 1st career</td>
<td>After 1st college degree</td>
<td>P33</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Very little in transcript</td>
<td>AoO-early primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P13</td>
<td>Achieved</td>
<td>Weak, from moratorium</td>
<td>AoO-late 6th year, 2nd choice</td>
<td>P34</td>
<td>Achieved</td>
<td>Weak, from disguised foreclosure</td>
<td>AoO-always there but...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P14</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-teachers in family</td>
<td>P35</td>
<td>Moratorium</td>
<td>Weak, from foreclusion</td>
<td>AoO-early primary **</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P15</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early primary</td>
<td>P36</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Towards → achieved</td>
<td>AoO-early 2nd level, sisters teachers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P16</td>
<td>Achieved</td>
<td>Exploration-2nd level</td>
<td>AoO</td>
<td>P37</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P17</td>
<td>Foreclosed/ M/D</td>
<td>Border moratorium/diffusion? Crisis but no exploration</td>
<td>AoO**</td>
<td>P38</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early primary, brothers teachers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P18</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Towards → moratorium</td>
<td>Weak goal, late, subject only</td>
<td>P39</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P19</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early primary</td>
<td>P40</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Limited exploration in 2nd level. No crisis</td>
<td>AoO-early primary, teachers in family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P20</td>
<td>Moratorium</td>
<td>From foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early 2nd level**</td>
<td>P41</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Towards → achieved, exploration in 2nd level. No crisis</td>
<td>AoO-late in 2nd level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P21</td>
<td>Diffusion</td>
<td>Weak, limited commitment Not clear in DR</td>
<td>After 1st college degree</td>
<td>P42</td>
<td>Achieved</td>
<td>Weak, from moratorium</td>
<td>After 2nd level, teachers in family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50 AoO = apprenticeship of observation  
51 * No longer sure of goal of teaching but not actively searching  
52 ** Did not have goal of teaching at the time of interview
Within the *foreclosed* identity status cohort (n=29), there was evidence from six participants (21%) of possible movement towards identity *moratorium*. As stated, this idea of movement between statuses is in line with Erikson’s beliefs on identity (1963), modern research on identity statuses (Meeus 2018; Kroger 2011) and Marcia’s (2010; 2007; 2002) advice to researchers on identity statuses to remember that an individual is never all one status and will have a mix of status correlates when analysed. These participants will be further reviewed in section 7.3.

Among the *foreclosed* identity status participants, the identity status was evidenced by high *commitment* to their occupational choice of teaching with little evidence of broader occupational *exploration* (low *exploration*) in the discourse of participants around their motivations for teaching (Marcia 1980) (see Figure 9/19). In relation to *commitment*, these participants clearly invested in the altruistic, holistic values of education (see Chapter 5, section 5.6 for characteristics of *commitment* to values of teaching and education) and positioned teaching in a positive light. For example, note, below, P36’s interactive positive positioning of teaching through their use of *interpretive repertoires* such as ‘teacher as altruist’ and ‘good teachers support students’ ‘holistic development’:

P36: *(You could argue that an Engineer helps people ... )* Engineers ~ might want to help people but with teaching you get to see your students thrive, not even academically but personally, you get to see them develop ~ it’s nice because you see them hopefully enjoying what they’re doing and developing as a person.

This *commitment* was also evident in how this cohort reflexively personally positioned themselves towards teaching. For example, P7, below, uses a repertoire of the intrinsic rewards of teaching, ‘teaching is a happy job’, to rationalise why they love teaching:
P7: Yeah, it seemed like a happy job. You know. And I coached handball as well for a long time and hurling. Seeing, seeing them, students as such, do well, it was a good day, a feel-good factor. You know? … Like, but it felt good seeing how good he came along, how good he progressed like. It was a very nice thing to see.

Another way that commitment was evidenced by foreclosed identity participants was in the discursive processes – the words and phrases they drew upon in demonstrating their personal investment in their career decisions. The excerpts from the participants’ transcripts, below, show how these discursive processes positioned them towards teaching through words and phrases emphasising their occupational commitment using the shared language of a commitment to teaching:

P10: … [I said] “the teacher doesn’t want to help me and I can’t help myself” and I always thought that was a terrible feeling to have. And I was like I don’t – I would not like someone else to have that feeling as well. So if I could be a teacher I would hope that I could help ALL the students in my class and they would have, they would go home having that [positive] feeling every day.

P32: Because I like – I like telling people things that they like, telling them things they don’t already know and stuff like that and just helping them become independent themselves, like especially with Home Ec.[Economics] it’s like the skills and life skills so they can do whatever they want then after school, like I think a lot of subjects in school is very ~ they can be perceived as being kind of useless once you leave, whereas Home Ec[Economics] wouldn’t be.

P4: I just think there is an incomparable thrill standing at the top of the classroom and really engaging with your pupils …

P7: … teaching just seemed good ~ I was able to carry on that knowledge that I learned from school and transfer it to other people.
Consistently, in relation to exploration, analysis of these participants’ transcripts did not yield discursive resources, discursive processes, interpretive repertoires or subject positioning relating to exploring other career options or doubting their career choice of teaching. There were no “crisis moments” evident relating to motivations for choosing a teaching career. The transcripts were marked by repertoires expressing certainty in their career choice, and often from a very young age. For example, P23 stated: “I always wanted to be a teacher since I was very young, but I never thought I’d do secondary teaching, I always loved working with young children” and P33, below, only identifies some exploration of primary versus post-primary teaching but there is certainty evident in the choice of a teaching career:

P33: {Why teach then?} I don’t know, [laugh] you know like I still enjoyed school or whatever but I just always had this idea that I was going to be a teacher and I wasn’t going to use powerpoint and I was going to do it differently, like I didn’t know how we were going to do it differently but I always thought ~ ~ {So you always had this idea you were going to be a teacher from ~ } from a young age yeah ~ {how young?} Well like, during like primary school or whatever I thought I wanted to be a teacher and primary teaching was the obvious choice but then like I’d say 2nd or 3rd year I kind of thought secondary school teaching would be kind of better.

The majority of those participants who presented with a foreclosed identity reflexively positioned themselves towards teaching using repertoires such as ‘I love teaching’ and/or ‘I love (x) curricular subject’ as an expression of their exploration of teaching as a career choice. Despite this strong positioning towards teaching and education, no explanation was provided in relation to how they came to this conclusion. One participant said: “when I was three I came home from school and I said, ‘I want to be a teacher’”, while another stated: “I wanted to do it, you know I wanted to be a teacher like, I just knew it”. A small number of the participants presenting with a foreclosed identity made an attempt to explain this process; however, the resulting explanations tended to shed more light on identification with significant authority.
figures (Ryeng et al. 2013) than exploring the decision-making process involved in choosing a teaching career. For example, P7 said:

P7: I don’t know ~ In primary school I think I liked my teachers all of the time ~ you think “oh, they are great” and you just want to be them. At that age you just want to be someone ~ ~ wanting to learn to be what they are you are just ‘I want her, I want to be her’

In another example, a participant interactively positioned themselves away from another profession because of lack of familiarity with it, using repertoires of ‘I knew / understood teaching’ (an exemplary expression of the *apprenticeship of observation*) and ‘other career choices were abstract’. They displayed no evidence of an attempt to understand other careers before dismissing them:

P33: … it’s the one career where you know you have so much experience of it before you even step foot in it. I think ~ probably chose it because it something that I knew ~ Not that I knew how to do it but I knew what it was about. Whereas the idea of working in industry just seemed so abstract to me ~ I couldn’t figure what doing a course in applied physics was ~ Whereas I could ~ just look at a teacher and say ‘that’s what they do’.

7.2.2 Achieved identity status

Of those interviewed, approximately 19% (n=8) could be categorised as having an *achieved* identity status (see Figure 20), designated as desirable by Erikson due to its association with ‘constructed identities’ capable of high levels of adaptability (although similar levels of adaptability are evident with *foreclosed* status). The number of participants in this study who appear to have *achieved* identity status is significantly lower than that found in international studies carried out among college students (Kroger and Marcia 2011). When compared with the very relevant teacher education identity status study carried out among US ITE students by Hong and colleagues (2018), the above finding is clearly at odds with US norms. Hong’s study of 326 pre-service teachers identified that 41% (n=133) had an *achieved* identity status. From
my investigations, it would appear that no figures for Irish college students generally, or in relation to teacher education in particular, regarding identity status are available.

This raises interesting questions around why the level of attainment of achieved identity status was so low in this study when compared with Hong et al.’s (2018). To begin an analysis of this, I reviewed Hong et al.’s study (2018) and found that: 1) No indication was given as to the number of participants who were studying teaching on an undergraduate or post-graduate ITE programme. I perceived this to be significant; 2) Less than 25% (n=79) of the participants were studying to teach in the equivalent of an Irish second-level school. Again, this was significantly different relative to the cohort of participants involved in this study; 3) The participants in the US study were at an earlier stage of their ITE. Consequently, like was not being compared with like; 4) The Irish ITE context might be an important consideration when making comparisons; 5) The nature of the concurrent ITE programmes might explain some of the differences between the Irish and US findings; and 6) The measure used to consider identity status in this research project was not the same as the empirical ones used in the study cited. Although these considerations needed to be factored into analysis of the low achieved identity status finding, I still considered that the low level of achieved status and the high level of foreclosed identity participants required further investigation.

Achieved identity status was reflected in both very high commitment to occupational choice and evidence of high exploration through some “crisis moments” regarding career choice of teaching (see Figure 9/19). Similar to foreclosed identity participants, the achieved identity cohort evidenced strong commitment. Their expressions of commitment were evident in the
discursive resources, discursive processes and interpretive repertoires which all positioned them towards teaching as a worthwhile occupation.

The extent of achieved identity status participants’ exploration of career choice was evident in how they articulated their decisions to become a teacher. For example, the discursive resources in P13’s discourse identified the exploration of several careers during schooling positioning themselves strongly towards science related careers. They also used repertoires to communicate implied disappointment mixed with ‘it was to be expected not being successful in application for medicine’, indicating a degree of crisis in their career exploration:

P13: [I was trying to get at, were there any other jobs~ ~] Were there any other jobs? ~ I wanted to do ~ So I definitely wanted to go into science and some regard and into that general area. I had a look at medicine for a while purely because I liked ~ I did Red Cross, I liked caring for people. I was relatively good at Red Cross too … And I did the HPAT [Irish standardised tests to enter medicine degrees]. But the system in Ireland is very complicated and very hard to get into. I didn’t think I stood a chance of getting the points as well … So I said I would chance it just to see how I would fare in the HPAT. To get a standing of where I was relative to the other kind of people who would do the HPAT. But I never, for a second, believed that I would actually get it.

When P8 was asked when they decided to become a teacher, P8 identified a path to teaching that had deviations and then a gradual, growing awareness that teaching was what they wanted. Their career exploration was evident in the interpretive repertoires of ‘teaching goal uncertain in school’ and ‘careers to help people’. The discursive resources here show their “crisis moment” occurring during the first year on another college course when they realised that it was not the course for them. This excerpt also simultaneously highlights the high commitment to the core values of teaching evident in the repertoire ‘teaching as altruism’:
P8: … ~ ～ It crossed my mind a couple of times in secondary school. But if I’m honest, during my time in secondary school, I was very much on the path of becoming a politician, which was the way I thought of helping people back then. But times change. Like, you know, I started doing a politics degree. I had science teaching second or third on my list, on the CAO. But after a year of doing politics I decided it’s not really how you can help people… But I was learning things about Plato and historians and there was nothing there about helping people out. And again, I’ve been saying helping young people out, and I thought teaching would be definitely some way to do it. And when I had an aptitude for science I thought why not utilise it?

7.2.3 Identity moratorium

Four participants (9%) in the research cohort of 42 appeared to present with a clear moratorium identity status (see Figure 20). Three of these participants had entered ITE having adopted the goal of being a teacher during their apprenticeship of observation in school. Broadly in line with the generally accepted movement between statuses – diffusion, to foreclosure, to moratorium and then achievement (Meeus 2018; 2011; Kroger et al. 2010; Waterman 1988) – their discourse identified them as likely to have been in foreclosed identity status during their schooling. Their discourse communicated an on-going crisis at the time of interview as they tried to maintain the continuity of the self from childhood while changes were occurring to their ego and personality structures (Marcia and Kroger 2011; Erikson 1966). They were not fully committed to teaching (low commitment) but indicated previous and on-going exploration of their occupational choice (high exploration) – they were actively seeking a way forward in their identity formation (Marcia 1980) (see Figure 9/19).

Evidence of career exploration regarding their career choice was apparent in responses regarding motivations for teaching. For example, P6 thought that ITE might be a “useful degree” that they could go “another direction with”. Discursively, they positioned themselves through the use of interpretive repertoires such as ‘uncertain’, and discursive processes that
included emotive and hyperbolic language such as “falling into” teaching and “I hated it” in relation to their choice of career. The use of discursive processes of this nature may help explain the high levels of anxiety typically associated with those in moratorium (Kroger 2000).

When asked what motivated them to become a teacher, a question intended to ascertain both commitment and exploration in relation to career choice, P20, a participant in moratorium, reflected their upset state of mind at no longer wanting to teach using a repertoire of ‘I couldn’t be bothered’ because of their emerging and unwelcome lack of commitment to their career choice. This excerpt also flags their active exploration of other careers:

P20: I liked the subjects that I wanted to go and teach ~ Biology and Ag[Agricultural] Science and Physics … I felt that I was good at teaching. But now, as it turns out, after doing it I couldn’t be bothered either way. Like I know everyone else in our class they submitted to the Teaching Council nearly straight away. I never submitted to the Teaching Council. I didn’t want to do it. I wanted to go out and see what the other jobs are like first and, you know, have a full-time job doing something else apart from teaching. Like, all we have done for the past four years is teach. Between micro-teaching and presentations and going out on teaching practice and stuff like that … you want to go out and see what other jobs are like.

Later in the interview, as evidenced in the extract below, P20 demonstrated clear openness to new ideas when asked about their career choice process, another behavioural referent for identity moratorium individuals. They draw on repertoires of ‘too Leaving Certificate / CAO focussed’ and ‘wanted to try new experiences’ in addition to discursive processes to build a picture of looking both inward and outward to develop their career choice process – they are open to analysing their process to find a solution for themselves:

P20: … Like, it is very narrow to go in from the CAO that you are going to do teaching. You know, I wanted to go out and see what other things are like, you know. And that is what I am doing now. Especially because I always had an interest in business and business areas. So I wanted to go in and see what stuff like that could happen. You know, even if you just got into a small managerial role or something like that. Just for a while. Just something else to add to the CV as well like. To get experience of other things happening.
P35, below, was also doubting their choice of career. While still committed to some aspects of the teaching profession, they were now actively seeking alternatives. The discursive processes here repeatedly refer to time and draw on repertoires of ‘self-doubt’, ‘time changing perspectives on teaching’ and ‘negative experiences of teaching’:

P35: {And, so, teaching next year, is that your intention then, to go teaching? Pursue your career?} [laugh] I’m not actually sure now [laugh] {Are you not?} Now that I’ve done the four years, I think I’ll probably, I will do it for ~ some time, I’ll go out and see what my experience will be like, I’m not sure now after four years here. {Why not?} I’d say probably my experiences of teaching, {Right } ~ challenging ~ kind of changed my perspective but I’m not sure if that’s as a result of kind of the stress and anxiety related to teaching practice or whether that’s just me as a person.

7.2.4 Identity diffusion

The analysis identified one participant (2.5%) in the research cohort who could be categorised as having a weak diffused identity status, that is, low on commitment to and exploration of career choice. Elements of other statuses were evident in this discourse. Given that this participant had opted for a programme in ITE following completion of a first degree (exploration) and that they had taken initial steps towards committing to an occupational choice, this is perhaps understandable. In the extract below, P21’s discourse identifies discursive resources which both evidence their lack of exploration both in the past and at the time of interview, and a very weak commitment to teaching as indicated by the unenthusiastic discursive processes. These discursive processes communicate a vagueness in regard to the teaching skills referenced, with a focus on personality above other aspects of teaching:

P21: It was just kind of by chance [going into teaching]. So it was more like ~ I didn’t have any aspirations of being a teacher when I was younger, but after I did it I was like “this is something I enjoy more” [than 1st degree career]. I really didn’t like my co-op placement in an office, just bored out of my mind. Kind of ~ I get on well with kids. So this is probably a better avenue for me … No, not at all. I don’t think I had even thought of it, no … {… when you were applying to come into the course, did you
feel you had those attributes [to be a good teacher]?
Yeah. I’d say I had ~ maybe not the good skills of a teacher yet but I definitely had the personality traits of a good teacher. I don’t get angry or get too confrontational with children or anything like that. So I would say I had the personality traits but not the skills. (And now, when you are finished ~ you are finished now?) Yeah … Well I am much closer. I wouldn’t say I have them perfected or anything. But I would look at teaching a lot differently after doing this course. Probably much more open minded about group-work and that stuff.

7.2.5 A note on students moving towards identity moratorium

As stated, Marcia’s recent research (2010; 2002) shows that individuals often exist in more than one status and move or transition between the statuses throughout the lifecycle through identity reconstruction. This can be described as a fluid or dynamic construction of identity. In this context, it is interesting to note that, of the 69% (n=29) who were identified as having a foreclosed identity status, 21% (n=6) of this cohort appeared to be moving towards identity moratorium status at a time when they were either six or 18 months short of completing their ITE degree. These participants, who hovered between identities in foreclosures and moratorium, evidenced some anxiety in their discourse consequent to doubts about their commitment to teaching and sensing a looming crisis heralding a need for career exploration. They were not yet actively exploring other career choices; they had no new clear career goal in their working-self goal hierarchy and their original choice, teaching, adopted during the apprenticeship of observation, was now in doubt to some extent. They still evidenced strong commitment to teaching in the main, as demonstrated by their continuing and active participation in an ITE programme. One participant described the career choice process in Ireland “as being forced too soon” and “couldn’t be bothered now [with teaching]”. In the extract below from P17, this sense of career uncertainty is evidenced in the communication of how they felt on entering ITE versus at the time of interview, and their emerging evolving lack of commitment to the profession and its requirements; the subject positioning, as articulated here, is both interactively and reflexively away from teaching:
P17: I wanted to go teaching and I felt that I was good at teaching. But now, as it turns out, after doing it I couldn’t be bothered either way. Like I know everyone else in our class, they submitted to the [Teacher Induction Process] nearly straight away. I never submitted ~ I didn’t want to do it.

Reading the interview transcripts, it became clear that experiences of ITE teaching placements had forced participants to look at themselves and their chosen career critically. In doing this, they confronted challenging questions. As Marcia (2002) identifies, when their “security blanket” of certainty was removed they entered an occupational crisis, forcing them to question their commitment to their career choice. For example, P5, a participant moving to moratorium, used a strong diametric interpretive repertoire with very emotive language in the discursive processes to communicate their sense of crisis:

P5: … then like my experience from teaching practice from last year, I think I came out and I cried everyday ~ I hated it ~ I was like, I’m dropping out I hate it, can’t do it anymore ‘cause I loved it in first year, I loved teaching practice. In the second year, I just hated it - so many classroom management issues.

In the excerpt below, P26 describes classroom management challenges experienced when teaching one of their subjects during practicum. They use discursive processes to signify fear and upset. They later go on to explain how they now prefer their other academic subject and would probably prefer to study that subject in greater depth in the future, but not to teach it:

P26: … going into different set of school settings. Like you know I’ve been in very different school settings and ~ they’ve been seriously challenging, they, it DIDN’T always go well especially in Home Ec.[Economics], practical classes and discipline, you get a fright you know?

7.3 A focus on foreclosed identity status participants

Consequent to the very high levels of foreclosed identity status identified among the research cohort (69%, n=29) and the aims of the research, I undertook a deeper analysis of the transcripts of those in the foreclosed identity status. Based on my review of literature, a newly-qualified
teacher leaving ITE with a *foreclosed* identity would likely not have a developed, robust, agentic teacher identity such as would be required by a teacher who aims to be an agent of change and whose decisions are underpinned by social justice. In what follows, I set out my findings in relation to establishing the face validity of the *foreclosed* identity status construct using the near dependent variables, in other words, those variables that aligned most closely with the definition of the construct (Kroger and Marcia 2011) (see Figure 21).

![Figure 21](image)

**Figure 21 (also Figure 10):** *Foreclosed identity status; a focus on near variable measures and cognitive traits.*

From a teacher education perspective, I particularly focussed on an authoritarian orientation, susceptibility to positive and negative feedback and an alignment with the overall measure of ego (Kroger 2017; Arnett 2014; Lillevoll *et al.* 2013; Ryeng *et al.* 2013; Schwartz *et al.* 2013; Kroger and Marcia 2011).
7.3.1 Possible associations: influential figures and a normative processing orientation

There was very significant evidence of a normative processing orientation; that is, internalising the expectations and standards of significant others and its associated external locus of control (Kroger 2000; Berzonsky 1989; 1985) among foreclosed identity individuals. In a context where developing relationships with authority figures is accepted as playing a key role in early childhood ego development stages (Erikson 1959; 1963), schooling is the main source of one of the most significant authority figures in a child’s life outside of their parents, that is, teachers (Kroger and Marcia 2011). As previously stated, foreclosed identity status individuals can be characterised by their alignment with authority figures as a source of continuity with childhood; they avoid anxiety and, thus, they enhance feelings of security by acceding to an external locus of control (Kroger and Marcia 2011). I believe that the evidence of the normative processing style in foreclosed identity participants’ discourse, as outlined below, confirms, in line with other studies, the impression of individuals who were stable, committed, agreeable, hard-working and confident while simultaneously avoiding non-conforming ideas and beliefs (Berzonsky et al. 2005). Across the board, this normative processing was evident in the discourse of foreclosed identity participants, especially in the manner in which they had internalised goals and values of significant others, most notably teachers they encountered in school and family members who were teachers.

When asked what motivated them to teach, 79% (n=23) of the foreclosed identity cohort (n=29) explicitly identified, through positive subject positioning, ‘good / inspirational teachers’ or teachers in their nuclear family as the key motivating factor in their career choice. Of the remaining six foreclosed identity participants, one identified that bad teachers were their motivating factor. These motivations for teaching align with Rinke et al.’s study (2014) which
identified that incoming ITE students were influenced by teachers acting as disciplinary mentors or empowerment models during schooling. Four *foreclosed* identity participants recalled ‘just always wanting to be a teacher’ when asked to describe their key motivating factor. All four had very strong and specific memories of effective and ineffective teachers. One *foreclosed* identity participant pursued a teaching career only because they wanted to progress a favoured subject, and this individual recalled very few memories of teachers. Interestingly, while many *foreclosed* identity participants identified the opportunity to study a favoured subject as part of their motivation for teaching, in the vast majority of cases, it was not their most significant motivating factor. This seems to be quite different from what was found in the UK study undertaken by Younger et al. (2004) where 80% of second-level teachers predicated their decision to become a teacher on subject choice. Finally, the remaining participant in this small cohort offered very little detail about their motivations for teaching despite numerous probes (see Figure 22).

**Figure 22: Motivations for teaching among foreclosed identity participants.**
As stated, the strong influence of both teachers and family on this cohort’s motivation for teaching would appear to have resulted in the internalisation of the goals, values and standards of favoured teachers and/or teachers in their family. This is exemplified in the excerpt that follows. The discursive resources in the discourse clearly identify the inspirational figures for the goal of becoming a teacher and the interpretive repertoire of ‘they enjoyed their job’ undoubtedly identifies something they wish to aspire to themselves:

P7: *(What motivated you to be a teacher?)* Probably watching the construction studies teacher. He only came in the last couple of years and we had teacher before that, who doesn’t teach any more. And when you seen the difference like, it kind of motivated me to be a teacher like. That I could do it like. It showed me like, and his interest, his interest in the subject. Like, it inspired me a small bit as well like. I related well to him, like, compared to the other teacher, where we used to run riot in the class. Once I seen the comparison and I saw how much he enjoyed teaching as well, like. Same with the principal as well like. The principal taught English in first and second year in school. And I seen how much he loved teaching and that’s really what inspired me. Also, the brothers and sisters are teachers too and they seem to enjoy it, so…

P9, below, clearly identifies that their motivation for teaching was their experience of teachers who gave ‘over and above’ what would have been expected. Later in the interview, P9 stated an ambition to do exactly the same as just such a teacher, this shows an internalisation of values and standards. The interpretive repertoires depicting the altruistic attributes of good teachers evident in this transcript are striking but quite typical of the foreclosed identity participants:

P9: … pretty much just my experiences with my own teachers. … but no, just the way the teachers made me feel when I was in the class. Even if there was something that I found a bit difficult, they would stay and work with you until you got it. If they were using up too much of the class time, they would be there at break or at lunch if you would come back to them if you wanted. You know, they gave up their free time to try and help everybody understand more. I remember in the run up to the exams they did basically almost like grinds, but they weren’t charging, at the weekends for a couple of hours for us.
When this finding in relation to motivations for teaching was compared with the 13 participants (31%) in the other identity status categories, another interesting trend became evident. The discourse from four of the 13 participants clearly indicated that they had been in *foreclosed* identity status during second-level schooling (see Table 7). When analysed, their discourse confirmed that each of this four had identified either teachers or family as their key motivation for teaching when entering ITE. In the case of the remaining nine participants, those adjudged not to have been in *foreclosed* identity status since school, their motivation for a career in teaching were not as obviously attributable to either teachers or family members who were teachers. While they articulated generally clear memories of teachers, their answers to the questions relating to motivations for choosing teaching and qualities of good teachers were less strongly oriented around inspirational or poor teachers or family members. They appeared to have a different normative processing orientation in relation to their career choice. In effect, when not in *foreclosed* identity status with the goal of teaching during school, participants seemed to encode and retrieve memories of teachers differently, with less clarity, and less analysis for goal congruence.

At a more fine-grained level of analysis, the findings in relation to family specifically as an influence on career choice offer interesting insights. Consistent with Marcia’s (1966) supposition that reliance on parental authority was influential in occupational choice, an early acceptance of the value of authority figures and conformism in society, 24% (n=7) of the participants who were identified as entering ITE in *foreclosure* identity status (n=29) recognised the influential role of family members in their decision-making process. More specifically, of the 42 participants in the study, nine (21%) identified that they had been influenced to some degree by family members who were teachers. Only two of these participants were not in the *foreclosed* identity status. This means that 24% (n=7) of *foreclosed*
identity participants had been influenced by what Marcia (1980) identified as “family legacy” reasons – they follow in the family business – as this is seen as socially acceptable and safe (Shaffer and Zalewski 2011). This family legacy comes with some negative consequences for moving out of *foreclosed* identity status consequent to the need to gain positive reinforcement and validation from significant others (Shaffer and Zalewski 2011; Schultheiss and Blustein 1994). This can make it much harder for *foreclosed* identity individuals to reconsider a career later in adolescence due to the fear of disappointing family; they are pressured by the weight of expectation (Greene 2006). I would like to add here that it may also be worth exploring if pre-service teachers choose a teaching career because it represents a kind of “authority figure legacy”, a way of respecting their other key childhood authority figures, that is, teachers, by emulating their career choice – imitation being the highest form of flattery. Additionally, as teaching has been seen traditionally as a high-status profession in Ireland (Conway 2013), an adolescent who chooses teaching as a career is likely to receive affirmation from family, further reinforcing the impression of a safe and socially acceptable career choice.

The *foreclosed* identity participants who identified the strong influence of family on career goals and values positioned these family members in a positive light and clearly demonstrated the internalisation of their goals, values and beliefs through *discursive processes* and repertoires connoting positivity and enjoyment. This is evident in the extracts below:

**P2:** There were a number of teachers in the family ~ I just have a positive image of them ~ like despite the ridicule from the media, I myself would have a positive image of them. They seemed happy in life.

**P38:** … but one of my brothers was graduated and out teaching before I was doing my Leaving Cert and he just, he was so happy, he enjoyed it and I, I do like working with teenagers more so than children, so that’s why I think secondary school would’ve been an approach for me.
This positive representation of family members who influenced *foreclosed* identity participants’ career choice decisions is clearly highlighted when compared to a participant (P42) aligning with a weak *achieved* identity status. P42 decided on the goal of teaching after second-level schooling. Their transcript evidences a “crisis moment” connected to career *exploration* following a reassessment of the influence of family on their career choice. Furthermore, the *discursive resources* in P42’s transcript offer a more reserved positioning of one parent’s influence on their occupational choice. The *discursive processes* are focussed on hesitancy, using words like ‘might’ and ‘maybe’, suggesting grudging or reluctant acknowledgement of the parent’s part in a career decision. The *interpretative repertoire* of ‘manipulated into the decision’ is evident at the end of the excerpt. This participant showed that they worked through the influence of family to reach their own conclusions about their suitability for teaching; this is evidence of a more ‘constructed identity’:

P42: … I don’t like to believe it but I think maybe my mother might have been a bit of an influence. [small laugh] *ok* she’s a Home Economics teacher, *ok* and like I didn’t think I listened to her but that might have put it at the top at the time *ok* because it ended up my two brothers are teaching as well so I kind of think she might have had a bigger influence on us than we even realized. I’ve thought about that, was it a good thing was – she kind of manipulating us? Were we all actually suited for teaching? Was it just she wanted security for us? I’ve made my peace with it now as I know I’m suited to it, you know…

As stated, external locus of control is strongly associated with a normative processing orientation (Kroger 2000; Berzonsky 1985). To further exemplify this, when the linkages between school successes and/or failures and teachers were examined, there was substantial evidence of the *foreclosed* identity participants’ external locus of control lying with significant others. Good / bad grades and exam success / failure were most often attributed to their teachers, as exemplified by P14, below:
P14: Biology, I had a brilliant teacher. And I think she was a real inspiration for me. She made the topic really interesting. I actually had a group of friends and they were in biology with another teacher. And they just, they couldn’t engage with the subject at all. Whereas my teacher in a class of about 15 she had about seven As, me included. So, you know, she was brilliant.

There are undesirable consequences for teacher education resulting from a normative processing orientation. As outlined previously, significant research has shown the tendency among foreclosed identity individuals to unquestionably follow the rules (and, in cases such as above, the guidance and example) made by significant authority figures from childhood. This tendency can be clearly linked to conformism and conservativism. Foreclosed identity participants’ transcripts consistently evidenced the positioning of good teaching as being conservative and conformist, based on their own experiences during their schooling. For example, P9, using repertoires of ‘what worked for me’ and ‘teaching to the exam’, positioned themselves as perceiving good teaching as being narrow, conformist and conservative:

P9: I identified the teacher who could get me good marks – there was one teacher, that was an excellent role model for myself but she taught solely to the exam. I took up Phys/Chem[Physics/Chemistry] – and I got an A in it. And I just said ‘Well that is just testament to her being a good teacher’. She just analysed the papers and knew what was coming up, no messing with fancy strategies.

Tendencies towards relying on authority figures from schooling – symptoms of a ‘conferred identity’ – would most likely lead the individuals who have them to continue to look to childhood authority figures for continued guidance in relation to their life positioning rather than reformulating their childhood values and positions (Arnett 2014; Mestvirishvili et al. 2014; Ryeng et al. 2013; Schwartz et al. 2013; Marcia 1967; 1966). A ‘conferred identity’ would not augur well for future teachers with robust, constructed teacher identities, capable of reflective practice – teachers who can both perceive and exercise their agency to bring change.
to the education sector at an individual and structural level to support social justice (Tan and Barton 2012).

7.3.2 Possible characteristics: high-structure

In line with Berzonsky’s work (1989), foreclosed identity participants evidenced a greater desire for high-structure relative to those in the other identity status groups. Those in the other identity status groups demonstrated some high-structure positions, but to a much lesser degree. As could be expected from the context of the interviews, the high-structure preference was most apparent in relation to their preferred learning situations and their projected roles as teachers. Analysis of the overall tenor of the foreclosed identity participants’ discourse revealed a wealth of interpretive repertoires positioning them towards high-structure scenarios. Repertoires such as ‘school was great because it was so predictable / structured’, ‘high value on teacher preparation’ and ‘teachers must control a classroom for learning to happen’ all evidenced this preference. In the excerpt below, P28, in line with Schwartz et al’s (2013) contention, articulates a strong desire to avoid losing the safety of known and highly structured environments. Their discourse includes discursive processes and broad interpretive repertoires of security, predictability and anxiousness to articulate a wariness about leaving ITE and starting work as a teacher. They perceived college as safe and predictable:

P28: … like do yea know, was it daunting going out [on school practicum] {Yeah} because obviously it is something that we think about like as in {yeah} do yea know it’s going to be a big change, {Yeah, you’ve the safety of here for the last four years} yeah and we knew exactly ~ now granted, college is very tough, it’s a particularly tough course, there’s long hours, there’s lot of assignments, {Ok} there’s a lot of things going on like you really have to keep on top of it but there is a certain level of security, you know you’re going to lectures you know you need to hand in that assignment whereas now it will be ~ quite different now ~ {It’s a scary transition} Yeah.

P1 and P15, below, describe preferred teaching strategies – methods they deem effective in the context of their own learning – which are reliant on high-structure. The repeated use of the
word ‘notes’ from P1 and the repertoire of ‘the only way I could learn’ from P15, build discursive processes which clearly position the pre-service teachers towards didactic strategies:

P1: I really liked being given notes. So, we’ll say, we had either teachers who wrote the main points up on the board and we would take them down - that was our notes copy - or we would be given sheets and we would have all of that as our notes, extra notes and things like that. I really thought that was good.

P15: Okay. So, I know, everybody says no rote learning, you know? It’s not a good thing, but for me there were certain subjects where rote learning was the only way that I could learn. Like maths. I loved maths but I wasn’t ~ It didn’t come very naturally. Like, I have to keep writing the same thing out over and over again, you know, keep doing loads of examples. I know that’s what everybody needs to do but I felt that I had to do it that bit more.

7.3.3 Possible characteristics: authoritarian orientation

I found there was some evidence that, in line with research, the foreclosed identity status pre-service teachers relied on the values of childhood authority figures with an inclination towards more authoritarian approaches (Ryeng et al. 2013; Kroger and Marcia 2011). The characteristics of favoured teachers as authority figures were repeatedly depicted in an idealised fashion, typified in a statement from one participant: “I just loved Ms [X], she was everything I wanted to be”. The foreclosed identity participants’ accounts tended to describe teachers who had significant levels of classroom control. In the extracts, below, it is worth noting the repertoires of ‘strict teachers are good teachers’, ‘control means good teaching’ and ‘respect for teachers comes through strictness and control’:

P11: So, if a student wants to ask a question, or if they want to ask the person next to them a question ~ within reason obviously, they let them, but as soon as someone steps outside the line ~ every pupil knows that the teacher won’t take it. They won’t take the messing ~ they develop respect.

P10: Yea, like one teacher in our Business class, she was absolutely fabulous. She was very strict, very like controlling and stuff but we still had a good laugh with her and she was very respectful. You could talk to her about anything yea know?
In line with the above descriptions, when asked what makes a good teacher, *foreclosed* identity participants’ discourse featured *discursive processes*, including phrases and sayings which consistently fitted with repertoires that portrayed an authoritarian teacher in a positive light, such as ‘good’ and ‘effective classroom management’, ‘control’, ‘enforcing boundaries’ and a clear focus on helping students acquire good grades through ‘the methodologies that get results’.

A small number of the *foreclosed* identity participants showed a worrying tendency towards favouring even stronger authoritarian teaching. Their discourse used *interpretive repertoires* associated with rigid and palpable control. For example, P17 draws on a strong repertoire of rigid Victorian discipline to identify teachers who were respected. The use of silence in this discourse adds a sense of menace to the authority:

**P17**: We all respected the teachers and there was a real sense of ~ they were the people in authority ~ and you listened ~ it was that real silence in the classroom ~ just that total respect we had for the teachers and that total silence. The teacher walks in ~ no talking, you sat in your rows and you got on with your work and it was ~hard to get that out of your head [on subsequent school placements].

**P38** draws on repertoires of classroom management such as control and strictness to describe key attributes of ineffective teaching they experienced at school and later goes on to identify exerting control as a key attribute of good teachers:

**P38**: No it was just sheer frustration, there was one teacher in particular that stands out who just had *Ok* no control over *Ok* any of the classes and the students knew that as well *Alright* so they would take advantage of that *Ok*, it was a bit of a pain for the students who did want to learn because you didn’t want to say it to the rest of the class, you know come on, we need to learn something and it’s not fair. A good teacher though should be able to get control of a class, you have to have strictness ~ well that’s what I think so that learning can happen. Even back then in the secondary school you could see it’s not fair on the teacher, but it was a lot their own fault though [laugh] but obviously now you’re on other side
of the desk you can see much more {Yeah} how frustrating it can be, but ~ that wasn’t a great memory now going back to them classes where you just, you were embarrassed for the teacher.

7.3.4 Possible characteristics: defensiveness

Defensiveness, a characteristic associated with identity foreclosure (Cramer 2017; Kroger and Marcia 2011), was prevalent in the responses of participants in the foreclosed identity cohort. For example, probed with questions such as “but if that teacher never taught you would you have become a teacher?”, or “if you had not enjoyed school would you have wanted to be a teacher?”, participants tended to close down and rely on answers that drew from an interpretive repertoire oriented around ‘I always wanted to be a teacher’. Defensiveness such as this could be adjudged to act as a barrier to exploration of participants’ career choice once they committed to a teaching career. In the excerpted discourse from P24, below, the participant closes down the line of questioning, demonstrating Berzonky’s (1989) ‘cognitive closure’. Simply put, foreclosed identity individuals, such as P24, dismiss alternative career choices by drawing on repertoires of ‘I always wanted to be a teacher’ and ‘teaching was all I knew’ in their discourse to defensively position themselves towards a teaching career:

P24: {… what motivated you then to make that decision or what motivated you first to become a teacher or Home Ec.[Economics] teacher?} I always wanted to be a teacher even when I was younger from primary school I always said I wanted to be a primary school teacher and then when I came into secondary school I was still going between primary and secondary … ~as far back as I can remember I’ve always wanted to be a teacher. {Don’t doctors and nurses and solicitors and barristers and receptionists help people too… there are many different jobs and professions that help people??} It’s probably just because I had the exposure to teaching because all we’ve ever known was school and education and lecturing …

Exemplifying both defensiveness and a lack of openness to disconfirming goal information, P32, when asked if they thought they now had the necessary attributes to be a good teacher, drew on memories of feedback from their school practicum. They build discursive processes
which communicate defensiveness through vague answering when asked about tutor feedback regarding school placement, using words such as ‘stuff’ and ‘hard to remember’, and more generally through pauses and lack of fluidity. They also draw on a key defensive interpretive repertoire of ‘only negative feedback from ITE tutors’ to rationalise why they are not open to feedback:

P32: I’d say my subject knowledge definitely needs to improve and – I’m told I need to work on pedagogy stuff, I dunno like, I can’t even remember now – differentiation I think but it’s hard to – even just like even the comfort in knowing that you can do it sort of thing and like – a lot of – do yea know the college, it can be focussed on like – you didn’t do this, you didn’t do this whereas it might have been like – you don’t get told you did it but you did all these things – good.

7.3.5 Possible characteristics: poor response to formative feedback

An interesting characteristic associated with identity foreclosure relates to poor response to formative feedback or disconfirming information (Kroger and Marcia 2011; Mancini et al. 2015). There was some evidence of this characteristic in the positions adopted by foreclosed identity participants when asked about their perceptions regarding their current attributes for teaching. Three out of four foreclosed identity participants who disclosed that they had failed a school placement module explained how these unsuccessful teaching placements in ITE were not the result of personal deficiencies but rather the result of external factors such as unreasonable expectations by the ITE providers, poorly managed schools or disinterested pupils. The positioning of a small number of participants evidenced a negative response to disconfirming formative feedback. In the opinion expressed about teaching placement feedback by P9, below, the participant positions themselves as distant from the serious issues raised in the critique and draws on discursive processes to communicate scepticism regarding the College’s opinions of them, using the word ‘apparently’ and the repertoire of ‘my problems are not a big deal’:
P9: There are a couple of issues I need to work on. Primarily, apparently my tone can come across as condescending and even aggressive in the class sometimes ~ I speak too quickly, and I have been told that I am a little bit too harsh when it comes to correcting things but, all in all ~ just the little quirks and skills you get as you go.

Closely linked to negative responses to disconfirming formative feedback, and in line with research, there was little evidence that the participants had a propensity or capacity to reassess their own abilities based on feedback from authority figures (Shaffer and Zalewski 2011). An individual’s lack of capacity to engage with critical self-reflection and to self-assess performance could be detrimental to their teacher identity formation (Alsup 2006). While this characteristic was identified in three cases, it was not widely evident. I believe that this may have been because the interview schedule did not directly address self-assessment of current teaching skills, although one question did so indirectly by asking participants to assess if they believed they had the necessary attributes to be a good teacher. While this characteristic in relation to participants reassessing their own abilities based on feedback from authority figures may seem at odds with the one above relating to negative responses to disconfirming feedback from authority figures, it was clearly distinguishable in the contradictions evident in some of the transcripts of pre-service teachers with foreclosed identity. As can be seen in the excerpt above, some overly defensive participants resisted, reframed and distanced themselves from any information that did not match their career goal. However, when a valued authority figure, such as parent or favoured teacher, offered advice regarding their work, they took this advice on board even when it was at odds with their previously articulated views on good teaching.

For example, P38 in the course of their interview had positioned themselves towards always being willing to work hard and having a caring disposition. Below, this participant looks back
on a failed teaching placement and reflects on the advice offered by an ITE tutor that they particularly respected. What shows in the strong repertoires of ‘shock’ and ‘respected tutor’, is that P38 reassessed their previously held view of themselves as being caring and always working hard:

P38: … when I started off I was BRUTAL, I failed my teaching practice in 2nd year and looking back now, I completely and 100% understand how I did fail, Dr [X] who failed me – I respected – like she’s a great teacher when she said I had, no compassion towards the students, it shocked me, I had no patience, which was expected, I didn’t put a lot of work into it, which really surprised me {Ok} and looking back at it now in comparison to the amount of work and preparation I put into my teaching practice {Yeah} sessions now, she was right, I did nothing back then.

This discourse could be interpreted in two ways. It could be concluded that it demonstrates the participant aligning with the trait of reassessing their abilities based on feedback from authority figures. Alternately, it could be viewed that the participant demonstrated openness to ITE pedagogic advice. Initially, I construed this discourse as largely positive as I believed that it showed openness to advice from ITE professionals. While this might be the case, when I reviewed P38’s transcript holistically, I came to conclude that it did not evidence a large degree of internalisation of the need for compassion in a teacher’s skill-set when discussing the attributes of good teachers and teaching. Consequently, I viewed this discourse as aligning with the trait of reassessing their own abilities based on feedback from authority figures.

7.3.6 Possible positive characteristics

It is worth returning to the idea that not all characteristics of foreclosed identity status are bad in the context of teaching. Along with achieved identity status individuals, foreclosed identity individuals are said to have very high levels of adaptability (Kroger 2000). This was evident in the discourse of most foreclosed identity participants when they were asked to speak about whether they believed they had the necessary attributes to be a good teacher now or what they
thought they needed to improve on to become a good teacher. In the excerpt below, P10 shows their growing understanding of the value of experience when applying good practice learned in ITE. The participant positions themselves towards valuing experienced teachers by drawing on interpretive repertoires of ‘self-reflection’, ‘learning from experience’, ‘differentiation is important’ and ‘theory to practice’ to demonstrate this increasing adaptability:

P10: … well the one thing I keyed in on in teaching practice was just to make sure I am getting to every student in the class. Because that is a hard task if you have 30 or 35 in a class. It is hard to make sure you are on the button for every one of those 35. And I would really like to ~ now, when I getting into teaching now ~ talk to teachers and ask how they do it and how they find is the best way to manage a class like that like. Do you ~ is spot checks good enough or is constant weekly tests, bimonthly tests, those things or a combination of all of them. I would really like to know, find out from working teachers which is the best way because they have years of experience.

In line with research, the foreclosed identity individuals in this study evidenced high levels of desirable characteristics such as conscientiousness, agreeableness and emotional stability traits, (Pop et al. 2015; Lounsbury et al. 2005; Luyckx et al. 2005). In their discourse, high levels of conscientiousness were often apparent in participants’ articulation of their second-level academic success due to their committed academic persistence (Petitpas 1978). Interpretive repertoires of ‘I was a very good student’, ‘I loved school because I was good at it’ and ‘I did really well in exams’ abounded. P9 exemplifies this personality trait and demonstrates strong self-positioning as an excellent student at second-level:

P9: I always liked school, probably because I was good at it. I never actually found a subject I was bad at. I never failed an exam in my life … I don’t think I have ever even gotten a D [grade], apart until I came to college. But college exams are an awful lot more difficult …
Meeus (2018; 2011) proffered that *foreclosure* identity status might be a useful starting point in identity formation in late adolescence consequent to its association with stability, adaptability and well-being. As demonstrated in the previous paragraphs, I find merit in this argument, up to a point. However, disconfirming evidence emerged during the course of this research project. The level of *foreclosed* identity participants identified in this study was significantly higher than the norm across international studies. For example, Shaffer and Zalewski (2011) identified, from data collated from empirical studies of college entrants, that up to 25% of entrants were in identity *foreclosure*, and in a teacher education context, Pop et al. (2015) found that 18% of ITE participants in a Romanian study were in identity *foreclosure*. More recently, Hong et al.’s (2018) study of US pre-service teachers’ identity status, which was largely in line with other international studies focussed on third-level students, offers a sharp counterpoint to the findings of this study (see Table 8). The high percentage of Irish students adjudged to be in *foreclosed* identity status becomes very significant when contextualised in terms of international studies showing that, at the end of third-level study, less than half of those who were in *foreclosed* identity status on entry to college had moved out of this status (Kroger 2000). It seems reasonable to conclude that research gathered for this project evidences a significant lack of *achieved* identities and a high level of *foreclosed* identities. If only half of the *foreclosed* identity pre-service teachers moved to *achieved* status by the end of their ITE programme, this would mean that 35% of the ITE graduates who took part in this research project would begin teaching while still in *foreclosed* identity status. While the high *foreclosed* identity status finding may be due to the research tool implemented in this study, nonetheless, it raised important questions: why did there appear to be so many *foreclosed* status pre-service teachers? why was there not a greater degree of movement between the identity statuses?; and, what implications arise from these findings for teacher educators shaping programmes and practices for effective teaching?
Table 8: Comparison of Pre-service Teachers’ Identity Statuses between Hong et al. (2018) and this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hong et al. (2018) US study of 326 pre-service teachers</th>
<th>This study (2019) of 42 pre-service teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achieved</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moratorium</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>69% (with 24% showing signs of identity status movement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffusion</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.7 Simplistic conceptions of teaching

As stated in the introduction, consequent to my lived experience of pre-service teachers seemingly making early career decisions to become teachers, a key baseline of this research project was to consider the prevalence of a foreclosed identity status among pre-service teachers undertaking concurrent second-level teaching programmes. I believed that this baseline could then be used to explore a possible link between this identity status and pre-service teachers’ resistance to pedagogic input, simplistic teaching conceptions, hampered professional growth, and limited teaching identities.

The discourse collected and analysed in this study evidences a prevalence of foreclosed identities relative to international studies and norms. The analysed discourse also highlights a relationship between this status and simplistic conceptions of teaching. In the preceding sections it is clear that foreclosed identity participants had simplistic conceptions of teaching at times; they were often defensive, prone to overly controlling classroom management techniques, not always critically reflective of their practice and much focussed on the practices
of their favoured or disliked teachers. These same tendencies were apparent in participants who evidenced *moratorium* and *diffuse* identities. The majority of those with *achieved* identities displayed greater levels of sophistication in their conceptions of teaching. For example, P16’s views on the education system demonstrated critical reflection, internalisation of theory and agency to build a better system through their use of key *interpretive repertoires* including ‘I bravely gave my views’, ‘the system is broken’ and ‘teachers must build a better system’:

**P16:** … I was speaking to *Name of Civil Servant*, he is *Title of Position* in the DES [Department of Education and Skills] and I didn’t know who he was, so I was very blunt – I was kind of saying this stuff - absolutely *tearing to shreds the curriculum* that is in place and I didn’t have a clue who he was. In the end he told me who he was and he said I agree with everything you said but – whatever message you are trying to get across here is dead but you can’t just tear it down and start from new, you have to build in change slowly and surely. I disagreed with him then, I said “No, when a car is wrote off you have to buy a new one. It is illegal to put it back on the road.” *The system in my eyes is illegal ~ it’s a wrote-off car.* I know we have *gone on to curriculum there and a system and a way bigger thing.* But it *comes down to an individual teacher.* We are talking about what is an effective teacher … there is a direct link between one effective teacher and the whole lot [education system] and they should mirror each other.

However, in line with what I found using the SMS Theory lens, there was evidence of emerging sophistication with respect to conceptions of teaching among some participants in the *foreclosed* identity status cohort – those who had a goal of teaching. Theory introduced and explored in ITE was cited and integrated into the discourse around teaching practices by this cohort. This could have been due to a number of factors, two of which I consider to be of particular significance. Firstly, Marcia (2002; 2010) did not intend Identity Status Theory to be overly deterministic; it identifies propensities towards associations and characteristics, and therefore it is likely that individuals will not show all of the characteristics of an identity.
Secondly, linked to this, an individual’s personality and intelligence must play a part in their internalisation of academic input in an ITE programme, so it is reasonable to assume that not all individuals in the *foreclosed* identity status would process information the same way. Therefore, I contend that it is important to frame the conclusions regarding simplistic conceptions of teaching carefully. The following may be a fairer assessment of the situation: in comparison to those with an *achieved* identity status, pre-service teachers with a *foreclosed* identity status had a tendency towards more simplistic teaching conceptions and evidenced relatively less professional growth.

7.3.8 Why so high? An *apprenticeship of observation*?

Another intention of this research project was to explore if early decisions to become a teacher were consequent to or apart from the *apprenticeship of observation*. In this context, I reflected on whether the high levels of participants displaying evidence of a *foreclosed* identity status could be related to the time these participants spent in primary and second-level schools. Could it be that the *apprenticeship of observation*, as proposed by Lortie (1975) and adopted by the teacher education profession, brings with it a fundamentally unique long-term exposure to teaching as a career? If so, it could be argued that this apprenticeship influences occupational decision making – without occupational exploration or occupational crisis – by offering safe and conformist experiences, thus hastening identity *foreclosure*. Second-level students might be choosing teaching as a career not because their personality was suited to teaching but because it is all they think they know, and it is something that they are familiar with. One implication of this would be that second-level schooling, the *apprenticeship of observation* period, constrains their agency in choosing a career. The positioning discourse from *foreclosed* identity status participants would seem to offer evidence to support this argument. In the examples below, *P24* draws on an *interpretive repertoire* of ‘teaching being all that I knew’,

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and P33 draws on the same repertoire and then validates it by positioning their conclusion as one shared by friends:

P24: It’s probably just because I had the exposure to teaching — because all we’ve ever known was school and education and lecturing, like I don’t know many nurses. I’ve never been exposed to that environment, there would’ve always been teachers in secondary school I admired — that influences one to be a teacher.

P33: {… if I look at maybe the reasons why you thought you wanted to teach in primary school, why — do you think you wanted to be a teacher even as early as primary school which is very young to be thinking about a career?} yeah, yeah well ~ {ok, a 4 or 5 year old could say, daddy, I want to be a fire-engine [laugh] ~ but you don’t kind of go there … what do you want to be when you grow up?} But am ~ I dunno, like, I would of thought about that before, like with a few of my friends who were doing teaching as well and we kind of thought ~ that ~ I want to be a teacher ‘cause like school was the only thing I knew kind of.

It may be that the apprenticeship of observation impacted on the finding of high levels of foreclosed identity participants, but it is quite possible that there is another, more nuanced, interpretation of this finding. As proposed in Chapter 6, I believe that the apprenticeship of observation is a construct of memory based on the dominant goal in an individual’s goal hierarchy. In effect, it refers to a period of schooling which is different for each person consequent to their goal hierarchy; it is not a thing done to students, they have agency in its construction. Indeed, it may well be that what prompted the participants to adopt the goal of teaching is as described above; it was all they knew and was the only career they had exposure to. However, an interpretation of the apprenticeship of observation as a construct of memory unique to an individual is instructive here. The goal hierarchy and personality of each second-level student impacted their agency in career choice and their encoding of memories of teachers and, thereby, their conceptions of teaching. There was evidence of autobiographical reasoning in the way participants made associations between different parts of their past, present, and
future experiences of teaching, and their personality (Habermas 2011; Habermas and Bluck 2000). Consequently, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that the early adoption of a career choice goal of teaching was the key contributor to the pre-service teachers’ internalisation of the work of teachers. They filtered their experiences of teachers and schooling to match their goal, and they did this consistently throughout their schooling for goal congruence. They sought role models, heroes, anti-heroes and villains among their teachers to match their self-schema. The apprenticeship of observation was not something done to them, rather it was an individual or personal agentic construction to match their evolving identities as teachers.

In light of the above, the high level of foreclosed identity participants in this study relative to international studies involving pre-service teachers comes into question once again. I suggest that both the structures of the Irish education system and its cultural legacy have a great deal to do with the large number of pre-service teachers in this study who chose the goal of teaching very early in their schooling without considering / exploring other careers.

7.3.9 Why so high? Structures?

At this juncture, I believe it is important to engage in an examination of the structure of Irish education – specifically, to ask if students entering ITE are forced to foreclose to the teaching profession due to the structural organisation of the education system? As highlighted earlier, it is noteworthy that in Ireland, second-level school students, who leave school predominantly aged 18 years, make subject choices at 15/16 years of age that impact on their eligibility for third-level courses. These choices determine their successful matriculation into higher education. Subject choices for their final second-level school examinations are very influential in determining the third-level programmes which they can pursue.
This funnelling of students into making decisions about third-level courses so early is perhaps a factor in foreclosing alternative career choices. Forcing occupational choice, or rushing it, through commitment rather than exploration may contribute to identity foreclosure. In this study, approximately half of those students who were either in identity moratorium or moving to moratorium (n=10) negatively positioned career guidance in second-level schooling. For example, P1 positions career guidance as unhelpful in terms of career choice exploration within a broad interpretive repertoire of ‘falling into teaching’:

P1: {You didn’t see yourself as being able to do anything else? What do you mean by that?} Like there was, there was no point trying to be anything else. I suppose I had kind of been, we’ll say for 14 years before I filled out the CAO it was “you are being a teacher, you are going to be a teacher” and there was no “you can do something else” or “would you look at something else?” It was always ~ like the careers teacher never said anything, never told me to think about anything, it was always ~ in third year and in sixth year with aptitude tests and everything, nothing.

Some of this cohort described how, early on, career guidance teachers used aptitude test results to match them to a particular career and they “went with this” for want of a better idea themselves. For example, P20, below, signals both a bad perception of career guidance and how they followed advice based on an aptitude test for want of a better idea of their own:

P20: I remember it was suggested at one stage, as well, in career guidance. It was suggested that we do these aptitude tests and I was matched to that [teaching] kind of stuff. You know, when you are matched to something you go looking into it a bit more and stuff like that. It was narrow again, career guidance is narrow in school I think ~ but I think that was the main reason behind it [choice of teaching career]. On my CAO I had science teaching in UL [an ITE provider], I had science teaching in Maynooth [another ITE provider], I mean after that then there was nothing else.

The following question must also be asked: is the structure of concurrent Irish ITE a factor in the large proportion of foreclosure and the low level of movement towards achieved identity status found among pre-service teachers who participated in this study? As stated previously,
Ireland has two potential routes to teaching, an undergraduate concurrent ITE and a postgraduate consecutive ITE. Does a concurrent ITE approach force identity foreclosure because it is a vocationally-oriented undergraduate degree? It could be argued that the availability of a relatively quick professional qualification encourages prospective teachers to foreclose their occupational choice early in second-level schooling, as outlined above, as they want to take advantage of the shorter concurrent ITE programmes to save on costs and time. It would be useful, in a future study, to assess and contrast the level of foreclosed identities among students in concurrent undergraduate and consecutive post-graduate ITE programmes in Ireland to identify the extent to which early career choice impacts on pre-service teachers’ identity foreclosure, in a concurrent ITE context. Furthermore, in the context of teaching and education in Ireland, where the status, demand for and retention of teachers has been high traditionally by international standards, an investigation of identity statuses among teachers subsequent to both undergraduate and postgraduate ITE might offer interesting insights. In recent years, teacher shortages have been a factor in the Irish education system. This may point to a drop in the status of teaching as a profession in Ireland. Future research to explore whether or not more informed career choices might alleviate this problem might be very useful.

7.3.10 Why so high? The nature of the study?

In considering why this study yielded comparatively high levels of foreclosure status among the cohort of pre-service teachers, the research instrument used in this study must be examined. This study employed a methodology which does not appear to have been used previously to explore identity statuses. This raises the following question: can the level of foreclosed identity status be explained by the fact that a qualitative DA methodology was used as opposed to more quantitative instruments such as the EI-ISB and ISI instruments? I contend that this choice of instrument was warranted as it rigorously addressed the key issues of career choice exploration and commitment and yielded very interesting results. However, as with all research, these
findings only offer a slice of reality (Charmaz 2014). The use of other research approaches to validate both the study and the methodology would enhance understanding of the key issues.

7.4 Summary of findings in relation to pre-service teachers’ identity status

The data analysis identified that 69% of participants appeared to be in identity *foreclosed* status and only 19% appeared to have an *achieved* identity. These figures do not align with the findings of international research on college students generally or teacher education students specifically. Being mindful of the fluid nature of identity, and not to take either a deficit or deterministic approach to it, while it can be expected that individuals will move identity status during late adolescence and young adulthood (age 19-40 years), the high level of *foreclosed* identity status among the pre-service teachers in this study does offer some cause for concern. Were the pre-service teachers to remain in this status long-term, the negative associations and particular characteristics that have been allied to *foreclosed* identity status could be very inhibiting for identity development. The negative associations of this ‘conferred identity’ could constrain beginning teachers from engaging in the constructive process of building their teacher identity through critical self-reflection.

More specifically, remaining in ongoing *foreclosed* identity status is linked with characteristics which might impact negatively on an individuals’ teaching practices and effectiveness. If pre-service teachers remain in *foreclosed* identity status, then some of the associated characteristics – defensiveness, lack of openness to new ideas, conformism, an authoritarian outlook, control and lack of engagement with disconfirming feedback – could negatively impact on teaching practices and, in general, willingness to engage with new educational theory and practices as they emerge.
It is important to note that, based on their limited teaching experience, some of the *foreclosed* identity status pre-service teachers who participated in this study revealed some worrying examples of *foreclosed* identity status associations and characteristics in their discourse. As stated, *foreclosed* identity participants appeared to align with role-model teachers and tended to have an appreciation for strongly controlled, rigid approaches to teaching, classroom management and discipline; in short, they favoured authoritarian teaching approaches. If these pre-service teachers were to remain in identity *foreclosure* status, there is a strong likelihood that they could tend towards authoritarian approaches in their classrooms as qualified teachers. If a majority of pre-service teachers remain in *foreclosed* identity during ITE, I suggest that this might offer an insight into the very low effect size of ITE (d=0.11) on overall teacher outcomes, as reported by Hattie (2009). Hattie links this low effect size of ITE on teacher outcomes to pre-service teachers’ resistance to changing their beliefs regarding teaching and learning, all of which inhibit engagement with ITE pedagogic input. This aligns with pre-service teachers’ resistant, simplistic, teaching conceptions and often conservative teaching approaches, all of which has previously been attributed primarily to their *apprenticeship of observation* (Lortie 1975).

At a teacher education systems level, informed debate in relation to Irish ITE entry modes would seem prudent. Further research into career choice decisions of other undergraduate ITE programmes, particularly for primary school teaching, and post-graduate ITE programmes would offer crucial comparative information. At a practices level, the *foreclosed* identity teacher (or pre-service teacher) may not realise their own agency to change their identity status, without support. This is a role ITE pedagogic practice can develop by adapting current practices in order to support pre-service teachers to explore reasons for their career decisions. ITE needs to go beyond helping pre-service teachers identify and articulate their motivations
for a teaching career, as is current practice, to exploring the crucial psychological identity formation issues which give rise to these expressed motivations. Shaffer and Zalewski (2011) argue strongly that college advisors have a role to play in bringing about “occupational crisis” in those third-level students they perceive to be in identity foreclosure status. They advocate that opportunities should be made for students in third-level institutions to really explore their occupational choices, and that they should support students if and when they enter into necessary identity crisis. In a context where identifying identity status is not something that is undertaken in Irish ITE currently, it would seem that supporting pre-service teachers to really explore their occupational choice at various stages of their ITE programme would be a practice worthy of introduction into ITE college programmes.

I believe that the findings of this research project in relation to identity status support the notions that the apprenticeship of observation is an individual psychological construct, and that pre-service teachers have some agency in the development of their teaching conceptions during schooling. The participants’ identity status was predicated, to a large degree, on their career choice goals in the working-self goal hierarchy. As stated in the previous chapter, when the goal for a teaching career was present during schooling, pre-service teachers encoded teaching experiences to memory and filtered them for goal congruence. When they foreclosed on a teaching career early in their schooling, this may have impacted on their ego identity development and constrained their subsequent engagement with ITE, thus hampering their ability to deconstruct conceptions of teaching from schooling in order to construct more sophisticated ones.
Chapter 8:
Conclusions
8.1 Teacher education matters

I conclude this research by returning to my starting point: I believe that teacher education matters. This study was designed to explore pre-service teachers’ agency in the construction of their teaching conceptions during their *apprenticeship of observation* in second-level school with a view to discovering how to improve support for pre-service teachers and how to enable them to develop more sophisticated conceptions of teaching. My research philosophy underpinning this project was that ITE should scaffold pre-service teachers’ development of conceptions of teaching, particularly, teaching conceptions which can support agentic teaching identities capable of adapting to complexity and adversity. My research ambition aligned with that of Darling-Hammond (2000), in that I sought to be part of a teacher education academy engaged in “knowledge building and truth finding” to support teachers to look beyond their own perspectives so as to better teach others different from themselves:

…pursue these ideals .... by creating a genuine praxis between ideas and experiences, by honoring practice in conjunction with reflection and research, and by helping teachers reach beyond their personal boundaries to appreciate the perspectives of those whom they would teach.

(*ibid.*, p. 177)

A primary ambition of this research project was to keep as its central focus “the knowledge, skill and dispositions to enhance the learning of students historically not well served by the system” (Cochran-Smith *et al.* 2016, p. 69) while simultaneously preparing them to critique the complex system which produces and reproduces inequity and injustice (Tan and Barton 2012).

As outlined in my introductory comments, national and international trends in ITE policy to link best practice in ITE with positive outcomes for the economy did not fit with my education and research philosophy. The philosophy underpinning this research focusses instead on social justice as a rationale to support pre-service teachers and to help them recognise and use their
agency and, thereby, to become agents of change in the education system. On the basis of this foundation, I set out to ensure that the knowledge gleaned in the research in relation to improving ITE would be critically interrogated in line with my epistemology as outlined in Chapter 5, in relation to its source and intention (Hofer and Pintrich 1997). In making recommendations for improvements to ITE following analysis of data generated by this research, I endeavoured to factor in the neo-liberal drivers currently seen to underpin policy change in ITE both nationally and internationally. I did this by reflexively examining the outcomes and recommendations without ever losing sight of the fact that inequity – or the absence of social justice – is not caused by a single factor but is an outcome of the agency of individuals, cultural practices, social structures and intersecting policies and regimes of governance.

8.2 The research findings

The *apprenticeship of observation* was both a subject and a context for this study. Consistently, this construct has been described in pejorative terms in teacher education research. It has been seen as something that limits pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching, their ability to teach others different than themselves, their agency and their professional development. Consequent to my practice enquiry and subsequent literature research, I decided to use psychological theoretical lenses to explore the *apprenticeship of observation* and its impact on pre-service teachers’ construction of their conceptions of teaching. The psychologically oriented theoretical framework devised for this project was made up of DA, SMS and Identity Status Theory, where DA was used as the methodological superstructure. Figure 23 offers a summary of the relevant information pertaining to each of these constructs in a visual map of the study.
Figure 23 (also Figure 12): Elaborating the visual map of the theoretical development of the study 4.
Having interviewed the research participants, I then undertook a holistic review and analysis of the discourse participants drew upon when recounting memories of schooling and their conceptions of teaching. In line with ITE research, this analysis garnered evidence of abundant simplistic conceptions of teaching. However, there was also evidence of levels of sophistication and evolution in the participants’ conceptions of teaching. These findings seemed to back up the negative view of the *apprenticeship of observation* as something that limits pre-service teachers’ development and growth as professionals. Based on the knowledge that goals were significant to memory encoding and retrieval, I believed there could be another explanation for the prevalence of simplistic teaching conceptions grounded in memories of second-level schooling. Consequently, I undertook further analysis of the transcripts using the SMS lens (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000) to ascertain if the goal hierarchy of the working-self encoded privileged memories associated with the goal to become a teacher during the second-level schooling *apprenticeship of observation*. This analysis sought to establish whether or not the participants had agency in the construction of memories associated with teaching – their teaching conceptions. One outcome of this analysis was significant evidence supporting the idea that the *apprenticeship of observation* is an individual construct of memory.

This research found that participants’ memories of schooling were consistent with autobiographical memory constructs. In line with SMS Theory and, specifically, the working-self goal hierarchy, memories recalled by the participant pre-service teachers tended to be quite selective and the participants appeared to use them to justify their career choices. Participants’ discourse about schooling (the *apprenticeship of observation* period) evidenced filtration which consistently revealed bias towards memories of schooling that were significant to the working-self goal hierarchy at the time of both encoding and retrieval (Conway and Pleydell-Pearce 2000). When participants had the goal of teaching during schooling, they purposefully
selected memories which supported this goal, with a strong emphasis on positive experiences of schooling and inspirational teachers. Among these participants, very few disconfirming memories of schooling and teaching were recalled, thus helping to ensure the maintenance of a coherent life-story narrative evidencing autobiographical reasoning (Habermas 2011; Habermas and Bluck 2000) in keeping with their goal-hierarchy. Memory filtration for goal congruence was clearly evident. Each participant had agency in the construction of their memories of schooling, their apprenticeship of observation.

Given a context where autobiographical memory is viewed as constructed, and the SMS offers a mechanism to help understand the construction of memory, this conclusion led me to question the apprenticeship of observation construct. If each pre-service teacher agentically constructed their memories of the apprenticeship of observation, making it a memory construct, then the apprenticeship of observation must be a construct unique to each individual, grounded in their agentic use of the SMS. The simplistic conceptions of teaching evident in the participants’ discourse were not necessarily an outcome of an externally imposed apprenticeship of observation but rather the result of how each individual chose to develop their schema of teaching based on their goal hierarchy, personality and experiences of schooling.

The other lens used in this research project to explore the pre-service teachers’ goals for teaching was Marcia’s Identity Status Theory (1966). Specifically, I used this lens to explore the potential de-agentic consequences for pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching and teacher identity among participants who decided on teaching as an occupational goal during the apprenticeship of observation period. As a starting point, I analysed the participants’ discourse to establish their identity status. The findings revealed that, at the time of interview,
69% of participants presented with a *foreclosed* identity status and 19% with an *achieved* identity status. Both of these statuses are characterised by high *commitment* to career choice but are distinguishable from each other by the level of *exploration* in regard to career choice undertaken by individuals. A strong *commitment* to teaching was evident in the transcripts. Participants explicitly verbalised *commitment* and aligned their beliefs and values with many of the core values of teaching. The *foreclosed* identity status individuals evidenced low levels of *exploration*. They decided on a goal of teaching very early in their schooling, often with a vague rationale of ‘just knowing’ it was the career for them. They recalled very few memories of investigating careers, teaching or otherwise, during their schooling. Their discourse did not reveal episodes of *crisis* in relation to their career choice. *Crisis* is the key requisite for evidencing exploration and a signal for ego growth or movement between the identity statuses (Marcia 1980; 1966; Erikson 1959; 1963; 1964). These findings were substantially at odds with identity status research among ITE students internationally (amalgamated / averaged international research findings: *foreclosed* identity status = 25%, *achieved* identity status = 40%).

Consequent to the high levels of apparent *foreclosed* identity status among the cohort of pre-service teachers who participated in this research project, I engaged in an analysis of the discourse of the *foreclosed* identity status sub-group to investigate the associated behavioural tendencies and characteristics. These characteristics are often presented in pejorative terms, painting a picture of individuals who are rigid, brittle, closed-minded, authoritarian and limited in terms of potential for personal growth. The analysis I undertook identified some characteristics which could negatively impact engagement with ITE, lead to conservative and overly controlled teaching styles, and hinder personal and professional growth as a teacher. However, these tendencies were equally evident in the students in *moratorium* and *diffused*
identity statuses. There was also evidence in the participants’ discourse of the positive characteristics of foreclosed identities, such as adaptability, enthusiasm and commitment to the ideals of teaching. Psychological theorists may not agree on the purpose and operationalisation of the identity status paradigm created by Marcia, but all agree that remaining long-term in foreclosed identity status hinders ego growth. With this in mind, and in light of the large number of participants who presented in foreclosed identity status relative to achieved identity status, a deeper analysis of why so many participants were foreclosed to teaching is necessary. Addressing this issue could help individuals to reach their potential in terms of ego growth and foster creative, open and reflective perspectives and practices as teachers.

Using Identity Status Theory, it could be inferred from the analysis of participants’ stated motivations and goals that the timing of their settling on the goal of teaching impacted on their experience of second-level schooling. If they foreclosed on a teaching goal / career without proper exploration of other careers, then, potentially, their experience of schooling was channelled through an underdeveloped, yet individual, schema that enabled them to organise and interpret information about teaching to help them achieve their goal. As foreclosed identity status is characterised by ‘conferred identities’ from authority figures, foreclosed identity participants’ schemas and identities were significantly and disproportionately influenced by role-models, most particularly teachers. I believe that this goes a long way towards explaining the seeming resistance of pre-service teachers to ITE pedagogic content, and the simplistic conceptions of teaching that abound among pre-service teachers. It also offers a potential alternative, if only partial, explanation to the apprenticeship of observation for pre-service teachers’ simplistic teaching conceptions and resistance to ITE pedagogic input. Furthermore, it corroborates findings that suggest that pre-service teachers have some agency in the construction of the memory-set of their schooling period, thereby reinforcing the notion of the
apprenticeship of observation as a bespoke individual construction created in the mind of an individual to suit their particular aims and purposes. This conclusion reinforced the centrality of autobiographical memory, and more specifically the working-self goal hierarchy in the SMS, to my revised understanding of the apprenticeship of observation.

8.3 What might autobiographical memory research tell us about the apprenticeship of observation?

At the start of this research journey, I aimed to examine pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching through an exploration of their apprenticeship of observation using two theoretical lenses, autobiographical memory and identity status. This approach was adopted on the assumption that exploring participants’ autobiographical memories of school and their identity status would illuminate the richness of the pre-service teachers’ apprenticeship of observation. However, in line with criticisms from Mewborn and Tyminski (2006) and Smagorinsky and Barnes (2014), who argue that the apprenticeship of observation is not as significant as previously thought, at the end of my research journey the findings of this study have raised questions about the centrality and significance of the apprenticeship of observation in terms of choosing teaching as a career, and in teacher education in general.

The apprenticeship of observation is used by teacher educators to explain the replication of traditional teaching methods, pre-service teachers’ resistance to pedagogical change and restricted professional teacher identities. The concept (Lortie 1975) is based on the idea that students ‘experience’ school and teaching practices and that these experiences shape their beliefs, values and practices in relation to teaching. Acknowledgement of an apprenticeship of observation has proved beneficial in teacher education as it allows for the formal recognition
of the influence of past experiences on pre-service teachers. However, this study raises a number of questions about the use of the concept in general.

Firstly, as presented in theory and literature, the *apprenticeship of observation* is considered a unique experience for each pre-service teacher, simply determined by their school – it happens to them without them having a part to play. However, the uniqueness of an individual’s schooling experience is not only at a school level. Given that individuals have different working-self goal hierarchies, the same event can be experienced and encoded in different ways by different individuals. For example, two students in the same school observing the same teacher experience that teacher differently. What one pupil considers to be a good teacher may be significantly different from what another thinks, given their interests and goals, that is, their working-self goal hierarchy. Autobiographical memory is defined in terms of highly selective encoding of experiences influenced by one’s working-self goal hierarchy at the time of the experience. Pre-service teachers, therefore, should be viewed as having considerably more agency in their own memory-making than simply remembering what was ‘done’ onto them in schools and what they ‘experienced’.

Secondly, and at a deeper level, the *apprenticeship of observation* suggests a linear causation of future practice and beliefs, that is, what ‘happens’ to pre-service teachers as school-goers shapes who they become as teachers and how they see teaching. However, looking through the lens of autobiographical memory, this determinist linear effect of the *apprenticeship of observation* can be called into question. A pre-service teacher’s *apprenticeship of observation* is not an account of what they experienced but rather an autobiographical memory account of
what came to their attention at the time of encoding, along with what they considered to be
important and significant to their working-self goal hierarchy.

Autobiographical memory is complex due to its unstable nature. As research highlights,
autobiographical memory is highly malleable and undergoes constant revision. If one
recognises the *apprenticeship of observation* as an articulation of the autobiography of
schooling, then the *apprenticeship of observation* itself is malleable; this is because the
working-self goal hierarchy of the individual undergoes change and revision based on changing
personal circumstances over their lifespan. This can manifest simply as a process of
maturation, but it can also be influenced by changing goals, aspirations and the acquisition of
new knowledge. For example, if teachers acquire new knowledge about pedagogy, then this
may re-shape their memories of schooling and past teachers (either positively or negatively).

Notwithstanding that individual psychological processes impact the working-self goal
hierarchy, broader social and cultural influences can also influence and even determine an
individual’s working-self goal hierarchy. For example, cultural archetypes of teaching can be
a social / cultural influence on autobiographical memory. In line with Sugrue’s (1997) work,
this study found that the pre-service teachers drew on cultural archetypes of teachers that are
common in the Irish context, presenting teachers as knowledgeable, authoritarian, bully,
mother and kind or strict parent. Given the constructed nature of memory, it could be argued
that one’s *apprenticeship of observation* draws on, at least in part, cultural script or archetypes
of teaching (or teachers for that matter) that determine what is ‘good’ or ‘bad’ teaching.
Ultimately, the recollection of memory is a performative act in that it is dependent on the context of the situation and the working-self goal hierarchy of the individual. For that reason, it is difficult to determine if anyone has a stable *apprenticeship of observation*. Given what is known about autobiographical memory, it is perhaps more accurate to suggest that an individual’s *apprenticeship of observation* is an autobiography of schooling refracted through a working-self goal hierarchy which itself is influenced by broader social / cultural aspects.

Lortie’s (1975) original research on teaching set the *apprenticeship of observation* within a sociological arena. He used the term to capture his observations about how past schooling experiences appeared to influence current practices. While recognising that Lortie’s term was not a fully developed theoretical construct, it has had a significant influence on the teacher education community, particularly in relation to how it views the influence of past schooling practice on pre-service teachers. This research project, adopting a psychological approach rather than a sociological one, advocates that using the *apprenticeship of observation* as the primary explanation for the conservative practices of pre-service teachers and their unsophisticated views of teaching, is limiting and ultimately unhelpful in the field of teacher education.

Given the advancements in understanding around autobiographical memory and its dimensions, I suggest that the continued use of the term *apprenticeship of observation*, while shining a light on the importance of past experiences, is unwise because it fails to communicate the complexity of the issue. Instead, I advocate that teacher education should move towards recognising autobiographical memory as a robust and helpful theoretical lens through which pre-service teachers’ past schooling experiences can be viewed and understood. As this
critique of the *apprenticeship of observation* has highlighted, the concept lacks the theoretical complexity to capture the nuances of how, through an individual’s working-self goal hierarchy, memory and identity intersect. Replacing the language of *apprenticeship of observation* with the language of autobiographical memory opens up opportunities to problematise and explore the complexities of past memories in a more fruitful way. Taking a fresh look at autobiographical memory and its role in identity formation would open new and important avenues of investigation into teacher identity and practices.

When I began this research project, I believed that the *apprenticeship of observation* shaped pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching. At a very superficial level, this is indeed the case. However, when one looks at this issue through the lens of autobiographical memory the use of the term *apprenticeship of observation* is problematic. As the findings in this study highlight, pre-service teachers’ recollections of schooling were not simply descriptions of past experiences. Instead, they had a performative function that aimed to present and position those who recalled them in a particular way, depending on the context. For example, the pre-service teachers used their memories of schooling to identify with particular types of teaching practices and teachers. They also used their memories to provide a coherent life-story narrative to match their educational life-story, one that justified their decisions to become teachers. As my research project draws to a close, and following extensive reading, research and analysis, I have concluded that autobiographical memory is central to understanding pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching. Consequently, I offer a revised model to help understand the nature of simplistic conceptions of teaching:
8.4 Implications of research for teacher education

As a starting point, I believe that we as teacher educators need to interrogate the apprenticeship of observation construct. To do this effectively, the assumptions that have traditionally been associated with the term must be challenged. Key amongst these assumptions is the notion that the apprenticeship of observation is something that is ‘experienced’ and, indeed, a unique individual experience for pre-service teachers wholly dependent on the school they attended. A further critical assumption that needs to be addressed is the notion that pre-service teachers had little agency in the development of their conceptions of teaching consequent to the apprenticeship of observation they ‘experienced’. New understandings of the construct need
to be adopted. While the term might effectively convey a period of time when pre-service teachers observed their schooling, it should not be used to describe a time when pre-service teachers were helplessly exposed to the vagaries of individual schools and teachers, nor should it be seen as a time when they played no role in conceptualising their schooling and teaching.

As teacher educators we must ask ourselves if we have used the *apprenticeship of observation* construct as a convenient excuse for pre-service teachers’ resistance to ITE input – was it adopted without proper interrogation and used as a ‘scape goat’ to explain away a problem that was difficult to resolve? The construct, as outlined by Lortie in 1975, offered an interesting way to think about the legacy pre-service teachers bring to their ITE from schooling. There is clear and ample evidence of the value of the *apprenticeship of observation* construct to discourse and theory concerning education, but, are there other constructs and explanations that should be developed to foster debate and, ultimately, to offer solutions to this perennial and wicked problem?

In Ireland, psychology is a mandatory discipline in an ITE curriculum intended to help pre-service teachers to help understand their learners and learning (Teaching Council 2017). The psychology programme is generally delivered in discrete psychology modules under the umbrella of foundation disciplines for ITE. As I approach the end of this research cycle, I am convinced that at a minimum, teacher educators need to be more aware of the value that psychology can add to pedagogy and, ideally, they need to be more skilled at integrating psychological concepts across ITE programmes. The rationale for this recommendation is threefold: firstly, I believe that pedagogy should engage in greater ‘theory borrowing’ from psychology to provide teacher educators and researchers with very useful tools to re-examine
accepted ways of thinking about education (Entwhistle 2013); secondly, I suggest that greater familiarity with psychological theory could help teacher educators figure out how to work with pre-service teachers’ ‘pre-formed beliefs about teaching’ – their apprenticeship of observation (Friesen and Begley 2013); and, finally, I contend that teacher education must work hard to help pre-service teachers to better understand themselves as learners and educators. Armed with this self-knowledge, pre-service teachers will be better prepared to understand the cognition of their learners.

More specifically, on foot of this research project, I have concluded that teacher educators involved in pedagogy could greatly improve their work to disrupt pre-service teachers’ incoming beliefs and lay theories about teaching, as advised by Westrick and Morris (2016), by integrating into their work psychological theories concerning autobiographical memory and identity development. I do not claim that this work would be comfortable for either the pre-service teachers or the teacher educators, but I would argue that working with the psychological concepts that I have worked with in this research project could be very useful in supporting pre-service teachers to interrogate their lay theories of teaching as I have done in the data analysis for this research. Bullough (2015) offers the following insight, and one to which I fully subscribe, into why challenging our identities is difficult. Indeed, it may be difficult, but I believe that the cost of not doing so is unacceptably high for the pre-service teacher, the teacher educator and ultimately the education system:

We [seek] others who give feedback verifying our self-assessment, people who tend to see us as we see ourselves. Conversely, we flee contexts that prove too sharply disconfirming … A conclusion of this kind, of course, presents serious social, educational, and therapeutic challenges since change of identity and growth arise from sustained and sometimes shocking discrepancy. As McAdams notes, in some cultural contexts – no doubt including schools – some narratives simply cannot be told and lies are lived as a result. Under such conditions, the emotional cost of achieving, then maintaining, coherence may be very high where institutionally preferred narratives and supportive roles prove poorly fitting.

(p. 84)
In line with Clarke et al. (2017), I do not propose that teacher educators with a pedagogical remit should engage in therapy with their students. However, I think that there is scope for psychologists working in teacher education to work collaboratively with pedagogy colleagues to develop spaces and modes across ITE programmes to integrate memory work into pre-service teachers’ study programmes to allow them explore their memories of schooling from the *apprenticeship of observation* period. For this to happen, teacher educators must both understand the complexity of memory theory and integrate the concepts and vocabularies of psychological memory theory into their work in pedagogy:

In saying this, we are not suggesting that teacher education needs to incorporate fullfledged psychoanalytic practice or therapy alongside its traditional focus on classroom practice and pedagogy … However, we would follow Boote (2003) in suggesting that teacher educators have an emerging role as ‘belief-and-attitude therapists’… surely it is better to develop concepts and vocabularies with which to analyse and discuss these conflicts [between experiences of teaching and ITE] rather than ignoring them and thus giving them free reign to sabotage practice and subvert development from beneath the radar of conscious attention. Such concepts and vocabularies – or thinking tools – introduce a third element into professional conversations … Such tools thus offer the potential to assist teacher educators in nudging pre-service teachers … thus creating scope to combine educational and therapeutic discourses by surfacing the emotional and identity issues that inevitably haunt pedagogy.

(Clarke *et al.* 2017, p.128)

‘Story repair’ is an example of a psychological memory construct that could support teacher educators in their work on autobiographical memory with students. This concept, first suggested by Howard (1991 cited in Pillemer 2001), is one way of addressing demotivating and regressive beliefs resulting from autobiographical memories. This theory holds that memories cannot be changed but that, as every memory is tagged with an interpretation, it may be possible to reframe and reinterpret them. The rememberer learns to look at their memories through a different lens, and to view them not as concrete events but as foundations for their memories – foundations that ought to be tested rigorously, and often. This approach acknowledges the agency pre-service teachers had in the construction of their *apprenticeship of observation* while simultaneously empowering them to look at their life-story narratives at school as interpretations of events which potentially have other interpretations too.
Teacher educators can be the “secure base” (van IJzendoorn 1995) for ‘story repair’. They are perfectly positioned to support pre-service teachers who are exploring and working through schooling memories filtered through the working-self that might be inhibiting their engagement with ITE. This support is of particular importance when pre-service teachers deal with elements that they deem dissonant and incongruous to their beliefs about teaching, constructed through their *apprenticeship of observation*. As the *apprenticeship of observation* takes place over a ‘lifetime period’, encompassing ‘general events’ and ‘event specific knowledge’, these episodic memories constructed in terms of the self are resistant to decay (Pillemer 2003). In this context, pre-service teachers need to be supported to identify their own conception of teaching and the ideas and memories that underpin it. The language of ‘story repair’, as it is used currently, is fit for purpose in a psychoanalytic setting, but it might need to be changed if it is to be used in ITE. This term ‘story repair’ suggests that there is a ‘right’ story and that the teacher educator’s aim is to help the pre-service teacher to find it, and as such the hegemonic views of teacher educators might be imposed through a type of cultural re-education. However, the main aim of ‘story repair’ is to examine memories and premises, to open minds, and, ultimately, to free them.

Another approach to working with pre-service teachers’ autobiographical memories could involve pre-service teachers developing and analysing their own explicit ontological narratives – the stories we tell to make sense out of our experiences (Somers and Gibson 1993). Potentially, this could offer teacher educators a way of helping pre-service teachers to examine the dilemmatic nature of teaching and how opposing values can come into conflict (Billig *et al.* 1988): pre-service teachers could engage in DA to see for themselves the *interpretive repertoires, subject positions and ideological dilemmas* in their talk. To develop this approach further, it might be useful to examine ‘categorisation practices’ with a focus on sociolinguistic
interactions (Richards 2006; Potter 2003). This conversation analysis tool could help pre-service teachers recognise both their agency in relation to the construction of good teaching narratives (Davies and Harré 2001) and their agency in negotiating / unpacking these dilemmatic narratives of good teaching, as identified by Søreide (2006).

This research project set out to contribute to both ITE knowledge and to the body of literature pertaining to pre-service teachers’ professional development of sophisticated conceptions of teaching. The underlying aims were to support the development of robust teaching identities capable of adapting to complexity and adversity, to improve pre-service teacher learning and agency and, ultimately, to improve second-level student learning. I believe that adopting a more nuanced approach to the apprenticeship of observation and autobiographical memory, as outlined above, can contribute to this ambition.

To support the achievement of these ambitious aims, I suggest that arming teacher educators involved in pedagogical instruction with knowledge of psychological constructs associated with ego development, specifically Identity Status Theory would be a very useful add-on to their repertoire of theory. It would increase their ability to support pre-service teachers in interrogating their conceptions of teaching. I believe that utilising this psychological theory in the pedagogy space could help pre-service teachers to understand the evolution of their autobiography of schooling. Identity Status Theory offers a particularly useful analytical lens to scaffold an examination of the process and timing of career goal acquisition that can deepen our understanding of how working-self goal hierarchies are formed and potentially reformed. Facilitating pre-service teachers’ explorations of their working-self goal hierarchy both during schooling and as ITE participants is a necessary first step in this process. If pre-service teachers
discover more about when they adopted the goal of teaching, their motivations for adopting the
goal, their exploration of career choice generally and their current goals, they may be able to
better understand their agency in the construction of their autobiography of schooling and the
evolution of their teaching conceptions.

To enable this process, ITE needs to go beyond helping pre-service teachers to identify and
articulate their motivations for a teaching career, as is current practice, and help them explore
how psychological identity formation, a generator of these motivations, was formed. Ego
identity and identity status theory, if applied, would enrich this work. To utilise these theory
constructs effectively, ITE would have to factor in opportunities and supports that could help
pre-service teachers to move identity status, particularly from foreclosed to achieved identity
status. As this change would necessitate a crisis of exploration of career choice, careful
consideration would need to be given to how best to support this process in ITE. In exploring
career goals and motivations with their pre-service teachers in terms of exploration and
commitment, teacher educators need to consider that they may be encouraging their students to
question their choice of career and ultimately leave ITE programmes. It is important to bear in
mind, however, that the intended outcome of this process is, teachers who feel secure in relation
to their career decisions and who are evolved in terms of their identity. It is important to
remember that achieved identity status brings with it attendant benefits to personal and
professional identity formation.

Career guidance / adult guidance and counselling within third-level institutions has a very
important role to play in supporting and guiding individuals who have entered a career crisis
stage. The benefits to bringing career guidance services into the support network for pre-
service teachers struggling with career decision making are manifold. There is support for this approach internationally and some research on its efficacy. Shaffer and Zalewski (2011) argue strongly that college advisors (adult guidance / counselling) have a role to play in bringing about “occupational crisis” for those third-level students that they perceive to be in identity foreclosure status. They advocate that third-level institutions should make opportunities for students to explore their occupational choices and support students if and when they enter into necessary identity crisis. In a context where identifying identity status is not something that is undertaken in Irish ITE currently, it would seem that supporting pre-service teachers to explore their occupational choice at various stages of their ITE programme would be a very valuable exercise. This support could help students to deconstruct their incoming teaching conceptions and move towards deeper and more open engagement with ITE.

Providing initial teacher educators with a solid grounding in psychological concepts raises a key question for the field of teacher education, that is, to what extent should knowledge of psychological concepts be compulsory for teacher educators? This is a question in need of close attention, especially in light of the potential positive outcomes of using the psychological concepts with pre-service teachers. As stated previously in this thesis, the field of teacher education has long held that addressing pre-service teachers’ naïve conceptions of teaching represents one of the two greatest barriers to improving the impact of ITE. The work of breaking down these naïve conceptions using constructs and concepts such as ‘story repair’ and ‘psychosocial crisis’ might be daunting for teacher educators who do not have a psychology background, yet those in the pedagogy space already engage in this type of work, albeit in an ad hoc manner, by trying to support pre-service teachers to break down their simplistic conceptions of teaching. What is new here is the idea of doing this work using coherent and appropriate psychological approaches and research.
In sum, I believe that if ITE adopts a psychological autobiographical memory approach to investigating the teaching conceptions of pre-service teachers, then a core function of teacher education must be to support pre-service teachers to recognise their own agency in experiencing their past, constructing memories of it and the performative nature of memory recall. Pre-service teachers must interrogate their autobiographical memories of schooling. Furthermore, I contend this practice must be woven carefully into the overall ambition of teacher education, to support pre-service teachers to become agentic, so that they can take action and make efforts to shape their work for the overall good of education (Priestley 2011). To do this, they must first learn to recognise their agency to critique their conceptions of teaching and education. They must also recognise the limitations that result from not interrogating their practice in terms of policy and the policy-drivers which are relevant to both the education system and the contexts in which they are working. Once their knowledge-base is solid, pre-service teachers must be encouraged and empowered to be agentic about ensuring that social justice underpins their teaching for all learners in their care (Tan and Barton 2012). Taking this approach potentially redresses the de-agentic outcomes of neo-liberal education agendas which are seen to de-professionalise teachers by replacing excessive levels of regulation and standardised curricula and measurement with agency (Biesta et al. 2015).

8.5 Implications for Irish education structures and processes

An important conclusion of this research project is that, within the second-level education system, change is needed in career guidance services. This study showed that, at a minimum, pre-service teachers who had the goal of teaching during schooling, or were in foreclosed identity status, did not recount memories of career guidance teachers encouraging them to consider any other careers. A small number recounted negative memories of career guidance services during schooling. Internationally, 25% of college students would appear to enter programmes in foreclosed identity status, with the percentage decreasing in favour of achieved
identity status over the duration of a college programme. This study found that 69% of participants at the middle point of their college course appeared to present in *foreclosed* identity status, having entered their programme in the same status. In a context where studies show that at the end of third-level programmes less than half of those who were in *foreclosed* identity status on entry to college had moved out of this status (Kroger 2000), this is worrying. The memory discourse of these participants highlighted that they had not engaged in serious consideration of careers other than teaching during schooling. In terms of ego identity development in later adolescence, it is important to consider the role and processes of the guidance services in schools to engage second-level learners in this critical exploration of a wide variety of potential careers before they commit to a third-level programme and, in the case of concurrent ITE, a professional career path.

Highlighting this implication raises a concern regarding the current structures for entry to Irish third level programmes. As flagged in the preceding chapter, Irish students are, in effect, forced to make a career choice very early in their second-level education by selecting what they perceive as subjects relevant to their career interests, often at age 15. These subject selections determine their eligibility for college courses. Regardless of the level of career guidance support, this seems very early in adolescence, from an ego identity perspective in particular, to make these choices. This, in effect, can force students to foreclose on a career at a very early age. Surely, questions must be asked regarding the thinking that links school subject choice and college entry and course / programme choice. If schools force students to choose subjects too early in adolescence, then we must ask if Irish third-level entry structures force early foreclosure on career choice. In this context, Marcia (2002; 1980) strongly advocates for adolescents not be ‘forced’ to make premature occupational decisions that exacerbate identity
foreclosure, and, also, that professional college courses should focus more on ideas and values rather than fast-tracking the acquisition of a professional degree.

This problem becomes even more pointed when concurrent ITE is considered. This pathway to a teacher qualification is the traditional model for primary teachers. It is also the most common pathway for second-level teachers in what are called the practical subject disciplines, including Home Economics, Physical Education and Wood Technology. The Teaching Council in Ireland, in line with Irish government policy, is now advocating that even more primary and second-level teachers should be prepared on concurrent programmes (DES 2018).

While there are merits to both concurrent and consecutive pathways to teacher qualification (Darmody and Smyth 2016), I would argue that it is very important to interrogate the drivers that have led to this call for greater numbers of teachers to qualify through the concurrent route, as this pathway will not suit the career readiness of all 18-year olds. It is important to ensure that this is not just the result of a neo-liberal demand to qualify teachers more quickly to meet a perceived teacher shortage.

I perceive that another implication of these research findings for Irish education structures and processes is a need to review how we conceptualise the unchanging, resistant and conservative nature of school cultures and professional practice (Gleeson 2012). Portes and Smagorinsky (2010) highlight that the culture of schools preserves conservative teaching practices grounded in historical practices inappropriate to today’s understanding of education and learning. Smagorinsky (2010) highlights that newly qualified teachers start their careers in change resistant school environments, in no small part due to the apprenticeship of observation at work from early schooling right through to ITE. I suggest an alternative explanation for this
unwanted mindset in newly qualified teachers. If the findings from this study in relation to the high level of *foreclosed* identity status teachers in the middle of their concurrent ITE were to be mirrored at graduation from ITE, this would mean that a high proportion of newly qualified teachers from the concurrent pathway entering the profession would be in identity *foreclosure*. A large number of teachers on school staffs with this identity status may play a part in the continuity of schools’ resistance to educational change. *Foreclosed* identity teachers will not seek to go against the authority of schools or the allegiance they believe they owe to significant authority figures. Furthermore, they will be diligent and conscientious in maintaining the stability of the school’s culture, in efforts to prevent dissonance to their ego identity and protect themselves from change. I believe that adding this perspective in relation to foreclosed identity status teachers to our analysis of unchanging /resistant school cultures offers a further useful lens to understand this issue and progress its amelioration with the development and implementation of new approaches to change school cultures and practices.

### 8.6 Implications for teacher education research

On completing this research project, I believe that there is significant potential for further research in this area. In the past, the retention of specific conceptions of teaching and learning from schooling was attributed to the deterministic, external influence of the *apprenticeship of observation* on an individual. I have proposed in this research that this *apprenticeship of observation* is individually constructed consequent to significant agency on the part of the individuals involved: their working-self goal hierarchies play a significant role in the encoding of memories during schooling. In this research project, it was evident that the participants’ motivations / ambitions related to their goal hierarchy were a factor in their selection of certain memories about teaching and learning that they regarded as significant, and, therefore, retained. However, one must question why some students selected or constructed more sophisticated conceptions to retain in their SMS, compared to others in the group. Other explanations
available for this phenomenon are equally deterministic, such as the nativist myth of teachers being ‘born not made’ (Scott and Dinham 2008) and teaching as a vocation / call (Cornejo et al. 2018). These ideas have significant traction in the lived experiences of educators and learners alike. While these explanations for more sophisticated teaching conceptions have been examined from a perspective of the value added to ITE and teacher formation, I would consider it very useful to explore their validity and relevance using psychosocial theory frames.

In finding that there was more evidence than expected of sophisticated conceptions of teaching among the pre-service teachers interviewed, I perceived an avenue for some future research in relation to which individual’s conceptions of teaching were more developed and why. I was reminded of Bauml’s (2009) article, arising from a sociologically oriented piece of research, where she expressed surprise at the degree of sophistication of pre-service teachers’ talk around the relational aspects of teaching, and noted that they had a nuanced understanding of this key facet of teaching. She contended that they constructed these sophisticated conceptions from a ‘lived experience’ of schooling but that these conceptions were dilemmatic as a consequence of this. Pre-service teachers started the process of negotiating the theory-practice divide while still at school, before coming into contact with ITE theory, then progressed to teacher education where navigating this theory-practice divide became both mandated and more conflicted consequent to the injection of theory. I believe that it would be very interesting to pursue this line of research from a psychosocial perspective. Are relational teaching conceptions consistently very highly developed among the majority of pre-service teachers and, if so, how does this link to memory and ego identity?
I submit that further exploration of the use of DA as an accessible tool to identify and parse identity status in particular is warranted. In the context of this research project, DA offered a mechanism to generate and analyse very rich discourse around schooling memories, including the exploration and commitment to career choice goals. However, while I did not set out to focus on measures and quantities in relation to identity status, I do think that it would be useful to make a comparison between using DA and other, more traditional measures used to explore identity status. Would research involving a larger sample size, using traditional measures, garner the same results as the more established EI-ESB and ISI instrumentation? It is important to ask these questions in a context where the figures found for both foreclosed and achieved identity status were much higher than the international averages. I also contend that establishing the identity status of the population of Irish college students would be a useful baseline for comparison to an ITE population. It would be interesting to discover if Irish college students, in general, remain in foreclosed identity status more than is the case in other countries. A positive finding here would give greater credence to the notion that the Irish education system forces students to foreclose to a career too early.

More specifically, in relation to second-level ITE, I believe that developing a comparative study of pre-service teachers on concurrent and consecutive ITE pathways, both in terms of autobiographical memory and identity status, would be important to the teacher education community. In relation to identity status, such a study could examine the extent to which an experience of undergraduate programmes in non-teaching-related areas provides greater opportunities for career exploration. Additionally, it could establish whether those with experience of non-teaching-related undergraduate programmes evidence higher levels of identity achievement on entry to, and during, ITE. In terms of autobiographical memory, while this study found evidence of the construction of the apprenticeship of observation among pre-
service teachers on a concurrent teacher education programme, who averaged 21 years of age, it would be useful to engage in a study of pre-service teachers who are in a graduate ITE programme and who, thus, are older. This would allow for exploration of the impact of the ‘recency effect’ in relation to the degree of accessibility to autobiographical memories of second-level schooling. Similarly, it might be interesting to investigate autobiographical memories across the totality of formal schooling to find out if second-level schooling is, in fact, the most vividly recollected life period due to its central positioning during ego development. Furthermore, I believe that it would be very enlightening to explore how individuals constructed their *apprenticeship of observation* when they did not have the exclusive goal to be a teacher during schooling. Distinguishing between the impact of working-self goal hierarchy on memory encoding and recall could offer interesting perspectives to improve our understanding of the construction of conceptions of teaching formed during schooling, and how best we can support individuals to deconstruct them.

Another interesting avenue for future research, I suggest, would be an investigation into the specific motivation to pursue second-level teaching compared to the motivation for pursuing a favoured subject discipline. While this study did not focus on making such a comparison, the data generated in relation to motivations for teaching suggested that this motivation was not as high, as clear, or as well articulated as that identified by Younger et al. (2004) in the UK. I think it would be useful to establish more data in relation to motivations to teach. Furthermore, I suggest that research should be carried out discretely in concurrent and consecutive ITE spaces, as I speculate that Younger et al.’s conclusions (2004) may be connected to the fact that the predominant ITE model in the UK is a consecutive one. I believe it is fair to say that well-framed research in this area would add to the body of knowledge and theory in relation to second-level ITE.
I contend that research must be undertaken into how to support teacher educators outside of the discipline of psychology to work with psychological constructs. Some of the recommendations implied or suggested herein require that pedagogy lecturers, in particular, have a degree of proficiency in utilising psychological constructs. I believe that research into how best to execute this upskilling of key personnel is essential. Teacher educators are not and do not need to be psychoanalysts, but they should be aware of where this territory starts so that they can take care not to stray into it. Training would be required to deal with the following challenges that could arise for teacher educators working with psychosocial constructs: firstly, an unprepared or untrained teacher educator could struggle greatly when supporting a student who is in the throes of a wholly necessary, but very upsetting, ‘psychosocial crisis’ during an exploration of their career choice motivations; similarly, a teacher educator who wants to work with the ‘story repair’ concept in autobiographical memory could do more harm than good, if not properly trained; and while work of this nature is potentially very beneficial to pre-service teachers, it should not be undertaken by anybody who has not received a grounding in well-researched theory and training.

In presenting this research to the education community and suggesting recommendations for further research, I am mindful to acknowledge the parameters of what has been achieved and how this contextualises what has been suggested. I do not offer easy answers but instead offer solutions in order to problematise something – the apprenticeship of observation – which has generally been seen as non-problematic.

**8.7 Study limitations**

This study exploring pre-service teachers’ conceptions of teaching and the apprenticeship of observation could have been undertaken in many different ways, using any of a diverse array
of approaches to data collection and analysis, as is the case for any research. I opted to use DA as the research superstructure, and consequently, the other elements were dictated by this decision. I have reflected on whether this research project achieved all that using DA promised, and I am satisfied that it did. Consequent to its structures, DA offered ways of thinking about and conceptualising the research question oriented around discourse. It offered theoretical keystones which aligned with my ontology, epistemology and interpretive research philosophy. DA became both a topic and focus in the research, moving it beyond simply the means to acquiring data (Wetherell et al. 2001).

There is an argument that the DA approach using a modified set of measures from Marcia’s identity status work impinged on the empiricism of the findings in relation to identity status. I contend that I made careful comprises to Marcia’s approach to establishing identity status. As I have stated throughout, using the EI-ISB and ISI to explore both the occupational goal and ideology of participants may have yielded a different set of data with more statistics. I stand over the decision to use the DA approach because I was interested in engaging with and analysing discourse at its richest in relation to participants’ career goal (as opposed to their ideology). I did not set out to achieve grand theories or broad generalisations. As previously stated, I suggest that a very useful next step in relation to identity status work in Irish ITE would be to use Marcia’s measures in future research. Indeed, the dual-cycle approaches that focus on the process of identity formation, which are currently in vogue in Europe, may offer even more useful data.

It is important to identify as a limitation my ‘positionality’ in this research and the potential bias that this may have brought. I am a teacher educator who qualified to become a teacher
through the concurrent route and, consequently I might be too close to the system I was used to and narrow-focussed in terms of my capacity to look at other possibilities for ITE. To address this issue, which I perceived as problematic at the outset of the project, I endeavoured consistently to interrogate my research with this in mind, aiming at all times to be a reflexive research practitioner. Furthermore, as a teacher educator working with half of the pre-service teachers who were interviewed, I had to be mindful of the impact this could have on my own students in terms of their stated views on education and ITE, consequent to the power disparity between us. I addressed this in as many ways as I could at the design stage of the project; for example, in planning the introduction and recruitment of participants to the project, I clearly outlined the mechanisms that would be used to anonymise the data and the way that the data would be transcribed, coded and analysed. I did not do the transcriptions of the participants’ discourse myself and I instructed the transcriber to scramble data relating to the identity of the interviewees before returning the transcripts to me.

Throughout this research project I focussed closely on context when conducting and analysing interviews. The review of literature had identified context as a significant factor in memory recall, along with priming and the ‘recency effect’. There was a likelihood that priming could have influenced pre-service teachers’ interview responses causing them to recall the most repeated activities during schooling (Bargh and Chartrand 2000; Tulving et al. 1982). The ‘recency effect’ may also have impacted on memory recall; this tendency to favour recall of more recent events is noted in theory regarding the Memory Retrieval Curve (Conway and Holmes 2004; Schacter 1999; Rubin et al. 1998). A different contextual aspect which may have impacted on memory recall concerned the conduct of the interviews themselves. Although I did not conduct the interviews myself, the participants knew the research was for a teacher educator, and the interviews were carried out by someone they associated with teacher
education. I endeavoured to work reflexively, mindful of these contextual factors when analysing the data, by using the ‘big tent’ quality structure to guide the research (Tracey 2010). In particular, I took on board advice about rich rigour, sincerity, credibility, resonance, and meaningful coherence (ibid. p. 839), and followed it carefully when analysing data.

In an interview context, another factor that could be perceived as a research limitation is that, during memory recall in the interviews, the participants were focussed on their current goal hierarchy and this may have influenced the memory filtration they conducted to ensure goal congruence. While very difficult to assess, this was germane to the study, and so, I focussed on explicitly and progressively factoring this into the data analysis. Further to this, while self-reporting is often cited as a limitation to qualitative research, I would counter that this study, by its nature, relied on self-reporting of memories, and that memory recall is notoriously difficult to assess for veridicality. However, the nature of what was being explored in this study did not rely on accurate memories or accountings, rather it sought to explore what participants actually chose to recall.

8.8 Reflection on my reflexivity

As outlined in the methodology and limitations section, I was aware of my ‘positionality’ in this research from the outset. Before designing and implementing the research tool, I undertook a critical analysis of my experiences of becoming a teacher using the theoretical lenses underpinning the study. Mindfully and regularly, I returned to this self-reflection during the analysis and write-up stages of the thesis to ensure that my values and beliefs about schooling, teaching and education would not orient me towards discourse which either reflected or was at the opposite end of the spectrum to my own. I found it helpful during these stages of the research project to stay focussed on my role as an interpretive researcher; I tried not to be
judgemental about what the pre-service teachers said, but rather to process what might have influenced them in their ‘positionality’ about teaching and learning.

Consequent to the research I undertook in this project, I became conscious of an ideological dilemma in my ‘positionality’ as my role as a teacher educator which needed to be addressed in the context of my work with pre-service teachers. Having engaged in a critical reflection on my philosophy of education, I concluded that the Irish education system is broadly underpinned by something that does not represent my personal beliefs about education. It is my perception that Irish education is embedded in a utilitarian, technicised cognitive culture, propagated by the system’s structure and rewards (Eisner 2003; Hogan 1995). I consider this to be at odds with the value I place on a Deweyan constructivist philosophy of education (Noddings 2012; Hogan 1995).

Applying this understanding and philosophy to my practice, I recognised that I must have been giving the pre-service teachers confusing messages about education because there was a contradiction at the very core of my professional practice – because I did not highlight this contradiction, I was tacitly espousing the existing system, one greatly at odds with what I stand for philosophically. On the one hand I advocated that pre-service teachers follow all of the prescriptions of the system, so they could qualify for and work in the system, while on the other hand I asked them to be agentic for practice which is rigorously and consistently underpinned by social justice. As I have worked through this research, I have tried to change my approach to working with students. I have sought to be truer to my philosophical beliefs while still carrying out my responsibilities to the system. I have expressly flagged my own position so that students and colleagues know where I stand. I have acted as ‘agent provocateur’ regarding
the structures, policies and expectations of education; I hope I have sown more seeds of sedition among the learners with whom I have engaged.

As I approached the end of this study, I perceived a hesitancy in myself to make radical suggestions in my thesis. I was very wary of challenging such a well-established construct as the *apprenticeship of observation*; after all, Lortie, an eminent educational sociologist whom I greatly admire, coined this phrase and it has become a standard construct, maybe even a ‘sacred cow’, within the field of teacher education. I was inclined to leave the construct alone and offer only avenues of enquiry for others to explore its make-up and potential break-down. I was fundamentally conservative in my ambition and analysis of the construct. I believe that this communicates a low level of self-confidence on my part to critically reflect on my practice. In this context, it seems hypocritical for me to advocate for a sense of bravery and adventure among pre-service teachers, and to expect them to engage in the critically reflective practice required for such bravery from a very early stage in their ITE programmes. It would appear that some of the contradictions at the core of my professional practice still need to be addressed. Having critically reflected on this issue, I have concluded that I had not taken full ownership of my professional role as a teacher educator; my teacher educator identity was not yet robust enough to challenge the hegemonies at academic levels. Despite being a teacher educator for the past 15 years, I had not moved beyond the point where I was content to be a teacher who was employed to ‘do’ teacher education as prescribed.

As I worked through this research project I grew in confidence, especially as my research led to learning far beyond the boundaries of this thesis. As a result of this, in both my research and my analysis, I utilised a full suite of concepts from psychology – a discipline I previously
considered quite outside my field as a teacher educator with a pedagogy remit. On many occasions I had to move outside my intellectual comfort zone in terms of study and knowledge, and I often felt vulnerable. I was aware of the necessity for intellectual humility in this new space, so I endeavoured not to set myself up as some kind of psychological expert. While undertaking this study has not turned me into a psychologist, I have gained a much greater insight into the benefits psychology offers to enrich and deepen the contribution pedagogy makes to teacher education. Thanks to the cross-pollination of old learnings and new learnings, I have become more confident in my practice as a teacher educator and more confident about offering something new and novel to the academic field. I believe that, as a result of what I have learned, I have come to fully embrace my identity as a teacher educator – I can finally claim to have a more achieved teacher educator identity status. Now, I better understand and embrace more fully the following recommendation made by Sugrue (1997):

> It is necessary to recognise student teachers’ and practitioners’ embodied knowledge as an indispensable dimension of how they construct their teaching identities: a prerequisite to continuous reconstruction of professional identities, while simultaneously recognising that the process of renewal needs to be situated much more critically and broadly than a mere focus on practice.

(p. 223)

Of critical importance to my identity as a teacher educator, my views on research have changed consequent to engaging in my doctoral research. As a teacher educator, I had struggled with the conceptualisation and function of research in ITE. To understand this struggle, I offer some context: historically, Irish ITE did not centralise research, it was something done if you had time and did not really want to ‘teach’ in the ITE classroom (Gleeson et al. 2017). As a teacher educator who really wanted to teach in the classroom space, I knew research was important but felt it was not for me to do it. I was clear that research was central to the provision of quality education, regardless of setting. However, to prepare to work effectively with any learners – including pre-service teachers in an ITE context – I perceived that I had research responsibilities. I believed strongly that I needed to critically reflect on my practice and work,
on an on-going basis, to make my practice better by informing it with research that identified best practice and new ideas. I took on the responsibility to ensure that research underpinned and informed my practice. However, I was not a researcher, I was a consumer of research. I did not see a role for myself in generating or creating new knowledge. I have come to realise that my identity as a teacher educator at that time was a continuation of the identity I had as a school teacher; I saw myself as a teacher who had moved to educating teachers. My core identity had been mediated by my professional history (Young and Erickson 2011) – I saw myself as teacher first and always. I place great value on facilitating learning by modelling good practice for my students so that they can replicate good practice, to some extent, for their learners. Murray et al. (2011) identify this as the “once-a-schoolteacher” (p. 264) teacher educator professional identity. I recognise now that this is a common theme in evolving teacher educator identity discourse (Bullough 2005). I believe that my teacher educator identity has evolved significantly over the duration of this research. One positive outcome of this is that I have come to see that being a researcher is central to the efficacy of my work with pre-service teachers.

Defining the term ‘researcher’ in this context required further reflection. My evolving conceptualisation of myself as a researcher, and my understanding of the type of research that would be of benefit to ITE, was hampered by a lack of clarity around the terminology bandied about with regularity in the Irish ITE space. I needed to figure out if my work should be research-active, research-led, research-underpinned or research-driven, or if I should focus on generating new knowledge as a researcher, and if there was a name for this sort of research? Sometimes, terms were used in a nuanced way, and other times interchangeably, in literature and ITE practice. I was not alone in perceiving this challenge. It was summed up, as follows, by the international review panel on the structure of Irish ITE in 2012:
The Review Panel noted that the current configuration of provision for ITE results in the lack of a critical mass for research purposes. It further noted that there is a lack of common understanding by HEIs with regard to the research terminology, i.e., research-driven, research-led, research-active, research-informed and research-based assume different meanings in ITE.

(Sahlberg et al. 2012, pp. 19-20)

The same review provided me with some very useful terminology: the term ‘research-based’ and the idea of a ‘virtuous circle of reflective practice’:

In Finland, research–based teacher education means that student teachers are prepared through a research-based approach led by researchers. This means that those teaching in ITE are actively involved in research and use their research-based knowledge to inform their teaching. Critical reflection on practice takes place in higher education as well as in school classrooms, thereby creating a ‘virtuous circle’ of reflective practice.

(ibid., p. 20)

Reflective practice is something I engaged in, advocated, and prescribed for pre-service teachers. However, I did not consider it to be the critical starting point for undertaking research either for myself or the learners with whom I was working. Consequent to reaching this understanding, I have reframed how I work with pre-service teachers. I contextualise the value of reflective practice differently, I use my own reflective practice differently and, consequently, I see potential research projects arising from my practice. I consult a wider variety of research literature now, consequent to having a broader and outward focussed view of research. I also see greater potential to provide the conditions for empowering pre-service teachers’ agency and, thus, help them to participate more fully, and more meaningfully, in the process of becoming the best teachers that they can be. Having identified ‘the living contradiction’ arising from a key philosophical ideological dilemma in my work with pre-service teachers, I work with my students differently now. Further to research, new learning and a thorough review of my work as a teacher educator, I endeavour to keep research at the heart of my practice. I do not aim to be a consumer of research but, rather, I aim to be a practitioner with a responsibility to create new knowledge – a research-based practitioner in word and deed.
The title of this thesis is ‘Negotiating an apprenticeship of observation: An investigation of second-level pre-service teachers' conceptions of teaching’. As I come to the end of the writing phase of this project, I conclude by focussing on what has been negotiated herein. At the outset, my ambition was to undertake research that could support pre-service teachers to negotiate their experiences of schooling, and, as it evolved, their memories of experiences of their schooling. I hoped that this would support a process whereby simplistic and resistant lay theories of teaching and learning could be deconstructed to improve openness and engagement with ITE. Ultimately, the aim was to scaffold the development of agentic teachers imbued with a sense of social justice. As I sign off on my research project, I am very hopeful that the findings from my research will contribute to the field of teacher education. On a personal level, undertaking this research achieved more than I expected. I set out on a journey to negotiate my own boundaries. I negotiated my identity as a teacher educator. I negotiated my assumptions and perceived limitations as a researcher. I also negotiated a boundary to my professional practice caused by a lack of expertise in certain relevant disciplines and, in doing so, I discovered the benefits of cross-pollination from disciplines outside of my particular area of expertise. Having negotiated these boundaries, I now see horizons that were not in view when I embarked on this journey. I feel empowered, finally, to place my ontology and philosophy at the very heart of my professional practice so that I can be a brave and daring research-based teacher educator.
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Appendix A
 Appendix A
Participant interview schedule

Question Stems:

Describe the type of secondary school that you attended as a student?

Describe a typical school day?

What key memories of school stand out for you?

Describe learning experiences that you thought were particularly effective from secondary school.....what contributed to these?

Describe any ineffective learning experiences you remember from secondary school.....what contributed to these?

What motivated you to become a teacher?

What do you think makes a good teacher?

Do you think when you were filling out your CAO form/applying for this college course that you had the necessary attributes to be a good teacher?

Do you think you have the necessary attributes to be a good teacher now?

Anything else…
Appendix B
Appendix B
Participant interview information and consent form

Subject Information Letter (Participant)

Date: January 5th 2015

Title of research study: An exploration of second-level student teachers’ conceptions of good teaching

Dear Student,

We are currently researching students’ conceptions of good teaching to help review and improve the delivery of initial teacher education. To help with this we need volunteers to take part in semi-structured interviews that will last no longer than 1 hour exploring your experiences of good teaching during your schooling. Participation in the study is voluntary and participants can withdraw from the research at any time. Your contribution will also be anonymised so you will not be identifiable. The results from this research study will be reported and may be dispersed through professional publications.

The collected data will be stored in a secure location approved by the University of Limerick.

If you have any queries or require further information on the research study, please contact the principal researcher Fiona Crowe at 071 9195559 or e-mail fcrowe@stangelas.nuigalway.ie

This research study has received Ethics approval from the Education and Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee (EHSREC 2014-04-01). If you have any concerns about this study and wish to contact someone independent you may contact:

Chairman Education and Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee
EHS Faculty Office
University of Limerick
Tel (061) 234101
Email: ehsresearchethics@ul.ie
An exploration of second-level student teachers’ conceptions of ‘good’ teaching

Participant Information Sheet

What is the research project about?

This research aims to collect, analyse and interpret second-level student teachers’ personal narratives about conceptions of what is ‘good’ teaching with a view to using the knowledge gathered from the research to inform ITE pedagogic practice.

Who is undertaking it?

This research is being undertaken by Fiona Crowe from St. Angela’s College Department of Education.

Why is it being undertaken?

This study is being conducted to explore the beliefs and conceptions of second-level student teachers in relation to ‘good’ teaching.

What are the potential benefits of this research project?

Research literature identifies that conceptions of ‘good’ teaching are formed early in student teachers’ lives and are heavily influenced by their ‘Apprenticeship of Observation’ (Lortie 1975) acquired as students over 14 years in primary and post-primary schooling. These conceptions are resistant to change – even during an ITE programme – inhibiting student teachers’ openness to assimilation of crucial pedagogical and subject knowledge input in Initial Teacher Education (ITE). Literature suggests that the impact of the Apprenticeship of Observation when unacknowledged during ITE may affect the professional growth of teachers after ITE (Fajet et al. 2005). Exploring student teachers’ beliefs and conceptions about good teaching may inform future ITE initiatives to address the Apprenticeship of Observation.
Appendix B

Are there any risks associated with the project?

There are no known physical, psychological, economic, or social risks associated with this study.

Exactly what is involved for the participant (time, location, etc.)

I propose to explore the discourse of 45 second-level concurrent student teachers’ experiences of schooling and conceptions of ‘good’ teaching across two ITE institutions.

25 participants from the University of Limerick’s concurrent ITE programmes and 20 participants from St. Angela’s College, Sligo concurrent ITE programmes in two phases;

Participants will be students in the later stages of their ITE programme;

The study involves participation in an interview. The interview should last about 1 hour and will be conducted between January 14th and 16th 2015 in St. Angela’s College AM04 (the seminar room). A schedule of interviews will be arranged with participants.

Right to withdraw

Participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate in this study this will not affect you in any way. If you choose to participate in the study you are still free to withdraw from it at any time without giving a reason with no effect on your standing in St. Angela’s College. Although it be would be greatly appreciated if you would answer all material as honestly as possible, you should not feel obliged to answer any material that you find objectionable or that makes you feel uncomfortable.

How will the information be used / disseminated?

I hope to publish the findings of this research project which may be of benefit to others working in the area of ITE. The data may be published in professional journals or presented at conferences, but any such presentations will be of general findings and will never breach individual confidentiality. Additionally I aim to submit the findings as part of a PhD thesis.

How will confidentiality be kept?

All information gathered will remain confidential and will not be released to any third party. Only researchers nominated by myself will have access to this information. Anonymity will be protected in the write up of the research – no individual will be identified by name. Should you be interested, you are entitled to a copy of the findings. All data will be held safely on a password protected computer in the researchers’ offices.

Contact details:

If at any time you have any queries/issues with regard to this study my contact details are as follows:

Fiona Crowe
Lecturer in Education
St. Angela’s College, Lough Gill, Sligo
fcrowe@stangelas.nuigalway.ie
+353 (0)71 9195559
This research study has received Ethics approval from the Education and Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee (EHSREC 2014-04-01). If you have any concerns about this study and wish to contact someone independent you may contact:

Chairman Education and Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee

EHS Faculty Office
University of Limerick

Tel (061) 234101 Email : ehsresearchethics@ul.ie

I _________________________________ am interested in participating in this study which will take place between January 14th and January 16th 2015.
Consent Form (Participant)

Date: January 15\textsuperscript{th} and 16\textsuperscript{th} 2015

Title of research study: An exploration of second-level student teachers’ conceptions of good teaching

I have read the Subject Information Letter and understand in detail the particulars of the research project. I understand that my identity will not be revealed at any stage in the reporting to the research study. The conditions involved in the research which are designed to protect the privacy of participants and respect their contributions are:

Participation is entirely voluntary

Participants are free to withdraw at any time in the process and any contributions made will be subsequently destroyed.

The interview transcript will be kept strictly confidential and will be available only to the researchers and under no circumstances will names or any identifying characteristics be included.

I hereby agree to take part in this research study.

Signature: _________________ Researchers Signature: _________________

Printed Name: _______________ Printed Name: _______________

Year and Elective: __________

Date: _____________________ Date: _____________________
### Appendix C

Sample interview transcripts with coding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Transcript</th>
<th>Coding</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excerpt 1....</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

#### Introduction:

**Interviewer:** Describe the type of secondary school you attended as a student?

**Interviewee:** I went to a Catholic ethos school...am secondary school, it was an all-girls school, em there was around 500 to 600 students I think, [decent size school] a decent size school it was a nice school...like now...it didn’t have the best facilities either but am the teachers like were lovely and the principal and deputy they were like you know very accommodating when it came to certain circumstances and all that...it was lovely, a very nice environment to be in.

**Interviewer:** So over all it was very positive, [yeah, very positive] now looking back now after being in college for a number of years now, you can often look at your school experience in a different light, you have the comfort of distance from it, can you describe typical school day for you as you went to school what would be a typical school day, can you describe it?

**Interviewee:** am like you know....usually I'd be in school for around ten past, quarter past eight in the morning because I was a liaison for the first years so like you know, I just took the roll you know and helped out 1st years, like this was like when I was in 6th year you know and you helped them out.... Then we went to class and then we had little break and at little break you literally only had time to go to your locker to get your books for next few classes and maybe get a quick bite to eat or go to the tuck shop, usually, people used to like to go tuck shop to get a few sweets or whatever and them em... we had another 3 classes and then we had em break, and like I can remember, no I can’t even remember... I think it was on a Tuesday we used to have a double Biology before lunch, you know sometimes it was nice to have a practical class before lunch time and all that you know....’cause it got you going, and then am we had three or two classes in the evening and then em I finished school, then I went to after school study [ok] so that was an extra two hours [every day?] every day except for Friday, [ok so long school day] yeah... [so finished around 6 o clock is it?] yeah so finished then and usually went home and got grinds or whatever... yeah so... a long school day [got grinds or whatever on top of your study?] and then study when I went

| **IRs** | *Religious Run* - 1st thing said-presented positively  
*Excellent school experience:* slow build-up  
*School environment effect:* old and new, DP-didn’t have good facilities but good atmosphere-people  
*Loyal to school*  
*The female factor*-Gender significance in Education: positive re all female education, effective, get a long, funny memory of few male teachers  
**Big is better:** DP-*“decent size”*  
*Relational Management –DP “accommodating” in certain circumstances  
*Routinized school day*-DP huge specific detail in times and activities  
*Examination focus*-LC year is the one that DP- “sticks out”,  
*Scientific/Practical Subject Focus*  
*Importance of Timetabling*- double practical lessons before lunch for motivation  
*Committed Student- after school study for 4 years; grinds  
*Good Student-liaison for 1st years, helped out....

| **SPs** | *towards-religion being an important  
*towards-school being really positive  
*Towards-school environment being important  
*towards-loyal to school  
*towards-bigger schools being more positive  
*towards-all female education being more positive  
*towards-school management and teachers being relational and accommodating  
*towards-preference for routinized schooling  
*towards-examinations being significant  
*towards-need for good timetabling for student experience  
*towards-being good/committed student, helpful, focused on examination, grinds etc
**Interviewer:** that’s your….It’s interesting when I asked you to describe a typical school day you described your Leaving Cert year?

**Interviewee:** Yes it’s the one that’s most, like you know…like, but, am…. Is it the one that stands out the most or is it the one that’s the most recent? It stands out most because I done after school study in 5th year and 3rd year 2nd year too so I’d done after school study for 4 years in secondary school.

**Interviewer:** Was that typical for your school?

**Interviewee:** No you had to pay extra to do it, it’s just….

**Interviewer:** yeah but….that’s very common but was it something that a lot of people subscribed to or was it something that only a very small group of people did…?

**Interviewee:** Small groups…. I think maybe 2 classes with maybe around 30 altogether that done after school study.

**Interviewer:** ok….so out of a year of about 100 people would that be? About 100 people? how many people in your year?

**Interviewee:** em, I can’t remember how many was in my year….I think that there was maybe around 80, I’m not too sure?

**Interviewer:** ok, that was your typical school day…..and if I was to look at that it sounds like a very kind of studious type of atmosphere, [yeah] …what are the key memories that stand out for you now? Looking back at your entire school experience? Are there any particular memories that stand out?

**Interviewee:** I have to….. Good memories I have to say…. I had…. like I had a very good rapport with a few of the teachers, and I have to say that made school experience a lot more nice, because you know school was more nice…like you know…. I enjoyed going to school and I enjoyed going to particular you know subjects you know because I got along with teachers and I enjoyed the subjects.

**Interviewer:** What were the subjects?

**Interviewee:** The subjects was Home Ec, History I was mad into History, now I didn’t enjoy Biology but my...
teacher, I had him since 1st year I got along with him, I enjoyed going to my practical class in Biology, am I’m trying to think of what else like....oh and no I hated English, I hated English [laugh] and I hated Maths and em what was the other subject that I done?.....ok I remember now...I done History, Home Ec. and I hated French, I didn't like French at all and the teacher, I didn't get along with the teacher either so that had a negative effect on the subject as well, so....and yeah, yeah that was my four

Interviewer: ....an observation that I have from when I asked about key memories is you seemed to kind of....talk about the subjects you liked and disliked...so, it’s almost school is being defined by subjects you studied [yes]...rather than the schooling experience?

Interviewee: oh like yeah...the schooling experience, now like I done TY and I did enjoy TY but I found it to be, shall we say a waste of time for me but...it wasn’t, it wasn’t suited for me....it just wasn’t my cup of tea in the end you know?

Interviewer: Why? What’s your cup of tea?

Interviewee: ...my cup of tea [sigh] like TY, like the year, like they always used the excuse that we didn’t have enough funding and everything else for our TY, we done interesting, you know we done a few interesting modules that I did enjoy, I thoroughly enjoyed the Home Ec. Module, which was em textiles fashion, you know, you had to pick an outfit you know and you had to revamp it, making it into something from ...the past or whatever. Like you know, I enjoyed you know doing the Gaisce, the Gaisce was good, I kept that up for a while and done a bit of volunteering and all after.

Interviewer: But wasn’t it generally your cup of tea because.....? ....Because, it just.... I found most of it you know you went to a class.....and you just, it just wasn’t structured enough for me, and you know some teachers they could have done more interesting things, you know creative things with us and like it was very...you know...I just didn’t enjoy it, like in English for instance, we had to do poetry and like what we would have been doing in 5th and 6th year where we could have done like very interesting topics, like we could have done debating or anything else, we could have done different things, a bit of drama, we just never done that.

Interviewer: so what was it ....was it that you didn’t like Transition Year because of that structure or lack of relevance?

Interviewee: Lack of relevance I would say, yeah, lack of relevance, like they could’ve...what was the structure? I’m trying to think now....I don’t....maybe a bit of both because the structure, it seemed to be the structure had been there for a while [yeah] so like you know the same mini company was done every single year, all these things were done and like you know English was poetry, em Irish was Irish dancing, you done Irish dancing and it seemed to be like that when my sister was...
in TY she done the exact same things…. Em so like they could have changed it, I do think they could’ve changed it up a bit, then as well as that it was the structure like you know when you turn up to class one day and you would do absolutely nothing, you know, and then as well as that like you know we didn’t really go out or like do much trips or anything like that too so…..

Excerpt 2…..

Interviewer: So you’re saying they were very active, kind of engaging…. then the ones that you felt was ineffective, what are the experiences, describe the experiences of ineffective learning?

Interviewee: ineffective being told exactly like… for instance…French, like I was never strong at French and we were never given an opportunity to learn in a different way, like French was basically you read a passage, she translated the words, that was it like you had to go home and learn the vocab and in a double class you could have up to two A4 pages of new vocab and she would expect you to go home and learn that and be able to come in the next day...that was very...that’s not realistic, you know like, people..... you wouldn’t be able to learn two A4 pages and.... you know as well as that when it came to doing oral work, you know we never did the speed dating... like in Irish we done speed dating that was fun and exciting but when it came to French it basically you just learnt-off the phrases, you didn’t really interact with your classmates when it came to doing oral work.

Interviewer: Can I kind of throw a spanner in the works and say... that that sounds very structured to me, that French class was very structured and that’s something you said you liked structure and certainty and stuff… [yeah- and hums agreement] that sounds far more structured than the...what’s going to happen in the next Biology or Irish class?

Interviewee: yeah like...when...but the thing is though, it was structured but I... when I was in like for instance Home Ec. or Irish, the teachers they were two very good teachers and like I know like you know, by doing the work, I trusted them because you know they done the peer teaching you know and all that and I learnt from it, so I knew that was the way to learn, but like sometimes I like know that in other classes it was very structured but it was very... it was very boring to me, like I didn’t like that but like I do like my routine but am the Home Ec. class I trusted the teacher, that’s what I’d say, I trusted the teacher and I knew that I would learn.

Interviewer: Why did you trust that teacher and not others?

Interviewee: Because she was organized, she was organised. Interviewer: So was it more about disorganized didactic experiences rather than or organized, what are the…?

Interviewee: Yea I kind of feel like you know if a teacher is after

| IRs | *least favourite teachers-methodologies did not suit P
*Bad teaching= Didactic methodologies for Language teaching. DPs-basically read, up to 2 pages, expect you to, not realistic...
*Good teaching=ALM for language (Irish) DPs- fun, exciting, interact
*Good teaching=trust in teachers for learning (x4)
*Good teaching=peer teaching
*Bad teaching= boring, even if structured
*Good Teaching-suiting P’s learning preferences
*Good teaching=favoured teachers
*Good teaching=organized teachers
*Good teaching=preparation/effort/planning
*boring= ineffective learning

| SPs | *negative-French teaching using didactic methods
*negative-didactic methods (x3)
*towards-active methods for language study – comparisons...learn in a different way...fun, exciting
*towards-interacting with peers for learning
*towards-peer teaching
*negative-rote learning
*towards-needing to trust in teachers for effective learning
*towards-teachers who taught to suit Ps learning style
*negative-didactic methods=boring
*towards-HE and Irish teachers’ methods
*towards-routine in schooling but...
*towards-organised teachers
*towards-well planned teachers
*towards-ITE influencing perceptions of schooling/teaching – ambivalent

| IDs | *structure important but does not mean didactic
*didactic is not ok for languages but is for history? Is this subject or teacher bias? Loves peer interaction but this does not feature in history?
*favourite teachers seem to trump all else in discussing good/bad teaching... trust in teachers...maybe this links to exam focus...
putting an effort and decides we’re going to do this today, we’re going to do team... – now I didn’t know what these terms were at the time, like team-teaching – or the mini whiteboards, they had obviously thought before they came into classroom, this is what we’re going to do, whereas the French teacher would literally open up the book, read the passage and change the words and I used to find that they obviously didn’t use, like put a lot of planning... now maybe they did! but at the time I thought that it wasn’t enough planning going in.

*ITE does influence some of what is being said but ultimately does not help the P to see that their learning preference was shapes all views expressed re good and bad teaching

Interviewer: I…I’m asking you the next one but I almost feel I have the answer but I might be wrong, what motivated you to become a teacher?

Interviewee: oh, I have, like I’ve always, I’ve always said that I wanted to be a teacher, even when I was at primary school I used to love, you know I used to love the fact of being a teacher, then I went to secondary school and I thoroughly enjoyed Home Ec., then I think it was second year I decided I wanted to be a Home Ec. teacher.

Interviewer: second year.....so you were about 14 [agrees- 14] when you decided you wanted to be a Home Ec. teacher?

Interviewee: Yea I wanted to be a Home Ec. Teacher now at the time it was Home Ec. and I didn’t know what I wanted to do but then it was 3rd year when I was talking to my old Home Ec. teacher, my first teacher I had, and I said you know, I was saying to her like and went to her and I asked her like you know where did you go to college and she said she was in *other ITE college* and then in 4th year I went to a...it wasn’t, it was in a hotel like and there was all the different colleges there and I saw *name of ITE college* and I looked at it and I noticed there was either Biology, Religion, Economics or Irish so it was 4th year when I decided... I thought what do I want to do with the Home Ec.? and then I was in a pickle because I loved History [yeah] and then so I was like do I go to *name of other ITE college* and do History & Religion or go to *name of ITE college* and do Home Eco., so....I worked it out, I wanted to do, I had Religion was my first option for Home Ec. and Religion than I said like if it comes to it I’ll do Economics but I was willing to do anything to come to *name of ITE college*...I was really...like I was told by my career guidance counselor, she says like it will be slim picking if you get into *name of ITE college* she says like it’s very hard to get into and from 5th year onwards I had to work very hard to get here and what happened was I had decided if Home Ec. and Religion don’t work out I’ll do *name of other ITE college* and I’ll do History and Religion so....

*IRs*
**“always wanted to be a teacher”** DP...loved the fact of being a teacher
**“Teaching first-level and subject choice later”**
**“Favoured subjects influence career choice”**
**“Strong HE bias”**...DP...“regardless...” “willing to do anything”
**“Advice of favoured teacher”**
**“Guidance Counselling influence”**
**“Teacher-centric memories... motivations oriented”**
**“Senior level schooling focused on career choice”**
**“ITE as training”**
**“Teaching is in your personality...ITE makes you better DP...“certain personality””**

*SPs*
**towards-teaching as a career from early on**
**towards HE teaching (x many!!) DP...“regardless...” “willing to do anything”**
**towards-value on career guidance**
**towards-value on advice of favoured teacher**
**towards-emulating favoured teacher**
**towards-wanting to teach favoured subjects**
**negative-towards economics subject choice**
**towards-ITE programme chosen being challenging**
**towards ITE as training**
**towards ITE making better teacher-basics must be there**
**towards-teaching requiring a “certain personality” above all else**
**towards-career focus in latter stages of schooling**
**towards-being a hard worker**

*IDs*
**“ITE, while it is recognized as informing some aspects of opinions on methodologies from previous comments, it is not viewed as making a good teacher, just a better teacher-thus limited value on ITE?”**
**“Education as functional to career choice - only oriented around career choice?.....”**
**no reference to why HE teaching took precedence over primary given when P states she decided on teaching as a career**
Interviewer: alright, I want to follow up on some of the things you said there, you said you always wanted to be a teacher, [yeah] like it sounds like... you were locked....where did that come from? [where does it come from] yeah, so ....like you know you meet people... say for example that’s an accountant or a person that’s an engineer, they never say I always wanted to become an accountant, always wanted to become an engineer... what is it that made you always want to become a teacher?

Interviewee: I think... I do think that like you know you train to become a better teacher but I always think that you kind of have to have that in you to be teacher in the first place, you know like, I do think that you have to have a certain personality to be a teacher.

Interviewer: but what is that you see...do you see what I’m saying, there’s some X factor here...What is this...?

Interviewee: I don’t know like.....To me like, I enjoy, I enjoy you know helping people, I like to help people, I like to see people do well, like I would never like to see anybody stuck or anything, I like to see people thrive, like that’s the way that I’ve always been, I like to help people.

Interviewer: ...but you could argue that an engineer, an accountant, a solicitor, you know a receptionist, whatever, they all want to help people, they never want to see people stuck, they always want to......teaching is hardly different is it?

Interviewee: I see...Maybe because your outcome, you know you get to see, like you know everyone... like an engineer, an accountant, they might want to you know help people but with teaching like you get to see your students thrive, like you know not even academically but personally too, you get to see them develop, like it’s nice because you see them enjoy and hopefully enjoying what they’re doing and like you get to see them develop as a person, like I think that’s very important... obviously academic too. Now, since I came to *name of ITE college*, you know at first I thought it was all you know exams and all this [yeah] it’s you know, it’s really...
Summary of Analysis P26

Overarching Tenor on interview:

Very positive school experience – Loyal, diligent, academically able. Very traditional approach to schooling – single sex, structured, religious run. Very teacher-centric with a key focus on relational and altruistic traits. Very strong favoured subject, favoured teacher...suited my learning style. Strong preference for didactic transmission teaching approaches, equated to success for getting into third-level. Always wanted to be a teacher. Career choice influenced by favoured teachers. Now finding ITE difficult – challenges on SP.

foreclosed identity status – moving to identity moratorium due to some references to career exploration now ....evidence of ‘always wanted to be a teacher’ IR.....but now in some doubt . Clearly, no exploration of other careers in motivations for teaching during schooling. Very committed to altruistic ideals of teaching and teaching.

Interpretive Repertoires

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consolidation of Interpretive Repertoires:</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Broad Education Context</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Religious Run-1st thing said-presented positively</td>
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<td>4. ‘Big is better’</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Relational Management – DP “accommodating” in certain circumstances</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Examination focus</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Teaching as transmission, especially the Leaving Certificate. Value of ITE – hugely important to P- at least 7 references to it...nearly all good...improved attributes-attributes of good teachers keenly in focus in college, especially communications with practicum but ITE course as exam focused.. SP challenging/daunting. SP tutors not always good/helpful</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. School prep for going to college...Leaving Certificate functional – means to an end</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Schooling**

1. Excellent school experience: slow build-up
2. Loyal to school
3. Teacher-centric memory focus
4. Scientific/Practical Subject Focus
5. Structure: Routinized school day/TT-DP huge specific detail in times and activities
6. Committed Student- after school study for 4 years; grinds
7. Good Student... giving student
8. TY significance...mostly bad experience but a good idea badly run- loyalty to school influence
9. Creative endeavors favoured/different, interesting
10. Friends significance
11. Family influence
12. Senior level schooling focused on career choice

**Beliefs about teaching in expressions of Good and Bad Teaching**

1. Teaching an altruistic profession – see students get on
2. Definition of good teaching depends on the person?– Is it possible to define good teaching?–subjective
3. Favoured teacher suited P= learning style
4. Teacher significance in preferred/disliked subjects
5. Relational teachers—very good rapport=good school experience=good subject experience
6. Teaching is in your personality...ITE makes you better DP—"certain personality"
7. RE as moral and spiritual education...No definite answers—Not factual/factually loose
8. HE as Factual—definite answers
9. Some subjects content heavy—didactic learning (history)
10. use of ICT=Positive
11. Least favourite teachers—methodologies did not suit P
12. Bad teaching=Didactic methodologies for Language teaching. DPs—basically read, up to 2 pages, expect you to, not realistic...
13. Good teaching=ALM for language (Irish) DPs—fun, exciting, interact but ITE colours understanding of ALMs
14. Good teaching=trust in teachers for learning (x4)
15. Good teaching=peer teaching
16. Bad teaching=boring, even if structured
17. Good Teaching—suiting P's learning preferences
18. Good teaching=favoured teachers
19. Good teaching=organized and prepared teachers/prep and planning...effort
20. Bad teaching=lack of planning
21. Subject teaching matched to personality
22. Good Teacher as open to lack of certainty
23. Change of Educational Focus—away from exams (ITE)
24. Good teaching=expertise=having different viewpoints=knowing no definite answers
25. teaching needs good comms...other professions but teaching needs it more so
26. Good teaching a lifelong process
27. teaching about ‘a mindset’...‘a logic’ e.g. engineering about a mathematical mindset

Motivations for Teaching

1. "always wanted to be a teacher" DP—...loved the fact of being a teacher
2. lack of clear thinking around career choice DP—"tricky questions"...not answering question asked
4. Favoured teacher suited P=learning style
5. Good teachers acted as role models DP—"one day be as good as them" x2
6. Teaching first—level and subject choice later
7. Relevance of subject—2 aspects, structure of course and structure of lessons—both important Teaching interest v subject matter interest in ITE
8. Strong HE bias...DP—"regardless..." “willing to do anything”
9. Guidance Counselling influence
10. Altruistic Motivation—Helping People...DP—help x 6; do well, thrive—psychic rewards
11. personal interest important factor in career choice
12. “always wanted to be a teacher” now in doubt
13. first concern about teaching choice was entry-points
14. necessary teaching attributes not in focus at school

Subject Positions

<table>
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<th>Consolidation of Subject Positions re Good Teaching</th>
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<td><strong>Broad Education Context</strong></td>
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<td>• schooling about preparation for 3rd level—functional....</td>
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<td>• towards-religious run schools</td>
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<td>• towards-all female education—more positive</td>
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<td>• towards-family influencing values on schooling</td>
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<td><strong>Seeming Contradictions/Dichotomous Pairs</strong></td>
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<td>• most other educational statements contradict this functional view of educational</td>
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<td>• towards—education for exams at school</td>
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<tr>
<td>• towards—education as transmission at school</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative-exam focused teaching...NOW</td>
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<tr>
<td>towards-a big school being better experience</td>
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<td>towards-ITE as training</td>
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<td>towards-ITE as useful to developing theory to practice</td>
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<td>towards-ITE as changing educational views</td>
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<td>towards-ITE shaping views on ALM and other methodologies</td>
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<tr>
<td>towards-ITE as challenging/daunting</td>
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<td>away from-some SP tutors as not giving true constructive critique</td>
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<td>towards ITE as useful because of practicum</td>
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<tr>
<td>towards-teaching being about LLL-need to up=skill</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Schooling**

- Towards very positive own school experiences
- towards-being loyal to school
- towards-school culture being positive
- towards-build environment being significant to good school experience
- Towards-routinised schooling
- towards- the significance of a well-organized timetable
- Towards-teachers as key memories of schooling
- Towards importance of friends
- Towards favoured subjects taught by favoured teachers
- towards-practical subjects
- away from language learning, maths and english
- strongly towards HE
- towards relational teachers
- towards-highly structured learning
- towards-teachers who organize
- towards-TY year

**Beliefs about teaching in expressions of Good and Bad Teaching**

- towards-altruistic education-see kids get on
- towards- a certain personality/mind-set for teaching
- negative -education as transmission
- negative-education for exams
- Towards-teaching as complex (can it be defined? Subjective opinions....
- Negative-didactic teaching methods
- Negative rote learning
- negative-language learning-seen as ultimate didactic
- Towards-teachers who have relational attributes; rapport, encourage
- Towards-teachers who trust
- Towards good teaching as experts
- towards- good teachers make good classroom environment
- towards-peer teaching

- Away from previous views of education and even favoured subjects chosen for teaching career
- Towards practicum supervision as mixed quality

- Towards school management being organized-clearly not in TY
- Away from leniency for all circumstances

- no subsequent reference to friends in transcript

- away from HE-inferences that no longer in favour-often at odds

- away from TY – not organized or structured but loyal to school
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivations for Teaching</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Ideological Dilemmas</th>
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<td>towards-use of ICT in education</td>
<td>towards-always wanted to be a teacher</td>
<td>Sees didactic as necessary for some subjects</td>
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<tr>
<td>towards-good teaching as communication</td>
<td>towards-massive significance of favoured teacher in career choice...advice, role model, love of subject, opinion of methodologies</td>
<td>Always from expertise as presenting certainty – facts around RE cited as somewhat loose-ok not to know the answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towards-good teaching as catering to individuals’ learning styles</td>
<td>towards-role of career guidance in career choice</td>
<td>Towards difficulty not to have all the answers when teaching</td>
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<td>towards-good teaching as being dependent on teachers learning preferences</td>
<td>towards-teacher over subject when choosing favorite subjects</td>
<td>Towards-lack of certainty about career choice now</td>
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<td></td>
<td>towards altruistic motivation for career choice</td>
<td>Away from ability to articulate rationale for teaching aside from favoured teacher</td>
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<td></td>
<td>towards-believed she had mind-set for teaching</td>
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<td>towards-lack of clarity re career choice rationale-not fully able to articulate why teaching from inspiring teacher</td>
<td><strong>Towards-not now thinking she has the attributes for teaching</strong></td>
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<td>clear statement of no exploration of any other career</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Self</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Towards-not now thinking she has the attributes for teaching</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>towards being a hard-working, ‘good’ student</td>
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<td>towards the huge significance of favoured teachers in liking/disliking a subject</td>
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<td>away from any real engagement with exploring other careers</td>
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<td>towards-presenting ITE as being mostly useful, changing her/him. Element of the ‘right’ thing to say?</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>towards-not doing as well as she would like in ITE course but may be fault of SP tutors who give ‘un/true constructive’ feedback</td>
<td>Some ambivalence re changes that ITE has wrought in self e.g. subject choice</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>towards-believed she had mind-set for teaching</td>
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<td></td>
<td>towards-journey to becoming a teacher. Engaged in change....</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Towards presenting as seeing education differently than when at school</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Ideological Dilemmas**

**Consolidation of Ideological Dilemmas**

*A combination of dichotomous pairs in subject positions and diversity of interpretive repertoires used*

**Broad Education Context**

- purpose of education-clear sense of things having changed-exam focus to holistic focus
- *gender-clear that P prefers single sex education-in this case for girls-despite arguments that might be presented for mixed education-very positive school exp
- religious run schools-might not have facilitates but offers good environment and accommodating to needs of students –very positive school exp
- addressing personal shifts re education for exams and personal evolving educational focus and what happens in ITE-Need for exams/value of exams...complex understanding of education developing
**Schooling**

- presentation of TY-using time to prepare for LC not favoured – wanted something more from the programme re creativity-seems at odds with good student profile but fits with favoured subject profile
- enjoyed school repeated but seems at odds with very utilitarian approach to exams and college focus-made great friends but....
- inference that not all circumstances merit accommodation by school-she deemed hers to merit accommodation
- loyalty to school-issues now emerging re TY structure, TY funding, some subjects. At odds with previous assessment of school
- TY – enjoyed it while also stating that it did not suit and was a waste of time-may be
- Rapport with teachers the most significant factor to date in memories of school experience-even when probed memories of schooling all teacher oriented

**Motivations for teaching**

- Education as functional to career choice - only oriented around career choice?.....
- no reference to why HE teaching took precedence over primary given when P states she decided on teaching as a career
- shifting subject views-ID re value of practical knowledge in HE versus moral and spiritual knowledge in RE
- ID-can one have a personality to teach a particular subject?
- contradictory material now re always wanted to be a teacher – always be a HE teacher now seems clear and only since 3rd year
- apparent contradictions re favorite subjects and value of subjects... claiming they have a value (HE) but inferences would imply otherwise
- dilemma between all teachers need to be and it depends on the person
- dilemma articulating difference between mindset of other professions
- dilemma between stating she did not think about the attributes of good teachers but did feel that she had the mindset to be a teacher-chose teaching as a life career
- rationalizing not having thought about whether she had attributes to be a good teacher by saying that nobody knows that at school
- clear that she has not thought through or maybe is unwilling to share her motivations from schooling for teaching
- personal attributes for teaching merges into influential teachers
- college good but not all tutors who visit on SP helpful...mixed feelings about college
- dilemma between influence of others and personal interests...not clear that she understands the contradiction
- finishes by highlighting that she was shut off to other possibilities other than teaching without realizing that she is contradicting her previous points about personal interests etc

**Beliefs about teaching in expressions of Good and Bad Teaching**

- what trust means shifts/evolves-now means expertise related to preparedness
- sense that P knows that some subjects require different methodologies despite personal preference for ALM
- structure important but does not mean didactic
- didactic is not ok for languages but is for history? Is this subject or teacher bias? Loves peer interaction but this does not feature in history?
- favourite teachers seem to trump all else in discussing good/bad teaching... trust in teachers...maybe this links to exam focus...
- ITE does influence some of what is being said but ultimately does not help the P to see that their learning preference was shapes all views expressed re good and bad teaching
- ITE, while it is recognized as informing some aspects of opinions on methodologies from previous comments, it is not viewed as making a good teacher, just a better teacher-thus limited value on ITE?
### Excerpts from Coded Interview Transcript: P29 (Moratorium Identity Status)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Transcript</th>
<th>Coding</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excerpt 1...</strong></td>
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</table>

**Interviewer:** You just mentioned there... one of the things that stands out being one of the really good learning experiences in the school, were learning experiences outside the school [chorus and yeah] which is interesting [yeah], it says a lot about the school, about your school in particular and that goes to the flip side of the question which is, you know, what are the kind of ineffective learning experiences that you can remember from secondary school?

**Interviewee:** I remember in my Business class because it was so mixed, and because there was such a mixed class that the teacher would spend like maybe if it was a 40 minutes class, she would spend about 20 minutes giving-out but then never following through like, I remember one incident really clearly and there was a girl just painting her nails in class and the teacher was like, like ‘you can’t be doing this like, put it away’ and then she was like ‘Ms, It’ll only take me another minute, just hold on’ and she was like ‘no no put it away’ like, and then I remember she used to use this sentence, I’d say three times there in class, ‘if you don’t want to be here just leave’, and one time, I’d say two girls who were actually concentrating, actually really good students, actually just got up and left because like they were like ‘I’m not learning anything and you’re just giving out to them’ the whole time and like all we were doing is just reading from a book [yeah] and I can read this myself [yeah] and you know what’s the point of me being here kind of thing.

**Interviewer:** When you look back at say that incident in particular, what was it that was ineffective? was it the teacher, the lack of classroom management skills or was it the way they taught the subject?

**Interviewee:** Well, I think because the way they taught it, we were just reading out of the book, it was so boring and as well you could predict like, she always asked the same people to read in the same order, so like I could predict when I’m coming in to read so they were so bored and because they were the ordinary level in class, she didn’t spend that much time with them, so then it was kind of her teaching skills then led to classroom management issues and then she couldn’t handle the classroom management.

---

**IRs**
- Mixed class = bad learning experience
- CRM = most ineffective learning memories - very specific on details
- Poor CRM = No follow through - threats
- Bad business teacher
- Good students left class
- Bad teaching = reading from text and predictable
- Bad teaching methods led to poor CRM - AoO
- Ordinary level got poorer teaching attention - AoO
- Bad teaching = boring - AoO
- Bad teaching = not knowledgeable / prepared
- Anybody can just read from a book at the top of a class - AoO

**SPs**
- Away from mixed classes = bad learning experience
- Towards CRM = most ineffective learning memories - very specific on details
- Towards poor CRM = No follow through - threats
- Away from bad business teacher
- Towards good students left class
- Away from bad teaching = reading from text and predictable
- Away from bad teaching methods led to poor CRM - AoO
- Towards ordinary level got poorer teaching attention - AoO
- Towards bad teaching = boring
- Away from bad teaching = not knowledgeable / prepared
- Towards being a prepared teacher with subject knowledge
- Away from anybody can just read from a book at the top of a class - AoO
- Towards qualified teachers use varied / active / participative strategies (inferred)

**IDs**
- Mixed class motif – anti this approach really despite stating that this was a good thing. However, it is presented that ordinary level students did not get a good deal... not wanting to be seen as prejudiced?
Interviewer: This leads me nicely to the next question: You’re studying Home Ec. and...[Economics] Economics ok and you didn’t go to the Economics classes...[no] you stayed in business [I stayed in Business, yeah] what motivated you to become a teacher then, what kind of motivated you?

Interviewee: I’m not too sure, I remember as a kid, I always used to pretend to be a teacher and teach my younger cousins like...different problems and I’d always have a little white board in my room and I’d pretend to be teacher kind of thing. In secondary school I never even thought of it as a career like I always wanted to go into say Business or do Commerce in like UCD or one of them and go into work in the bank or something and I like work in the bank at the minute, part-time like when I’m on holidays and stuff like and I remember my mum saying like ‘you don’t want to be sitting behind the desk for the rest of your life like what else would you do?’ And I was like oh.... Maybe I could go back into teaching or whatever and then I thought, I could always just do Business and then I could go into teaching if I wanted afterwards or whatever, and then...I dunno, it was really kind of in 5th year I thought about it more and more and I came down to the open day, and I thought, you know I really love Home Ec. and thought I could become a chef and then I did work experience and it’s just so unsociable, [absolutely] the hours, [absolutely] [laugh], [yeah] yeah I thought to go into teaching was....

Interviewer: It seems that you’ve....you kind of said you were always...ok, I’ll paraphrase it, I’m probably exaggerating certain things just to get your reaction to it, it seemed you initially presented that you always...there was always a teacher inside you, [yeah] with the white board in your room, there was...you were teaching people... [yeah] but then you described a kind of period of uncertainty, [yeah] where you wanted to be a chef, you wanted to be in the bank but you said... to stay away from that, [yeah] and so...at one hand you described it as being a certainty that this was the career you wanted to be in [yeah, at the start but then...] but then you kind of described that you almost fell into it because you tried everything else...[yeah, that’s it] and it didn’t work so you just fell into it.

Interviewee: Yeah because I remember I went to my Guidance Counselor and she was like ‘no *participant name* you don’t want to be a teacher, you don’t wanna be a teacher’ and I remember her telling me like loads of times oh no, you should go and do BEDs in Trinity or you should go and do this, why haven’t you got that on your CAO, why haven’t you got BEDs in Trinity on your CAO? So are you afraid you’re not going to get the points? is that why you haven’t got that on your CAO ? I was like no I don’t want to do it, I then like I play Bridge as well and I started teaching Bridge lessons like, teaching Bridge to people and I kind of thought, ‘oh this is nice, even though I...
know like the age profile would be a lot older, you know like it would be people in their 80's and stuff but I thought this is a lot nicer. But, yeah, it was kind of like, I always wanted to be one as a kid but then... when I was older I kinda just... I thought... I don’t know I thought like ‘oh I’d... I’d... you know I’d earn more money or... like I remember the Guidance Counselor saying and all ‘you won’t earn all that money, would you rather be rich or be happy’ she asked me and I said oh I’d rather be happy like even if I was earning nothing like.

*secondary school was all about making money as a career — maybe poor teachers at school influenced career choice?
*messages re career guidance and teaching very confused form text-checked recording....

Excerpt 3....

Interviewer: So... I don’t hear... as you’re talking, somebody that has that mad passion for teaching?

Interviewee: Yeah, like I don’t know, I think if I had done this interview in first year like,.... I would’ve but then like my experience from teaching practice last year like, I came out and I think I cried every day after teaching practice, I hated it, I came back, one of my letters like, I was like I’m dropping out, I hate it, can’t do it anymore, cause I loved it in first year, I loved teaching practice and in second year I just hated it, I like had so many classroom management issues and like it was in, was in a really, like well what people perceived as a really good school and I absolutely hated it and like one of the lecturers said like ‘no *participant name*, you need to stick it out, you know you’re half way there now, you may as well do another year and see how you feel’ [yeah] so I suppose now I’m kind of in-between minds as... if I actually want to be a teacher again.

Interviewer: Ok...... I wouldn’t... don’t be worried about that.... [yeah] you’re in a good space [yeah], perhaps far better than somebody that is... has an almost a kind of evangelical kind of view from teaching [yeah], and... you picked Home Ec. and Economics, [yeah] and the Home Ec.... why that, it’s different from say primary school teaching, when you’re thinking of secondary school you pick your favourite subject....

Interviewee: Like I suppose I picked the Home Ec. because I loved the cooking and like I wanted to say be a chef, and I thought oh and I love food and nutrition and stuff like that, like I had nutrition on my CAO as well and.... I loved all the kind of elements, that like it’s so broad, you were kind of doing bits of everything, it wasn’t just like... the one subject, because like this went on so I also had Maths and Science ‘cause I thought like it so ranged, like you know it’s not like History, you learn History, you go in and you do it and it’s just facts and facts, like, you can have, when you’re teaching students you can have people who have different opinions about food even though it could be perceived as like a bad food, like people like... it’s not your own opinion, it’s science but people can have their own opinions on it and stuff, it’s more topical and it’s changing all the time I think.
Overarching Tenor on interview:

Mixed school experience; uncomfortable socially – references to socio-economic status, poor urban ‘rough’ schools. Lots of references to making money and a small number to altruistic attributes of teachers. Difficult first year – all the way through? Focus on extra-curricular – sport. Very teacher-centric with a key focus on relational and altruistic traits. Many references to bad teachers. Very strong favoured - subject, favoured teacher….with CRM. Strong preference for active teaching approaches, anti-traditional didactic methods. Uncertain of career choice at school -pressure by family and career guidance. Clear career doubts now, finding ITE difficult – challenges with CRM on SP.

**moratorium identity status** - wanted to be a teacher when younger’, pretended, taught cousins etc evident. Chose course as an easy choice based on perceived perks of the career – a second choice, preferred the industry side, cheffing, and nutrition etc….talked into it by mum and career guidance (CG is a bit confused-checked tape). Had bad SP in 2nd year and now reluctantly staying in ITE course, has moved from love to hate – career crisis….states no real analysis previous to interview of why she wanted to be a teacher….believes that she does not have what she perceives are the innate characteristics for teaching manifested in passion, comms and CRM….seems like was in foreclosed first but had to say. Some altruistic ideals re teaching when pressed, luke-warm commitment to career. Sense that if SP went better, in the coming year she might change her mind again.
Excerpts from Coded Interview Transcript: P31 (Achieved Identity Status)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Transcript</th>
<th>Coding</th>
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| **Interviewer:** Ok, [d’ yea know...] If I was to kind of describe what you said there in terms of schooling... [yeah] these are my reflections... that you ... a lot of classes were evaluated on terms of the level of control of teachers, [definitely] and the respect that they were afforded, [yeah] and the craic that you could have in certain lessons and stuff, [yeah] ...and yet then you decide to become a teacher [yeah]...what made... what motivated you to become a teacher?  
**Interviewee:** I don’t know, I think, I suppose, I dunno... I didn’t really know what I wanted to do I loved Home Ec., I loved cooking and then I suppose inside in the class, like and then my friend *name* like we would’ve been friends since primary school and she struggled the whole way up like, she left before Junior Cert [ok] and then she finished her Junior Cert but she didn’t think she was going to pass it and then she came back anyway and she passed it but she struggled the whole way through like and then.... seeing teachers like, like she is a good girl like, like she was just misunderstood kinda thing and then seeing teachers like... d’ yea know kinda....talk down to her, not help her in class and then after school I’d help her like, I’d teach her and give her grinds and stuff and I kinda... then seeing her come out and pass her Leaving Cert like and I was like Jesus d’ yea know....I kinda thought maybe I want to do that like.  
**Interviewer:** Ok, but what was it that interested you about doing that?... was it the.... success?  
**Interviewee:** The success of other students and stuff and the seeing the people who you feel like ‘oh god I’d’ve loved to have helped them now like’, d’ yea know looking back and you see inside the classroom and...like... I don’t know, it was just... the levels of learning that took place like a lot of the teachers who made an effort, knew what was going on with people’s lives at home and made discretions for it [yeah] and yet the students still progressed but the ones who didn’t actually ask ‘what’s going on and why are you doing this’, why are you doing that’, just let ’em go like you could see ’em falling back like and like I always remember being inside the class and going why did she become a teacher? She’s absolutely sh** like, [yeah] and then, being inside in another big class and seeing what they’re doing right and be like’ oh yeah I could actually do this’ like do yea know, it makes a difference to their lives like and where they go and stuff like that like...I suppose I kinda always looked up to the teachers as well do yea know, I thought that they... like

IRs
* psychic rewards of seeing others do well  
* helping others a key motivator  
* teacher effort=levels of learning  
* teacher effort=know what’s going on with students  
* teachers should be flexible-make allowances  
* teachers should be motivated by altruistic motivations-desire to see students progress...  
* motivated by good Ts perceived to be making a diff  
* confidence in teaching disposition  
* no confidence in being ‘brilliant’ teacher  
* looked up to teachers  
* replicate good teachers  
* never knew what she wanted to do after school  
* wanted to be a solicitor  
* dyslexia crushed dream...ordinary level English  
* teaching 2nd choice-DPs—’no level of certainty’  
* teachers (others) reinforced career choice-good at it  
* No regrets re career choice  
* Love of HE as rationale for choice of teaching career  
* no vocation for teaching-no ‘changing the world’

SPs
* towards psychic rewards in Ting-see others do well  
* towards helping others a key motivator for teaching  
* towards teacher effort=levels of learning-important  
* towards T. effort=know what’s going on with Ss  
* towards Ts should be flexible-make allowances  
* towards teachers should be motivated by desire to see students progress-altruistic motivations  
* towards motivated for teaching by good Ts perceived to be making a diff  
* towards confidence in Ting dispos-DP—’I could do this  
* away from confidence in being ‘brilliant’ teacher  
* towards ’looked up’ to teachers  
* towards desire to replicate good teachers  
* away from knowing what she wanted to do after sch  
* towards wanted to be a solicitor  
* away from dyslexia-crushed dream...ordinary English
especially my Business teacher, I always looked up to her and... I kind of seen myself doing the same things that she used to do, replicating what they were doing...am so I suppose I never really knew what I wanted to do like and I always wanted to be solicitor and then being told...knocked back about my dyslexia and going to ordinary level English I was like, oh I can never do it then like and then I kinda just thought oh maybe teaching and when I said it to my teachers they were like oh sure try it like, yea know you’d be a good teacher, you get on well and I kinda just did it as a choice, now I don’t regret doing it like yea know, I think... give it a go like.

Interviewer: But there wasn’t a level of certainty there?
Interviewee: There wasn’t, no, I wasn’t like ‘oh my god I’m going to be a teacher’ and I’m going to be brilliant’, I’m doing it because of this, this and this, it wasn’t that, [so did you just kind of...] and now it kind of is.

Interviewer: So did you just kind of fall into it by default?
Interviewee: Yeah, kind of....[ah] I didn’t know what I wanted to do like and I knew I liked Home Ec. and [ok] I don’t know, I just kind of went with it...[right and ...] so I didn’t feel like it was a calling or anything, I didn’t think that oh I’m going to be like this now, and even I’m going to change the world or anything like that ![laugh].

Excerpt 2....

Interviewer: Ok, ok, and when you were filling out your CAO form, [yeah] did you feel that you met all of those kind of...leaving aside the subject area, [yeah] because you weren’t... did you feel you had the personal characteristics, the attributes about recognizing the individual and you know being able to communicate... did you feel you had those necessary kind of attributes to b I Interviewee: I did yeah, I thought I...ah like no I did....I felt like that... do yea know I’m a people person, I love being around people I love...d’ yea know... I love... like work... I always wanted to work with people anyway you know and then I suppose I just felt education was probably the best one for me you know.

Interviewer: Law, what would you have wanted to do with it?
Interviewee: Yeah I did want to do law but then I suppose.... confidence was just totally knocked like from.... Interviewer: ...that was your future in law so...Looking at it now, do you think you have all the necessary attributes become a good teacher? are all the pieces of the jigsaw together now for you?

Interviewee: More or less yeah, like obviously subject knowledge is still progressing and stuff like that but just from previous experiences of it like, [ teaching practice...] teaching practice yeah, like I’ve had loads of positive feedback on it yea know and it’s just such a rewarding job going in d’ yea know, I love it like.

Interviewer: What do you find rewarding about it?

* towards teaching as 2nd choice-also ran-DPs-‘no level of certainty’, ‘just went with it’
* towards teachers (others) reinforced career choice-good at it
* towards no regrets for choosing teacher-faint praise-‘went with it’
* towards love of HE as rationale for teaching
* away from vocation for teaching-no ‘changing the world’ rationale

IDs
* strong feelings expressed about helping others to progress etc. seems at odds with then life-long ambition to be a solicitor...still helping people?
* confidence in abilities to be a teacher in conflict-overall sense of insecurity

IRs
* subject knowledge still developing
* positive feedback from SP
* teaching as rewarding ‘love it’ -psychic rewards
* see learners progress=DP-‘actually learning’
* see self in learners-a motivation and an empathy
* Motivation for teaching a reaction to own schooling
* learners want to progress but don’t have the skills
* school should be an enjoyable time
* school stands to you/shapes you
* shared memories of school experiences
* CAO question challenge
* no memory of filling out the CAO
* teaching first on CAO
* lots of different things on CAO

SPs
* towards confidence of having most attributes she perceives are necessary for teaching now
* towards subject knowledge still developing
* towards pos feedback from SP-positioning by others
* towards Ting as rewarding ‘love it’-psychic reward
* towards wanting to see learners progress=DP-‘actually learning’...lots of repeat. V. strong motif throughout
* towards a view that learners are not supported to make progress-very earnest
Appendix C

Summary of Analysis P31

Overarching Tenor on interview:

Very emotional recall of school experience, however, overarching sense of caring environment nearly parental. Dyslexia diagnosis late in PP school, changed everything, including career ambitions (career crisis evident) and mental health? Very strong sense of SE status of students being low in this school. Very teacher-centric with a key focus on relational and altruistic traits. Very strong favoured subject, favoured teacher orientation, associated with success and failure. Career choice influenced by favoured teachers, not wanting to be like bad teachers and helping peers. Very learner-centered, altruistic motivations for teaching now wanting it to be bad. Comfortable in career choice now after being unsure on entry to ITE. Wants to change the system.

Achieved identity status – (weak-moving into this…a sense of it being a second choice maybe?) always wanted to be a lawyer….. forced to crisis in final year of school because of education challenges at LC-dyslexia. Explored other careers at this stage at least a little - very mixed CAO but teaching was at the top… DP-‘I’d no idea really what I wanted to do’. Committed to relational ideals of teaching, especially empathy and care for the ‘real’ lives of students due to AoO + personal circumstances. Dyslexia a very big motivator. Liked the subject but a sense that teacher trumped all in motivation….. Lots of ‘natural born teacher’ –disagrees with this. Believes that she does have what it takes- the disposition and right ideals. Confident in choice now. No evidence of short termism or further exploration.
Appendix D
## Appendix D

### Identity status data and assignment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Presence of some indicators/criteria from DA analytics such as:</th>
<th>Identity Status?</th>
<th>Status Movement?</th>
<th>Goal Acquired?</th>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Presence of some indicators/criteria from DA analytics such as:</th>
<th>Identity Status?</th>
<th>Status Movement?</th>
<th>Goal Acquired?</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>Exploration: low (&quot;~&quot;) &lt;br&gt;- Knowledgeable re teaching when chosen; &lt;br&gt;- Active searching for info. re career/s generally at time of career decision; &lt;br&gt;- ‘crisis’ moments - KEY &lt;br&gt;- Exp. alternative careers; &lt;br&gt;- Made an early teaching career choice Commitment: high (✓) &lt;br&gt;- Seeking knowledge re teaching now – esp. values and beliefs; &lt;br&gt;- Active to ‘making it real’...SP choices re values and beliefs about teaching; &lt;br&gt;- Tone... &lt;br&gt;- Degree of influence of sig others now; &lt;br&gt;- Projecting self into future in teaching career</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Towards → moratorium</td>
<td>AoO^53^, Age 3^54^</td>
<td>P22</td>
<td>Exploration: high (✓) &lt;br&gt;- Knowledgeable re teaching when chosen; &lt;br&gt;- Active searching for info. re career/s generally at time of career decision; &lt;br&gt;- ‘crisis’ moments - KEY &lt;br&gt;- Exp. alternative careers; &lt;br&gt;- Made an early teaching career choice Commitment: high (✓) &lt;br&gt;- Seeking knowledge re teaching now; &lt;br&gt;- Active to ‘making it real’...SP choices re values and beliefs about teaching; &lt;br&gt;- Tone &lt;br&gt;- Degree of influence of sig others now; &lt;br&gt;- Projecting self into future in teaching career</td>
<td>Achieved</td>
<td>Weak, limited exploration after 1st degree, some foreclosure</td>
<td>AoO-weak goal in 2nd level, ↑ after 1st degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>Exploration: ✓ exploration ✓ commitment</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early 2nd level</td>
<td>P23</td>
<td>X exploration ✓ commitment</td>
<td>Forecasted</td>
<td>Doubt re goal late in schooling</td>
<td>AoO-early primary</td>
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<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early 2nd level</td>
<td>P24</td>
<td>X exploration ✓ commitment</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO- primary level</td>
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<td>Foreclosed</td>
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<td>AoO-early 2nd level</td>
<td>P25</td>
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<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>AoO-early primary</td>
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<td>P5</td>
<td>~ exploration ✓ commitment</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Towards → moratorium</td>
<td>AoO-late and weak goal</td>
<td>P26</td>
<td>~ exploration ✓ commitment</td>
<td>Foreclosed</td>
<td>Towards → moratorium</td>
<td>AoO-early primary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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^53^ AoO = apprenticeship of observation  
^54^ * No longer sure of goal of teaching but not actively searching
| P6 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Moratorium | ➜ From weak diffusion in late schooling | weak goal, teachers in family swayed**55 | P27 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | Not clear in DR | AoO-early primary, sister a teacher |
| P7 | ✐ exploration | ✓ commitment | Foreclosed | | AoO-early 2nd level. Teachers in family | P28 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | Limited 2nd level exploration. No crisis | AoO-early primary, mother a teacher |
| P8 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Achieved | Exploration-2nd level | AoO-early 2nd level | P29 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Moratorium | ➜ From foreclosed | AoO-early primary** |
| P9 | ✐ exploration | ✓ commitment | Foreclosed | | A0O early second-level | P30 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | | AoO-early primary |
| P10 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | Limited exploration-2nd level. No crisis | AoO-early 2nd level | P31 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Achieved | Weak, ➜ fromatorium | AoO-late 6th year, 2nd choice |
| P11 | ✐ exploration | ✓ commitment | Foreclosed | | A0O-age 5 | P32 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | | AoO-early 2nd level |
| P12 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Achieved | Exploration in 1st career | After 1st college degree | P33 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | Very little in transcript | AoO-early primary |
| P13 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Achieved | Weak, ➜ from moratorium | AoO-late 6th year. 2nd choice | P34 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Achieved | Weak, ➜ from disguised foreclosure | AoO-always there but... |
| P14 | ✐ exploration | ✓ commitment | Foreclosed | | A0O-teachers in family | P35 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Moratorium | Weak, ➜ from foreclosure | AoO-early primary** |
| P15 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | | A0O-early primary | P36 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | Towards ➜ achieved | AoO-early 2nd-level, sisters teachers |
| P16 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Achieved | Exploration-2nd level | A0O | P37 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | | AoO-early primary |
| P17 | ✐ exploration | ✓ commitment ?? | Foreclosed/M/D | Border moratorium/ diffusion? Crisis but no exploration | A0O** | P38 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | | AoO-early primary, brothers teachers |
| P18 | ✐ exploration | ✓ commitment | Foreclosed | | Towards ➜ moratorium | weak goal, late, subject only* | P39 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | | AoO-early primary |
| P19 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | | A0O-early primary | P40 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | Limited exploration in 2nd level. No crisis | AoO-early primary, teachers in family |
| P20 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Moratorium | ➜ From foreclosed | AoO-early 2nd level** | P41 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Foreclosed | Towards ➜ achieved, exploration in 2nd level. No crisis | AoO-late in 2nd level |
| P21 | ✐ exploration | ✓ commitment | Diffusion | Weak, limited ✐ commitment Not clear in DR | After 1st college degree | P42 | ✓ exploration | ✐ commitment | Achieved | Weak, ➜ fromatorium | After 2nd level, teachers in family |

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**55** ✗ Did not have goal of teaching at the time of interview
Appendix E

Excerpt of consolidation of interpretive repertoires

✓ means +1 participant

Consolidation of ALL repeated Interpretive Repertoires:

Broad Education Context

1. ‘Learning for life not exams’ -Quality/valuable Learning: Phil
   ‘teaching for exam results’
2. ‘The system is broken’
3. School about craic…it should be enjoyable, you should get a laugh
4. School is important-it shapes you
5. Learners want to progress-have to be enabled
6. Exams important ...ordinary/hons levels important, grades important
7. Teacher as facilitator... supporting independent learning
8. Teacher as part of school community
9. Education a balance of exams and extra-curricular
10. Value of sport
11. ‘Lunch in town’-Freedom versus Regimentation in Education:
12. ‘The male/female factor’-Gender significance in Education:
13. ‘Big is better’-Rural versus Urban Education: rural education results in poor education or excellent education – ghettoised?
14. Practical/Academic Subject Debate: practical important
15. ‘Forced to exam-focus’-Irish Education System:
16. Which is better: exam focussed students or open students
17. ‘ITE as training’
18. Value of ITE– both positive and negative
   ‘only negative feedback from tutors’
   ‘my problems not a big deal’
   ‘respected tutors’
   ‘I bravely gave my views’
19. ITE not the end of teacher learning to teach
20. Value of concurrent ITE
21. ‘School as Institution?’-cannot see beyond classroom
22. School environment and atmosphere counts - old and new
Appendix E

23. Can only really learn to teach/know you are suited… in the classroom

24. Teaching can be learned v intrinsic attributes

25. Value of placements for language learning

26. Religious Run-presented positively

27. Importance of Team. Staff collaborative.

28. Impact of SE status

29. Streaming, banding and mixed education

Schooling

1. ‘School is about enjoyment’

2. “Poor” or “excellent” school experience

   ➢ ‘feeling bad in school’
   ➢ ‘I loved school because I was good at it’

3. Mixed messages about schooling experience

4. ‘The limited teacher’

   ➢ ‘Knowing better than the teacher’

5. ‘I engaged with my good teachers’

   ➢ The teachers who taught me well…

6. Loyal to School: loyal to own experience of schooling

7. Forced to attend this school…not 1st choice?

8. Emotional memories

9. ‘Good Student’: Able, responsible, keen, motivated, ambitious student

   ➢ ‘I did really well in exams’
   ➢ ‘I was a very good student’
   ➢ ‘school was easy for me’

10. Teacher-centric memory focus

11. Needed support in school

12. Exam-centric memories

13. Intrinsic motivation to succeed

14. Dislike of strong control

15. Personal Educational challenge (dyslexia)

16. Maths insecurity

17. Perfectionism

18. Value/significance of study inside, outside school
19. ITE memory lens for schooling=See/focus differently ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
20. Science-centric subject focus ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
21. Learning outside the formal classroom ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
22. Strong Extracurricular ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
23. Well managed schools are good schools ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
24. Structure – prefer highly structured ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
   ➤ ‘school was great because it was so predictable / structured’
25. Importance of Timetabling - double lesson ✓✓
26. Language Learning – poor due to didactic ✓✓✓✓✓
27. Classroom Environment-didactic poor, not enjoyable ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
28. Transition year watershed ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
29. Blocked memories of primary school ✓✓
30. Regimented/Routinised Schooling Memories ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
31. Junior Level PP school blaa ✓✓✓
32. School Stressful at LC ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
33. High Expectations-don’t disappoint ✓✓
34. Best Learning ME not teacher ✓✓✓
35. Self-Confidence/Esteem –poor, very challenged and on-going issue ✓✓✓✓
36. Clear sense of purpose at school ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
37. Strong non-classroom memories ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
38. Favourite subjects- influenced everything from engagement, study habits, favoured teachers to career choice ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
39. Sense of others in the classroom…especially those with challenges ✓✓✓
40. ‘Value’/role of career guidance ✓✓✓

Beliefs about teaching in expressions of Good and Bad Teaching (some from SPs)
1. Teaching is an altruistic profession…nobility ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
   ➤ ‘teacher as altruist’
   ➤ ‘evidence forgiveness’
   ➤ ‘teacher as a selfless do-gooder’
2. Teaching is in your personality…born not made…intrinsic characteristics ✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
   ➤ ‘Teaching is a certain personality’
   ➤ ‘Subject teaching matched to personality’
‘...career to help people’

3. Teachers are not born – made – those who came late to teaching career can be great

4. ‘What should a teacher do?’: Role of teacher: query – vacillates

   – teachers must build a better system

5. ‘Teaching is a happy job’

   – enjoyed their job

6. Effective teaching is what worked for me – ‘teachers who taught me well’

   – the only way I could learn

7. Good teaching a balance

8. ‘Teacher as didact’

9. ‘Teacher as boss’

10. ‘Natural teacher’

11. Performativity – teaching as transmission

12. RE is not factual

13. ICT makes teaching better

14. ‘I’ll never be like that’ (teacher)

15. ‘I wanted to be just like him/her’

   – s/he inspired me

16. Mixed ability classes do not lead to good learning for all

17. Not all nice teachers are good

18. ITE and views on teaching changing in parallel

   – time changing perspectives on teaching

   – learning from experience

19. Good teaching=ITE + Experience + Philosophy: innovative, prepared, use effective teaching strategies (ALM), expert and present useful knowledge

20. ‘Differentiation is important’

21. Bad teaching methods lead to bad CRM

22. Some subjects are just suited to didactic teaching’ (e.g. history)

23. Good teaching=Enthusiasm + Rapport + Control: innovative, prepared, use effective teaching strategies (ALM), expert and present useful knowledge

   – teachers must control a classroom for learning to happen

   – control means good teaching / ‘good teaching is being in control’

   – respect for teachers comes through strictness and control

   – strict teachers are good teachers
‘bad teaching is poor discipline and punishment’

‘good disciplinarian teacher’

24. ‘Teaching is simple’

Anybody can learn to teach

25. Good teaching is complex- and expressions of good teaching changes as you progress in ITE and in line with individual subjectiveness

26. AoO + personal learning preferences very strong

27. Own schooling has led to ‘coloured’ perceptions of teaching

28. ‘High value of teacher preparation’

29. Bad teaching can get good results - ‘getting results the wrong way’

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**Good v Bad teachers at a glance**

Key:
- Teaching Methods - (TM)
- Skills - (Skill)
- Attitudes - (Att)
- Relational Aspects - (Rel)
- Role of Teaching - (ROT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good Teaching/Teachers</th>
<th>Bad Teaching/Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘effective teachers’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Control ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ (CRM)</td>
<td>1. Start badly—no confidence or CRM ✔ ✔ (CRM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. More than control ✔ ✔ ✔ (CRM)</td>
<td>2. Sub-teachers=no control ✔ ✔ (CRM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Don’t have to get cross ✔ (CRM)</td>
<td>3. poor CRM ✔ ✔ (CRM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Stern, follow through and and ‘it’ factor ✔ ✔ ✔ (CRM)</td>
<td>4. Discipline as punishment ✔ ✔ (CRM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rise above...educate separately from discipline ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ (CRM)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Traditional Ed views ✔ (ROT)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Good teaching = student learning ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ (ROT)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Cater to all....inclusive ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ (ROT)</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Make learning fun/craic/enjoyable ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ (ROT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Prepare students for exams ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ (ROT)</td>
<td>5. Teaching without theory/understanding ✔ ✔ (ROT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Present useful knowledge ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ (ROT)</td>
<td>6. No independent learning ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ (ROT+TM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Empower ✔ ✔ (ROT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Transmission-Teaching to impart knowledge ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ (ROT)</td>
<td>7. Boring ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ (TM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Teaching is about changing people (ROT)</td>
<td>8. Reading from texts ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ‘bad teaching is text-based teaching’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Is holistic development ✔ ✔ ✔ (ROT)</td>
<td>9. Traditional methods ✔ ✔ ✔ (TM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Meets learners Needs ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ (ROT+ Rel)</td>
<td>11. Rote learning ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ (TM) ‘rote learning is always bad’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Encourage ✓ (Rel Att)</td>
<td>\n</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
30. ITE and beliefs about good/bad teaching
   ➢ ‘Authority to speak…’: ITE confers authority- ability to apply, comment, judge, reflect
   ➢ ITE changed naïve beliefs about teaching as methods, control and grades
   ➢ Everyone can do teacher training but not everyone can be a good teacher

31. Nature of different subjects...suitability to methods, preferred approach, disappointments, links to subject choices in ITE

32. Students in classrooms recognize good/bad teaching-Teachers give off a ‘vibe’….. students just know...see truth

33. Others have it wrong-motif throughout....e.g. might work for other people not me...

34. HE, generally good teachers- a useful subject, full of contextual learning, learning for life

Motivations for Teaching

1. ‘Always knew I wanted to be (I’d be) a teacher’: no exploration of other career despite 1st degree
   ➢ ‘inevitability of going into teaching’
   ➢ ‘falling into teaching’
   ➢ ‘teaching was (being) all I knew’
   ➢ ‘I knew / understood teaching’ / I knew what teaching was

2. ‘Other career choices were abstract’

3. Wanted something else....explored other careers
   ➢ ‘others deciding for me’

4. Second-choice career

5. Uncertainty
   ➢ ‘teaching goal uncertain in school’
Appendix E

6. Not able/comfortable to with articulation of ‘why teaching’ – proves to be interesting question

7. Positive experience of school either primary or secondary

8. Experience of schooling influenced choice

9. ‘Always wanted to help people’ - altruistic

10. ‘Teaching to empower’

11. Positive experiences of working with young people

12. Positive experiences of teaching type episodes

13. Negative experiences of teaching

14. Psychic rewards....helping people, love the felling, feel good when

15. ‘People always said...’-others say that I’ll make a good teacher

16. Subject most powerful motivator

17. Teacher beats subject influencing career choice or reverse: vacillates but ultimately teacher

18. Age Effect - young look for inspiring role models

19. Teachers’ influence on career choice/subject choice

20. ‘I couldn’t possibly say if I’ve the attributes of a good teacher’: expressed as uncommitted but ...others say....my experiences stand for themselves

21. Had attributes for teaching at CAO

22. CAO....difficult

23. Didn’t think about attributes applying for College course

24. ‘Teaching might be repetitive’

25. Validating my career choice

26. Secondary versus Primary Teaching

27. ‘Bad old teachers’-Age important in teaching: old bad – but ‘goldilocks point’ suggested

28. ‘It’s from family...’-Family significance in teaching career choice e.g. teaching siblings; child-minding, pragmatics

29. Positive placement experiences

30. Career guidance

31. Pragmatic – ‘nice’ easy career with holidays and short days
Appendix F
Ethical approval

Section 1. Ethical Issues

1. Does this application involve research with:
   a. People under the age of 18? Yes ☐ No ☐
   b. People with diagnosed psychological impairments? Yes ☐ No ☐
   c. People with a diagnosed learning difficulty? Yes ☐ No ☐
   d. People dependant on the protection/under the control/influence of others
e.g. people in care, prisoners, students with whom the researcher has a
supervisory relationship, etc.)? Yes ☐ No ☐
   e. Relatives of sick people (e.g. parents of sick children)? Yes ☐ No ☐
   f. People who may have only a basic knowledge of English? Yes ☐ No ☐
   g. Other populations that are potentially vulnerable? Yes ☐ No ☐

   If ‘YES’ to (g) please describe:

2. Does this application deal with:
   a. Sensitive personal issues? (e.g. suicide, bereavement, gender identity,
   sexuality, fertility, abortion, gambling, illegal activities, illicit drug taking,
   substance abuse engaging in criminal behaviour?) Yes ☐ No ☐
   b. Any act that might diminish self-respect or cause shame, embarrassment
   or regret? Yes ☐ No ☐
   c. Research into politically and/or racially/ethically and/or commercially
   sensitive areas? Yes ☐ No ☐
   d. Issues which might otherwise give rise to a risk of loss of employment,
   for the participant? Yes ☐ No ☐
   e. Other issues that may be considered sensitive? Yes ☐ No ☐

   If ‘YES’ to (f) please describe:

3. Does the proposed research procedures involve:
   a. Use of personal records without consent? Yes ☐ No ☐
   b. Deception of participants or use of placebos? Yes ☐ No ☐
   c. The offer of large inducements to participate? Yes ☐ No ☐
   d. Audio or visual recording without consent? Yes ☐ No ☐
   e. Invasive physical interventions or treatments? Yes ☐ No ☐
   f. Research that might put researchers or participants at substantial risk? Yes ☐ No ☐
   g. Storage of results or data for less than 7 years? Yes ☐ No ☐
   h. Dealing with topics, using methodologies, or reporting of findings in a way
   that is likely to cause pain, discomfort, embarrassment, or changes to
   lifestyle for participants? Yes ☐ No ☐
   i. Other procedures that may be considered invasive? Yes ☐ No ☐

   If ‘YES’ to (i) please describe:

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From: Oliver.McGarr
Sent: 18 November 2014 14:34
To: Barry.Coughlan
Subject: Request for extension of ethics

Barry,

Earlier this year we received ethical clearance to conduct a study with student teachers in UL (reference no. 2014_04_01_EHS)

We would like to extend this to a second site namely St Angela’s college, Sligo as we are working with colleague from the institution on the project. The second site will provide clearance for us to conduct the research but we’d like to check that we are good to go from this end.

Ollie

Dr Oliver McGarr
Head of department
Education and Professional Studies
Faculty of Education and Health Sciences
University of Limerick

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This message has been scanned for viruses and dangerous content by MailScanner, and is believed to be clean.