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A Discourse Analysis of Beginning English Teachers' Identity Development

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Joshua Peter Johnston entitled "A Discourse Analysis of Beginning English Teachers' Identity Development." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Teacher Education.

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A Discourse Analysis of Beginning English Teachers' Identity Development

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Dedication

To my favorite, Jaclyn Paige.

Thank you for your love, support, and patience during this study.

You shared my excitement on good days and kept us positive in spite of setbacks.

We did it!

Abstract

This dissertation was a discourse analysis of how beginning English teachers' talk contributes to the development of their teacher identities. The study drew on the epistemological and ontological assumptions of discursive psychology, and as such it used methods consistent with discursive psychology and conversation analysis. The data for the study were comprised of twenty-one audio-recorded meetings of eight student teachers in a year-long internship and their field supervisor, who was also the researcher. Orienting to the construct of identity as socially negotiated, unstable, and multiple, the study sought to identify specific discursive strategies that beginning English teacher's employ to negotiate their identities. The analysis resulted in six discursive strategies, including *making explicit identity claims, emphasizing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept, locating themselves in relation to other educators, orienting to feedback, talking about failures,* and *working up the impact of students on lesson outcomes.* Implications for how the identities that are developed in conversation through these strategies can limit and license specific teacher practices and recommendations for how teacher educators can encourage beginning teachers to develop fruitful identities are discussed.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Background

The first year of teaching has long been an area of interest for researchers and teacher

educators (Lacey, 1977). The experiences of beginning teachers are fraught with difficulty, and

much of the research into the first year of teaching has focused on the trouble that beginning

teachers encounter as they start their careers. Veenman's (1984) seminal literature review

revealed that the top concerns of beginning teachers include classroom discipline, motivating

students, dealing with individual differences, assessing students' work, relationships with

parents, organization of class work, insufficient and/or inadequate teaching materials and

supplies, and dealing with the problems of individual students. A more recent review confirmed

that these top concerns have remained relatively stable for more than thirty years (Cherubini,

2009). In addition to these concerns, the difficulties surrounding the process of identity

development in beginning teachers have become a major area of interest over the last twenty-five

years (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Cherubini, 2009; Rodgers &

Scott, 2008). Identity has been identified as a key influencing factor on teachers' sense of

purpose, self-efficacy, motivation, commitment, job satisfaction, and effectiveness (Day,

Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006), and some have suggested that knowledge of teachers'

perceptions of their own professional identity may help them cope with changes in education,

foster innovation, cooperate with colleagues, and remain in the profession longer (Beijaard,

Meijer, & Verloop, 2004). Additionally, teachers' sense of identity has been shown to play a key

position in their understanding of their own actions (Kelchtermans, 2005). In short, a greater

understanding of their own identities can assist teachers as they face many of the challenges in their careers.

Unfortunately, beginning teachers often have a difficult time developing a teacher identity because they are simultaneously trying to locate themselves among a variety of Discourses[1] about teaching (Alsup, 2006; Britzman, 2003; Cohen, 2008) and are drawing on a variety of previous experiences (Britzman, 2003; Burn, 2007; Danielewicz, 2001; Lortie, 1975) and expectations (Britzman, 1986; Weber & Mitchell, 1995) that may contradict what they actually face in a classroom. Sumara and Luce-Kapler (1996) suggest that including the identity "teacher" into one's life can be problematic because beginning teachers have to move through three *disparate teacher identities*: those they bring with them into the teacher education programs, those they develop while in those programs, and those they develop during their practicum. They call these a *pre-teaching identity*, developed through years of being taught; a *fictive identity*, unrealistically based on ideal lessons, students, and cultural myths in films and books; and *lived images*, developed from actual experience in the classroom. These three identities can be incongruent at times and may overlap in an "unstable web of contextualized relations" that creates a dissonance between the idealized teaching image they want to embody and their real interactions with students (Sumara & Luce-Kapler, 1996, p. 69).

Britzman (2003) discusses a similar construct divided into four *chronologies* leading to the process of becoming a teacher: (1) what student-teachers bring with them from a life of schooling; (2) their experience as a student in a teacher education program; (3) their student-teaching experience; and (4) their life once they become a teacher. She examines the conflicting

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[1] Throughout this report I make a distinction between *discourse* and *Discourses*. With a lower-case *d*, discourse refers to talk or writing among individuals. With a capital *D* and the pluralizing *s*, Discourses refers to socially sanctioned ways of speaking within acceptable patterns. The capital comes from Gee's (2010) use of the capital to indicate these ways of talking, and I use the plural *s* after Fairclough's (2003) observation that these Discourses are count nouns rather than abstract nouns like discourse.

views of self and practice that converge in teaching and make the formation of a teacher identity difficult but necessary. In a new teacher's experience, competing expectations as student and teacher create mixed messages regarding success and failure and cause confusion about vulnerability and credibility (p. 28). Cultural myths and stereotypes can provide an unattainable model for new teachers that may inform some individuals' teacher identities, but they are also responsible for creating tension between what a person is and the teacher she is trying to become (Alsup, 2006). New teachers are constantly wrestling with visions of their past, present, and future. It is a process of coming to terms with one's views and one's actual practice (Britzman, 2003).

Kagan (1992) sums this up in a common narrative:

Candidates come to programs of teacher education with personal beliefs about classrooms and pupils and images of themselves as teachers. For the most part, these prior beliefs and images are associated with a candidate's biography: his or her experiences in classrooms, relationships with teachers and other authority figures, recollections of how it felt to be a pupil in classrooms. Two particularly important elements in shaping prior beliefs/images are exemplary models of teachers and a candidate's image of self as learner. Candidates often extrapolate from their own experiences as learners, assuming that the pupils they will teach will possess aptitudes, problems, and learning styles similar to their own. The personal beliefs and images that preservice candidates bring to programs of teacher education usually remain inflexible. Candidates tend to use the information provided in course work to confirm rather than to confront and correct their preexisting beliefs. Thus, a candidate's personal beliefs and images

> determine how much knowledge the candidate acquires from a preservice
>
> program and how it is interpreted. (p. 154)

Sumara and Luce-Kapler (1996), Britzman (2003), and Kagan's (1992) descriptions of the conflicting influences on beginning teachers' identities demonstrate that the tension involved in the process of developing a teacher identity is well-acknowledged as a chief difficulty during the often tumultuous experience of starting out as a teacher.

Teacher candidates have the additional challenge of positioning themselves in relation to students, mentor teachers, administrators, and faculty from the universities that house their teacher education programs; and they must act in ways that position themselves as a recognizable teacher while drawing on Discourses from course work, mentor teachers, past experience, and their placement schools (Haniford, 2010). The variety of voices and Discourses student teachers encounter in their professional and student lives creates an ongoing dialogue among one's personal history and present beliefs, values, and surroundings, creating a constantly shifting web (Miller Marsh, 2002a). Therefore, they are always negotiating past, present, and future meanings, and as a result individuals are continually in the process of fashioning and refashioning their identities (Miller Marsh, 2003). Simultaneously, beginning teachers face the frustration that what they have previously come to expect is not borne out by their experiences once they get to the classroom (Britzman, 2003; Bullough, 1991; Conway, 2001; Flores, 2001; Kagan, 1992; Melnick & Meister, 2008; Olsen, 2008a; Reynolds, 1996; Veenman, 1984). This conflict can give rise to questions of identity, and it has been suggested that not having a good understanding of one's own identity as a teacher may add to the difficulties of teaching for a novice (Kagan, 1992).

The importance of understanding issues of identity combined with the difficulty of identity development has led teacher educators to recognize the importance of research attending to this topic. As a result, research about teachers' identities has boomed, and in 2008 teacher identity research reached an all-time high since it first garnered attention as an area of interest two decades before (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). Since then, teacher identity has been called a "core concept" and a "key analytic tool" for teacher education research (Farnsworth, 2010). Much of the research pertaining to teacher identity has focused on beginning teachers and the development of their identities in relation to teaching (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Izadinia, 2012; Rodgers & Scott, 2008). This flood of publications could call into question the necessity of yet another study examining the construct of identity as it relates to beginning teachers, but despite the wide attention given to the phenomenon *that* teachers' identities develop when they enter the classroom, few researchers have examined *how* this happens (Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011).

This discourse analysis intends to help fill that gap by focusing on the contributions that discourse makes to identity (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006). Talk with others is one part of identity development, and the close analysis of beginning teachers' conversations can reveal specific discursive strategies that they use to negotiate identities during the early stages of teaching (Cohen, 2010). A greater understanding of these strategies can illuminate how beginning teachers—whether aware or unaware—actively participate in the development of their own identities.

Statement of the Problem

Connections between identities and learning have been made that emphasize the importance of paying attention to identity issues while individuals are still in preservice

education programs because doing so may prevent beginning teachers from floundering once they reach the classroom (Sfard & Prusak, 2005). Though research has shown that focusing on issues of identity in preservice education can increase the likelihood that beginning teachers will experience success, a thorough review of studies about beginning teacher's identities found an overall need to address identity more effectively if teacher education programs want to prepare beginning teachers for a shift in identity when they move into their first year of practice (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009).

Although Timostsuk and Ugaste (2010) have claimed that by its very nature "the deeper impact of initial teacher education touches upon the professional identity of the student teacher" (p. 275), the implicit yet oft repeated charge in research for teachers to become aware of their identities and the forces that shape them in order to take an active role in their development demonstrates a clear need for explicitly addressing identity development in colleges of education. At the very least, explicitly teaching preservice teachers about the identity development process has "considerable value," but by at least one opinion, teaching about identity should be "*the* pedagogic goal" of all teacher education programs (Danielewicz, 2001, p. 62). This emphasis would make it the single most important aspect of teacher education.

However, though many have investigated teacher identity and determined the need for lessons on identity development in teacher education curriculum (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard et al., 2004; Day et al., 2006; Izadinia, 2012; Rodgers & Scott, 2008), few studies have actually examined what part teachers play in developing their own professional identities (Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011). Studies have examined the multiple sources of input into identity, but exactly how to negotiate an identity and assist others in negotiating their identities in the face of outside influences remains largely unexamined (Rodgers

& Scott, 2008). This lack of research about how individuals develop identities leaves a gap between what teacher educators value as an important component of preservice education and what they have the resources and understanding to teach. This gap must be addressed if teacher education programs are going to competently and effectively teach about identity. Knowledge of how people develop identities has implications for the kind of support teacher educators and mentors need in order to adequately assist beginning teachers more effectively present themselves as teachers (Urzua & Vasquez, 2008).

Purpose of the Study

Research has shown that beginning teachers naturally spend much of their energy focused on their own performance as a teacher before they can properly attend to their students' learning (Beattie, 1997; Kagan, 1992). Though this may be a necessary step in teacher education, it is one that teacher educators need more understanding of to prepare and assist their preservice teachers for. If it is true that a preoccupation with one's identity can inhibit further professional growth (Kagan, 1992), teacher educators need more resources to guide their students through this difficult time. Some excellent resources are available like Weber and Mitchell's (1995, 1996) exercises to help individuals question how the common cultural text of *teacher* impacts their own identities, Miller Marsh's (2002a) clear explanation of how Discourses shape identities and exhortation to provide the possibility for new identities by providing new Discourses, and Olsen's (2010) textbook to assist preservice teachers with developing their own teaching identity in the classroom. What is not readily available is information about how beginning teachers negotiate their teacher identities and how their talk about teaching and learning contributes to identity development.

The purpose of this study was to investigate how beginning teachers negotiate their identities in talk. Because I view identity as a socially negotiated construct,[2] I examined how beginning teachers' interactions with others worked to develop their identities, and because I agree that discourse is "the prime currency of interaction" (Edwards & Potter, 2001), I focused my attention on the participants' talk. Specifically, I examined how the beginning English teachers that I supervised during their year-long internship employed discursive strategies to work up identities in their talk about teaching and learning and how they oriented to the concept of identity in their conversation during weekly group meetings. As a discursive constructionist (Potter, 1996; Potter & Hepburn, 2008), I believe that the words people speak construct their worlds, and reflexively, the words themselves are constructions. In terms of identities, beginning teachers' talk works to develop their identities in negotiation with others; simultaneously, that talk is itself constructed with words and phrases whose meanings are also social constructions (Potter, 1996). Therefore, a significant part of developing an identity is simply talking around issues relevant to identity, and though explicit identity claims are sometimes made, they are not necessary for an interaction to contribute to the on-going process of identity development.[3] This study focused on how beginning teachers accomplished this aspect of identity development in their talk about relevant issues.

Research Question

In light of the gap in research concerning how identity development is accomplished and my belief that a significant part of identity development occurs in talk, I investigated the following research question: *How do English education interns in a year-long internship employ discursive strategies to negotiate teacher identities?* The focus of this question was on the

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[2] I provide a complete definition and explanation of identity below.

[3] Elsewhere this on-going process has been called "evolutionary discursive construction" (Johnson, 2006).

discursive strategies that individuals use to construct versions of themselves in social interactions.

Epistemological Stance and Theoretical Framework

As I approached the data to answer my research question, I assumed that discursive strategies were always at work, but I did not assume that all participants would be consciously aware of using those strategies (Goffman, 1959). During analysis, I maintained that participants—knowingly or unknowingly—worked up specific versions of themselves as they constructed reports of teaching and learning events and provided accounts for their actions (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996). I did not attempt to understand why participants implemented the strategies they did or what the intentions were behind any given utterance. Instead, my attention remained on their talk and how it accomplished identity related actions. Even though I am the researcher, I considered my own utterances in the data to be the utterances of a participant, and I examined how they contributed to co-construct what occurred at the meetings (Potter & Wetherell, 1987)

My stance was rooted in discursive psychology (DP). Following Potter and Wetherell's approach to discourse in social psychology (1987), DP grew out of ethnomethodology, the study of ordinary people's methods (Edwards, 1997), and a reaction to Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962). DP takes the position that people are constantly navigating through conversational interactions in an attempt to achieve certain social outcomes (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Unlike Speech Act Theory, however, which used hypothetical examples to claim that utterances can either perform an action or present objective information, DP holds that the specific construction of all real utterances in real social contexts

are shaped to perform social actions; therefore, no utterance simply conveys objective meaning (Potter, 1996; Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

This action orientation toward discourse is a central assumption of DP (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996), and it is one I maintained throughout the analysis. I assumed that the actions performed by participants' discourse may have been intentional or accidental, but the ultimate meaning of utterances could only be evaluated in terms of how they were made relevant in the interactional talk with participants. In addition to this action orientation, two other distinct aspects of DP make its methods and epistemology unique from other ethnographic methods of qualitative research that present findings in terms of emergent themes: the micro-analysis of discourse and an anti-cognitive stance.

First, the micro analysis of texts is the primary method of DP. As mentioned above, DP focuses on what discourse, which can be defined as both talk and text, is actively doing (Edwards & Potter, 1992), and to warrant the claims about the action in discourse, DP uses the micro analytic tools and vocabulary provided by conversation analysis (CA). To maintain an open mind about what actions are present, I started my analysis with a similar stance to that of CA's *unmotivated looking* (ten Have, 2007). Rather than bringing preformed beliefs about what I would find based on other reasearch, I listened closely to the data before making assumptions about the direction of my analysis. Though technically DP is a field of psychology and not simply an analytic method, it is a methodology in the way Crotty (1998) uses the term to suggest a complete framework that employs specific methods that must be individually and corporately compatible with the researcher's epistemology. As such, DP limits its methods to one type of data analysis and allows for only one epistemological stance. Therefore, DP is a whole package: method, epistemology, and theoretical framework (Edwards, 2012; Edwards & Potter, 1992).

This package approach links the method of analysis to DP's second distinctive feature, an anti-cognitive stance, and the anti-cognitive stance makes a constructionist epistemology a requirement (Edwards, 1997; Potter, 1996). DP posits and I believe that discourse is a co-constructed endeavor, meaning all conversationalists actively participate in the construction and interpretation of discursive events, but despite this co-construction and interpretation, none of the conversationalists can be said to understand the real cognitive state of the other participants (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996). This belief is a major divergence from some other qualitative work that seeks accuracy and makes claims that language-based data represent participants' real states of mind. While a qualitative researcher may employ a rigorous process of member checking or inter-rater reliability measures to maintain trustworthiness in the claims he make about participants thoughts, I do not make such cognitive claims. Instead, I simply offer interpretations of what I understand the discourse in the data to be doing based on how the participants responded to utterances (Wooffitt, 2005) and try to make my own thinking behind that analysis transparent by warranting my claims with specific examples. What the participants meant, felt, or truly believed is not important because internal states are not accessible from a discourse analytic perspective. Instead, how those psychological categories and states of mind were worked up and put into action in conversation was the focus of my analysis (Edwards, 1997; Potter, 1996). Because DP focuses on the discursive construction of psychological constructs, it is particularly well-suited to a study orienting to identity as a construct negotiated in social space (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). However, I had to be careful not to rely on an *a priori* definition of the psychological construct of identity when analyzing the participants' talk; only what had consequence in the conversation and was oriented to as relevant by other participants was available for analysis (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006).

This is not to suggest that the participants did not have their own cognitive processes or that they do not think, feel, or believe certain things. These mental processes, however, happen internally, and as an analyst, I do not have access to them through recorded data. Participants may have had cognitive processes that occurred before or during speaking, but I cannot make claims about those internal cognitions or how they relate to speech. Some have claimed that thought does not occur at all (Coulter, 2005), but I take the position of a cognitive agnostic regarding the thoughts that may precede participants utterances (Hopper, 2005). Cognitive agnosticism is the idea that a mental state may or may not lie behind an utterance, but ultimately, whether such mental states do or do not exist is irrelevant because as a researcher I do not have access to them. Even if a participant attempted to offer a true representation of a mental state, that representation would be shaped by the specific language of the speech community that she is a part of (Edwards, 1997). Any account is, therefore, just one possible version among many (Potter, 1996). Whether a participant has a faulty memory, is being deceptive, or is trying to manipulate or appease others are assumptions about cognition, which I cannot know for sure. All I can know is what was spoken and that what was spoken performed a social action. Thus the focus of my analysis is on those social actions and how they were accomplished in the talk. Because my focus was always on the discourse itself—and not the mental states the discourse reveals—whether a thought occurred before, after, or during speech and what that thought was are of no consequence.

Definition of Identity

Before concluding this chapter with a discussion of a significance of the study, a clear definition of how *identity* is used in this study is necessary because the concept has been used with such a variety of meanings over the last century (Day et al., 2006). Originally conceived of

as an essential part of an individual, an identity was believed to be a fixed part of who someone is. However, this view of identity is now widely contested, and post-structural views of identity abound instead. These views suggest that individuals possess multiple and shifting identities and that the very notion of identity is itself unstable. [4] While interesting, the variety of definitions, lack of precision in some definitions, or complete absence of definitions in some cases (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Izadinia, 2012) can make productive discussions about identity difficult, so a clear definition of a researchers' orientation to identity helps readers understand the boundaries of what has been investigated and how claims can be applied.

As I use identity in this study, it is *a socially negotiated and contextually occasioned version of what an individual represents*. This view of identity as a social negotiation originates with Gee's (2001) notion that identities involve the social work of "being recognized as a certain kind of person" (p. 99). Important to his perspective is that identity involves negotiation with others, so individuals cannot simply choose an identity. The idea is consistent with Goffman's (1959) suggestion that people carefully present themselves in specific ways for specific purposes, but because Gee sees identity as negotiated in relationship with others, the recognition of an identity by others is required. Without that recognition, a specific identity an individual may desire may remain elusive. In the same way, others may attempt to ascribe an identity to an individual who can employ techniques to resist that identity.

Since identity is a social construct and "an accomplishment of interaction" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 84) and because the interactional contexts change frequently, identities are unstable. Progressive understandings of identities include references to identities as dynamic (Beijaard et al., 2004), occasioned (Day, Elliot, & Kington, 2005), indexical (Clifton & Van De Mieroop, 2010), fluid (Danielewicz, 2001; Hallman, 2007; Urzua & Vasquez, 2008), context

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[4] A lengthy discussion of how identity is conceived of in teacher research follows in Chapter 2.

dependent (Beijaard et al., 2004; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011), shifting (Rodgers & Scott, 2008; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005), and situated (Alsup, 2006; Battey & Franke, 2008; Hallman, 2007; Irwin & Boulton, 2010; Lauriala & Kukkonen, 2005; Woods & Jeffrey, 2002). In simple terms, people's identities change as different situations require them to. Though these changes may not occur knowingly (Goffman, 1959), people can negotiate and renegotiate a multitude of identities as they move through a variety of contexts. It necessarily follows that, if identities are occasioned by various situations, a multitude of identities are possible for each person (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Beijaard et al., 2004; Rodgers & Scott, 2008; Varghese et al., 2005).

Because identities are socially negotiated and multiple, I refer to identity as a *version* to avoid reifying characteristics or traits that are negotiated in a contextually specific exchange. People may think about components of their identities as essential to who they really are, but as mere social constructs that have resulted from negotiations with others, identities are simply ongoing constructions that have been developed for a specific context. Though some elements may carry over from one context to the next, a new context can yield an entirely different identity. For this reason, I conceive of identity as simply what a person represents in a unique and contextually situated moment. I make no connection between identity and who a person really is at an essential level.

Though I do not wish to reify the concept of identity, any one contextually specific identity is a cumulative composite made up of previous actions and interactions. Some teacher research has come to talk about beginning teachers *developing* an identity (Rodgers & Scott, 2008). I have found this a useful, if not unavoidable, term in my own work, but I use it with qualifications. Britzman (2003) talks of developing as a process of *becoming*. Though

becoming may apparently suggest that an identity will be a completed process at some point, she claims that identity development is a "never completed" process; it is not a "place of arrival" (Britzman, 2003, p. 42). Danielewicz (2001) expands, "[…] no matter what the context, we are continually engaged in becoming something or someone" (p. 10). Therefore, when I speak of identity development, I do not intend to suggest that identity follows *a process* that has an eventual and positive goal of completion; rather, I speak of identity development as being *in process*. Identities are unstable (MacLure, 1993a), and as such they are always changing. Therefore, my use of the words *development* and *developing* in relation to identity does not suggest that something comes from nothing (e.g. developing a photograph from a piece of film or building a housing development from barren land). Instead, these words suggest movement and fluctuation. I am not suggesting forward progress as the words may connote either (e.g. developing athletes in a minor league ball club or helping teachers develop through in-service training), only fluctuation that is continual. Furthermore, I maintain that identity happens in negotiation with others; therefore, identity development requires recognition.

This definition of identity as *a socially negotiated and contextually occasioned version of what an individual represents* is consistent with DP because rather than treating identity as a real thing that exists within a person, the definition acknowledges that identities are worked up in people's discourse and are more representational than actual. Researchers in DP who are interested in studying identity must stay focused on how issues of identity are presented in discourse by participants. The early texts that framed DP (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) often used the term *self* instead of *identity*. These terms have a lengthy and varied history, but Edwards, Potter, and Wetherell's conclusions about what is and is not investigable given the epistemological assumptions they were espousing make any distinctions

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between their use of the terms self and identity irrelevant for the purpose of this present study. In either case, only how the construct of identity is negotiated in social interactions can be analyzed, so if such a thing as an authentic self or core identity exists, it is inaccessible to researchers regardless of what it is called.

Figure 1 demonstrates how I conceive of identity development and how the different ideas I have discussed relate to each other. The largest circle represents "Developing an Identity" as always in process. The circle, like a ball, is intended to suggest a tendency for movement but not in a specific linear trajectory. Because identities are multiple, the figure could (perhaps should) contain innumerable circles to represent the innumerable identities any one person is developing at any given time. Within the largest circle are a few (but not all) contributors to identity: knowledge, biography, Discourses, expectations, experience, and negotiations with others. Though each of these contributors could be represented in their own circles, my study only addresses interactions with others, which is represented in the next circle.

The "Negotiating an Identity with Others" circle is within the larger circle because it is one of many of the components that comprise identity development. Similarly, this circle contains some of the contributing factors of interpersonal negotiation like appearance, actions, stories about an individual, and talk with others. Again each of these could be represented by their own detailed inner circles, but this study only focused on talk with others. The innermost circle represents the specific interest of my research. "Negotiating an Identity in Talk" requires the use of specific discursive strategies or discursive actions, and these actions contribute in part to the bigger processes of negotiating an identity, which is itself only a part of the process of

Developing an Identity
  -Knowledge
  -Biography
  -Discourses
  -Expectations
  -Experience
  -Negotiations with others

Negotiating an Identity with Others
  -Appearance
  -Actions
  -Stories about an individual
  -Talk with others

Negotiating an Identity in Talk

  -Discursive strategy
  -Discursive strategy
  -Discursive strategy
  -Discursive strategy
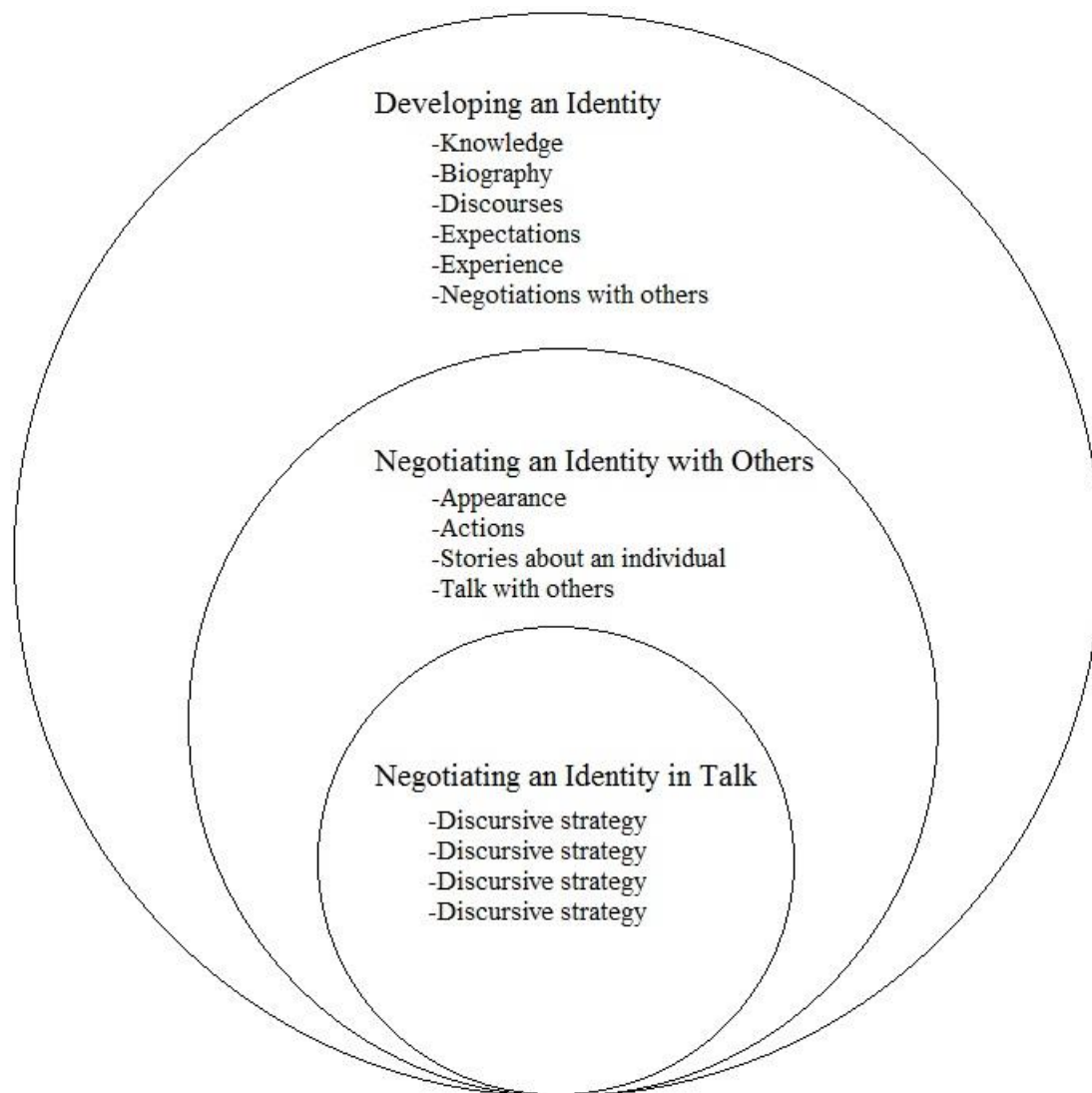
Figure 1. Diagram of Identity Development

identity development as I have defined it above. Accordingly, my analysis took a narrow focus on one very specific aspect of identity—discursive strategies.

Significance of the Study

Despite my view that identities are fluid and negotiable, my reading in preparation for this study revealed that many participants in a variety of studies spoke in essentialist terms about their identities. Sfard and Prusak (2005) have noted that people generally tend to reify issues of identity in "*is sentences*," those sentences whose main verb is one of being (p. 16). They also noted that when it comes to identity, people rarely speak in terms of what they can do; instead, they talk about qualities they have or ways they are. Both of these tendencies are present throughout the data reported in teacher identity research. Many participants in past studies employed *is sentences* to make claims about whether or not they have what it takes to *be* a teacher. Britzman suggests that the first year of teaching is fraught with the question, "Am I meant to be a teacher?" (2006, p. ix), a question that implies a grand purpose or an essential fit, and many of her participants talked in terms of what they are and are not. Likewise, Nias (1989) found some who said they just were not teachers; one woman said, "It's no good; I've tried and I'm not a teacher" (p. 70). Part of the struggle for Nias's participants was trying to find a school that enabled them to be who they were. Bullough, Knowles, and Crow (1989) had a participant who said he felt inadequate "no matter who I am or what kind of person I am" (p. 222) and another who asked, "Am I who I want to be?" (p.215). Sumara and Luce-Kapler (1996) had participants who reacted negatively to the notion that teaching could cause a person to become something they were not. Many other researchers have had participants who spoke in terms of being or not being teachers (Cook, 2009 ; Danielewicz, 2001; Franzak, 2002; Freese, 2006; Horn, Nolan, Ward, & Campbell, 2008; Weber & Mitchell, 1996).

Beginning teachers in some studies made a distinction between the assigned role of teacher and what they saw as their own more significant essence. Irwin and Hramiak (2010) suggested that though their participants were comfortable with the role, none of them thought of themselves as being teachers. Likewise, this distinction was noted in Danielewicz's (2001) and Britzman's (1992, 2003) analysis. *Being* a teacher seems to suggest that a compatibility exists between the profession and what a person inherently is. Those who have recently theorized about identity suggest a level of personal agency over what a person *is* (Rodgers & Scott, 2008), but many of the individuals who experience the most difficult challenges to identity in the studies cited above do not orient to identity this way. They see it as a fixed trait. Rather than viewing identity as a negotiation between themselves and others (Gee, 2001), they feel stuck with who they are. Instead of believing that identity is something they can alter if it does not fit or is not successful in their school environment, they feel like a failure who selected a career path that does not suit who they are. Those who educate and support beginning teachers must pay attention to this tendency of talking in unalterable essentialist terms and present alternative conceptions of identity that emphasize malleability and agency to change.

As demonstrated above, teachers' identities are of vital importance and are gaining a great deal of attention from researchers, but teacher educators still have much to learn about how identities are negotiated. If identities are, in part, discursive constructions, beginning teachers are in the early stages of speaking themselves into existence. The versions of themselves that they create can limit and license what possibilities they believe are attainable. In Kagan's words, "With their tendency to act as self-fulfilling prophecies, identities are likely to play a critical role in determining whether the process of learning [how to teach] will end with what counts as success or with what is regarded as failure" (1992, p. 19). The specific strategies discussed in

this study show teacher educators and those who support beginning teachers how identity work is accomplished through talk. Having this understanding can allow teacher educators and mentors to know what to listen for in conversation and equip them to demonstrate for beginning teachers how discourse can reinforce or undermine the goals they may have for themselves as teachers. However, to fully understand how the analysis in this study fits into the broader process of identity negotiation, a clear understanding of teacher identities and the processes associated with the development of them must be grasped.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Purpose of this Literature Review

What follows is a review of literature about the research that has led to this study's discursive approach to investigating the development of beginning English teacher identity. This chapter's focus is on how identity has been investigated and how the construct of identity has been conceived of and written about. Because any discussion of identity necessitates a discussion of the theoretical constructs associated with it, the chapter foregrounds theoretical constructs in the literature rather than specific findings. Other comprehensive reviews have been produced that explain the research methods of each included study, state what each found, and generalize some themes that the studies have in common (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard et al., 2004; Rodgers & Scott, 2008). These reviews are summarized below, and they reveal that more and more researchers are moving to methods focused on discourse. This turn toward discourse and language is often paired with a focus on research that is interested in English teachers. The primary researchers in many of these studies are former or current English teachers, and they share a fascination with language and its use. At the close of the chapter some specific findings related to this study are discussed.

This chapter was assembled using four expansive literature reviews to serve as guideposts to other articles and books that have shaped the research about teacher identity: "Reconsidering Research on Teachers' Professional Identity" (Beijaard et al., 2004), "Understanding Teacher Identity" (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009), "The Personal and Professional Selves of Teachers: Stable and Unstable Identities" (Day et al., 2006), and "The Development of the Personal Self

and Professional Identity in Learning to Teach" (Rodgers & Scott, 2008). As I read the other texts discussed in them, I followed references and identified high impact works to gain a full understanding of the academic conversation surrounding the development of identity in beginning teachers. I also used the database ERIC with combinations of the search terms "identity," "teacher identity," "discourse," "discourse analysis," and "discursive psychology" to fill in gaps in coverage. From the studies I identified there and from the reference sections of the literature reviews and other articles I located, I created a sort of mental web of relationships among different areas of research until I saw the same trends again and again and felt that the information I was finding had reached saturation.

Certainly, this process was a subjective one. Boote and Beile (2005) suggest that a literature review must provide objective criteria to justify the inclusion and exclusion of each work, but from my perspective, such clear justification is not possible. I began this review with strict rules that I would only examine discursive research. However, I quickly realized that I was ignoring too many of the crucial publications that contributed to the more specific research I was most interested in, so I broadened my scope. Conversely, reading just one literature review (Varghese et al., 2005) and one book (Clarke, 2008) about second-language teacher identity quickly convinced me that the complexities associated with identity, language, and language acquisition made publications pertaining to teachers of a second language beyond the scope of this current study, so I excluded such studies. As I continued, I also excluded most work about generalist teachers in the primary grades and research about subject area teachers other than English language arts in secondary schools unless there was a clear connection between those studies and some other critical aspect of my study. Nias's (1989) work about primary teachers, for instance, is too crucial to the field of teacher identity research to be left out, but when other

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researchers made primary grade level or a subject other than English relevant to their study, I

tended to ignore that piece unless it had impacted research on teacher identity as a whole. In the

end, I included the studies that were both relevant and of high quality.[5]

Introduction to the Literature

Reviewing the literature on teacher identity is an unwieldy and overwhelming process.

Since the construct of teacher identity first became an object of study in 1988 (Akkerman &

Meijer, 2011; Beijaard et al., 2004), the number of publications on teacher identity has grown

steadily each year. Akkerman and Meijer (2011) note that a particular boom in teacher identity

research occurred in publications in 2008 with over ninety research articles appearing in the

Social Sciences Citation Index, nearly double what had been published the year before. In 2010,

Farnsworth called it a "key analytic tool" (p. 1481). However, since that boom and in the time

leading up to it, research into the topic has not coalesced into a unified ontological or

epistemological stance. Though post-modern and post-structuralist notions dominate the field,

researchers and theorists still differ in how they define identity (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009;

Day et al., 2006; Olsen, 2008b) and in the methods they use to investigate it.

Case studies and interview studies are the most dominant designs and as a result, most

data about teacher identity is collected in interviews via self-report (Gill & Hoffman, 2009).

Focus groups have been another source of these reports (Cohen, 2010; Conway, 2001; Ronfeldt

& Grossman, 2008). Specific foci of analysis have include narrative analysis (Alsup, 2006;

Connelly & Clandinin, 1999; Farnsworth, 2010; Kelchtermans, 2005; Nelson, 1993; Søreide,

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[5] The formatting of this chapter may at times be jarring because I have included a multitude of citations supporting
each claim. I have done so in an attempt to demonstrate the impact that each claim has had on research in this area
and to emphasize the ideas rather than the researchers. I have read other citation-heavy works and know that at
times this method can be annoying and difficult to navigate, but I chose this format because I wanted to show how
complex and interwoven issues of identity are. Recognizing patterns in citations, I hope, will create an interactive
experience as trends between what views are compatible and even interchangeable emerge.

2006; Watson, 2006), life history (Kelchtermans, 2005; Miller Marsh, 2002b; A. Mitchell, 1997; Olsen, 2008a; Sexton, 2008; Weber & Mitchell, 1995), discourse analysis (Alsup, 2006; Cohen, 2008, 2010; Irwin & Boulton, 2010; Irwin & Hramiak, 2010; Johnson, 2006; MacLure, 1993a, 1993b; Richards, 2006; Sachs, 2001; Søreide, 2006; Urzua & Vasquez, 2008), and Discourses analysis[6] (Farnsworth, 2010; Irwin & Boulton, 2010; Miller Marsh, 2002a, 2002b; Skulstad, 2005; Trent, 2010b). Additional data sources have included photographs (C. Mitchell & Weber, 1999), drawings (C. Mitchell & Weber, 1999; Weber & Mitchell, 1996), storylines (Beijaard, 1995; Conway, 2001), book studies (Sumara & Luce-Kapler, 1996), metaphors (Alsup, 2006; Bullough, 1991; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011), questionnaires and surveys (Beijaard, 1995; Flores, 2001; Flores & Day, 2006; Gaziel, 1995; Hamman, Gosselin, Romano, & Bunuan, 2010; Haniford, 2010; Irwin & Hramiak, 2010; Schepens, Aelterman, & Vlerisk, 2009), teaching philosophies (Alsup, 2006; Danielewicz, 2001), lesson plans (Danielewicz, 2001; Franzak, 2002; Haniford, 2010), student-teacher portfolios (Antonek, McCormick, & Donato, 1997; Franzak, 2002; Hallman, 2007; Haniford, 2010), and student-teacher journals (Bullough et al., 1989; Danielewicz, 2001; Freese, 2006; Nias, 1989; Sumara & Luce-Kapler, 1996; Weber & Mitchell, 1995).

In spite of all these studies, Rodgers and Scott (2008) observe that more theoretical constructs of identity than empirical research on identity have been published, a reality that confuses the work of scholars and practitioners alike. Working through exactly what identity is and is not and what has been learned about teachers' identities reveals a wide variety of views and specific traits. However, before examining the state of teacher identity research and reviewing what has been said about identity formation in beginning teachers, it is important to

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[6] The distinction between *discourse* and *Discourses* was explained in a Footnote 1 in Chapter 1.

understand the research lineage that has led to the current fascination with beginning teacher identity.

History of Research Leading to Identity Work

This brief section provides the groundwork for understanding the field of beginning teacher identity research. Important studies in teacher socialization, teacher thinking and knowledge, life histories and career cycles, biography, and teacher beliefs are discussed as they relate to research about teacher identity development. Studies in each of the areas below have been selected based on their importance to the development of teacher identity as an area of research and their impact on that research and this study. In some instances, the importance may be the specific findings, but in many cases, these studies are important because of the theoretical notions they espouse or the connections they make between a teacher's identity and other disparate constructs.[7]

Socialization. Beginning teacher identity research can trace its origin back to teacher socialization research. These studies emerged in the 1970s (Zeichner & Gore, 1990) and defined *socialization* as the process of developing a set of behaviors and perspectives when individuals confront new social situations (Lacey, 1977, p. 30). It is "a subjective process […] that happens to people as they move through a series of structured experiences and internalize the subculture of the group" (Lortie , 1975, p.61). These studies focused solely on how new teachers adapted to the social situation of teaching. Often, these studies looked at the individual as a *tabula rasa*

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[7] It is important to remember that intellectual histories do not progress in a smooth or linear fashion, and though a textual representation of the progression of ideas may attempt to create order, the overlap and application between research fields makes it much closer to chaos. Like a conversation, scholars talk on top of one another and many promote the same idea that eventually only one is credited for. Though the discussion about each area of research comes to a close, the area of research it discusses is still viable today, conducting and publishing research that is important in its own right. The history is by no measure complete, and my discussions of these studies have been limited to what lasting impact they have had on teacher identity research. Certainly, a reader could easily make a case for the inclusion of other works, but I have tried to trace ideas back to the scholars that seem to have the biggest impact on getting these ideas into the popular culture of teacher identity research.

without acknowledging prior influences (Britzman, 1986; Bullough, 1991).   However, Lortie's (1975) *Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study* and his notion of an a*pprenticeship of observation* challenged the idea that beginning teachers were not simply waiting to learn without any preconceptions. Lortie's (1975) sociological study on teachers first suggested that teachers often rely on the exposure they have had to teachers throughout their own educations as the authority in how they should conduct themselves as teachers. That is, their own school experience affects how beginning teachers teach. He suggested that this *anticipatory socialization* (Hatton, 1988; Zeichner & Gore, 1990) plays a strong role in who someone becomes as a teacher and believed that *self socialization* (Lortie, 1975) also occurred because individuals often rely on personal predispositions as the core influence of their concept of what makes a good teacher. Lortie's (1975) construct has been relied on explicitly (Alsup, 2006; Flores, 2001; Flores & Day, 2006; A. Mitchell, 1997; Nias, 1989; Weber & Mitchell, 1995) and implicitly (Britzman, 1986, 2003; Kagan, 1992; Weber & Mitchell, 1996) throughout beginning teacher identity research, and the concept of an apprenticeship of observation opened the door for scholars to focus on teachers' biographies in the mid-1980s through today (Beijaard, 1995; Britzman, 1986, 2003; Flores, 2001; Kagan, 1992; MacLure, 1993b; A. Mitchell, 1997; Sumara & Luce-Kapler, 1996). Additionally, Lortie (1975) noted that physical and intellectual separation and privacy are norms in teaching because teachers find more rewards for their efforts in the classroom than outside of it. Consistent with his findings, themes of isolation (Britzman, 2003; Flores, 2001; Huberman, 1989a; Nias, 1987, 1989; Sexton, 2008; Zembylas, 2003) appear throughout the years in work related to identity.

Lacey's (1977) *The Socialization of Teachers* drew on previous socialization work in medical schools (Becker, 1961) to suggest that student-teachers undergoing socialization utilize

different *social strategies* depending on what settings they are in—a college seminar, their secondary classroom, a teacher staffroom, and etcetera. At times social strategies were employed that student-teachers later distanced themselves from (e.g. authoritarian teaching) by claiming that the behaviors were not consistent with who they really were but were necessary actions required by a specific situation. Other recurring strategies that his participants utilized included *strategic redefinition* of actions that could be viewed as negative, *strategic compliance* with unwelcome requirements or contradictory ideas, *internalized adjustments* to new ideas that were incorporated into participants' beliefs, *collectivizing* and *privatizing* problems, and *upward* and *downward displacement* of blame (Lacey, 1977). These strategies suggest that people's actions are not simply a manifestation of who they inherently are but include elements of how to perform (Goffman, 1959) as a good novice teacher, and this performance perspective has gained ground in teacher identity research (Britzman, 1986, 2003; Cook, 2009 ; Haniford, 2010; A. Mitchell, 1997).

In a review of teacher socialization research, Zeichner and Gore (1990) emphasized that research into teacher socialization focused on three components: prior experience, preservice teacher education, and the school itself. By the time Zeichner and Gore wrote, the impact of prior experiences and biography that Lortie (1975) had first addressed had become commonplace, but they note that the theory and methods taught in preservice education can be undone depending on the context of the school in which the beginning teacher finds herself. In fact, some socialization studies suggested that the influence of the school is so great that learning in teacher education courses is "washed out" by experience in schools (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981).

Teacher Knowledge. Early teacher identity work was closely related to research on teacher knowledge (Beijaard et al., 2004). Though teacher thinking research held sway in the 1970s, it gave way to research on teacher knowledge in the 1980s and 1990s (Olsen, 2010). A large portion of teacher knowledge studies focused on internal, cognitive processes and also examined what practical and pedagogical knowledge teachers employed in the classroom (Carter, 1990). Perhaps the connection in teaching between knowledge and identity comes from the close relationship between knowledge and personal experience. In a study about how decisions were made in staffrooms, Hargreaves (1984) found that knowledge that came from experience was valued while theoretical knowledge that came from formal learning was almost absent. Consistent with earlier findings (Lortie, 1975), Hargreaves's study found that classroom experience was authoritative and other school experience, though not as authoritative, was also valid. Theoretical knowledge, however, was not even offered in discussions except by beginning teachers who did not have much teaching experience to draw from. In such cases the new teachers apologized for offering theoretical, book knowledge. Hargreaves refers to this as a "culture of exclusion" against theoretical knowledge (1984, p. 284). Throughout teacher research this "valorization of experience" (Britzman, 2003) over theory is prevalent (Britzman, 1986; Danielewicz, 2001; Eisenhart, Behm, & Romagnano, 1991; Flores, 2001; Flores & Day, 2006; Haniford, 2010; Nuthall, 2005; Olson, 1996).

Clandinin (1986) wanted to investigate what teachers knew by experience. Like Hargreaves (1984), she saw teacher knowledge as experiential and shaped by the purposes and values of the teacher. She believed that the role assigned to experience was often an explanatory one in teacher thinking research. That is, teachers were thought to respond, act, and think in certain ways because of what they had experienced. She went beyond that frame and examined

how experience creates images that act to guide teachers' thinking (Clandinin, 1986). She said, "Images may be connected to a concrete incident; have a metaphoric quality; have an affective dimension; have a moral coloring; be thought to exhibit complexity related to other images; and may exhibit specificity in their detailed construction and in the meaning they convey" (p. 33). This emphasis on the importance of images, a concept initially connected to teacher thinking and knowledge by Elbaz (1983), has since appeared throughout other work that examined how biography shapes identity (Alsup, 2006; Grossman, 1989; Kagan, 1992; Reynolds, 1996; Trent, 2010a; Weber & Mitchell, 1995, 1996).

Similarly, Britzman's (1986) theoretical "Cultural Myths in the Making of a Teacher: Biography and Social Structure in Teacher Education" posited that in addition to the personal biography that preservice teachers bring to the classroom, they also bring an accumulation of social experiences related to education, and this serves as the "implicit context of student teaching" (p. 443). Drawing on Roland Barthes (2000) *Mythologies*, Britzman (1986) suggested that cultural myths surrounding the life and role of teachers impact what is expected by teachers and how teachers perceive that they should behave. In particular the three myths that she believed were most prevalent in teaching were that "(1) everything depends on the teacher; (2) the teacher is the expert; and (3) teachers are self-made" (p. 448-49). Combined with the myth that asking for help is a sign of weakness (p. 445), these myths reinforce the isolation that teachers experience while at the same time increasing the responsibility that teachers feel. Britzman's critical perspective inspired others to confront how societal constructs surrounding education impact the identity of teachers (Alsup, 2006; Farnsworth, 2010; Reynolds, 1996).

Life studies. As the inquiry into teacher knowledge continued, scholars began to call for more research outside the classroom. Hargreaves (1984) had noted that almost all previous work

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had focused solely on what happened in the classroom. He claimed that the preoccupation with the classroom had "overhomogenize[d] the occupational culture of teachers into a relatively consistent set of beliefs, orientations, and practices" (p. 244). Though some studies, like his own, had dealt with staffrooms and others had looked at school politics, he believed more wide-sweeping research not solely focused on classroom issues was needed. Toward the end of the decade, teacher research began to look outside the classroom at the personal lives and careers of teachers, but the call for research outside the immediate context of teaching continued. Zeichner and Gore (1990) noted that the classroom is itself a construct of policy, political actions, and other events beyond the classroom, so studying teachers' actions within it does not give a clear picture of the participants. Goodson (1992) even warned against research in the classroom suggesting that to make the classroom the center of research is to investigate teachers while they are most vulnerable. He believed that the classroom is the most problematic area of a teacher's practice, and to research it was to research the "most exposed and problematic aspect of the teacher's world," an aspect that should not be put "at the center of scrutiny and negotiation" (p. 14).

In the mid and late 1980s researchers began to see potential in researching teacher's lives and their life histories (Nias, 1987; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). These studies looked beyond the classroom. They approached teaching as an occupation that calls on

> personality, experience, preferences, skills, attitudes, beliefs, values, interpersonal
> qualities and ideas of the individual practitioner. The culture and physical context
> of schools, together with the historical and philosophical traditions [. . .] and the
> resulting way in which the activity is often defined all create a situation in which

who and what people perceive themselves to be matters as much as what they can

do. (Nias, 1987, p. 184)

Nias's (1989) *Primary Teacher's Talking* attempted to change the view of teachers as merely a resource of the school by providing an insider's view of teaching. Like others before her, she believed that to work in schools was "to work in a historically determined context that calls for individualism, isolation, autonomous action, and a belief that one should invest personal resources" (p. 13). She constructed a more complete understanding of how teachers see their own work by listening to how teachers spoke about their own identity.

That same year Huberman's (1989) *The Lives of Teachers* examined the life cycle of teachers and plotted several possible career itineraries for teachers. He suggested that beginning teachers who end up having a *harmonious career* go through a period of either *easy* or *difficult beginnings* before moving into a time of *stabilization* and then finally arriving at a period of *experimentation*. This classic itinerary of young teachers takes between 5-10 years. He also found that across teacher's entire careers commitment progressed through a few common itineraries: either beginning with *tentative commitment* and then moving through stages of *definitive commitment* to *experimentation* and *diversification* or beginning with *tentative* or *painful beginnings* that give way to a period of *stabilization* and eventually *commitment*. He also found that teachers who experience "problematic careers" often begin with *painful beginnings* or *tentative commitment* before a period of *stabilization* followed by *self-doubts* and *reassessment* or a *loss of enthusiasm*. Huberman's (1989a, 1989b, 1992) work was not the first to suggest a linear development for teacher's careers. Others had identified phases like survival and discovery, stabilization, experimentation and activism, taking stock and self-doubts, serenity, conservatism, and disengagement. In fact, Lacey (1977) had even proposed a three stage model

for socialization moving from *honeymoon* to *crisis* to *failure* or *getting by*, but Huberman's approach incorporated a more complete study of the teacher as person. This study (Huberman, 1989a, 1989b) also sought to give the teacher a voice through interviews based on memories and personal reflection.

In 1992 with a field still lacking in its attention to teachers voices and perspectives (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1990), Goodson (1992) would explicitly call for research to give teachers a voice and to pay attention to the "whom" at which research and development is aimed. He believed that life experience and background are key ingredients to the people we are, and to the degree teachers invest personally, their background and experiences shape their practice. Therefore, he advocated investigating the teacher-as-person and not just the educator inside the classroom. He claimed that listening to teachers talk about their work should be all the proof scholars need to understand that the autobiographical is of utmost importance to teachers even when discussing policy and practice (Goodson, 1992). Two years later Goodson and Cole (1994) published a study with the intention of highlighting teachers' voices as they investigated teachers' identities and communities. This study blurs the lines between sub-categories of teacher research as it discusses practical knowledge and identity development, but it is specifically important to the movement of teacher life research because of how it represents teachers. The text is heavy with quotations from participants and light on researcher commentary. As individuals remember and talk through issues of identity and community, their voice is what is highlighted as important. This technique coincides with a biographical attitude that sees the teacher as a whole person (MacLure, 1993a), and it is the biographical attitude that precedes attention to identity.

Narrative. As teacher biography came of interest, narrative research began to emerge in the mid-1980s and also sought to give voice to teachers (Beijaard et al., 2004). Perhaps the most prolific of scholars to deal with teacher narratives are Connelly and Clandinin (Rodgers & Scott, 2008). Connelly and Clandinin (1990) suggested that researchers should not enter the field with an evaluative stance toward what their participants have to say, but should instead play the "believing game" (Elbow, 2006), accepting what participants say as valid and important. Moving in the direction of giving teachers more voice, this position of acknowledging that what participants say might be true validates their stories as meaningful. Connections between these meaningful narratives and notions of identity developed quickly as researchers gathered teachers' stories that explained and shaped how they saw themselves.

Connelly and Clandinin (1994) created a narrative approach that is necessarily whole-person oriented as storied lives take into account biography and education, not merely classroom experiences. Throughout the 1990s this whole-person orientation of narrative gained a stronger and stronger connection to identity, and in a review of life history and narrative research, Carter and Doyle (1996) concluded that transforming an identity is one of the main components of becoming a teacher. By the end of the decade, Connelly and Clandinin (1999) would suggest that narratives were of utmost importance because they are "stories to live by." Research on identity as narrative would eventually become a key component in investigating identity and teachers (Alsup, 2006; Farnsworth, 2010; Kelchtermans, 2005; Nelson, 1993; Rodgers & Scott, 2008; Sfard & Prusak, 2005; Søreide, 2006; Watson, 2006).

Beginning teachers. Though the previous sections have tried to create a coherent history of influences on beginning teacher identity research, it is important to note a few findings that are significant for any research dealing with beginning teachers. However, the term *beginning*

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teacher must first be defined. Many scholars use the term *novice teacher* (Britzman, 1986; Bullough, 1991; Cook, 2009 ; Freese, 2006; Grossman, 1989; Horn et al., 2008; Kagan, 1992; Olsen, 2010; Pietsch & Williamson, 2010; Skulstad, 2005). Because being a novice indicates that an individual has yet to attain a certain skill level or expertise (Eisenhart et al., 1991), this notion is problematic. Some teachers who are just starting in the field—whether they come from a teacher education program, an alternative licensing program, or another profession—are quite skilled, and some teachers who have been teaching for several years still perform with the skill of a novice. The term *beginning teacher* is preferable because rather than make skill most relevant, it emphasizes time teaching. Consistent with other scholars who have set limits on the early years of teaching at 1-3 years of experience (Huberman, 1989a) and the connection between three years of teaching and tenure in many states (Melnick & Meister, 2008), I use the term *beginning teacher* to apply to those individuals teaching for as many as three years (though it most often indicates those in their first year). Additionally, as I use the term in this study, it also refers to student-teachers in teacher education programs.

Most studies of beginning teachers highlight the sudden and often dramatic experience of entering the teaching world (Flores & Day, 2006). As mentioned above, Lacey (1977) noted a crisis period after the initial honeymoon. Though not all researchers agree that a crisis is necessarily part of beginning teaching, the problems and tensions associated with starting out as a teacher are well-documented (M. Huberman, 1989). A review of literature on "The Perceived Problems of Beginning Teachers" found that "reality shock" was most often the result of problems with classroom discipline, motivating students, dealing with individual differences, assessing students' work, relationships with parents, organization of class work, insufficient and/or inadequate teaching materials and supplies, and dealing with the problems of individual

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students (Veenman, 1984). Nearly twenty years later, classroom discipline, which ranked as the number one problem, has continually shown up as a preoccupation of beginning teachers who can often focus on nothing else until this area is under control (Britzman, 2003; Huberman, 1989b; Kagan, 1992; Melnick & Meister, 2008; Sexton, 2008). Though the trouble associated with teaching in a real classroom for the first time is recognized as common place for teacher educators and researchers, it is important to recognize that for beginning teachers it is unexpected and often lasts for a significant period of time (Veenman, 1984).

Using interviews and visual story lines, Conway (2001) found a dramatic difference in the graphical representations of beginning teachers' expected experience during their first year and their actual experience during the year. Participants had expected to start at a low or a medium level of comfort and capability and gradually increase in their level of comfort throughout their year-long internship. However, their actual experience was much more tumultuous, filled with slowly developed highs and instantly plummeting lows. In a two-year, mixed-methods study, Flores (2001) found that beginning teachers did not feel well-prepared by their university teacher education program, and used terms like "jump," "shock," and "barrier" regarding their entrance into the schools. They relied on their own schooling for models of how and how not to teach, and reported feeling unsupported by their schools.

Studies like those above highlight the difficultly beginning teachers like the participants in this study have when entering the profession, but what makes this difficulty relevant in a history leading up to identity work is that the trouble experienced at the beginning of teaching can challenge individuals' notions of their identity. In a review of research on "Professional Growth among Preservice and Beginning Teachers," Kagan (1992) reported that a novice's image of self as teacher plays a central role in her development. The studies she reviewed in this

area "confirm that candidates enter practica and student teaching with images of themselves as teachers that have been derived in part from their own experiences as learners. Indeed, without a strong image of self as teacher, a novice may be doomed to flounder" (p. 147). Unfortunately, Flores and Day (2006) found that the challenging period of beginning teaching can "destabilize" the professional identities teachers form during their own schooling and teacher education programs. The ideals they learned at the university that had been the basis of their identities did not match the reality of the classroom, and therefore, the identities that they believed would be sufficient were inadequate. Kagan (1992) also found that many programs did not adequately prepare beginning teachers for the practical reality of teaching. As a result, beginning teachers experience trouble in the classroom, and the idealized practices that they hope to employ are often changed during the course of the year (Flores & Day, 2006; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011; Veenman, 1984).

Summary. In this brief and selective history, I have attempted to show that research concerning the identities of beginning teachers did not simply appear in journals in the late 1980s with no scholarly heritage. Rather it emerged within other areas of study and developed through research on socialization, teacher thinking and knowledge, teacher life, teacher narratives, and beginning teacher research. These areas were at times in conversation with each other and with the area of interest that eventually emerged as beginning teacher identity research.

Identity Research

Teacher identity research is about twenty-five years old now, and informative reviews have been published that provide a nice overview of the subject (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard et al., 2004; Rodgers & Scott, 2008). In the following sections, major findings of these reviews that relate to this study are presented briefly.

Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004) on professional identity. Beijaard et al. (2004) reviewed twenty-two studies published between 1988 and 2000 that focused on the professional identity of teachers. They found that authors regularly omitted clear definitions of identity and those that did offer a definition included a variety of conceptions; however, most of the research about professional identity formation that Beijaard et al. reviewed was based on the view that identity is an ongoing process of integration of the 'personal' and the 'professional' parts of working as a teacher. Beijaard et al. found a strong connection between a teacher's professional identity and a teacher's practical knowledge and another strong connection between beginning teachers' identities and biography. Lay theories that teachers developed before they entered the field and notions of professional communities can also play a role in the process of identity formation. Though the process is often depicted as a struggle for most beginning teachers, identity formation is unique to each individual, and individuals benefit from taking an active rather than a passive role in the process.

Studies about the characteristics of teachers' identities indicated that teachers' perceptions of individual aspects of their professional identities, such as the subject they teach, their relationships with students, and interactions with colleagues are all important. These studies also suggest that knowledge of teachers' perceptions of specific aspects of their professional identity may be helpful in fostering effective change and collaboration.

Summarizing all twenty-two studies, Beijaard et al. derived four essential features of teachers' professional identities. (1) Professional identity is an ongoing process that involves adjustments along the way; (2) Professional identity is closely connected to context; (3) Professional identity consists of sub-identities that more or less harmonize; and (4) Agency plays a significant part in professional identity formation. They called future researchers to more

clearly define the relationship between concepts like self and identity, to examine the role that context plays in professional identity formation, to define what counts as *professional* in professional identity, and to design research from perspectives that are not based on cognitive models.

  Rodgers and Scott (2008) on the development of identities. Rodgers and Scott (2008) begin their review by noting that previous editions of the *Handbook on Research in Teacher Education* had not included a chapter on teacher identity development and crediting critical researchers with deepening the role of self and identity in teacher research. They note that research into emotions has gained a foothold claiming, "Identity has subsumed belief, attitude, life history, and personal narrative. […] At the same time the distinction and relationship between one's self/selves and identity/ies remains murky" (p. 762-63). Indeed the definitions of terms related to identity remain varied, and the very existence of a stable self has been questioned. From the studies they reviewed, Rogers and Scott found four common assumptions about identity: "(1) that identity is dependent upon and formed within multiple *contexts* which bring social, cultural, political, and historical forces to bear upon formation; (2) that identity is formed in *relationship* with others and involves *emotions*; (3) that identity is *shifting*, *unstable*, and *multiple*; and (4) that identity involves the construction and reconstruction of meaning through *stories* over time (p. 733). Rodgers and Scott note that embedded in much teacher identity work is an implicit charge for teachers to become aware of their identities and the forces that shape them and "(re)claim the authority of their own *voice*" (p. 733).

  The article draws heavily on one of the more often used theories of identity to explain the contextual and relational aspects of identity. James Gee's (2001) view of identity includes four perspectives of imagining identity: nature perspective, institutional perspective, discourse

perspective, and affinity perspective. Gee sees identity as a negotiation with others, so people

can accept or resist identities and negotiate how they are seen by others primarily in terms of the

four identity perspectives. For Gee what is most important about identity is how a particular

identity is *recognized*. It is no wonder then that if identities are seen as relational, researchers

would begin investigating the emotional aspects of identities, and Rodgers and Scott note that

researchers have also connected emotions to the contextual space that those emotions are

manifested. It would seem then that the four assumptions of identity research that Rodgers and

Scott propose are not isolated features but are interconnected and at times messy. Context is

relevant to identity which is relevant to emotions which can be allowed or inhibited by context.

Though the process is not actually this neat or cyclical, recognizing the influences of one

assumption on another emphasizes the complexity of any discussion about identity.

Adding to this complexity is the notion that identity is shifting and multiple. As contexts

change around individuals, so do relationships. Identities must then be altered to fit the new

situations. Rodgers and Scott (2008) draw on Beijaard et al.'s (2004) work to say that identity is

not so much "who am I" but "who am I at this moment?" (p. 108). Rodgers and Scott

summarize that "identity: (1) is always 'in the making' rather than stable, (2) shifts according to

context and relationships, and (3) is therefore always changing" (p. 736). The forth assumption

is about how people most often try to make sense of the shifting nature of identity. Researching

narratives and stories is the most frequently used method to investigate identity, but these studies

find that even stories change over time and from one context to another.

Rodgers and Scott credited critical theorists with pushing identity issues into the research

spotlight, and they return to critical researchers to explain what individuals should do with the

knowledge of the four assumptions of identity. From a critical perspective, awareness of identity

issues is a key to claiming agency in the process of identity development, and once aware that identity is neither fixed nor determined by context, individuals can take action to author their own identities. However, though many critical researchers claim that one should feel free to author her own identity, few suggest how. Issues of identity, even from the stance of the most optimistic, can still seem quite difficult, and they conclude that the multi-stage process of developing an identity could require individuals to evolve for a period of time in the teaching force before beginning the self-authoring process.

Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) on understanding teacher identity. Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) placed particular focus on preservice and beginning teachers and divided their review into exploring the difficulty in defining identity; working through notions of the self; and discussing how emotions, narrative and discourse, reflection, agency, and context all impact identity. Like Beijaard et al. (2004), they too note that one clear definition of identity does not dominate the research literature. Identities are discussed in a variety of ways: in terms of metaphors and narratives, inventing and reinventing, and relationships and emotions. Because so many researchers approach identity from such disparate perspectives, it can be challenging to come up with a working understanding of identity. Adding to the difficulty is the interplay among roles, identity, and self; how stories and discourse shape identities; and how contextual factors impact identity and agency. Additionally, the authors say that because all these areas overlap, talking about one area invokes the others.

They offer some basic notions of identity drawing on the work of Rodgers and Scott (2008): that identity is shifting and dynamic and that it is impacted by both external and internal factors. Referencing Beijaard et al. (2004) they note that identity is evolving and involves both person and context and that it is difficult to separate professional from personal identity. Gee's

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(2001) four ways that identity might be perceived are also invoked as the social nature of identity is established, and a sociocultural view of identity as both process and product is also stated. In their summary of the views of identity, Beauchamp and Thomas use language like negotiate, reinvent, and multiple. Though they indicate that identities are dynamic and shifting, they note that the variety of language used to suggest this concept carries subtle connotations that may suggest quite a lot about the researchers' views of identity.

Though identity may be thought of as a contextual and social construct, emotions have been examined in connection to identities. They enter the discussion as a component of the self and an influencing factor of how identity is shaped. Narratives and discourse are also viewed as influential in the shaping of identities. Narratives are talked about as a way to express and maintain identity and this conception plays into a view of identity as actively created. Discourses also shape identities, but they may do so in a way that is not as active as the employment of a narrative. Identities may have to be negotiated through Discourses, but Discourses do not only limit. Expanding Discourses can expand identities. Beauchamp and Thomas maintain that narratives and discourses act as ways to perceive identity that also draw on notions of the self.

Other areas that Beauchamp and Thomas address briefly before making recommendations for teacher education programs include reflection, agency, and the impact of context. They do not spend much time discussing reflection because it is too broad, but they highlight the intimate connection between reflection and identity. They note that researchers have conceptualized reflection as both past and future oriented. In both cases, the self and identity can be the object of reflection as desired actions and reactions are considered and reconsidered. Though reflective practice is not always specifically defined in the literature and

though uninformed methods may at times need to be reconceived, the authors suggest that reflection is continuously acknowledged as a powerful way to explore identity issues more deeply. Similarly, agency is now being researched as a powerful influence on identity. Critical perspectives suggest that teachers benefit from understanding the impact they can have on their own identities and by taking an active role in shaping them; however, it is often suggested that an individual's agency is impacted by context. Because context can limit agency, teachers need to understand how identity, agency, and context interact, and they should be provided with opportunities to explore and experiment with issues of identity in multiple, real-world contexts. Therefore, Beauchamp and Thomas conclude that teacher education programs must focus explicitly on issues of identity. Because so many factors are at work in identity development, universities must prepare preservice teachers to be active and competent in negotiating their identities.

Summary. The summaries of the literature reviews above give an overview of how research pertaining to teacher identity has progressed and the themes that it has discovered. Combined with the history of research that preceded the literature reviews, this summary further demonstrates how this area of interest has taken shape and tightened its focus on beginning teachers and how it has evolved to a place where discursive work is a prominent method and area of attention.

What it has not done, however, is provide very specific definitions of identity or specific characteristics of teachers' identities or the exact process of forming identity. This absence is partially related to the inclusion of such material elsewhere in this study, but it is also because the reviews leave out this information as a result of the difficulties in finding patterns across the publications they reviewed. Identity development is such a personal endeavor that the process of

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developing a teacher identity and the key characteristics of such an identity are completely individual. Though some patterns can be detected among studies, before those patterns are presented, it is important to have an understanding of how researchers orient to and write about identity.

Writing about Identity

In addition to formally referenced grand theories of identity that underpin teacher identity research (Gee, 2001; Mead, 1934; Wenger, 1998), patterns also emerge in how researchers orient to identity in their writing. Rodgers and Scott (2008) note that an abundance of terms are used in relation to identity, and this variety of terms is the result of practical applications of the theoretical constructs developed by theorists and researchers too numerous to mention. As discussed in Chapter 1, I use the term identity to mean *a socially negotiated and contextually occasioned version of what an individual represents*. This definition acknowledges that identity is a shifting and unstable construct and that a person's identity changes as his or her social context changes. What follows here is a brief overview of how others have discussed identity in the research and theoretical work that has contributed to my definition. After each orientation to identity is explained, I explain how that orientation has affected this study.

Essentialist perspective. Though my definition is based on post-modern understandings of identity, essentialist notions of identity persist in other research and in lay conversation. Essentialism is the notion that a person's self or identity has an essence to it that remains consistent regardless of context or biography. Though most studies do not explicitly state that they are built on an essentialist paradigm, the view that each person has an essence or core that he or she essentially *is* still shows up in the subtext of some articles. For example, Bullough, Knowles, and Crow (1989) drew on essentialist Eric Erikson's (1959) question "Who am I?" as

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they studied teachers in their first year of teaching. Freese's (2006) two-year case study of beginning teachers conducting action research does not talk explicitly in essentialist terms, but her language hints in that direction. She speaks of one participant struggling "to find his identity as a teacher" (p. 101), which suggests that identity is a fixed thing to be uncovered. Throughout Danielewicz's (2001) multiple-case case study, she places a strong emphasis on the difference between *being* a teacher and *doing* what a person does in the role of a teacher, and she creates a distinction between those who can perform the role and those who inherently *are* teachers. Parker Palmer's (1998) well-loved notion of personal integrity is built on the belief that a teacher's practice must align with her true self, a belief that implies that the true self is not malleable. Timostsuk and Ugaste (2010) suggest that for teachers to answer the question "Can I be who I am in the classroom?" they must "know who they are and where they stand" (p. 1563). This aligns with Britzman's (qtd. in Rodgers & Scott, 2008) distinction between the substantial self as "being" and identity as something individuals put on. This conflict between what is essential and what is situational could be at the heart of the essentialist question that many beginning teachers struggle with, "Am I meant to be a student teacher?" (Britzman, 2006, p. ix).

However, some researchers have warned against this essentialist perspective. Dillabaugh (1999) notes that, in a feminized profession like teaching, women's identities are often reduced to essentialist notions. However, Kelchtermans's (2005) theoretical piece reminds readers that this sort of "essentialist pitfall" is inconsistent with post-modern paradigms, and he even steers away from the word identity because of its "association with a static essence, implicitly ignoring or denying its dynamic and biographical nature (development over time)" (p. 1000). Sfard and Prusak (2005) state that "[u]nlike a few centuries ago, when people were born into 'who they were,' everything now seems possible" (p. 19). More and more design studies, like MacLure's

(1993) biographical discourse analysis, intentionally undercut the notion of an essential self or even of a trans-situational self that "acts as the well-spring of the individual's actions and choices" (p. 320). What is challenging though is that once research is written up, the results can inadvertently be presented as an attempt to essentialize the participants' experience. Alsup (2006), who rejects the notion of essentialism, says the goal of teacher identity research should not be "to essentialize the experience of teacher identity development, but rather to explore, explain, and improve how we educate teachers" (p. 6). Consistent with Alsup's charge, I have attempted to explore how the identities of the participants developed throughout their student-teaching internship without implying that those identities were a fixed or essential part of them.

Identity as stable. Though the notion that individuals have inherited characteristics has passed from most research pertaining to teacher identity, the stability and coherence of identity is still a question of debate. Adjectives like coherent, consistent, singular, stable, and solid all describe an identity that does not change rapidly from one context to the next. Even as late as 1999 teacher identity was often treated as "singular and unproblematic" (C. Mitchell & Weber, 1999, p. 109), and in 2003, Zembylas suggested that the common notion, at least in North America and Western Europe, was that a teacher's self was coherent and bounded. Beijaard (1995) found that even when researchers did not conceive of identity as consistent, his participants tried to construct stability storylines for themselves. Even researchers that allow for change seem to have a hard time letting go of the notion of stability. Akkerman and Meijer (2011) interpret this, on the one hand, as an indication of the complexity of identity, and on the other, as an indication of the stability and coherence needed to maintain conflicting subjectivities. "[People] view identity as simultaneously unitary and multiple, continuous and discontinuous, and individual and social" (Akkerman and Meijer, 2011, p. 315).

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It could be argued that some stability is required in conceptions of identity to make the construct worthy of study. Timostsuk and Ugaste (2010) suggest that understanding that stable and unstable elements are both present in identity is important to working through issues of agency in developing and maintaining an identity as tensions between stable and unstable parts conflict. Though I orient to identity as unstable and malleable, I also recognize that an identity is the cumulative result of interactions in a given context, and once an identity has been developed in a specific context, it may be more difficult to negotiate changes to that identity.

Identity in process. Suggesting that identity is not stable can open the discussion to a variety of alternative constructs. A moderate position is one that identity is a linear process, something in continual development, something that is emerging. This position recognizes that identity may not be fixed throughout a lifetime, but it is not always changing either. Dewey (1938) suggested that a person "cracks up" without personal coherence (p. 44), and the idea that identity develops through a linear process allows for personal change and coherence at the same time. Hallman (2007) investigated student-teachers' need for and difficulty finding coherence in the process of developing an identity, and numerous others explicitly address identity development not only as a construct but as an area that teacher educators need to concern themselves with (Alsup, 2006; Cook, 2009 ; Cooper & Olson, 1996; Danielewicz, 2001; Farnsworth, 2010; Flores & Day, 2006; Franzak, 2002; Hamman, et al., 2010; Haniford, 2010; Horn, et al., 2008; Irwin & Boulton, 2010; Kelchtermans, 2005; Olsen, 2008a, 2010; Schepens, et al., 2009 ; Sumara & Luce-Kapler, 1996; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011; Timostsuk & Ugaste, 2010; Walling & Lewis , 2000). The notion of identity as developed may invoke Erikson's (1959) construct that identity results from a series of crises, but unlike Erikson, most of these researchers would not suggest that beginning teachers must pass through specific, universal

stages. Though some experiences are more common than others, the belief that identity develops

over time suggests that individual biography and experience contribute to people's identities.

Deborah Britzman (1986, 1992, 1994, 2003) has had a significant impact on thinking about

identity as the never-completed process of becoming, and others have also conceived of identity

development in this way (Cook, 2009 ; Danielewicz, 2001; Flores, 2001; McNally, 2006; Olsen,

2010; Ronfeldt & Grossman, 2008).

Some developmental views of identity link identity to learning (Battey & Franke, 2008;

Horn et al., 2008; Sachs, 2001; Sfard & Prusak, 2005; Timostsuk & Ugaste, 2010; Wenger,

1998). This link connects what individuals know and have learned to do as being key features of

any identity. In light of a developmental perspective on identity, formal education and

professional development directly contribute to people's identities. The common notion among

all these developmental views is that identities progress over time. Though they do not fluctuate

dramatically, identities do change as individuals incorporate new experiences and goals. As

discussed in chapter two, my orientation to identity development is that it is always in process

though not all individuals follow the same process.

Identity as contextual and multiple. More progressive understandings of the change

associated with identities includes references to identities as dynamic (Beijaard, et al., 2004),

unstable (MacLure, 1993a), occasioned (Day et al., 2005), indexical (Clifton & Van De Mieroop,

2010), fluid (Danielewicz, 2001; Hallman, 2007; Urzua & Vasquez, 2008), context dependent

(Battey & Franke, 2008; Beijaard, et al., 2004; Robert V. Jr. Bullough, 1997; Hamman, et al.,

2010; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011), shifting (Lauriala & Kukkonen, 2005; Miller Marsh,

2002a; Rodgers & Scott, 2008; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011; Varghese, et al., 2005), and

situated (Alsup, 2006; Battey & Franke, 2008; Hallman, 2007; Irwin & Boulton, 2010; Irwin &

Hramiak, 2010; Lauriala & Kukkonen, 2005; Woods & Jeffrey, 2002). These visions of identity suggest that people's identities change as different situations and contexts require. As Goffman (1959) suggested, these changes may not occur knowingly, but the idea is that, unlike notions of a unitary identity that develops over time (Erikson, 1959), people move among multiple identities that are temporary and malleable. It necessarily follows that, if identities are occasioned by various situations, a variety of identities are possible for each person.

The notion that any individual has multiple identities has been embraced by a number of researchers (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Beijaard, et al., 2004; Britzman, 1992; Danielewicz, 2001; Hallman, 2007; Irwin & Hramiak, 2010; Rodgers & Scott, 2008; Søreide, 2006; Varghese, et al., 2005). In fact, the concept that identity shifts and changes from one context to the next is so wide-spread that many of the scholars who approach identity do so with little more than a toss away comment that identities are malleable and contextual. In this study, I recognize that the teacher identities that developed where I gathered data are situated to that unique context, and each participant had other identities outside of those interactions.

Identity as social. If each person has a multitude of identities that are context specific, the nature of each unique situation must be relevant to the existence of any one particular identity. What changes from one situation to the next are the people and relationships in those situations, so it follows that many scholars address identity as social—referring to the immediate social situation—and relational (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Battey & Franke, 2008; Cohen, 2010; Danielewicz, 2001; Flores, 2001; Lauriala & Kukkonen, 2005; Richards, 2006; Sfard & Prusak, 2005). People's past, current, and future relationships with others and the expectations that they and that others have for them as they fulfill their roles in social situations impact the identities that develop in and for those contexts. If identities are relationally and socially (in the

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board sense of the word) impacted, it follows that the development of any identity is a process that involves more than just the individual with that identity. Gee (2001) suggests that identities are the result of working to be recognized as a certain kind of person, a process that involves accepting and resisting identity traits through words and actions. Scholars have widely embraced this understanding (Alsup, 2006; Battey & Franke, 2008; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Britzman, 1992, 2003; Cohen, 2008, 2010; Cook, 2009 ; Farnsworth, 2010; Franzak, 2002; Hallman, 2007; Haniford, 2010; Horn, et al., 2008; Pietsch & Williamson, 2010; Ronfeldt & Grossman, 2008; Sachs, 2001; Søreide, 2006; Varghese, et al., 2005; Weber & Mitchell, 1996), and it has reinforced the belief that identities are not simply internal creations but are externally created by the interactions among people.

The design of this study is built on the notion that identity development takes place in the social space of conversation. As such identity exists in that social space, and not in the participants' minds. This orientation to identity is one of the fundamental assumptions of the study. Believing that the social interactions between participants are where their identities exist make a discursive approach to identity a logical decision.

Identity as externally impacted. Likewise, identities do not merely exist in social space, they are also impacted by other external forces. Some factors that have been identified as shaping identity are historic and personal background. Researchers have widely recognized the impact that culture has on identity (Britzman, 1986, 1992, 1994, 2003; Cooper & Olson, 1996; Flores and Day, 2006; Horn et al., 2008; Rodgers and Scott, 2008; Vargese et al., 2005). Individuals live in a specific time and place, and the sum of all a culture's experiences contributes to what it means to live and how one can live in that time and place. Weber and Mitchell (1995, 1996) focus their research on uncovering the impact of the nation's *common*

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cultural text of "teacher." This is the composite of all high- and pop-culture references throughout American history that constructs the image of what a "teacher" is and what it means to become one in this country.

An individual's personal background also shapes her identity, and identity is often connected to biography. The impact of biography on identity is perhaps the most well-supported finding in teacher identity research (Beijaard, 1995; Beijaard et al., 2004; Britzman, 1986, 1992; Burn, 2007; Cook, 2009; Danielewicz; 2001; Day et al. 2006; Flores, 2001; Flores & Day, 2006; Franzak, 2002; Lasky, 2005; MacLure, 1993; Olsen, 2010; Rodgers & Scott 2008; Sexton, 2008; Sumara & Luce-Kapler, 1996; Watson, 2006). A main tenant of Britzman's (2003) case studies is that a beginning teacher's *educational biography* plays a significant part in the identity that beginning teachers develop. Lortie (1975) called this the apprenticeship of observation. The notion that the experiences a person has had shape her identity is consistent with the idea that identities develop over time and are negotiated, which is a underpinning concept of this study.

Identity as object. Britzman has called identity "social clothing" (qtd. in Rodgers & Scott, 2008). Perhaps this metaphor suggests that pre-existing identities are available to be put on and taken off as the situation requires, or perhaps she means that the individual who owns the clothes is also the tailor and can make what ever she wishes. In either case, Britzman presents identity as a thing. Throughout this study, conceptions of identity have been talked about as though identities exist as real objects, but few researchers state that explicitly. MacLure's (1993) theory proposes that identity is a thing in that it is "a resource that people use to explain, justify and make sense of themselves in relation to others, and to the world at large" (p. 311). She sees identity as a form of argument that provides a rationale to people and those they are in relationship with about their behaviors. Richards' (2006) discourse analysis of three different

work environments including a school is based on the belief that identity "is a resource that can be strategically deployed in order to achieve personal, institutional and social goals, sometimes at the expense of relationships which might otherwise be taken as given" (p. 201). Watson's (2006) narrative analysis also approaches the participant's identity as a resource.

Narrative research, in general, has thought of identities as objects since Connelly and Clandinin (1999) suggested that they are "stories to live by." Sfard and Prusak's (2005) narrative approach operationalizes identities as "collections of stories about persons, or more specifically…those narratives about individuals that are reifying, endorsable and significant" (p. 16). This is a stronger position than saying that narratives contribute to building an identity. Here narrative *is* identity. The stories people tell add up to the sum of identity. Identities exist in the first-person stories that we tell to others, the second-person stories that others tell to us, and the third-person stories that others tell when we are absent (Sfard & Prusak, 2005). This notion of identity makes it both real and imagined at the same time. Identity as narrative object is identity as autobiography, biography, and fiction. These notions of identity as resource produced through stories opens up possibilities for studies such as this one to examine identity as produced through language.

Identity as discursive production. The narrative position of Sfard and Prusak (2005) is based on the notion that stories are discursive productions. So closely linked are narratives and discourse that it should be no surprise that as the narrative perspective of identity has grown in teacher research so has the perspective that identity is a product of discourse. MacLure (1993) suggested that identity is a set of discursive practices, and Dillabough (1999) theorized that teacher identities are formed discursively. Without careful attention, these terms can be confusing because the discursive approach encompasses two beliefs that are expressed in very

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similar language. One uses discourse to mean the face to face interaction between people; I indicate this approach with a lower case *d*. The other approaches Discourses from the notion that certain language patterns exist that allow and disallow forms of talking and thinking; I indicate this approach with a capital *D*.

Looking at discourse, Urzua and Vasquez (2008) examined the naturally occurring talk of beginning teachers for manifestations of their teacher identities. Likewise, Cohen (2008) wanted to investigate how teachers accomplish complex professional identities in conversation. These researchers believe like Danielewicz (2001) that identities are produced through participation in discourse. Others have used discourse as a helpful way to approach identity (Sachs, 2001; Søreide, 2006; Zembylas, 2003). The other view of Discourses suggests that they have a different sort of impact on identity development. Alsup's (2006) case studies found that the Discourses teachers use shape their identities, and Britzman (1992) suggested that identities live in the Discourses that individuals use. Miller Marsh (2002a) believes that the Discourses people employ are so powerful that changing Discourse practices can alter identity. "As individuals piece together identities from the [D]iscourses that are made available to them, they simultaneously create possibilities and constraints for the identities of those with whom they are in relationship" (Miller Mash, 2002b, p.334-335).

Related to the notion that identities are worked up in the discourse and Discourses of people, the Dialogical Self (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011) takes the perspective that identities are the result of dialog between individuals and those around them and throughout history. Drawing on the Bakhtinian notion of dialogism, the dialogic approach to identity sees identity as the result of our interactions and dialog with all language that has come before us. Bakhtin (1982) suggests that words have "tastes" of people, professions, genres, and times; the word itself is

charged with a complex meaning. This is a reciprocal process, however, so we shape the meanings of language as it shapes us. Word meanings change as the dialog continues. Farnsworth (2010) uses this approach in his examination of community-based education for preservice teachers. She drew particular attention to Bakhtin's (1982) notion of negotiating between voices that impact people. Britzman (1992, 2003) has also found this a useful construct in approaching teacher identity.

The connections between these views of identity and this study are hopefully clear. Though I do not talk in terms of Discourses that the participants employed, I do examine how participants used their discourse—that is, their talk in interaction with others—to negotiate identities in real time.

Summary. This section has attempted to demonstrate the variety of ways that researchers and theorists have conceived of identity and to draw connections between the pre-existing work and this study. I have attempted to unpack the variety of perspectives that appear in work about teacher identity. I focused on the actual language used by scholars in their work to discuss essentialism and stability before moving into more fluid versions of identity as a developmental process, something shifting and unstable, and a social construct. I have included a discussion about some of the possible sources of identity like culture and biography, the self, and personal interaction and discourse to highlight that identities do not develop in a vacuum. Rather their development includes a complex variety of influences, one of which is the discursive interaction among peers that I examine in this study.

Patterns across Identity Research

The final section of this chapter presents the patterns that frequently appear in the literature that I reviewed, but it does not present findings about the characteristics of teachers'

identities, for instance, that teachers think of themselves as caring (Nias, 1989; Sexton, 2008; Søreide, 2006; Woods & Jeffrey , 2002). One reason for not including this type of information is that few patterns about such characteristics exist across studies. Secondly, these types of findings are not particularly useful in helping teacher educators assist beginning teachers as they develop their identities. Knowing that teachers often include caring as part of their identities does little to help prepare them to be effective. Finally, this type of information is really not at the center of the conversation about teacher identity. In addition to omitting a thorough discussion of patterns across studies, findings that have little to do with identity have also been omitted. For example, nearly thirty sources mention beginning and experienced teachers' lack and even avoidance of theory, but most of those studies do not make that avoidance an identity relevant issue (though it certainly could be). I have maintained a focus on the findings that are the most helpful in understanding research about beginning teachers' identity.

Entering teaching. Huberman (1989a, 1989b) and Veenman (1984) long ago established that entering the world of teaching is difficult, and Lacey (1977) called it a crisis. Research reviews of a significant body of work (Kagan, 1992; Melnick & Meister, 2008) demonstrate that part of the difficulty is the dissonance and tension in teacher identity that occurs when the beginning teacher first enters the classroom. Beginning teachers face challenges that they do not expect and as a result, they question the pre-existing notions of identity that they had developed for themselves. Beijaard et al.'s (2004) review suggests that entering teaching is often written about as stressful because of the difficulty beginning teachers have negotiating an identity when they must face and adapt to varying and sometimes competing perspectives, expectations, and roles. Conway (2001) found that the trouble starts for most when they begin lead teaching. Alsup (2006) specifically showed how six student teachers tried navigating

sometimes conflicting pedagogical beliefs from multiple sources: from home, in primary and secondary education, and during teacher education. Unresolved tension between these beliefs inhibited the development of a sense of fulfillment as a teacher, and some of her participants left the field. Flores's (2001) two-year case study reported that beginning teachers must adapt to new roles and institutional expectations and that it is stressful to attempt to develop a new identity while standing in front of a classroom of students and being assessed on performance at the same time. Bullough et al. (1989) concluded that the beginning of one participant's teaching was a story of "confused images of self-as-teacher" (p. 228). Danielwicz (2001) found that her participants did not have the time or energy to work through issues of theory or method because they were too distracted by the process of becoming teachers. Several of them were not living up to the expectations they had for themselves. Britzman (1986) summarizes, "[Beginning teachers'] intentions about teaching are contradicted by their daily teaching activities" (p. 454).

More specific findings demonstrate the variety of identity challenges that can occur when an individual begins teaching. Burns (2007) examined the relationship between beginning teachers' subject-area expertise and their experience teaching and discovered that the process of teaching and talking with teachers about the discipline challenged participants' existing identity as subject specialists. Britzman's (1992, 1994, 2003) case study revealed an individual who struggled to find a teacher identity because she did not have a vision of a teacher that she liked and wanted to associate with; she finally concluded that she was a human being who only performed the role of a teacher. One lesbian participant in Alsup's (2006) study doubted if there was a place for her in the school system because of the institutionalized view of feminine, heterosexual teacher. In a two-year case study of one teacher, Freese (2006) learned that the participant faced challenges with engagement, structure, consistency and follow through, setting

routines, assessment, instructional strategies, and relating to students' prior knowledge. Despite

these challenges, he did not attempt to change his practice. Freese concluded that the participant

failed to change because he feared changing the images that he had of himself as a teacher even

though they were ineffective.

Changes to idealized practice can and often do occur, even when teachers do not

intentionally make them. Bullough's (1991) study of beginning teachers' metaphors revealed

that commitment to their views of themselves as educators diminished during their first semester.

One participant retreated into conservative practices and another tried to resist conservatism but

still found herself making compromises. In another metaphor study, Thomas and Beauchamp

(2011) found that students' metaphors changed from phrases like "captain of the boat" to

"survivor of the Titanic." One beginning teacher entered the class with the notion that she would

respect student interests, but by the end of the year, she concluded that African-American

interests were worthless in the classroom (Haniford, 2010, p. 994).

Clearly, if beginning teacher identity is such a site of struggle, teacher educators must be

more well-equipped to help beginning teachers navigate this difficulty process.

Prior images. Research demonstrates that the difficulty beginning teachers often face

is the result of what they bring with them when they enter the classroom. For example, the prior

images a teacher brings with her to teaching have been consistently found to impact identity. As

mentioned above, it has long been know that the teachers whom individuals have during their

own education influence how those individuals will teach when they enter the classroom (Lortie,

1975), but teachers enter the classroom having been exposed to a variety of other images of

teachers, too. C. Mitchell and Weber (1999) theorized about the impact of the "cumulative

cultural text of 'teacher,'" which they define as "a massive work-in-progress that embraces the

sub-texts and counter-texts of generations of paintings, memoirs, novels, songs, toys, movies, software, stories, photos, and television" (p. 167). In a study where they asked children and teachers to draw teachers (Weber & Mitchell, 1995, 1996) found that, even at a young age, people see teaching as women's work, and though the ratio of female to male teachers is more equal in high schools, the notion of teaching as a feminized profession never seems to disappear. Weber and Mitchell (1995) examined specific pop culture images that present two kinds of teachers: "In one direction, we see anti-heroes: unattractive and asexual, narrow of vision, even malevolent, most of them female. In another direction (or so it seems), we see the heroes, the saviors: handsome of figure and face, decisive and bold, but kind, enlightened, liberating, and often male" (p. 129). They posited that such images and others limit who individuals can become as teachers. Similarly, Sumara and Luce-Kapler (1996) suggested that the expectations preservice teacher have about teaching create fictive identities that they expect to one day have.

Britzman (1986, 2003) discussed how the images a culture has of teaching creates cultural myths about teaching. Her (Britzman 2003) case study of one beginning English teacher and one beginning social science teacher suggested that "some well-worn and commonsensical images of the teacher's work [… may account] for the persistency of particular worldviews, orientations, dispositions, and cultural myths that dominate our thinking and, in unintended ways, select the practices that are available in educational life" (p. 27). The three cultural myths that she said are particularly difficult to overcome are the myths that everything depends on the teacher, that the teacher is the expert, and that teachers are self made. According to the third myth, individuals either have or do not have the ability to teach. Because natural talent is seen as most important, theory and intellectualism regarding teaching is suspect. Using the concept of myth, Nuthall's (2005) review of his own research noted the powerful influence on teaching that

other myths about education can have, and he identified classroom structures, interactional patterns with students, and beliefs about teaching and learning that, rather than being based on research, were based on ritualized routines and cultural myths in education.

Drawing on Britzman (1986), Connelly and Clandinin (1994) also discussed how myths create three types of prisons. The first prison is that of the personal myth that develops from our own experience about expectations of school, going to school, and learning to think about school. The second prison is that of the cultural myth, and the third prison is the prison of personal biography. Connelly and Clandinin (1994) suggested that each of these prisons dramatically impacts teachers, but they also suggest that reshaping and retelling the life stories that create these prisons can be helpful. Olsen (2010) suggested that the deeply imbedded ideas people have about teaching create an interpretive frame that they use to live out being a teacher. He suggested taking deliberate action to consciously rebuild what may have developed unconsciously.

Biography. Connelly and Clandinin (1994) suggested that biography can be a prison, and although other scholars might not state the influence of biography in such strong terms, the impact of biography on teacher identity is well-documented. Zeichner and Gore's (1990) literature review of teacher socialization foregrounded the many influences on teachers years before they ever enter a teacher preparation program, and these influences impact teacher knowledge, beliefs, and dispositions. Kagan's (1992) review on professional growth in beginning teachers noted the often restrictive impact of prior experiences and beliefs, and (2006) review on teacher professional identity also found biography to be a consistent influence on teacher identity. As Sexton (2008) suggested, as individuals learn to teach "[…] biographical understandings of teaching continue to develop and become modified […]There is no end-point

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to this development […]" (p. 74). Despite the documentation of the impact of biography, Bullough (1991) has noted that because many teacher educators take a constructivist position, they ignore the prior experiences that preservice teacher bring with them into their teacher education programs.

Britzman (2003) discussed what she calls an educational biography, and she breaks this biography into four chronologies: cumulative classroom lives, experience as student of the university and teacher education program, student teaching, and newly arrived teacher. She believes that beginning teachers need to understand that at times, different aspects of their identity may be in conflict with each other. For example, what one has come to expect about teaching as a child may be challenged by teacher education programs or experience in the classroom. An example of this conflict is apparent in Danielewicz's (2001) multiple-subject case study of six undergraduate student teachers in an English education program. One participant's commitments were rooted in his prior experience; he was trying to reproduce the positive experiences of his childhood. Originally thinking that he was going to prepare his students for college, he realized not all of them were going to achieve college-level work, so he had to navigate the difference between his own experience in school and how he actually needed to teach. Though all her participants shared some common experiences, like a love of English, Danielewicz (2001) found that participants' unique biographies had unique impacts on them as teachers. For example, one teacher's faith led her to see teaching as a missionary endeavor. In all cases, however, prior biographical experiences were constantly at work in their identities as teachers. Miller Marsh (2003) concluded her study on *The Social Fashioning of Teacher Identities* by stating that teacher educators "need to provide prospective teachers with opportunities to examine their own personal biographies in order to scrutinize how discourses of

race, class, gender, religion, and sexuality have shaped and continue to shape their experiences and structure their world views" (p. 155).

Relationships with students. The previous two sections have examined how prior images and previous biographical experiences shape a teacher's identity. This section discusses one of the most consistently found contributing factors to beginning teachers' identities once they enter the classroom: relationships with students. Beijaard's (1995) literature review on teachers' perceptions of their professional identities stated that the most important finding was the interplay between a teacher's perceived relationships with students and how that teacher perceived her function in the school in which she worked. In a year-long case study, Bullough et al. (1989) noted an intimate relationship between self image and a teacher's perception of her students. Thomas and Beauchamp (2011) found that when beginning teachers in their first semester of teaching were asked to construct a metaphor that described their new job, over one third of participants created metaphors that focused on supporting the students. They (Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011) concluded that students play a pivotal part in beginning teacher identity. For some, relationships with students are so important that good relationships can cause otherwise anxious individuals to relax and bad relationships can create doubt about the decision to teach. Semi-structured interviews with forty-five first-year teachers Timostsuk and Ugaste (2010) found that "[Student teachers'] fear of failure before starting teaching practice was soon replaced when they sensed support from pupils and began to identify themselves as 'real' teachers. If fears related to pupils persisted [they] started questioning their choice of profession" (p. 1567).

Relationships with students are important; however, they are often a site of struggle. In a phenomenological study of ten English teacher's first year of teaching, Cook (2009) found that beginning teachers struggled to establish boundaries with students that they were comfortable

with. Likewise, in a two-year mixed-methods study of beginning teachers, Flores (2001) found that participants often faced the dilemma of maintaining a close relationship with the students versus keeping order in the classroom. Ronfeldt and Grossman (2008) highlighted the experience of one student teacher who felt a conflict in how his confrontational actions toward students were at odds with his desire to relate with students. Other researchers (Lasky, 2005; A. Mitchell, 1997; Nelson, 1993; Nias, 1989) have found that managing relationships with students and the impact that doing so has on identity is a concern for experienced educators as well, showing that this contributing factor of teacher identity is not one that is worked out during the early stages of teaching and never addressed again.

External demands. A variety of influences beyond the classroom can also impact beginning teacher identity. Britzman (2003) noted the impacts of reform, curriculum, and administrators on beginning teachers. These external demands range from national policy to school-level procedures. Lasky (2005) demonstrated how the larger social and political contexts influence core aspects of teacher identity, and a review of conference presentations (Gewirtz, Cribb, Mahoney, & Hextall, 2006; Mahoney, Hextall, Gewirtz, & Cribb, 2006) noted how national policy and prescriptive curriculums shapes teacher identity. In such cases, outside demands, rather than individual professional judgment, dictate how individuals must teach. In such cases, it is no surprise that reform challenges identity because new policy can eliminate methods that have deep connections to beliefs about good teaching (Kelchtermans, 2005).

On a local level, teachers must position themselves in relation to institutional practices (Cohen, 2008). Danielewicz (2001) suggested that it is a real possibility for beginning teachers to experience conflicts between how they see themselves and institutional requirements. For example, a participant in Ronfeldt and Grossman's (2008) case study found that he could not

enact the social justice teaching that he wanted to because of the expectations that were placed on him by the school. Instances like this can challenge identity because rather than living out what they believe is best, teachers are forced to conform to policies or practices they may not agree with. In Clandinin's (1986) words, teachers are evaluated based on how well they can carry out someone else's wishes (p. 4). Though Olsen (2010) advocated for making preservice and beginning teachers aware of the many outside influences that affect teacher identity, Ben-Peretz (2001)Ben Perez (2001) suggested that changing policy does not only challenge the identity of teachers, it also creates a difficult situation for teacher educators who might also be challenged by the policies.

Positive change. Despite the sometimes discouraging picture that the above sections depict, positive change can occur during the first year of teaching. Huberman's (1989a, 1989b, 1992) life cycle studies suggested that some beginning teachers do experience *harmonious beginnings*, but he did not offer any suggestions for how to foster such a start to a teacher's career. Similarly, Thomas and Beauchamp's (2011) research into the metaphors that beginning teachers use to describe their first year demonstrated that while many beginning teachers experienced a profound struggle—feeling like a mop being weighed down with water, a duck paddling to survive, and a soldier in a battle—others saw teaching as multi-faceted. Like any endeavor, teaching has negative aspects, but it also has positive ones that are richly rewarding. Although Thomas and Beauchamp (2011) note that some of the participants did more than just survive and suggest that teaching preservice teachers about identity could be a key to this outcome, they do not offer specific guidance about how to do so.

Some of those who do offer insight into how positive change can occur have linked these positive changes to language use. For example, in a discourse analysis of the blog posts of

student teachers in a year-long certification program, Irwin and Boulton (2010) found a relationship between using teacher-specific vocabulary and the participants seeing themselves as teachers. According to them, the shift from seeing oneself as a student to seeing oneself as a teacher involves the ability to correctly use the talk of teachers. Similarly, Irwin and Hramiak (2010) suggested that the same blog posts reveal a sense of community among peers that developed through language use. The student teachers used the word "we" to create boundaries around their cohort and to develop a community culture of support. In both of these studies (Irwin & Boulton, 2010; Irwin & Hramiak, 2010), the positive changes that occurred during the first year of teaching where the result of developing discourse. Similarly, in a grounded theory study of six female student teachers in an English education program, Alsup (2006) found that the greatest conflicts for her participants were those they experienced between their personal identities and the professional identities they needed in their new roles as teachers. Though some struggled to fit into the expectations of their new roles, and those who successfully navigated these differences between their new roles and their personal identities often spoke using *borderland discourses*. Alsup defines such talk as that which displays evidence of negotiation between a person's personal and professional identities. She suggests teaching preservice teachers how discourse can impact identity and encouraging them to talk around the borderlands rather than crossing wholly into an identity that does not fit.

Final Remarks

In this chapter, I have attempted to show that the research surrounding beginning teacher's identity development is as varied and multifaceted as the construct of identity is. I have done so with the hope that it would more clearly establish the appropriateness of the kind of discursive work that I outline in the methods chapter that follows. The aim of this study is to

give teacher educators an understanding of one part of the process of beginning teachers' identity

development, so they can more effectively support beginning teachers as they navigate the

potential crisis of starting teaching.

Chapter 3

Methods

Introduction

In response to the encouragement to design studies about teacher identity that are not based on cognitive models (Beijaard et al., 2004), and because the discursive approach to identity has been proven helpful in many contexts (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; De Fina et al., 2006) and attention to teachers' discourse surrounding identity has grown into an important area of study in teacher research (for example, Alsup, 2006; Cohen, 2008, 2010; Irwin & Hramiak, 2010; Johnson, 2006; MacLure, 1993; Richards, 2006; Sachs, 2001; Søreide, 2006; Urzua & Vasquez, 2008), I designed this study around the micro analytic methods of discourse analysis similar to conversation analysis and grounded in discursive psychology (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Alsup (2006) has demonstrated the usefulness of paying attention to and gaining a better understanding of the powerful influence of talk in beginning teachers' identity development, and Cohen (2010) builds on Alsup and calls for more discursive research into teacher identity. She says:

> The use of discourse analysis as an approach to understanding teacher professional identity is an important complement to the range of other methods currently employed. In particular, continuing to develop close analyses of teachers' identity talk will support a better understanding of how identity bids are managed in conversation, and how they function as discourse tools in teachers' active conversation, and how they function as discourse tools in teachers' active construction of professional identity. (p. 480)

Because identity is, at least in part, a discursive construct (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Johnson, 2006; Sfard & Prusak, 2005), it is readily accessible to researchers who implement discourse analytic methods. However, several of the most impactful studies that have addressed teachers' identity talk have only focused on broad themes in teachers' discourse and Discourses (Alsup, 2006; Britzman, 2003; Danielwicz, 2001; Millar Marsh, 2003). Richards (2006) claims that locating themes is not enough when discussing issues of identity; rather, he suggests that researchers must also focus on the inner workings of identity work in talk. Akkerman and Meijer (2011) suggest that micro analysis does just that, and it would be useful for other researchers who wish to study teacher identity as a matter of "the teacher being an active participant with a specific identity at a particular moment in a specific context […]" (p. 316). Coldron and Smith (Coldron & Smith, 1999) note that "continuing to develop close analyses of teachers' identity talk will support a better understanding of how identity bids are managed in conversation, and how they function as discourse tools in teachers' active conversation, and how they function as discourse tools in teachers' active construction of professional identity (p. 712).

With those charges in mind, I designed this study to answer the question *how do English education interns in a year-long internship employ discursive strategies to negotiate a teacher identity?* I designed this study with an insider's perspective, and although I include a reflexivity statement at the end of this chapter, it is important to note that much of my knowledge about the context of this research is first-hand information. As a doctoral student and graduate assistant, I was well acquainted with the the master's program that the participants in this study were a part of, and as an intern supervisor and former employee in the school district where they carried out their student teaching, I was familiar with many of the schools and members of their faculty and

administration. This chapter presents a description of the context and participants (including myself) and then moves on to describe the details of my data collection and analysis.

Context

   University program. The context for this study was a college of education at a research-focused university in a medium-sized city in the southeastern United States. At the time of the study, the college's teacher preparation program awarded a master's of education and endorsement for a state teaching certificate to student teachers who completed its internship and related coursework. The program was respected around the state, and the percentage of interns who found jobs in education after completing the program was extremely high. In most cases, interns had just completed their undergraduate coursework before starting the fifth-year program. The program was called a fifth-year program because students who wished to receive an endorsement for a teaching license from the university must have had completed an undergraduate degree that included a state-specified number of credits in their content area before beginning the master's program. Most students were admitted into the program in the spring of their junior year or the fall of their senior year, and they spent their final undergraduate semesters taking required courses for a minor in education before beginning their fifth year at the university.

   At the time of the study, the English education program received more than twice as many applications as it had room for students, so the admissions board could be fairly selective. As a result, those who were accepted were typically motivated students with high grades, good interpersonal skills, and a positive outlook on their future careers as teachers. Because the English department had a variety of tracks, those who were accepted into the program could have had a background in literature, creative writing, technical writing, or composition and rhetoric.

Most of the applicants were literature majors, but their course work varied from person to person. This is an important and unusual feature of the academic discipline of English. Members of the same field and even the same track can have little shared knowledge. However, while their knowledge bases varied, most of the teacher candidates in the program were white, female, and in their early twenties.

As members of the fifth-year program, the teacher candidates all work towards a master's degree in education. In addition to master's level course work, the central focus of the program was an intense nine-month internship at a local public school. Interns received their assignments to schools in the district and were accountable to those schools just like its faculty and staff. Though the interns continued to do master's level coursework at the university, they followed the calendar of the high school that they had been assigned to, attending all professional development and in-service days like the rest of the faculty. They also attended any teacher work days during the weeks leading up to the students' arrival and the days following their departure.

Field experience. During the first semester, the interns began observing in two classrooms with the understanding that they would take over the class of their primary mentor by late October. In the first few weeks of school, they became more and more actively involved in teaching. The program was designed to develop a relationship between the interns and their mentors and to ease each of them into the role of classroom teacher. Early on, they might have led an activity, designed part of a lesson, or team-taught with their mentors. Ideally, most interns had taken over the class after about two months and were receiving regular feedback from their mentor teachers. Throughout the entire semester, interns left the high school early to attend master's classes three days a week. They took Reading in the Content Area, Methods of

Teaching English, and Action Research. These courses required a significant amount of time and effort.

During the second semester, the interns began teaching two classes from the first day that students returned from winter break. Typically, they taught one section of the same course they observed and taught in the fall, but they gained new experience by adding another section that was a different grade level and subject from what they had previously worked with. They remained in the school all day and began to implement the research skills that they learned during the first semester in their Action Research class building a presentation of their findings for a department-level conference near the end of the academic year. In addition to their teaching, course work, and research, the interns in this study were accountable to a hybrid evaluation framework consisting of the state's new formal evaluation model and edTPA, a holistic performance-based assessment model that required the submission of lesson plans, classroom video recordings, graded student work, and teacher reflection.

The participants in this study worked in a total of four different schools. Originally, two were at Urban High School; three were at Metropolitan High School; and three were at Suburban High School. Due to a conflict in personalities between one intern and her mentor, however, she was transferred from Suburban High School to Rural High School in the third week of November. The pseudonyms for the schools are based on their relative location to the city, and the descriptions below attempt to give a picture of some of the school's characteristics that were relevant to the participants' experiences. Because different features were relevant at different schools, the descriptions are not all parallel. They are introduced in alphabetical order.

Metropolitan High School. Metropolitan High School is less than five miles from downtown and the university. Approximately 1,200 students attended Metropolitan during this

study, and nearly 850 of them were white.[8] Of the over 300 minority students, most were

African-American, and the next largest minority group, with about sixty students, was Hispanic.

Asian and Native American students made up the difference. The diversity of this school

consisted of much more than just racial categories, however. With its property literally located

just on the lower-income side of the railroad tracks, Metropolitan High School had over 550

students who were categorized as economically disadvantaged. Many of the other students from

the wealthier side of the tracks lived in one of the most desirable neighborhoods in town. The

result of the school's zoning was that any one class could consist of a variety of racial and

cultural backgrounds and include both students whose only hot meals were provided by the

school and students who had never wanted for anything.

Behind a large metal fence around the school and parking lot, a sign boasted of a high

national ranking that it had previously received. In addition to regular and college preparation

classes, the school offered a variety of Advanced Placement courses and other rigorous academic

programs. The state's report card for the year of the study claimed that about 50% of students

received proficient or advanced scores on the benchmark math exam, and about 60% received

proficient or advanced on the benchmark English exam. Depending on their minority group, 25-

40% fewer minority students received proficient or advanced scores on these exams than did

their white counterparts. Likewise, 30% fewer students categorized as economically

disadvantaged received these scores compared to students without this classification. The

graduation rate according to No Child Left Behind's (NCLB) standards was higher than 90%.

Built decades ago, each classroom at Metropolitan High School had multiple dry erase

boards and a SmartBoard that had been paid for by the parent teacher organization and installed

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[8] Specific citations for all demographic data are not provided in an effort to limit the amount of identifying
information in this paper. The numbers are rounded from those provided on a state department of education website.

several years before this study. The library had just received funding for more computers and

had just purchased 30 Apple desktop models. In the back of the library a teacher workroom

provided teachers with four computers, a round table with chairs, and a couch. During the year

of the study, the school was trying a new bell schedule. On Mondays the school day was divided

into eight 45 minute periods, but the rest of the week was an alternating block schedule with 1st,

3rd, 5th and 7th periods meeting on Tuesdays and Thursdays and 2nd, 4th, 6th and 8th periods

meeting on Wednesdays and Fridays. During weeks shortened by holidays or testing, the regular

schedule was often modified.

The school had a historically strong working relationship with the university, and in past

years, the site had been a Professional Development School for beginning teachers, and although

that program had ceased due to funding, the school still took beginning teacher mentoring quite

seriously. In particular, the English department head, who was one of the participant's mentors,

maintained an ongoing collaborative relationship with the director of the English education

program at the university.

Rural High School. Approximately thirty minutes down the interstate from the center of

the city, Rural High School was the only school in the study located in a different county and

school district. While the city's district had approximately eighty schools, including

approximately fifteen high schools; the rural district had only three schools, including one high

school. Despite having a student body almost as large as Metropolitan High School, the intern

who was placed there and some of the faculty who worked there said that Rural High felt more

like a small community school. With an enrollment just under 1,200, 90% of the students were

white. The remaining ten percent of students were mostly Hispanic, and fewer than 2% were

African-American, Asian, or Native American. About 45% of the students were classified as

economically disadvantaged. The school itself was not a poor school, but technology was not as accessible as it was at some of the other schools in this study. For instance, one intern's classroom had white boards and a projector but no SmartBoard, and the computer often experienced glitches. The school operated on a four-by-four block schedule with students taking four 90-minute classes each semester.

The state's report card claimed that more than 50% of students received proficient or advanced scores on the benchmark math exam, and about 70% received proficient or advanced on the benchmark English exam. Depending on their minority group, 13-17% fewer minority students received proficient or advanced scores on the math exam compared to their white counterparts. 30% fewer Hispanics, by far the largest minority group at the school, achieved proficient or advanced scores in English. These numbers reflect the recent influx of non-English speaking Hispanic families into Rural High's district. Of the students classified as economically disadvantaged, 26% fewer received proficient or advanced scores in math and 38% fewer received these scores in English compared to students without this classification. The NCLB graduation rate was above 90%.

Suburban High School. Suburban High School was the newest and largest of the schools where the participants worked. Located about twenty minutes away from the center of the city, it was opened to relieve crowding in schools in the city's quickly growing suburbs. The school was divided into four academies, each with a different emphasis, and students could decide which academy to join depending on what professions they anticipated pursuing in their adult lives. Because of this design, the physical building was laid out differently than many other schools. Each academy had a dedicated hallway with classrooms, restrooms, and a teacher workroom. Teachers' work stations were located in these large, academy-specific workrooms so

that English, math, science, and social studies teachers shared collaborative work space. Interns usually did not have a desk in this area, and most of them spent their planning periods in a workroom near the library. It had individual desks, computers, a sink, and a vending machine; however, the room was sometimes used for student testing, which displaced the interns.

The school included large common areas, and because the second floor did not extend over the front lobby, cafeteria, or library, the walls in these areas were open to the roof two stories above. A number of windows filled these open spaces with natural light, and most of the classrooms also had large windows that allowed sunlight into the building. Unlike the classrooms of the other schools, students sat at two-person tables with unattached chairs. As a result, teachers could easily reconfigure the layout of their rooms. Each room had white boards in the front and back, and a laptop dock enabled teachers to connect their school-issued laptops to the projector and SmartBoard at the front of the classroom. In addition to having one to three computers in each room for student use, teachers also had access to class sets of laptops in wheeled cabinets. Like Metropolitan, Suburban High School offered many Advanced Placement classes and was known for being a rigorous school. They had stopped offering Regular classes, and as a result, College Preparation classes included students who did not plan on additional schooling after graduation.

Suburban High School's location on the outskirts of town, the amount of green space around the school, and the number of exterior doors allowed teachers to take their classes outside if lessons finished early, and it was not unusual to see students playing outside a few minutes before class changes. Like Rural High School, the school used a four-by-four block schedule, but an enrichment period on Wednesdays altered the bell schedule once a week.

Because the school was located in an area with a lot of new residential and commercial construction, there was a stereotype that the students who attend Suburban came from well-off families whose primary money earners worked in professional careers. However, approximately 25% of the more than 1,800 students attending Suburban during the year of this study were classified as economically disadvantaged. About 85% of all students were white. Fewer than 10% were African-American and fewer than 5% Hispanic. The remaining students were Asian and Native American. The state's report card claimed that more than 70% of students received proficient or advanced scores on the benchmark math exam, and more than 85% received proficient or advanced on the benchmark English exam. Depending on their minority group, up to 20% fewer minority students received proficient or advanced scores on the math exam compared to their white counterparts, and up to 10% fewer achieved proficient or advanced scores in English. 20% fewer students classified as economically disadvantaged received proficient or advanced scores in math and 12% fewer in English compared to students without this classification. The NCLB graduation rate was above 90%.

Urban High School. Located just three miles from the center of the city, Urban High School was the smallest school where any of the participants taught. With fewer than 850 students, almost 50% of them were from minority groups. Over 80% of all students were classified as being economically disadvantaged. Most of the minority students were African-American, but about 5% of the student body was Asian, Hispanic, or Native American. The state's report card for the year of the study claimed that just a little more than 30% of students received proficient or advanced scores on the benchmark math exam, and about 40% received proficient or advanced on the benchmark English exam. 14% fewer African-American students than white students received proficient or advanced scores on the math exam, and 16% fewer

scored proficient or advanced on the English exam. 10% fewer students classified as economically disadvantaged scored proficient or advanced in math than did students without that classification, and 20% fewer achieved these scores in English. The NCLB graduation rate was near 87%.

Though these numbers seem bleak compared to the other schools, during the time of this study, the school was in the midst of a culture change. After having failing to meet No Child Left Behind graduation standards a few years before, a new head principal had implemented sweeping changes a few years before with an emphasis on altering the academic climate of the school by focusing on incoming freshman. A freshman academy was established to help students transition from middle school to high school, and grade-specific uniforms were implemented that allowed teachers to easily identify if students were in appropriate parts of the building. The academic demands of students were raised, and the day was arranged to allow for stronger student support. A period of unscheduled academic time connected to the lunch period allowed students to seek extra help, go to the computer lab, or study in the library. Teachers' contracts were lengthened to allow for more planning and professional development before each school year. The result was a gradual culture shift in the attitudes of the student body. An intern from the previous year's cohort had said about that year's senior class, "They're old Urban, and they just don't fit here anymore." She continued to explain that the culture shift had been so complete that the lackadaisical attitude that was once the norm at Urban High School was no longer accepted. Those who were seniors during this study were the first students to spend all four years at Urban High School since the changes took place.

The building was several decades old but the faculty had new energy. The library was bright, and its center piece was a bank of about thirty computers. Each hallway had a computer

lab where teachers could take their students to conduct research and type papers, and for many students, this was the only computer access they had. Most teachers worked out of their own classrooms, but a few moved from class to class and operated off a wheeled cart rather than having their own rooms. The school used a four-by-four block schedule except for the freshman academy that still had forty-five minute classes. An early release incentive was available one day a week for students who were up-to-date with all their work. The school was definitely on the up-swing during this period of its history, but it still faced many of the difficulties associated with being an urban school located in a low-income, low-education area of town. The faculty said that they had trouble getting parents involved and that student motivation often suffered because of a perception that academic work lacked relevancy to daily life.

Weekly meetings. Throughout the year the interns in this study met on a regular basis outside of their public schools and college classes with me, their field supervisor. I initiated the meetings to get updates on their progress and pass along information about the program. The group meetings created a sort of mini-cohort, and I tried to make the environment a safe place to talk about what happened at the schools, what successes they had experienced, and what trouble spots they needed help with. Similar meetings had been part of how I supervised interns from the time I first began working with them two years before this study. Miller Marsh (2003) believes it is essential to meet with first year teachers to "share stories of the challenges and successes that they are facing," provide "feedback for one another on issues of behavior management and curriculum development," and talk about "how to survive in schools that emphasize high-stakes testing and rigid curriculum maps" (p. 157). She tries to make the setting comfortable, so interns can share their ideas freely and feel accepted when they share their own struggles. Like Miller Marsh (2003), I believe that these weekly get-togethers provided essential

support, and I tried to create the same sort of environment she advocates for. I did my best to make sure the interns I supervised knew that the weekly meetings did not impact my formal evaluations of them, and I hoped that in our time together they would also feel support from their peers, a support system that interns need (Timostsuk & Ugaste, 2010).

Though the first meeting of the year was fairly formal, consisting of an overview of what their responsibilities were to the university, a summary of the various documents they would need to complete during the year, and individual introductions which included explanations of what they hoped to gain from the internship, the other meetings varied considerably in their content. Though some meetings included reflective activities like discussing a case study or completing some free writing, most meetings were much less formal. At their most effective, the meetings served as a place for collaborative problem solving. At other times, the interns simply presented problems and asked for advice from me. Some days the meetings simply served as gripe sessions. Depending on what issues they had faced in a given week, each format could have value.

Participants. The participants for this study were the eight interns who were under my supervision during the time I was collecting data. All eight of them were in their twenties and, although none of them self-identified their races, I assumed they were all white based on their appearance. Six of them were female. Most of them had just completed their bachelor's degree in English with a minor in education; however, one had completed her degree several years earlier but had returned to the university a semester before her internship to obtain the required number of undergraduate education courses before beginning the program at the start of the school year.

To get participants for my study from the overall group, I emailed the interns to ask if they would like to participate in the study (Appendix A). At our first meeting, I explained the study to them and read the consent form explaining the details of the study. I emphasized that participation in this study was in no way related to their progress or success in the program. I reiterated that throughout the year and beyond they were free to opt out of the study. Before they indicated whether or not they wanted to participant, I explained that I was planning to hold separate meetings if even one individual was uncomfortable with the study. Had any opted out of the study, I would have divided the group into two smaller groups of four interns and only recorded at the meetings made up of those who agreed to participate. If that had been necessary, I would not have indicated which members of the unrecorded group were uncomfortable with the study. I told them that my first priority was my relationship to them as a mentor and coach. I also explained that as an extra precaution, the head of their program would sign the end-of-year paperwork that indicated whether or not they should be endorsed by the state, even though this would usually be my responsibility as their field supervisor.

I then answered any questions with information from the official proposal I had submitted to the Institutional Review Board (Appendix B) and asked them to indicate in writing whether or not they would like to participate in the study. To do so, I provided each of them with an individual consent form that had a space for them to sign regardless of their desire to participate and boxes to check indicating whether or not they wanted to be included in the study. By having all individuals fill out a form at the same time and telling them I would not review the forms until that meeting was completed, I was attempting to reduce any social pressure that they might have felt to participate. I began recording immediately after they signed the consent forms but told them that if anyone in the group had opted out of the study, I would delete that particular

recording. I also attempted to make it clear in both my invitation to participate and in the text of the consent form that their involvement in the study was not required. After the meeting adjourned, I reviewed the forms and found that all eight interns had agreed to participate.

Because the focus of my study is how these interns negotiated their identities in naturally occurring talk, I did not conduct interviews or hand out questionnaires to secure demographic information or personal biographies. Doing so would have made certain demographic categories more relevant than the participants otherwise oriented to them. At the same time, I recognize that having a brief sketch of each participant can be helpful for readers. What follows are descriptions of the participants based on their own talk throughout the year. Unlike some studies that provide detailed and parallel descriptions of participants, the descriptions below are sometimes vague or incomplete where participants did not offer much information about themselves. Much like all relationships with people, our knowledge can be left incomplete. The names used below and throughout the study are pseudonyms. To help maintain a level of objectivity in how I approached my own talk in the study and to remind myself that I should approach my own utterances as those of a ninth participant whose thoughts and intentions are now as inaccessible as those of the interns, I call myself Jonathon throughout the data and analysis. This is not an attempt to hide that I am in the data; instead, the technique is intended to highlight that in co-constructed discourse all speakers equally shape the conversation. Though the utterances of a cohort's supervisor could be expected to carry more weight in a conversation, my use of a pseudonym for myself is intended to keep both me and the readers of this study from privileging the words that I spoke over the words of the interns.[9]

The participants, including me, are introduced below in alphabetical order according to their pseudonyms.

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[9] A complete rationale for this decision appears below.

Anna Lucia. Anna Lucia first introduced herself to the group by specifying that her name should always be stated in its entirety; she made it clear that the group should not shorten it to Anna or Lucy. In the first meeting, and in several others, she mentioned that she has diabetes and talked about the various impacts her health condition has on her (Fall 08 22; Fall 08 29; Fall 11 07; Fall 11 14[10]). She was a few years older than the traditional students in the program, having completed her undergraduate studies "years ago" (Fall 08 22). In her mid-twenties, she made her age relevant in a meeting when discussing a pop song from her childhood, stating "we were like in the third grade" (Fall 11 14), but when another intern, Harper, did not know the song, Anna Lucia said that Harper "made ((her)) feel old" (Fall 11 14). Her family was originally from Massachusetts, and this fact was most obvious when she talked about New England sports (Spring 02 02). She spoke fondly of her own high school experience claiming that she "got along with everybody" (Spring 03 18), and she stated, "I loved like my eighth grade year like that was prob'ly my favorite year in school" (Spring 03 18). Because of this positive experience, she said she felt "warm fuzzies at a middle school" (Fall 08 29), but by the end of the year, she did not want to work in one.

In her introduction at the first meeting, she said that she wanted to develop "like a tool box or just the resources that I can draw upon comfortably that I created," even though she believed expressing her desire in these terms was "cliché" (Fall 08 22). Throughout the meetings, Anna Lucia made comments which demonstrated caring for her students. She was quickly at ease joking with Jonathon, her field supervisor, and she made jokes that sometimes had a sarcastic edge. During the Fall semester, she referred to herself as "obnoxious" (Fall 09

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[10] For organizational and reference purposes, each transcript has been given a date. Fall and Spring refer to the first and second semesters of the school year. The numbers that follow the semester are the month and day of the meeting. Therefore, Fall 08 22 refers to August 22nd during the Fall semester. To help maintain confidentiality, years are not included.

12) and "neurotic" (Fall 11 07) and gave particular importance to an incident when she cried because she could not figure out a specific feature in a word processing program (Fall 09 19). She presented herself well, however, leading Zeke to call her "the perfect student" (Fall 09 26). She told several stories of successful encounters with students and generally appeared competent. She frequently asked questions about teaching, being evaluated, submitting her graduate work, and seeking employment.

She wore trendy cloths and designer sunglasses, which she knew a lot about, and carried what Nick called a "sweet bag" (Fall 10 24). She recognized the need for a "dividing line" between how teachers dress, speak, and carry themselves and how students do these things (Fall 08 29). She formed close relationships with the other interns at her school, including Harper and Mindy, who she said, "keep each other surviving" (Fall 10 24). Anna Lucia had a serious boyfriend in the Army who was deployed for most of the year. As she made plans beyond graduation, she talked about him as "soon to be not the boyfriend" (Spring 03 18) because they were going to get engaged soon, and she had to consider his future assignments as she looked for work. She hoped to find a job teaching high school when he was assigned to his new base.

Anna Lucia was placed at Suburban High School, and her internship began with an eleventh-grade, college-preparation, American literature course which she taught again in the Spring. This course included some content she did not enjoy, like American Revolutionary writing: "I'm just like ((snoring)) I don't care" (Fall 09 19). In the Spring, she added to her schedule a multi-grade speech class that she enjoyed very much.

Anna Lucia was present at seventeen of the recorded meetings.

Harper. Harper was a traditional student in the program having completed her undergraduate work the semester before. Like many English majors, she considered herself a

"Shakespeare geek" (Fall 11 14). When Harper introduced herself in the first meeting, she humbly said that that she did not have much to say, but her goal was "just to figure all this stuff out (hehe) just to figure out how to do it how to be a teacher" (Fall 08 22). Not telling much about herself, someone else mentioned that Harper owned her own prom and bridal boutique, but she said, "I don't bring that up a whole lot" (Fall 08 22).

She worked well with others in the group and sought collaboration. She once suggested a social get together to "just have a night and exchange stuff on U S Bs" (Fall 10 10), and another time she came to the meeting early to plan a lesson with Anna Lucia. She was accommodating in meetings and cheerful, laughing more than anyone else in the group. However, her internship was not a positive experience. She expressed stress about time management, stating, "I've been running late since I woke up or or since I was born" (Fall 09 26); "I'm freaking out and busy" (Fall 10 10); and "I'm so far behind on my ((college)) work" (Fall 10 10).

Though she attempted to remain positive, she and her primary mentor at Suburban High School did not get along well. Harper identified some differences between them: "she plans months in advance and I plan like two days before" (Fall 09 19), but nothing to explain the severity of the difficulties she would face during her time working with her first mentor. Given the responsibility of planning and teaching before several of her peers, she expressed frustration that she had "taught every single day for the past four weeks" (Fall 10 17). Conflict with her mentor grew, and Harper began to speculate that her mentor was telling her one thing while telling the university and Jonathon another. She referred to the mentors at her school as "secretive" (Fall 10 17). Through this difficulty, she tried to display a positive and playful attitude, once stating that she was not sure "if suburban is making us more delirious (heh) or or making us have more fun" (Fall 11 14).

Harper began her internship at Suburban High School in a Geoglish classroom working with several teachers, including her mentor, a geography teacher, and an inclusion teacher. The course was a combination English and geography class for freshmen that alternated days between subjects and gave struggling students a full school year, rather than one semester, to complete these courses. As a result of the conflict between Harper and her primary mentor, she was reassigned to Rural High School during the week of Thanksgiving. Rural was Harper's alma mater, and when she experienced difficulty with her initial school placement, her former high school was happy to accommodate her. There she worked in a tenth-grade, college-preparation, genre studies course and in a twelfth-grade, college-preparation, British literature course with her former high school English teacher. Her experience at Rural High School was much more positive, but as a result of her new assignment, Jonathon met one on one with her several times, excusing her from some of the larger group meetings.

She was present at twelve of the recorded meetings.

Jonathon. Throughout the study I refer to myself by a pseudonym to remind myself and readers that my utterances should not be granted more authority or privilege. Though here I am writing about myself, the description, like the descriptions of the other participants, has been constructed from what was made relevant in the data. For this reason, I write in the third person about the participant "Jonathon" in the study.

Jonathon was the field supervisor for the other participants and a full-time doctoral student at the University. He worked as a graduate teaching assistant and intern supervisor during the data collection of this study, and at the time of the study, he had completed all of the coursework for his degree. He had been a supervisor for two previous cohorts and would

sometimes account for his actions or the requirements he placed on the participants with the experience he had gained in other years in the job.

Jonathon was in his early thirties or "past [his] prime," as Anna Lucia put it (Fall 11 28). As a child he had attended a "private school" (Fall 09 26), and he told a story of deciding to teach because of one particularly charismatic English teacher who had later disappointed him morally (Spring 02 16). He had majored in English education, but he became an officer in the United States Air Force after he graduated college, a job that he seemed to excel in (Fall 11 14). In the Air Force, he had worked in space launch and later taught literature and composition at the Air Force Academy, and he sometimes drew connections between his experiences as an Air Force officer and the authority teachers have over their students (Fall 10 24). After separating from the service, he taught high school English, including working "at metropolitan for a year when ((he)) first moved here to get ((state)) residency" (Fall 09 19). His experience in high school classrooms led Anna Lucia to claim, "he actually knows what he's doing" (Fall 10 10).

Though in college Jonathon "had really long hair" (Fall 09 26), he now emphasized professionalism in how teachers dress and act. Recognizing that some people might see him as uptight about certain values that he held, he joked, "maybe I'll be liberated and spend my time at the hookah bar and wear sandals to class but not yet" (Fall 09 12). In the meantime, he attended all the meetings and classroom observations in a shirt and tie. He encouraged the interns to take charge of their own experiences and expressed a need to be active in reform at the school and state level, once stating, "if we don't like the standard if we don't like the evaluation system we need to be active in our field" (Spring 03 01).

Anna Lucia said that she pictured him as "a grown man when [he was] little," and Reagan and Zeke readily agreed about this image (Fall 09 26). However, he constructed a

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different picture of himself as a child, one who wore "M C hammer wrestling pants" (Spring 03 18), had "buckteeth" and "a mullet," and was afraid of the *Star Wars* movies (Fall 09 26). As an adult, he joked around frequently and often resorted to humor even during difficult conversations. He was candid about past failures and regularly used them to emphasize specific points he was making about teaching. He expressed a love of the "transcendentalists" and "utopian literature" (Fall 09 19) and enjoyed "cirque du soleil" (Fall 09 26). He was married to a wedding photographer and assisted her with photography on the weekends. He and his wife shared a car, so he travelled to most of the meetings and several classroom observations on the city's public bus system.

As the primary researcher, he was present at all of the recorded meetings.

Kelsey. Kelsey began her introduction at the first meeting by stating, "okay I'm Kelsey um I got married this past may" (Fall 08 22). Following this statement, she did not offer any more personal information even when prompted by Jonathon, and this mode of interaction continued throughout the year. Kelsey talked less frequently than any other participant, and even when she was giving formal reports about her progress, she was extremely brief. As Zeke said to her once, "you never say anything" (Spring 02 16). As a result, the corpus of data does not include many of her own utterances that can be used to construct a biography of her. Aside from stating, "I also get up really early on saturday mornings and go work out," no other personal information was offered. When she turned twenty-three midway through the study, that information was given by another participant during the meeting that Kelsey missed to celebrate her birthday.

Despite Kelsey's lack of talk, the other interns constructed a version of her in their utterances that presented her as one of the most organized interns in the group and certainly the

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most organized of the three interns at Metropolitan High School. For example, in one meeting Paula said, "kelsey's ultra organized," and "she keeps us in line"; and Nick said, "kelsey keeps us on track" (Fall 11 07). Elsewhere, the interns joked that they needed "kesley in a box you just throw her ((. . .)) all your lesson plans they come out perfect" (Fall 12 05). These comments were consistent with the professional dress and conduct Kelsey demonstrated. Jonathon's actions and utterances also reinforced the image of Kelsey as organized and proficient. In the early days of the interns' teaching (Fall 10 10), Jonathon brought one of her lesson plans to a meeting to use as an example and discuss its strengths. This action publically validated her abilities to plan, and when Jonathon was examining some of her other work, he joked, "wow this is organized ((. . .)) why can't you all be like Kelsey" (Fall 11 07). Kelsey did little to resist the image that was constructed by the others.

Kelsey was assigned to Metropolitan High School and taught in an eleventh-grade, college-preparation, American studies class. Her students alternated between attending English class and attending social studies, and the course format was similar to a humanities course. The result of the schedule was that Kelsey could go for several days without seeing her students. In the Spring she continued to teach this class and added two sections of eleventh grade, regular, American literature in the Spring.

She was present at fifteen of the recorded meetings.

Nick. Nick was a traditional student in the program and turned twenty-three late in the internship. At the first meeting, he began the introductions by making a joke about how the others could remember his name, and then he said, "um I got engaged last summer" (Fall 08 22). He then went on to say that he was comfortable being in front of a crowd but wanted to focus on "how to best convey" his subject to his students (Fall 08 22).

He was a positive individual and did not make negative comments about other people during any of the recorded meetings. When others complained about students, mentors or professors, Nick seemed to operate under the belief that if he could not say something nice, he should not say anything at all. In one conversation with Jonathon and Zeke about a football player, Nick said he could not root for the player because he needed heroes who would make him "a better person" (Spring 02 02). Often engaged in side conversations during the meetings, he had positive interactions with the other participants and joked frequently. He was aware that he could make people laugh and humorously claimed to have "been on fire for the last twenty two years" after noting that Paula had not "laughed at ((his)) jokes as much recently" (Fall 10 10).

Ready to volunteer when the opportunity was available, he read aloud a passage that Jonathon wanted to discuss with the group (Fall 08 29) and agreed to be one of the first interns observed (Fall 09 12). Though Jonathon praised his teaching (Spring 02 02), Nick did not present himself as especially competent. He credited Kelsey and Paula with keeping him organized, saying, "if it wa'n't for them I 'd never be in the right place" (Fall 09 19), and when he received his scores for his certification test, he explained how close to failing he was by stating, "just say I'm glad I didn't get one point less " (Spring 03 15).

Nick was placed at Metropolitan High School, and during the first semester, he taught a twelfth-grade, college-preparation, British literature course, which he continued to teach into the second semester. Because of the scheduling at Metropolitan, he added two more classes to his Spring schedule. One was a regular British literature class intended for seniors not pursuing additional schooling, and the other was a freshman genre studies course intended for advanced students. However, Nick reported that the course for advanced students was not very different

from the college preparation courses. His primary and secondary mentors were close friends with each other and regularly participated in collaborative planning with each other and Nick.

Nick was present at seventeen of the recorded meetings.

Mindy. Mindy was also a traditional student in the program. In her early twenties, she had completed her undergraduate work the semester before starting her internship. When she introduced herself, she—like Anna Lucia and Nick before her—joked as she clarified exactly what she wanted to be called. In response to Jonathon's prompting to say what each of the participants wanted to get from the internship, she said that she wanted to "gain confidence" because she felt intimidated by having her mentor and a special education teacher in the room as she taught (Fall 08 22). Late in the year, she said, "I feel like coming in ((…)) our content sucked" (Spring 05 19), and she went on to talk about feeling like her English course work had not prepared her to teach the texts she was required to teach.

As a child Mindy had been homeschooled (Spring 03 18), so she did not have any particular memories of public school that transferred to her current experiences at the high school or middle school she was placed in. She talked about having a sister who was two years younger than her and who had been treated more gently than she was. For example, she said that her sister got taken to the doctor for every ailment, but she reported, "my whole life it's always been like mindy you're just being a hypochondriac" (Spring 03 18).

Though she did not talk as much as many of the other interns, as an intern, she conducted herself professionally, and her complaints about other teachers or interns usually pertained to how professionally they did or did not execute their job. For example, she got frustrated when her mentor played two movies on back-to-back days (Fall 09 19), and as Excerpt Fifteen in the next chapter will demonstrate, she had little toleration for people not being willing

to collaborate with others in their department. She often talked in ways that showed a willingness to alter her instruction if it would serve her students well, and she rarely demonstrated the common tendency that beginning teachers have of focusing on themselves to the detriment of their students' learning (Kagan, 1992).

Mindy was assigned to Suburban High School with Anna Lucia, and during their time there, the two would become so close that Mindy would go on to be in Anna Lucia's wedding (Spring 05 14). In the first semester Mindy, taught a twelfth-grade, British literature class. Because of the high number of students in the special education program who were in this class, it was considered an inclusion class. In the Spring semester, she taught a college preparation section of the senior class and also added a tenth grade, college preparation, genre studies class.

Mindy was present at seventeen of the recorded meetings.

Paula. Unlike most of her peers, Paula started her introduction during the first meeting by talking about the high school class she had been assigned to teach and then saying what she wanted to focus on during the internship. She said, "um mine is pacing too like the issue that I'm worried about" (Fall 08 22). After explaining the problems she was having with pacing, a topic that will be explored in depth next chapter in Excerpt Thirteen, she told a bit about herself: "I have a house ((north of town)) which is cool and I'm married ((…)) and I play the violin that's about it" (Fall 08 22). She was a little older than the traditional interns in the program because she "took years off" (Spring 05 14) between her undergraduate and graduate schooling. Also unlike many of the other participants, she had taken "a lot of creative writing classes" (Fall 11 14), and she liked poetry and looked forward to teaching it, a fact that Nick described as "very unusual" (Spring 02 16).

After introducing herself, she went on to discuss her own high school experience, a topic she made relevant throughout the study more than any other participant. She had gone to a private high school that did not divide students by skill level, and she said that as a result of not having college preparation or advanced placement classes, "it was like all inclusion everyone every class" (Fall 08 22). In her opinion, this experience had caused her to have "high expectations for everyone" (Fall 02 22) in her own classroom. In addition to holding high expectations, she claimed to be "a big advocate of discussion in the classroom" (Fall 09 22), and she repeatedly accounted for this tendency with anecdotes from her own high school experience. She wanted "to focus this year on writing skills because they're seniors they're hopefully a lot of 'em are gonna try to go to college" (Fall 09 19).

She said that the time off between her undergraduate schooling and the internship had allowed her to develop some "informed" political beliefs (Spring 05 14), which she held clear opinions about. Because she had strong conservative values but felt that "most teachers are liberals" (Spring 05 14), she sometimes talked about feeling like she was different from the professors in the college and the teachers at her school. A seeming contradiction, she also claimed to focus on "social justice and stuff like that," a feature of her teaching that she thought made her students view her as "some hipster like hippy" (Fall 11 28).

Paula was placed at Metropolitan High School, and during the first semester, she taught a twelfth-grade, college-preparation, British literature course, which she continued to teach into the second semester. In the Spring she also began teaching a twelfth-grade inclusion class, and working part time in a tenth-grade, genre studies class that was also inclusion. Paula's secondary mentor was uncomfortable turning the tenth-grade class over completely because she would still be the teacher of record even if Paula taught full time.

Paula was present at fourteen of the recorded meetings.

Reagan. Reagan was a typical intern in the program. She was a female in her early twenties who had just completed her undergraduate degree in English literature. In Anna Lucia's words, Reagan was "a pretty girl" (Fall 12 05), and she dressed for work in fashionable and professional clothes. In her introduction during the first meeting, she said that she wanted to "gain confidence" (Fall 08 22). Though she wore an engagement ring, she rarely mentioned her personal life in the recorded meetings, only offering information when it was relevant to scheduling gatherings. For example, she once said that she had to arrange for someone to care for her dog (Fall 11 28) and that a particular meeting location would not be good for her because she lived so far out of town (Spring 01 23).

Reagan got along with the other participants, joking with them when appropriate, but behaving professionally when Jonathon was attempting to conduct official business. She had been in Jonathon's Introduction to Secondary Schools course during the previous fall, and their relationship had a personal aspect to it. They talked about their shared interests in photography (Fall 10 10) and Cirque du Soleil (Spring 03 13). Though she claimed, "I love shakespeare with a passion" (Spring 03 13), the internship kept her from pursuing any of her hobbies.

She incorporated the feedback that she received from her mentor and Jonathon, but at times she had sarcastic remarks about it. For example, she once provided an answer to Jonathon's question about including closure at the end of a lesson and then followed it with, "I'm just telling you what you want to hear" (Spring 03 01). Another time, she did not like that her mentor told her that she could be "too cold" with her students when she was disciplining them (Fall 10 24). These comments seemed to be the result of a real struggle to put into practice the concepts that the college of education and her mentors were teaching her.

Reagan was assigned to Urban High School where she taught a regular eleventh-grade, American literature class in the fall. The class was on a block schedule, so it ended in December. In the spring, she taught a college preparation version of the course, and also added a tenth-grade, college preparation, genre studies class to her schedule. This class met for forty-eight minutes and had also been meeting during the first semester. To avoid being a complete stranger to those students, Reagan had observed and assisted in the class during the Fall.

Reagan was present at fifteen of the recorded meetings.

Zeke. Zeke Bryant began his introduction as several others had and joked about his name. Though his first name was Jefferson, he laughed as he said that his "parents decided not to go with that name," a decision that caused him "life long confusion" (Fall 08 22). He then said that the "only real interesting thing about me is that I'm deaf in my right ear" (Fall 08 22). This joke about his name and statement about his deafness provided a good introduction to how Zeke would interact with the group during the study. He was lighthearted and comfortable being vulnerable with the other. Not only did he regularly expose his own weaknesses, but he frequently joked about them while maintaining an optimistic attitude. This combination made him entirely likable.

Zeke's background was different from many of the others. He had been in the composition and rhetoric track of the English program, so he had "very little literature background" (Fall 11 14). He came from a working class family, and he joked about having a mullet when he was young (Fall 09 26). He had two younger step-siblings in middle school (Spring 10 24) and an older sister with a doctoral degree. Now twenty-three, he dressed for work in a shirt and tie (Fall 09 26), but he still appeared young and was sometimes mistaken for a student (Fall 08 29). His youthful appearance seemed to aid in forming casual relationships with

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his students, and they gave him the nickname "Bryant Boy," which he said caught on with the faculty (Fall 10 24).

Of the participants, Zeke seemed to have the most difficulty making the transition from student to teacher. Though early in the semester he said that he wanted to become a "better disciplinarian" (Fall 08 22), it was not until the Spring semester that he said he was comfortable enforcing rules in his classroom (Spring 03 13). He developed a dependency on his mentors' lesson planning (Fall 10 10), and despite his mentors pushing him to plan for himself, he did not trust the lessons that he designed (Spring 03 03). In general, the responsibility that came with graduating was daunting to him, and he spoke of watching "saturday morning cartoons" as a way of coping with "the realization that ((he was)) about to be ((…)) an adult" (Fall 11 28). Toward the end of the year, he started to entertain the idea of not looking for a full-time teaching position, stating, "I feel like it would be good for me and I can go see ((my girlfriend in the navy))" (Spring 03 13). He also stated that a year off would allow him "to be a kid for a little bit longer," and if he worked as a full-time substitute teacher, he could develop his "skills of class management" without having all the other stress of teaching (Spring 03 13).

Zeke was assigned to Urban High School, and the classroom situation he worked in was unique. Because of Urban's scheduling, he taught a tenth-grade group of students who had all been together with the same teacher for their entire freshman year. His mentor had worked with an intern the year before, so Zeke was stepping into a class that had established routines and past experiences with student teachers. This tenth-grade, genre studies class met for forty-eight minutes through the whole academic year. During the Spring, he also began teaching a ninth-grade, college preparation class.

Zeke was present at seventeen of the recorded meetings.

Preparation for Analysis

   Pilot study. I first took an academic interest in my meetings with interns a year before I began this study. In fulfillment of a semester-long assignment in a course on discourse analysis and discursive psychology, I conducted what eventually became the pilot study for this current research. I recorded one meeting with the five interns that I was supervising at the time and for the first time attempted implementing a micro-analytical approach to data. During my repeated listenings to the recording, I narrowed my focus to three excerpts consisting of three different participants telling stories about their first week teaching their classes.

   I discovered that the format of the meetings was allowing for something to happen that I had not expected. The interns articulated the struggles they faced trying to apply the strategies they had learned and the ideals they had previously formed, and as they talked with each other and me, they began discursively co-constructing their experiences and how they fit into them (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996; ten Have, 2007; Wood & Kroger, 2000). In other words, as they interacted with each other, they were collaboratively shaping their own and each others' utterances and realities in real time. Though I could not say if they were experiencing mental changes as a result of this co-construction or if they were even authentically representing any cognitive processes they were having, such a distinction was not important to me (Hopper, 2005). What was important to me was to see how they were employing discursive strategies in action-oriented ways (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) to negotiate their teacher identities with me and their peers. Specifically, I came to believe that their language was working to shape what kind of a teacher they wanted to be recognized as (Gee, 2001).

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As a result of that study, I began extensive reading about teacher identity, teacher identity research and theories of identity. My beliefs about identity and the power of talk in relation to teachers' identity development was bolstered and refined during this background reading, and I decided to make audio recordings of the following year's cohort and to create a record that I could use as the data for this present discourse analysis.

Data collection. It could be argued that the most obvious data for investigating teacher identity would be from the classroom. However, I agree with Goodson (1992) that we should not make the classroom the center of research about such a personal subject as identity because it is too vulnerable a place: ". . . to place teacher's classroom practice at the center of the action for researchers is to put the most exposed and problematic aspect of the teacher's world at the center of scrutiny and negotiation. In terms of strategy, both personally and politically, I think it is a mistake to do this" (p. 114). Recording my classroom observations of them and our one-on-one evaluation meetings was too high stakes for me to be comfortable with, but the weekly meetings I held with interns provided a unique opportunity for them to talk with peers and their supervisor in a low-pressure environment while still allowing for discursive identity work to take place.

I recorded every meeting that I had with the interns during the year of the study by placing a digital audio recorder with computer download capability in the center of the group. During the first semester, we met in a public lounge in the university's student union. The lounge had two couches capable of seating three people each and chairs from a nearby table for the remaining participants. An unfortunate side effect of the lounge was the occasional background noise from other students studying, hanging out, or walking through the room. At times this noise provided a distraction in the meetings and created a few moments of difficult-to-transcribe recordings, but these negative aspects were more acceptable to me than those that

would accompany a more sterile though quiet space on the campus. The lounge allowed for a more comfortable atmosphere than a classroom or conference room in an academic building, but it still offered the convenience of being on campus at a time of day when the participants had finished their activities at the high schools and were preparing to attend their university courses. On average, each meeting lasted about fifty-five minutes. The longest meeting in the lounge was seventy-nine minutes, and the shortest was thirty-seven. During the second semester, we moved to a nearby chain restaurant that served light meals, bakery items, and coffee. As the year progressed and the interns' schedules grew busier, assembling all eight of them on a regular basis became an impossibility. As a result, I met with the interns at the schools they were working in. Each of the schools had a small, minimally furnished conference room that allowed us to sit at a table together. These meetings, which were generally much shorter than the others, account for five of the recordings. Because my research questions and my IRB approval both indicate that my focus is on interactions that involve peers, I did not record any conversations from the several one-on-one interactions I had with Harper after she was transferred to a school without any other interns from her cohort. Appendix C provides an overview of each meeting. It includes the date, duration, location, participants in attendance, and bulleted summary for each meeting.

Typically, the focus of discourse analysis is on *naturally occurring data* (Edwards & Potter, 1992). Unlike interviews or focus groups, naturally occurring data is not researcher generated. That is, the event of interest would still occur, though not be recorded, even if a researcher were not conducting the study. However, in some cases, researcher-generated data like interviews have been used to collect data for discourse analytic identity studies, and in those cases the interviewer and the questions he asks are as much part of analysis as the participants'

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responses (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Farnsworth, 2010; Johnson, 2006). While this precedent opened up the possibility for me to be present in the data, I did not want to use interviews because naturally occurring data is particularly helpful for studying identity. People tend to have a difficult time explicitly talking about their selves in response to direct questions (Nias, 1989), and direct questions about identity tend to elicit responses about roles and activities rather than identity (Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011). As such, I wanted to focus on an environment where discursive identity work was being conducted but where the participants were not being steered to talk about what I thought should be most relevant to them, as an interview protocol might do. Though the format of the intern meetings makes the discourse a form of institutional talk rather than every day talk (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006), I consider it naturally occurring because I did not conduct the meetings for the sole purpose of gathering data. I had conducted similar meetings for two years prior to the study, and I continued to have them with the following year's cohort. I did not emphasize the institutionality of the talk in my analysis because when discursive psychologists typically orient to talk as institutional, they do so in terms of how the institution uses discursive representations of psychological concepts for the purposes of the institution (Edwards & Potter, 2005). Because my focus was on the participants' purposes rather than the institutions, I did not emphasize the institutional aspect of the conversations, but I did keep in mind the institutional nature of the meetings and my relationship with the interns.

As a participant in the meetings, I know that I, along with every other participant, impacted the flow and shape of conversation. In fact, as the one who conducted the meetings, I had more control over topics of conversation and what counted as relevant or tangential. Unlike an interviewer, however, I did not assume that the questions I asked would help me uncover hidden truths, nor did I assume that I could lead the participants to all the right answers that

beginning teachers need. Rather, any comments I made or any questions I asked about their progress and experiences worked to co-construct the conversational encounter with the interns (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).   Like any other member of the meeting, my contributions were being constructed and employed in real time, so just like the other participants, my own utterances are subject to analysis.[11] This approach is different from ones that use other data collection tools like surveys, formal interviews, or questionnaires to shape the direction of participants' responses more than I am comfortable with.

By the time I began formal analysis in the November following the participants graduation, the participants had been out of the university program for five months, so these twenty-one recordings, consisting of approximately nineteen hours of interaction, constitute a body of archival data. They are a stable record of the meetings of one cohort that is no longer associated with the university. This sort of data has long been a favorite place of inquiry for discourse analysts. DP has developed, in part, from CA, and perhaps the most foundational of all CA work comes from Sacks (1992) analysis of archived suicide hotline phone calls. Another significant influence on DP is the work of Gilbert and Mulkay (1984), a study which looked at archival data in the form of previously published scientific reports and journal articles in the scientific community. Discursive studies often analyze data that has been recorded in the past to learn how conversation works. High profile examples include analysis of the cabinet meetings of John F. Kennedy (Clifton & Van De Mieroop, 2010) and a television interview with Margaret Thatcher (Edwards & Potter, 1992). Because member checking and follow-up interviews are not of importance in discourse analysis, using data from the past, produced by individuals the researcher no longer has access to, is not problematic.

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[11] More on this below.

Analysis

     Listening. After digitally recording each meeting, I downloaded them onto a password-protected computer and deleted the file from the audio recorder. This allowed me to create audio files that I could listen to over and over. Because the actual utterances, not typed versions of them, were the focus of my study, listening to the data repeatedly in addition to transcribing them was important. The variation of discourse analysis I use depends primarily on listening, so the digital recordings remained the focus of analysis for the entirety of the project. Because the very process of transcribing makes the data an artifact of the researcher and not of the participant (Ochs, 1979), I returned to the original recorded data during all subsequent steps of analysis.

     To begin with, I listened to each recording while creating my initial transcripts. I then listened to each recording a second time straight through while reading the transcript to verify what I had typed during my first pass. I listened to each recording a third time in chronological order to find patterns and phenomenon that might have been of interest. Part way through analysis, I once again stepped away from the transcripts and listened to all the recordings in their entirety for a fourth time. Certain recordings contained conversations that were more relevant to my research question than others, and I listened to those in their entirety an additional one or two times trying to make sense of how different portions of those conversations fit into the whole body of data. Once I identified the excerpts I wanted to focus on, I listened to those portions repeatedly as I attempted to understand the actions carried out by each utterance and inserted Jeffersonian transcription symbols into the transcripts of those excerpts.

     While listening to the recordings, I attempted to carry out a process of unmotivated looking while trying to locate patterns and narrow my attention for more specific focus (ten Have, 2007). Though I subscribe to certain beliefs about identity, I did not assume that the

participants would talk in ways that made my theories about identity most relevant. While my

understanding of identity allowed me to examine talk as a medium to negotiate identity, I did not

assume that the participants' own talk would reflect the conclusions I had drawn about identity in

preparation for the study. Instead, I attended to a brief set of features in the discourse during my

preliminary stages of analysis, including what actions the utterances performed, what categories

were worked up, what was and was not included in utterances, how stake and interest were

managed, what was implied, and how extreme cases were formulated (Edwards & Potter, 1992;

Wood & Kroger, 2000).

Transcript Preparation. I loaded each audio file into Inqscribe, a transcription program

that allows users to slow down recordings and insert hyperlinked time stamps into the transcript

to synchronize the audio file with the written transcript. I inserted time stamps approximately

every thirty seconds to allow quick access to portions of the recordings that were analytically

important. The software also allowed me to create shortcuts so that I could more easily enter

pseudonyms for the participants as I typed the transcripts, a measure that helped prevent

accidental disclosure of identifying information via written transcripts. The creation of the initial

transcripts functioned as a sort of intensive listening. During this time I also created a

spreadsheet that identified the duration of each meeting, identified the location where it took

place, listed the participants present at the meeting, and summarized the content of the

conversations (Appendix C). During initial transcription, I used standard spelling conventions;

however, I did not include any conventional punctuation.[12] No matter how objective researchers

attempt to be during the process of transcription, as soon as they make decisions about how to

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[12] The one exception to this rule was using apostrophes to indicate omitted letters in contractions and words that were only partially pronounced (for example, '*bout* for *about*, '*cause* for *because*, or '*em* for *them*). I did not include apostrophes in my original versions of the transcripts of the first two meetings, but I quickly realized that their absence impeded the readability and intelligibility of the written record.

represent the recordings, they have entered into the process of interpretation (Ochs, 1979). For instance, making decisions pertaining to the punctuation of grammatical phrases and clauses creates relationships among them that might not exist in the original utterance.[13] What a transcriber does and does not pay attention to in the recording and how notations and punctuation are entered on the transcript will no doubt impact the analyst's future understanding of the data, and this phenomenon of selective attention is one I wished to delay until I had spent more time listening to each recording. These unmarked versions of the transcripts were loaded into a qualitative analysis software program, ATLAS.ti 6.2, so that I could organize and sort the corpus of data as I searched for patterns and representative excerpts before moving to my second stage of transcription.

After identifying passages that have analytic value because of their representation of patterns or their demonstration of variability (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) or simply because they are helpful in answering my research question, I added modified Jeffersonian transcription symbols (Jefferson, 2004), a transcription system that indicates rate of speech, length of pauses, intonation, and volume, to the passages I selected for further analysis (Appendix D). During this stage of transcribing, I included phonological spellings of words where they are needed to capture a specific feature of the interaction and are not more distracting than helpful. Additionally, I inserted line breaks based on phrasal and clausal units (Psathas & Anderson, 1990). Not only does this format help identify smaller units of meaning, but the transcript takes on an almost poetic structure that I believe serves as a visual reminder to the reader and me that my analysis, much like the analysis of a poem, is one of many interpretations. It is these

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[13] For example, though a period or semicolon can be used to separate two independent clauses, a semicolon suggests a much closer relationship between them than a period does. Choosing one over the other privileges the analyst's understanding of the relationship of grammatical units rather than the speaker's utterance. Likewise, the inclusion of an exclamation point in a written transcript can place more emphasis on a grammatical unit than the speaker's variation in tone, volume, or rate of speech actually did.

Jeffersonian transcripts divided by phrasal and clausal units that are included in the analysis section of this paper.

Coding. Coding is the interpretive process of organizing and labeling segments of data in a way that the researcher finds meaningful to determine patterns and themes across contexts and participants. Depending on the purposes of a study, a variety of coding methods can be employed, but it has been claimed that discourse analysts do not use coding (Saldana, 2009). This may be correct in the sense that coding is not used as the primary process of analysis. However, the initiators of DP state that coding is a good process for organizing the mass of data into "manageable chunks" to later be analyzed at the micro level (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 167). Unlike other qualitative work that attempts to thematize the data and produce findings from those themes, my coding was primarily organizational.

Using ATLAS.ti 6.2, which allowed me to organize and sort quotations by labeling and retrieving segments in related categories, I coded the data on two levels. Because my analysis was recursive, at times these two coding schemes were used simultaneously, and at times they were used in isolation from each other. Codes were added to repeatedly as I listened to the data subsequent times and revised transcripts based on more clear understandings of what was spoken. During the coding process, I used both descriptive coding and process coding.

Descriptive coding. Descriptive coding (Saldana, 2009) allowed me to organize instances when the participants returned to the same topics repeatedly throughout the data. This approach to coding is not based on attitudes, judgments, or specific content. Instead, it focuses on the topics of discussion. Descriptive coding of the data by topic helped me locate patterns of interaction around certain topics. Before the study, I did not establish an *a priori* list of codes, but I did assume that because of the context, some topics, like classroom management, balancing

teaching and being a student, teaching texts they have not read before, and interacting with mentor teachers, would be talked about repeatedly. Some of these assumptions were confirmed, but others did not appear often.

To easily group descriptive codes together in Atlas.ti's code manager, I preceded each descriptive code with a capital *T* to indicate it was a topic of discussion so that excerpts where participants discussed planning were coded "T Planning." Table 1 lists twenty-four of the more useful codes that appeared frequently in the data and the number of times each code was used. This list is not intended to be comprehensive, nor should it be interpreted as any sort of finding. The table is simply intended to give an idea of the type of codes I used and the frequency with which they appeared. Though I paid considerable attention to areas in the transcripts about the topics listed in the table because they were revisited so frequently by the participants, it was the detail-oriented process of coding itself, rather than the specific number of times a code was used, that allowed me to gain enough familiarity with the corpus of data to identify specific excerpts that were representative of greater patterns. Because I coded whole conversational segments, the number of times a code was used can be deceptive. In some instances, a lengthy conversation about classroom management that fills hundreds of lines of the transcript may have only been coded once; in other instances, a meeting filled with several brief comments about a topic could increase the frequency that the code was used while never resulting in any depth in the conversation. Therefore, I have omitted from the table any codes that did not figure into my final analysis. For example, "T Email" was used sixty-eight times, but I did not focus any attention on passages about this topic. I also omitted from the table codes for mentors even though conversations about mentors appeared frequently. For example, "T Anna Lucia's

Table 1. Frequently Used Descriptive Codes

Descriptive Code	Number of Passages Coded
T Planning	139
T Literature	92
T Site of Struggle	82
T Classroom Observations	80
T Formal Evaluation System	71
T Feedback	70
T Writing (as a teaching topic)	66
T Classroom Activities	61
T Teaching Schedule	59
T Difficult Students	56
T Learning	56
T Identity Talk	55
T Stress	51
T Relationships with Students	49
T Pacing	45
T "Knowing" People	42
T Site of Success	41
T Objectives	41
T Teaching	41
T Classroom Management	39
T Mentor Support	36
T Discussion	33
T Relevance	28
T Change over Time	21

Primary Mentor" and "T Zeke's Primary Mentor" were coded forty-two and thirty-four times respectively, and a total of 278 excerpts were coded as being about one of the intern's mentors.

Process coding. Process coding uses gerunds to describe what the participants are doing with their utterances at a given point in the data (Saldana, 2009). This approach to organizational coding is perfect for the action-oriented nature of DP. Participants may be accounting for action, justifying mistakes, building membership categories, normalizing activities, minimizing how interested they appear in a specific outcome or how much they appear to have at stake, or a number of other possible actions (Potter, 1996). Identifying what actions are being performed by an utterance requires an understanding of how these actions are being performed. Before using this type of coding, I had piloted the method with the Discourse Analysis Research Team, a research group of fellow doctoral students and one faculty member specializing in discourse analysis, and I found it to be a difficult but worthwhile method. The difficulty in creating appropriate codes required that I slow down to consider the implications of how I labeled each utterance and helped me maintain a methodical deliberateness.

Like the descriptive codes, I marked each process code with a capital *P* to indicate that the code referenced a process. Table 2 lists twenty-five of the most frequently used and useful process codes. Like Table 1, Table 2 is not comprehensive. Some codes have been omitted because they were not significant when I moved into more in depth analysis. For example, though "P Asking a Question" was used 584 times and "P Using Humor" was used 400 times, neither one was particularly relevant to my analysis as it progressed. I was particularly interested to see if any patterns emerged in how specific topics were worked up and how patterns of discursive actions occurred when discussing certain constructs. The number of features and possible outputs made available in ATLAS.ti allowed me to see the data in a fresh way that

Table 2. Frequently Used Process Codes

Process Code	Number of Passages Coded
P Using "Just"	364
P Reporting Speech	243
P Self Quoting	202
P Using Imagined Speech	194
P Making Explicit Identity Claims	180
P Making Implicit Identity Bids	179
P Validating	143
P Demonstrating Knowledge	141
P Working Up Students	126
P Using "You"	123
P Using Extreme Cases	117
P Repairing	113
P Ending a Segment of Conversation	105
P Comparing	102
P Demonstrating Experience	101
P Accounting for Action	93
P Predicting Mental States	93
P Using Teacher Talk	90
P Generalizing	87
P Doing Being Helpful	87
P Predicting Negative Events	83
P Demonstrating Authority (Jonathon only)	81
P Demonstrating Competence	81
P Judging	73
P Using "We"	73

helped me consider alternative ways that utterances might have been functioning. However, during each step of analysis, I was sure to examine the indexicality (Edwards, 1997) and situated nature of each utterance before making claims.

Excerpt analysis. Once all of the above had been completed, I created a list of preliminary findings and listened to the entire corpus of data again while reading the transcripts and coding some passages "PPA Possible Passage for Analysis." Because the micro analysis of discourse can yield such a wide variety of findings, as I selected excerpts for analysis, I followed Potter and Wetherell's (1987) charge to develop a set of analytic claims that is both coherent and fruitful for other researchers. Concerning coherence, I focused on talk that conducted a similar kind of discursive work: working to negotiate a teacher identity. Concerning coherence, I limited which discursive strategies I developed fully to those that other teacher educators and researchers could likely use to make sense of discourse with their own preservice and student teachers. Once I selected a group of possible passages, I exported these excerpts into a text document and read through them all to identify which passages provided the richest and best examples of the ideas I had started to develop. After I had selected these passages for more detailed analysis, I added Jeffersonian transcription symbols, a process that results in significant analysis as a result of the attention to detail that is required. Once these finished transcripts were completed, I used the Discursive Action Model (DAM) developed by Edwards and Potter (1992) as an analysis tool to interpret the data. Though this model does not provide a specific set of steps for the analyst, it does draw attention to specific areas of interest to pay attention to in the participants' discourse: Action, Fact and Interest, and Accountability. Paying attention to the action that an utterance completes emphasizes the conversational or rhetorical function of the utterance rather than any cognitive process or emotion state. Attention to fact and interest

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highlights how reports are constructed to appear factual and undermine any other possible versions of the reports, including how speakers organize reports so the speakers themselves do not appear appear to have something at stake in that particular version. Finally, attention to issues of accountability highlight how reports address issues of the agency and accountability in the events of the report (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

Using this model as a guide, the process of analysis looks much like the close reading of a poem (see Brooks, 1947); that is, the analysis stays rooted in what is present in the text and the impact that each phrase has rather than attempting to analyze what the creator of the text might have intended. At the same time, like an interpretation of a poem that relies on contextual knowledge, relevant cultural information, and community-specific word meanings (see Greenblatt, 2005), I used my status as an insider and my knowledge of the research site to better understand what their language was doing. I did not attempt to interpret the mental state of the participants; I only sought to explain how their discourse worked to negotiate teacher identities through talk.

Reflexivity Statement

Approaching data with such an anti-cognitive stance can be tricky because, in general, people spend their lives making judgments about other's intentions, thoughts, and beliefs, and all researchers carry assumptions about the world and the types of people in it. It is possible for these judgments and assumptions to act as *a priori* categories if researchers do not recognize their presence and attempt to prevent them from steering the research. Even when researchers are aware of these influences, however, they cannot conduct purely objective analysis or claim to present objective truth in their findings. Any qualitative research is, after all, an interpretive endeavor, and the report of its findings is just one version that has, itself, been created to perform

a social action (Potter, 1996). Nonetheless, I offer this statement of reflexivity in an attempt to

create transparency about my position in relation to the data.[14]

I approached this study with caution because as the participants' field supervisor during

their student-teaching internship, I had the authority to initiate the meetings that provided the

data for my study. Each week the nine of us met to discuss their progress, and these gatherings

would not have occurred without my authority to initiate them. As the initiator of these

meetings, I wanted them to be productive, and in retrospect, I want to believe that the meetings

were a good investment of the interns' and my time. Though I feel like we became a community

of practice where we were engaged in working together, were aligned with a common vision,

and were using our imaginations to help one another problem solve and achieve goals (Wenger,

1998), this evaluation of the meetings could simply be the wishful thinking of an educator who

hopes that he provided a rich learning experience for his students.

Furthermore, my role at the meetings locates me as a key participant in the data. Since

DP takes an anti-cognitive stance in relation to what people say (Edwards, 1997; Potter, 1996),

having access to my own thoughts and memories about the interactions in the data may be

troubling to the interpretive process. Fortunately, most of the recordings were at least a year old

before I began analysis, and I did not presume to recall my motivation behind specific comments

or the hoped for outcomes of any discussion. Instead, I approached my utterances as part of the

data, not as the impetus for it. Unlike an interview study where the researcher would only

analyze what participants said in response to questions in a predesigned protocol, I examined my

own discursive actions as well. Because the interactions are the focus of my study rather than a

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[14] Perhaps it is better to claim that this section gives the illusion of transparency, which is itself a powerful discursive strategy—as is the inclusion of this footnote—given the context of this paper. Potter (1996) warns against getting bogged down in this reflexive cycle and instead suggests simply recognizing that all writing is attempting a social action beyond the mere conveyance of information—even writing the statement that attempts to explain that very phenomenon.

means to discover the thoughts and beliefs of participants, I examined my role as initiator of the meetings and co-constructor of the interactions (Johnson, 2006).

One method I used to assist myself in creating distance between me as an analyst and my utterances as a participant was to assign myself the pseudonym Jonathon. This move was not to give the illusion that I am not in the data. Rather, the pseudonym is intended to reduce the attention or favoritism that I might otherwise give my own utterances and to prevent readers from giving different weights to the analysis about myself and that of other participants. Additionally, I started my analysis by discussing my initial impressions of one meeting and how "Jonathon's" utterances were functioning in it with members of the Discourse Analysis Research Team. In this data analysis session, I wanted to ensure that I was interpreting my own utterances in a way that was consistent with how I planned to approach the utterances of the other participants. I was pleased that my analysis was consistent with the others in the group.

In the previous chapter, I provided a definition and explanation of how I approach identity. However, though I have spent significant time developing an approach to identity by studying others' theoretical propositions (Bakhtin, 1982; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Gee, 2001; Goffman, 1959; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wenger, 1998) and research (Beijaard et al., 2004; Britzman, 2003; Danielewicz, 2001; Lauriala & Kukkonen, 2005; MacLure, 1993; Miller Marsh, 2002a; Rodgers & Scott, 2008; Sfard & Prusak, 2005; Weber & Mitchell, 1995, 1996), I do not suppose that all of my participants think about identity in the same way I do or that they had spent much time thinking about it at all. My approach to identity allowed me to design this study as I have, but my methods kept me from explicitly asking participants how they understand identity. Because issues of identity are important to me and because I believe such issues deserve a place in the curriculum of teacher education, a few of the meetings did explicitly center

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on issues of identity. When analyzing these interactions, I paid particular attention to how I oriented to identity in that moment, and how my utterances were taken up or rejected by others. In some instances, my own language was not consistent with the way I discuss the construct of identity in this paper. In those conversations I maintained my focus on what my utterances accomplished rather than what I may have intended.

Early in the process of data collection, I became aware of the urge to shape what participants were saying and the need for me to resist doing so. I had initially intended to transcribe the meetings the day after each one occurred. However, during the process of transcribing the first meeting, I quickly realized that listening to the recording was altering how I thought about the interactions that had taken place. I started to consider how I could conduct our next meeting differently to guide their conversations in specific directions. Because I felt like this threatened the integrity of the study, I immediately stopped transcribing. I struggled with the ethical issues of choosing between studying the recordings so that I could conduct more beneficial meetings with those whom I was charged to help or following guidelines that I believed would make my study design more trustworthy. In the end, I choose not to study the recordings until after the interns graduated, but I do not know if that was the "right" decision. From the standpoint of research, the conversations that make up the data remained less manipulated and more natural, but I cannot shake the feeling that as an educator, it was my duty to use whatever resources I had available to improve how I taught those in my care. Ultimately, I recognize that without this study I would not have had the option to listen to the recordings, and I have convinced myself that the possible good of this study can benefit more people than just the eight interns with whom I was working.

In addition to being closely tied to the data, I recognize that I am closely tied to the participants. I have a relationship with them beyond this study. I was their field supervisor, and I had previously taught three of them in an introductory education course. After they graduated, I attended one intern's weddings, and I frequently see another one at church. I have seen two others in social contexts, and before I could finish writing my analysis, another one began working at the school where I teach. My progress with this study has been a topic of conversation with each of the participants that I have seen since they graduated. I mention these interactions to highlight that just as I am interested in their lives and the progress they have made since they graduated, they have some interest in mine. When we first met, I was both a teacher and a student in a graduate program, much as they were. We had an empathetic relationship. While I was learning to do the work of a college faculty member and doing the work of a doctoral student, they were learning to do the work of a high school teacher and doing the work of a master's student. However, our relationship was in no way equal. Though I tried to position myself as a more competent peer (Miller Marsh, 2003), no matter how relaxed an atmosphere I tried to create, the meetings were still the result of institutional roles, and as such, the talk that takes place in them is institutional talk. The institutionality of the gatherings can be seen as I exercise my authority to open and close formal segments of the meetings, to control the goals of the meetings, and to take a disproportionate number of turns compared to other participants (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). This dynamic of our relationship clearly impacted our interactions, but as discussed above, I did not focus significant attention on this aspect of the data.

Finally, I will also mention that I am male, and six of the eight participants are female. My experiences as a male teacher may differ significantly from those of the women in this study. Specifically, we may have different understandings about teacher stereotypes and common

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cultural assumptions (Weber & Mitchell, 1995), and as a result, my preconceptions may differ

from theirs about what it means to be an English teacher. Though I did not assume that gender

would emerge as important to the study, I did acknowledge the possibility that it might. Like

many other *a priori* categories, participants may or may not have oriented to issues of gender as

relevant in the study. Throughout my analysis, I either did or did not include comments of sex,

race, socio-economic status, religion, political affiliation and content area expertise based on

how the participants oriented to them throughout the meetings.

During analysis I was particularly aware of the ethical implications of my wanting to

validate preexisting hunches with limited data. For instance, Zeke came from a drastically

different background from the others in his cohort. I assumed, and in some ways hoped, that this

difference would manifest itself in interesting ways in the data, but I attempted to avoid reading

more into the data than was present when this assumption did not become salient. Similarly,

Anna Lucia had returned to the university after a few years in the workforce. She brought with

her life and work experience that the others did not have, and I imagined that this too would be

significant in the data. It was not. In the face of these unmet expectations, I continued to ground

my interpretation and claims in the data without manipulating them to accommodate what I had

anticipated.

As a student and teacher of English, I wanted to make sure my own academic history did

not search for findings that were not actually in the data. My undergraduate degree was in

English education with a double major in history, and my student teaching consisted of two

relatively easy, eight-week placements, one at a high school teaching 11th grade honors and one

in an 8th grade class. After I took three years away from academic pursuits while I served in the

United States Air Force, I attended graduate school at the University of Maine where I got a

master's degree in traditional literary studies. My course work included a class in narratology, and it was there that I got excited about *how* stories were told not just what they were told about. I then joined the Air Force Academy's Department of English and Fine Arts where I taught college literature and composition courses for two and a half years. At the Academy, I was exposed to a varied group of English scholars, including those who studied literature, linguistics, and discourse analysis. After separating from the Air Force, I taught high school in New England and the South East, and these experiences showed me drastically different approaches to curriculum standards, professional development, and the states' interaction with schools. The year preceding my return to graduate school was the most difficult I have ever experienced. I had several difficult classes, and I felt ineffective trying to teach them. When I returned to graduate school to get my doctorate in education, I did so simply because I enjoy school. During my doctoral studies, I developed a passion for discourse analysis and an interest in literary criticism. In both disciplines I enjoy the balance between closely evaluating a text based solely on what is contained in the work and needing historical or cultural insider knowledge to actually understand what is being said. These emerging interests combined naturally with my interest in previously developed interest in how narratives are constructed and directly shaped the methods I was drawn to as I designed this study.

My background, however, did create some concerns for me. I was most concerned about how the tension between what I expected to find based on my own history and what I actually find would play out. As a graduate student with a focus on educating English teachers, I wanted this research to be relevant and specialized for teacher educators with an emphasis on language arts, but I had no guarantee that English-specific issues would emerge from the data. As a former undergraduate and graduate student of English, a high school and college English teacher,

and an English teacher educator, I have pre-formed ideas about what identity issues are unique to our field. I am aware that high stakes writing tests impact how writing is taught and, therefore, can impact how teachers talk about themselves in relation to writing. I know that that the multiple strands of the state's standards document makes it possible to favor one area of the curriculum, like literature, over others, like logic or communication. Some teachers talk of themselves as literature teachers and some as writing teachers, and these categories work to present individuals as certain kinds of English teachers. It was my hunch that these issues would be born out in the data, but again I took caution not to only look for what I thought would be there. Though the findings chapter does include a brief discussion of how explicit identity claims where used to identify the participants and other educators as English teachers with domain-specific foci, these types of claims were otherwise limited in their appearance in the data.

Because the data was not obtained by an interview protocol, I had to accept the possibility that certain aspects of English teacher identity may remain apparently unaddressed. However, because this study is fundamentally about beginning English teachers—the research question, the participants, and the primary investigator all make it so—whatever the participants made relevant in their discourse is relevant to teacher educators working with beginning English teachers. I must be comfortable that what is omitted may be as interesting as what is included and resist the urge to discuss findings that are not the result of careful analysis.

Trustworthiness

Any claims I make in the following chapter are warranted in the data with special attention given to coherence of analysis, the participant's orientation to topics, new problems that may be created by the discourse, and the fruitfulness of the analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

That is, I narrowed my focus on the areas of analysis that might be most likely to make a meaningful contribution to teacher education. To help maintain quality in my analysis, I repeatedly reminded myself of common failures of discourse analysis: (1) summarizing, (2) taking sides, (3) over quoting or under quoting, (4) reasoning circularly, (5) attributing to membership categories, and (6) spotting features (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, & Potter, 2003). Summarizing can draw more attention to certain utterances and neglect others by paraphrasing. Through summary, a researcher can distort the content of a participant's utterance and present it in a way that may be more favorable to the researcher's claims than the actual utterance. Taking sides with a participant distracts from what social actions the utterance has and focuses attention on issues of right and wrong. An implicit form of taking sides could result from under- or over-quoting individual participants, so I was careful to balance how I represented participants that I both agree and disagree with. That is, I did not select select excerpts based on how well they demonstrate correct views about teaching and learning or how well they show the idealistic but naïve views of novices. Additionally, I selected excerpts because they represent what emerged from the data rather than because they validated hunches I had coming into the study. Similarly, I attempted to avoid the circular reasoning that comes by looking for specific discursive features that warrant claims I wished to make. I warranted my claims based on the corpus of data rather than merely relying on preexisting knowledge about certain membership categories. Finally, though labels provide a useful vocabulary and good starting place, in depth analysis must explain how these features function in the specific context of the data and not just identity the features that are present (Antaki et al., 2003).

In addition to using the guides above to maintain rigorous analysis throughout the study, I also collaborated with a research team consisting of one faculty member and several doctoral

students all specializing in discourse analysis. During multiple data analysis sessions, we

focused on particular segments of individual meetings by listening to recordings while reading

the transcripts and talking about what interesting features we noticed and how these features

were functioning in the discourse. During these meetings the members of the research team

brought to bear their individual expertise on my research, asked challenging questions, suggested

additional resources and proposed alternate interpretations. Specifically, I collaborated with

members of this group about the following meetings: August 22 with an emphasis on Jonathon;

September 26 with emphasis on Zeke and some attention to Reagan and Nick; October 24 with

an emphasis on Zeke; February 2 with an emphasis on Anna Lucia and Zeke; March 13 with an

emphasis on Reagan and Zeke; and May 14 with an emphasis on Paula. As is plan to see, most of

my time collaborating with others about the recordings focused on Zeke's utterances.

Throughout the recordings he took more turns than the other interns, and his turns were often

longer than those of his peers. These lengthy turns often provided openings for extended

exchanges about the topics he introduced, and because his utterances were often in contrast to his

peers, focusing on interactions around Zeke's discourse allowed the research team, who was not

as familiar with the corpus of data as I was, to more easily focus on the negotiation of identity

that was taking place.

I worked closely with one member of this research team who takes a similar approach to

discourse that I do, and we met to discuss how our work aligned with key texts that were

informing our work (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Hopper, 2005; Potter, 1996). In

additional to discussing my data, we conducted collaborative analysis sessions with data for her

research, and by participating in those sessions, I sharpened my own analytic skills and refined

my ability to apply key concepts grounded in the central tenants of the epistemic and theoretical stance we share.

Presentation of Analysis

The following chapter presents detailed analysis of the data and presents several excerpts to warrant each claim made in that analysis. Throughout the chapter I use the term *excerpt* rather than *example* or *extract* "to serve as a reminder of [my] active role in both analysis and write up" (Wood & Kroger, 2000, p. 185). Rather than implying that the text from the data is a representation of an objective finding, the excerpts demonstrate how I arrived at each claim. Multiple excerpts in each section allow me to offer a detailed explanation of how the data was oriented to and explain how each claim is grounded in the data. Additionally, the inclusion of excerpts allows readers the opportunity to develop their own interpretations and draw their own conclusions (Wood & Kroger, 2000).

Chapter 4

Analysis

Introduction

The analysis in this chapter directly responds to the research question, *how do English education interns in a year-long internship employ discursive strategies to negotiate teacher identities?* To answer this question, I used methods of micro analysis similar to conversation analysis and grounded in discursive psychology (DP) (Wood & Kroger, 2000). The discursive approach to identity has been proven helpful in many contexts (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; De Fina et al., 2006), and attention to teachers' discourse surrounding identity has become an important area of study on teacher research (for example, Alsup, 2006; Cohen, 2008, 2010; Irwin & Hramiak, 2010; Johnson, 2006; MacLure, 1993; Richards, 2006; Sachs, 2001; Søreide, 2006; Urzua & Vasquez, 2008). Consistent with the discourse analytical methods and epistemology of DP, the analysis in this chapter includes the micro analysis of multiple excerpts to warrant each of the interpretive claims about six discursive features that contributed to the development of the participants' teacher identities. These features—which I call strategies to emphasize their action-orientation—were not simply the ones that appeared most frequently throughout the data; instead, the analysis focuses on what will be useful for other teacher educators to "create fresh solutions" to existing problems in the field (Potter & Wetherell, 1987)

The strategies discussed below include *making explicit identity claims, emphasizing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept, locating themselves in relation to other educators, orienting to feedback, talking about failures,* and *working up the impact of students on lesson outcomes.* Each of these strategies includes several methods that were employed to

achieve similar outcomes in the participants' conversation. They are summarized in Table 3. As

I discuss each of the strategies and methods below, I refrain from evaluating whether the

participants' use of them is positive or negative (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990) and instead

attempt to comment on the discursive action that the utterances carry out. Consistent with

Goodson (1992) and Goodson and Cole's (1994) encouragement to include the teacher's voices

and MacLure's (1993) biographical attitude that sees the teacher as a whole person, I hope that

the inclusion of numerous excerpts allows readers to get a sense of the individuals who were

willing to be a part of this study; however, the identities that they developed throughout the

course of the year are not the findings of this study.

In chapter two I defined identity as *a socially negotiated and contextually occasioned*

version of what an individual represents. As such, the individual identities that emerged in the

course of this study are less useful to teacher educators than the specific strategies that the

participants used to develop them. Furthermore, because I reject essentialist notions of identity, I

do not believe that the identities that the participants worked up in the meetings or the identities

that are explicitly and implicitly constructed for the participants by this report are definitive of

who they inherently are. Contrary to my theoretical stance, however, the participants frequently

spoke in terms that suggested that they inherently were one kind of teacher or another.

Strategy 1. Making Explicit Identity Claims

Introduction. Explicit identity claims are perhaps the most obvious strategy that the

interns in this study employed as they worked to negotiate a teacher identity in their talk during

the weekly meetings. Explicit identity clams are straight forward statements that a participant

made about herself concerning the kind of person she *is* or the kind of person she acts like.

Based on the kind of teacher speakers presented themselves as, these claims could be used to

Table 3. Summary of Discursive Strategies

Strategy 1.	**Making Explicit Identity Claims**
	Being Verb Constructions
	Other Constructions
Strategy 2.	**Emphasizing the Personal Importance of a Pedagogical Concept**
	Accounting for a Pedagogical Concept of Personal Importance
	Using Pedagogical Concepts of Personal Importance to Account for Actions Taken
	Establishing Value
	Allotting Conversational Space
	Returning Repeatedly to a Subject
	Boiling Down a Complex Situation
	Diminishing Value
Strategy 3.	**Locating Themselves in Relation to Other Educators**
	Aligning
	Praising
	Using the Pronoun We
	Distancing
	Mocking
	Negative Positioning
Strategy 4.	**Orienting to Feedback**
	Accepting Input
	Resisting Input
Strategy 5.	**Talking about Failure**
	Blaming the Situation
	Blaming Self
Strategy 6.	**Working Up the Impact of Students on Lesson Outcomes**
	Demonstrating Passivity
	Demonstrating Initiative

limit and license specific talk and behavior regarding the speakers' practices as educators. When used in this way, explicit identity claims provided support to other statements the speaker had made about herself and could account for why an action had or had not been taken.

Explicit claims were made in two ways. The more obvious method for making explicit identity claims was to use *being* verbs to make statements about the essential qualities of a person. While I do not orient to identity in a way that acknowledges a core or essential self, the interns' use of these explicit identity claims worked as a powerful discursive strategy for excusing unfavorable behavior and talk. After all, if a person essentially *is* one way, she has limited options about how to act and cannot be expected to act in a way that is inconsistent with who she essentially *is*. A second method that participants used to make explicit identity claims was to emphasize the role that actions themselves play in identity. These claims emphasized actions, abilities, acquired knowledge, developed preferences, and experienced feelings. Though not as strong of a position for excusing behavior and talk because they do not invoke an inherent essence, explicit identity claims based on action still allowed the speaker to present herself as a certain kind of person.

This section will first discuss explicit identity claims made with *being* verbs and then discuss explicit claims that presented identity as more action-oriented.

Being verb constructions. Midway through the Spring semester, Reagan made a statement that provided a clear example of an explicit identity claim that used a *being* verb during a meeting at Urban High School (Spring 03 13).[15] Both she and Zeke had been telling Jonathon how much more comfortable and competent they had been during the second semester

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[15] As a reminder, each meeting transcript has been labeled by semester, month, and day. Spring 03 13 refers to the transcript of the meeting that occurred during the Spring semester on March 3rd. The excerpts in this chapter also include the minutes and seconds when the utterances occurred. The first excerpt, for example, began 11 minutes and 12 seconds into the meeting and lasted approximately 8 seconds.

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than the first, and when Jonathon questioned them on what they attributed the difference to, Reagan and Zeke said that experience during the previous semester and feeling more like a teacher in the present semester gave them their confidence. Excerpt One (see Appendix D for transcription symbols) demonstrates the explicit claim that Reagan made about a new part of her identity as the conversation progressed.

Excerpt One

1   Reagan: it still/

2   I agree//

3   it still felt like we:ll/ (1.2)

4   I'm still an inter::n like

5   I have <u>lunch</u> duty this semester//

6   and like

7   I mean I'm a <<u>teach</u>er//>

In lines 1-4, Reagan makes a statement about how she felt during the previous semester. Then, in a brief statement, she makes an explicit identity claim that she is no longer a student; instead, she is a full-fledged teacher. As she talks about the transition from student to teacher, she claims to *be* a certain kind of person; in this case, she claims to *be* a particular kind of professional, a teacher.

Reagan's statement clearly demonstrates the use of a *being* verb to make an explicit identity claim. The reifying effect of what Sfard and Prusak (2005) have called *is sentences* can dominate explicit talk about identity. Participants in numerous studies have employed such syntactic structures to make claims about whether or not they *are* teachers (Britzman, 2006;

Bullough et al., 1989; Cook, 2009; Danielewicz, 2001; Franzak, 2002; Freese, 2006; Horn et al., 2008; Nias, 1989; Sumara & Luce-Kapler, 1996). The message these *being* verbs convey is an essentialist one that a person fundamentally *is* something at her core. Rather than stating that she had developed more skills in the profession of teaching and thus was more comfortable and competent in the second semester, Reagan claims that her core had experienced a change from student to teacher, so she now possessed the same attributes that any other person who *is* a teacher would possess. Without any subtlety, she makes a clear claim about herself. Most other explicit claims, however, were not as simple.

For example, in the opening minutes of the fourteenth meeting of the year (Spring 02 02), Anna Lucia said that she was starting to ignore some of her mentor's feedback because her mentor gave feedback "in code." In Excerpt Two, Anna Lucia makes an explicit identity claim, but she includes a layer of complexity that Reagan did not. As Anna Lucia explains how her mentor speaks to her, she uses a comparison between types of students to make an explicit claim about herself.

Excerpt Two

1   Anna Lucia: she talks like (.)

2   she's an A P teacher/

3   and she calls me one of her A P kids//

4   <which drives me> (.) [nuts//]

5   Jonathon: [still] doing that//

6   Anna Lucia: still doing tha:t//

7   and so she'll try to talk to me li:ke/

8   ((clearly enunciating every consonant))

9	<I want you to get a message/>
10	but I'm going to wrap it up in this weird/
11	convoluted/ abstract/ A P/ liberal arts/ THING://:
12	((end altered enunciation))
13	Reagan: [∘wha:::t//∘]
14	Mindy: [(hehe)]
15	Anna Lucia: and I'm more li:ke/ (.2)
16	I'm more like a stem kid/
17	or B L P A kid/
18	Jonathon: ((snort))
19	Anna Lucia: and so I'm like/ (.2)
20	((speaking through sinuses))
21	<I don't know what that means//>

To set up her explicit identity claim, Anna Lucia makes a claim about her mentor's identity, stating that her mentor "talks like (.) she's an A P teacher/" (lines 1-2). Anna Lucia does not use a *being* verb here to state that at her mentor's core she *is* an Advanced Placement (AP) teacher. Instead, she says that her mentor exhibits the behavior of an AP teacher by talking like she *is* one, and according to Anna Lucia. that includes speaking in a "weird/ convoluted/ abstract/ A P/ liberal arts/" (lines 10-11) way. By using these adjectives, she depicts her mentor's input as useless, and by employing vagueness (Edwards & Potter, 1992) and not giving any specific examples of the types of comments her mentor makes, the other participants must take Anna Lucia's word that her mentor is not good at giving effective feedback. As Anna Lucia

had reported several times throughout the year, her mentor calls her "one of her A P kids//" (line 3). This practice is a source of frustration for Anna Lucia, and it is the prompt for the identity claim that follows.

Anna Lucia explicitly claims, "I'm more like a stem kid/ or B L P A kid/" (lines 16-27). These acronyms refer to Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) and the Business and Legal Professions Academy (BLPA), two of the four academies that Suburban High School is divided into so that students can pursue future career interests. Though Anna Lucia does not explicitly state what STEM and BLPA students are like, her implication is that they are different from the AP students that her mentor usually works with. The designations of AP, STEM, and BLPA, however, are not parallel terms. Whereas AP is a designator indicating the difficulty or skill level of a class, STEM and BLPA are divisions of the school. STEM and BLPA offer AP courses, but Anna Lucia is referring to the AP Liberal Arts students that her mentor usually works with. She invokes a stereotype that STEM and BLPA students think more concretely than Liberal Arts students do, and she explicitly claims that she *is* like those students. As unusual as this claim is for an English teacher to make, it allows her to state, "<I don't know what that means//>" (line 21) about her mentor's feedback. Anna Lucia's explicit identity claim that she is like a STEM or BLPA student provides an excuse for disregarding her mentor's input. An excuse is an account for why a given action that seems negative should be viewed as acceptable given the circumstances (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), and in Anna Lucia's case, her claim that she is not the kind of person her mentor addresses her as excuses Anna Lucia from having to understand and be receptive to her mentor's input.

Both Anna Lucia's comments and Reagan's above it present explicit identity claims where the participants have claimed that they *are* a specific kind of person. Reagan claimed to

be a teacher, and Anna Lucia claimed to *be* like a STEM or BLPA kid. Elsewhere, however, Zeke used a *being* verb in a negative construction to explicitly state what he is not. Early one meeting (Fall 10 10), several of the interns were talking about the amount of stress they were feeling. Zeke contradicted them and said that he was not sharing that experience. At the close of the meeting, he and Jonathon revisited why Zeke's experience was so different.

Excerpt Three

1   Zeke: I'm not the type

2   that really gets <tha:t upset or stressed//>

Fall 10 10, 54:40-43

By saying he *is* not one type of person (line 1), he makes a clear claim that he *is* another type. If he *is* not the type that gets stressed, he must *be* the type that stays relaxed and in control. Though he uses a negative construction, he clearly presents himself as a specific kind of person by using a *being* verb to make a statement about himself. As Zeke's utterance and the two excerpts before it have shown, identifying explicit identity claims that employ *being* verbs can be quite straightforward; however, explicit identity claims are not limited to claims about what type of person someone *is* or *is* not.

Other constructions. The second method for making explicit identity claims was to make claims about actions, abilities, knowledge, preferences, and feelings. In such constructions, these elements are made relevant as vital features of a person's identity. Though sometimes worded less obviously than the explicit identity claims that use *being* verbs, they present various aspects of identity as key factors that limit and license how a person acts and talks. Excerpt Four comes from earlier in the same meeting where Reagan claimed that she was a teacher (Spring 03 13), and it demonstrates both how an explicit identity claim can be made

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without using a *being* verb and how an individual can use an explicit identity claim to excuse practices and expressions of emotion. Just a few minutes into the meeting, Reagan made an explicit identity claim about her fondness for Shakespeare when she said, "I lo::ve shakespeare with a passion// (5:55-57). After thirty seconds of talk about Shakespeare between Reagan and Jonathon, Zeke stated his feelings about the poet:

Excerpt Four

1   Zeke: I kinda wi:sh/ (.4)

2   well yeah I mean I can respect Shakespeare

3   and there are certain: (.2) plays that I really really like//

4   Reagan: you (syl, syl) literature though (.) right↑

5   Zeke: yeah// (.)

6   well I did rhetoric//

7   so I just don't have that literature background/

8   Reagan: [see I'm the complete opposite//]

9   Zeke: [<so I just can't like/>]

10   I can't (1.0) >put it on a pedestal and be like<

11   ((speaking with a breathy voice))

12   oh this beautiful literature//

13   ((stops altered voice))

14   I'm just like (1.)

15   Reagan: see I feel like [I'm in my element/]=

16   Zeke: [look at the language//]

17   Reagan: =when I'm (.) doin' (.) literature/

18		so (.) I just feel (.4) right now I fee:l (.) pretty good in the classroom
19		because we are doing literature// (.6)
20		now the writing/ (1.8)
21		∘I hate teaching writing/∘
22	Zeke:	[yeah]
23	Reagan:	[but] my mentor loves [it:-/]-
24	Zeke:	[and I] like [teaching writing/]
25	Reagan:	[an':]
26	Zeke:	∘(syl [syl syl)]∘
27	Reagan:	[she: is] [gonna-]
28	Jonathon:	[(heh)]
29	Reagan:	hopefully (.2) help me with the research process
30		so I don't hate it as much//
31		but she (.) considers herself/ (1.4) a writing teacher//

Spring 03 13, 6:27-7:08

This excerpt begins with Zeke demonstrating that he does not have the same passion for

Shakespeare that Reagan has. He says, "I kinda wi:sh/ (.4)" (line 1) but trails off and pauses,

leaving Jonathon and Reagan to imagine the rest. Given what he goes on to say in the following

lines, his initial sentence might have ended, "I kinda wish that I appreciated Shakespeare more,"

or "I kinda wish that I loved Shakespeare." Whatever it could have been, he leaves the sentence

incomplete, instead stating that he can "respect Shakespeare" (line2) and that "there are certain:

(.2) plays that I really really like//" (line 3). His use of the word "respect" is a long way from

Reagan's "love," and though Zeke likes "certain (.2) plays," he does not express a whole-hearted approval of the bard's body of work.

At this point Reagan seeks to clarify Zeke's overall relationship to literature. Though the recording is unclear, whatever Reagan asks about literature encourages Zeke to broaden his statements from his orientation to Shakespeare to his orientation to literature in general. When he says, "well I did rhetoric// so I just don't have that literature background/" (lines 6-7), he makes an explicit claim about his knowledge. His use of the word "did" stands in for *studied*. Unlike most of the interns in the program, Zeke "did" the composition and rhetoric track in the English Department instead of the literature track that the others had followed. He makes his past actions relevant to his identity by suggesting that what he studied as an undergraduate was the reason for his inability to connect to literature.

As he begins to explain the limitations he has as a result of his course of study, Reagan speaks over him making an explicit identity claim for herself that does use a *being* verb. She says, "see I'm the complete opposite//" (line 8). Though Zeke has not employed any *being* verbs, Reagan's ability to state that she *is* "the complete opposite" of him demonstrates that Zeke has successfully worked up a specific kind of person that she can position herself against.

The two interns now display the impact of fitting into the specific kinds of teachers they have made relevant in this conversation. Reagan says, "I'm in my element/" (line 15) and "I fee:l (.) pretty good in the classroom" (line 18) because she has been teaching literature over the last few days, but she expresses negative feelings toward teaching writing. She lowers her voice, displaying discouragement when she says, "∘I hate teaching writing/∘" (line 21). Though it lacks a *being* verb, Reagan's statement that she hates teaching writing is also an explicit identity claim because it demonstrates a clear personal preference and helps to work up a kind of teacher that

she can be recognized as: a literature teacher, not a writing teacher. As she continues, she strengthens her position that there are both literature teachers and writing teachers when she reports that her mentor also recognizes these two kinds of English teachers. She says, "she (.) considers herself/ (1.4) a writing teacher//" (line 31). Whether or not her mentor has ever used these words, Reagan's use of this reported speech gives credibility to both her and Zeke's identity claims by helping establish the legitimacy of speaking in terms of different kinds of English teachers (Goffman, 1981).

Continuing with Reagan's notion that she and Zeke are opposite kinds of English teachers, Zeke states, "I like teaching writing/" (line 24). This statement functions as an explicit claim because it demonstrates his preference. The comment is consistent with what he has stated before about having studied rhetoric. However, his preference for teaching writing comes at a price. He says, "I can't (1.0) >put it on a pedestal and be like< ((speaking with a breathy voice)) oh this beautiful literature//" (lines 10-12). He explicitly expresses a lack of ability to show students what is great about a literary text. As he does so, however, he mocks the skill by saying it is putting a text "on a pedestal" and by altering his voice to sound like he is worshipping at the throne of a god when he says "oh this beautiful literature." In doing so, he presents the ability that he lacks in a way that undermines the value of that ability.

Zeke and Reagan's comments in Excerpt Four demonstrate how explicit identity claims—both those that employ *being* verbs and those that do not—can create space for difference among kinds of people. In this case, these differences account for Reagan and Zeke's behavior. As a literature teacher, Reagan can be excused for verbalizing that she hates writing, and as a writing teacher, Zeke can be excused for not having the ability to demonstrate what is great about a literary text. Their complementary utterances show that in addition to making

claims about who a person essentially *is*, explicit identity claims can also demonstrate an orientation to identity as the sum total of the actions a person carries out.

In Excerpt Five below, Mindy's talk demonstrates an explicit identity claim that orients to identity as action rather than a state of being. Jonathon started the formal portion of meeting sixteen (Spring 03 01) by saying that he wanted to "know what's going on/ (.4) how things are at schoo:l/ (1.2) um things >that I might< nee:d to >be concerned about/ < things that are going really well/" (7:11-19). Mindy was the first to speak, and after talking about the difference between her two mentors and how low-level her students were, Jonathon asked if her action research project was going well. Mindy stated that she wished that she could change her study, and as she explained why, she included an explicit identity claim based on action.

Excerpt Five

1   Mindy: it's on writing: (.) and um on their confidence:// (1.4)

2   an:d (1.2) just like the way the writing folders (.) and all that works/

3   like (.) I just don't do (.4) that much with them// (1.0)

4   >so that's kinda frustrating/<

5   'cause that is what I (.) would want to do <u>as</u> a teacher/

6   talk more about writing// (.6)

7   but I just (.) can't get through the content and do tha:t//

Spring 03 01, 9:54-10:15

In the opening lines of this excerpt, Mindy explains the topic of her action research. Her study is about how writing folders impact student confidence (lines 1-2). As she explains, however, "I just don't do (.4) that much with them// (1.0)" (line 3). Her hesitations and her expression of frustration that follows suggest that she orients to this situation as negative (line 4).

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Using " 'cause" (line 5) to introduce why the situation is frustrating establishes a cause-and-effect relationship that presents her unmet desires as the source of her negative feelings. She states, " 'cause that is what I (.) would want to do as a teacher/ talk more about writing//" (line 5-6). This explicit identity claim presents identity as action-oriented with her use of the word "do." Mindy presents herself as the kind of teacher who wants to take the actions necessary to emphasize writing. However, the use of the modal verb "would" suggests that she has not been able to accomplish these actions; they remain "unrealized possibility[ies]" (Kolln & Funk, 2012). While her action research project is a short-term requirement that will be completed in six weeks, not being able to carry out the actions that she would like to as a teacher is a more enduring issue. Like Zeke in the preceding excerpt, Mindy presents herself as the kind of teacher who wants to focus on writing. However, needing to take the time to "get through the content" (line 7) is interfering with her being able to carry out the actions she desires. As the participants used "content" in this study, it most often referred to the teaching of literature. After making an explicit identity claim that she wishes to carry out the actions of one kind of teacher—a writing teacher—she implies that, instead, she must carry out the action of another kind of teacher—a literature teacher.

If this were a thematic study of the kinds of teachers that interns presented themselves as, a great deal of discussion could be spent exploring the interns' claims to be either literature teachers or writing teachers. Though the state standards document at the time of this study included seven domains, only Literature and Writing were used with any regularity in explicit identity claims. Others domains—Language, Communication, Research, Logic, Informational Texts, Media—were sometimes talked about as teaching topics, but they were not often connected to identity. At times, the interns made claims that they were more specific kinds of

English teachers than just a literature or writing teacher. For instance, Paula claimed to "love" poetry (Spring 02 16, 36:02-03), making an explicit claim that presented her as a specific kind of literature teacher that her peers found surprising. In addition to teachers of poetry, numerous other kinds of literature teachers could be imagined: teachers of short stories, novels, non-fiction, American literature, British literature, African-American literature, women's literature, and etcetera. Similarly, numerous kinds of writing teachers could be worked up. For example, Zeke at times presented himself as a writing teacher who focused on logical fallacies, one of his "favorite things" (Fall 11 28, 33:12-13).

While these different kinds of English teachers are interesting, that aspect of the interns' identity work is beyond the scope of the research question guiding this study. The focus of this study is on how the interns employed discursive strategies to negotiate their identities, and the analysis is based on what will be most useful to other teacher educators. It is more important to this analysis and more helpful to other teacher educators to explore the rhetorical function of explicit identity claims made by beginning teachers than it is to make a list of the kinds of teachers these participants made explicit claims about. Because every cohort of beginning teachers is unique and could make explicit identity claims about infinite kinds of teachers, having an understanding of what these claims do is more useful.

Mindy's claim that she would like to accomplish the work of a writing teacher but must carry out the work of a literature teacher provides an excuse for why she expresses frustration in her work. After four years of undergraduate studies and a selective application process into the internship, Mindy could have been expected to happily accept the duties and requirements of her work. However, she and several other interns verbalized a disconnect between what they wanted to do and what they were actually doing. Making explicit identity claims that recognized a

variety of kinds of teachers was a discursive strategy that allowed the participants to excuse the less than ideal actions and feelings that they talked about. Rather than not acting like teachers, these identity claims suggested that the interns were acting like specific kinds of teachers, and sometimes these kinds were not consistent with what their mentors asked them to do.

Conclusion. For the sake of a coherent section, I have included several excerpts that focus on being either a literature or writing teacher, but explicit identity claims could be made about many domains of teaching: classroom management, communication with parents, how content is presented, the kinds of relationships teachers should have with students, and etcetera. Claims about any of these domains worked to clearly connect the participants to specific kinds of teachers through two methods: using *being* verbs to state that they essentially *are* specifics kind of people or claiming to have specific abilities, skills, knowledge, preferences, or feelings associated with a kind of teacher. Once these claims were made, the speakers could use the kind of person she *is* or acts like to account for other aspects of her behavior, allowing the participants to include and exclude certain behaviors from their repertoires.

Strategy 2. Emphasizing the Personal Importance of a Pedagogical Concept

Introduction. Though explicit claims regularly appeared in the data, far more identity work was accomplished through implicit means, and the remainder of the analysis in this study focuses on implicit identity bids. Individuals can engage in negotiating identities without making obvious statements to other conversationalists, and a great deal of talk that may seem unrelated to identity issues actually accomplishes significant identity work (Cohen, 2008). Implicit identity bids include, along with many other things, those statements that reveal what is and is not important to a person without stating so explicitly, and this section explores a number

of methods that participants used as they employed the second strategy, *emphasizing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept*.

Before proceeding into an explanation of how participants talked about *pedagogical concepts of personal importance*, some definitions are in order. As I use the phrase *personal importance*, it is the importance that a participant works up for a concept in conversation. As a discourse analyst, I only have access to the participants' words, so I cannot make claims about what is of actual importance to them. When a participant says that she "loves" or "hates" something (as Reagan does in Excerpt Four), I cannot judge whether the statement reflects a true emotional state; I can only analyze its impact on the conversation and explore how claiming to love or hate that concept contributes to her identity negotiation. So when I say that a pedagogical concept has personal importance to a participant, I mean that she has established the importance of that concept in her discourse. As I use the phrase *pedagogical concept*, it can apply to both ideas and practices of education that are invoked in conversation. The practice of lesson planning is just as much a concept that can be called up in conversation as is a psychological construction like motivation. Both are concepts that exist outside of the conversational space and can be called on in the service of an individual's identity work.

Several topics that were talked about frequently created space for individuals to conduct identity work by emphasizing what concepts were of personal importance. In alphabetical order, classroom observations, effort of the teacher, lesson planning, objectives and learning, relationships with students, and teaching activities were all topics of discussion where implicit identity work was regularly accomplished in this way. Each topic allowed the participants space to present themselves as specific kinds of teachers with specific preferences and behaviors by emphasizing which specific concepts were personally important. For example, when discussing

classroom activities, participants could have worked up an infinite variety of stances regarding an infinite variety of practices. When Paula's talk concerned classroom activities, she regularly spoke about discussions in a way that presented them as important to her practice, thus emphasizing the personal importance of that pedagogical concept. In doing so, she presented herself as the kind of teacher who values discussion. However, like the variety of literature teachers that can be imagined (see discussion in previous section), teachers could speak about a variety of classroom activities and emphasize any level of importance for them. While Paula emphasized the importance of classroom discussions, another teacher could present them as a waste of time. Similarly, anyone else could emphasize the importance of any other classroom activities: group work, peer editing, lectures, student presentations, research activities in the library, trips to the computer lab, and review lessons. The other topics listed above and numerous others that did not appear with the same regularity made it possible for the participants to conduct implicit identity work as they made their feelings and actions regarding those topics relevant in conversation. What lessons were and were not worthy of classroom observation, what role effort plays in an educators' career, what components (if any) of a lesson plan are essential, what the measures of a successful class are, and the impact of positive relationships with students were all areas of discussion that allowed for implicit identity work.

The focus of the analysis in this section is on how emphasizing the personal importance of pedagogical concepts allowed the interns to make implicit identity bids, and it is intended to highlight the type of identity work that can occur in seemingly routine conversations between teacher educators and beginning teachers. The methods that I discuss in this section are ones that appeared frequently in the data and include *accounting for a pedagogical concept of personal*

importance, *using pedagogical concepts of personal importance to account for actions taken*, and *establishing value*.

Accounting for a pedagogical concept of personal importance. Much of people's talk focuses on giving explanations for why things are how they are (Potter, 1996). Usually, these accounts address why events turned out as they did and provide excuses and justifications for those outcomes (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). In this study, participants regularly provided accounts to support why they emphasized particular pedagogical concepts in their practice. In doing so, they built up the personal importance of those concepts by justifying them with other concepts that they could take for granted as important to the other participants. In other words, participants emphasized specific aspects of teaching as personally important by justifying their use with pedagogical concepts of assumed importance. For example, not all teachers use review games, but one who does could demonstrate the personal importance of using fun activities to review for tests by accounting for their use with a concept of assumed importance like student motivation, a concept that she could safely take for granted in most conversations with educators. By accounting for a pedagogical concept of personal importance with one of assumed importance, she would not only emphasize the personal importance of the concept, she would also demonstrate the acceptability of that concept.

Excerpt Six provides an example of how Mindy did just that. During the seventh meeting (Fall 10 17), Jonathon conducted an exercise that created a more classroom-like environment than most other meetings during the year. He asked the interns to engage in a series of free writes in response to the following three prompts which he displayed on the screen of his laptop one at a time:

(1) As I teacher, I want to . . .   or

As a teacher, I believe it's important to . . .

(2) Why do you believe these traits and aspects are important?

(Think about some of the following: past teachers, your experience as a

student, you parents' values, your interactions with your parents, your college

courses, your professional education, your peers, movies, anything else.)

(3) What is helping/hindering your progress of achieving the goals that you

articulated in your first free write?

He told the interns that he would not collect their papers and that they did not have to talk about

what they wrote if they did not want to. As conversation progressed, Zeke compared himself to

his students, and he and Reagan talked about how unprepared for life their students were. Mindy

built on their comments and used them as a starting point to emphasize what was personally

important to her.

Excerpt Six

1   Mindy: I wrote about writing/ (.2)

2   and how/ (.2) I really want my kids (1.0)

3   >'cause I mean< a more of 'em actually are planning on going to college

4   than I really would have thou:ght

5   based on (.) >how well they can write< (tsk)

6   um (1.2) that (.2) they need to be able (.) to come to school/

7   and pa:ss english one oh one and english one oh two//

8   and (.) I don't think a lot of my kids would/

9   ∘an:d∘ if they <lea:ve high school/>

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10	and they ca:n't do that/ (1.0)
11	((skipping 4 lines recognizing the impact of other years of school))
12	and I- >my teacher doesn't< spend <u>ti:me</u> on writing/
13	because I think she just thinks
14	like o:h you did that junior year//
15	like (.2) we're gonna work on content right now// (.h)

<div align="right">**Fall 10 17 44:09-44:46**</div>

Mindy's opening statement, "I wrote about writing/" (line 1), begins her turn by connecting her comments to what she had written thirteen minutes earlier. A fellow conversationalist could easily imagine that after beginning her turn by stating that she wrote about writing, her next line, "I really want my kids" (line 2), would end with a phrase like "to become great writers"; however, this sentence is a false start and one left incomplete. Rather than stating outright that she wants her students to become great writers or stating that she wants to focus on writing, she changes her approach and provides an account for why focusing on writing is a positive choice. As English teachers, the interns in this study oriented to their subject matter in a variety of ways. Excerpts Four and Five from the previous section on explicit identity claims displayed how some of them talked about themselves as literature teachers, and others talked about themselves as writing teachers. In Excerpt Six, Mindy presents herself as a writing teacher and implies that more class time should be spent on writing, but Mindy's emphasis on dedicated writing instruction is a pedagogical concept of personal importance that may or may not be shared by everyone in the group.

To give an account for the stance she takes on writing and what she really wants (line 2), she draws on a pedagogical concept of assumed importance and talks about college readiness.

Addressing a group of recent college graduates who are enrolled in a master's degree program, her statement that "they need to be able (.) to come to school/ and pa:ss english one oh one and english one oh two//" (lines 6-7) is unlikely to meet resistance. She places emphatic stress on "pa:ss" as she creates a goal for her students that no one in the group will challenge. By suggesting that "more of 'em actually are planning on going to college than I really would have thou:ght based on (.) >how well they can write<" (lines 3-5), she creates a need for focused writing instruction. As she presents her students, not only do many of them plan to go to college, but many are currently unprepared to do so. She does more than just invoke college readiness as a concept of assumed importance, she also suggests that by addressing writing, she is addressing the particular needs of her students, another concept that she can take for granted in a group of educators entering the teaching force in the 21st century. She then strengthens her argument by hinting at an unspecified worst case scenario. She says, "if they <lea:ve high school/> and they ca:n't do that/ (1.0)" (lines 9-10), but she never finishes the statement. Even unfinished, however, the rhetorical impact is effective because the other conversationalists can fill in the blank with their choice of the negative outcomes that could accompany graduating from high school without being able to write well.

In the final lines of the excerpt, Mindy states that her mentor teacher is not addressing writing because her mentor is focusing on "content right now" (line 15). In this group of interns, "content" usually referred to the coverage of literature, so the excerpt (though not her turn) ends with an acknowledgement that while writing instruction is a pedagogical concept of importance to her, it is not a concept that she can assume everyone will orient to as important because even her own mentor values literature more. By accounting for her focus on writing instruction,

Mindy demonstrates that it is a concept of personal importance for her. Doing so contributes to the kind of teacher Mindy will be recognized as—a teacher who values writing.

The next excerpt, Excerpt Seven, shows Paula using college readiness in a similar fashion to account for the amount of energy she claims to put into her teaching. The excerpt comes from the fourth meeting (Fall 09 19). In this meeting, each intern provided an update on how his or her experience was going, and as a result, topics of discussion changed frequently. When it was Paula's turn, she began her update by saying that her experience was "going well" (49:25). She then immediately said that she had just finished grading the student's first batch of essays, and they were not good. After spending approximately two minutes talking about how poorly her students wrote and what she planned to do to help them develop, she explained why her 12th grade students were such bad writers.

Excerpt Seven

1   Paula: <u>a lot</u> of what goes on at school is teacher::s/ (1.2)

2   they n- (.4) they don't want to deal with grading papers/

3   they don't really like to do it//

4   I mean who does//

5   it took me all weekend//

6   like I spent >hours and hours and hours< trying to get 'em done// (.h)

7   um (.6) but it's just (.4) they ha:ve (.)

8   >that is like one of the biggest problems I've seen out of anything<

9   ((skipping 3 lines about what students can and cannot do))

10   but it's just when they have to actually <u>write</u>/ (.2)

11   (.h) they can't do it//

12   I think that is one of the most important life skills//

13   it's gonna be essential in <u>college</u>/

14   it has't- I mean (.)

15   it's <u>so:</u> important//

16   ((skipping 16 lines explaining her plan of action and her perception that

17   most teachers do not put enough effort into essay revisions))

18   but you don't like (.) give them

19   that <explicit instruction> on (.4) >how to fix< it//

20   and I think maybe that's <u>why</u> the problem is still so bad

21   and they're seniors//

22   because they're jus- the TIME hasn't been taken/

Fall 09 19 51:45-52:16

The excerpt begins with Paula making some generalized statements about teachers to explain why students in the 12th grade still do not write well. She says, "<a lot> of what goes on at school is teacher::s/ (1.2) they n- (.4) they don't want to deal with grading papers/ they don't really like to do it//" (lines 1-3). Her use of broad and unspecific "<a lot>" and the plural "teach::rs" and "they" make the problem that she is describing pandemic. As she presents it, the current teaching force does not want to "deal with" the difficult work of grading papers.

Paula's statements about other teachers establish a norm for her to compare herself against. While her next statement, "I mean who does//" (line 4), demonstrates that she understands why teachers would not want to do this time-consuming work, she separates herself from the stereotype of teachers that she has just created when she says, "it took me all weekend// like I spent >hours and hours and hours< trying to get 'em done// (.h)" (lines 5-6). Though she

claims that most teachers are unwilling to do this work, she plainly states that she has already

done it. Repeating ">hours and hours and hours<" and seemingly gasping for breath at the end

of her statement "(.h)", she displays her intimate understanding of the exhausting process of

grading essays. Stating that she just spent a weekend's worth of time and effort doing what

experienced teachers apparently do not value could make Paula vulnerable to others' questions

about the value of how she spent her time and the importance she places on her effort.

However, she convincingly accounts for the personal importance of this pedagogical

concept. She states that "one of the biggest problems" (line 8) is that students' cannot "actually

write/" (line 10), and this lack of ability is problematic because, as she presents it, writing "is one

of the most important life skills// it's gonna be essential in college/ it has't- I mean (.) it's so:

important//" (lines 12-15). Here she uses two pedagogical concepts that she assumes will not be

resisted to account for the effort she is putting into teaching and grading writing. Like Excerpt

Six above, where Mindy invoked college readiness, Paula says that writing will be "essential in

college." Additionally, she includes "life skills" as another pedagogical concept of assumed

importance. By doing so, she accounts for putting in effort with her students who are going to

college and also for taking the same effort with those who are not. Her talk takes for granted that

these concepts will be important to the rest of the group, and therefore, she can use them to

account for a concept of personal importance, allowing her to state that writing is "so:

important//" (line 15). As she continues to speak, she outlines her plan of action to help improve

students' writing, and when she is finished, she makes a statement that reminds listeners that

though the time and effort it takes to teach writing are concepts of personal importance to her,

they must not be of importance to all teachers because as of yet "the TIME hasn't been taken/"

(line 22). By this point in her talk, however, she has already demonstrated the personal

importance of these pedagogical concepts by accounting for them using the taken-for-granted concepts of college readiness and life skills.

Though any pedagogical concepts that the participants could take for granted could have been used to give an account for why they placed importance on other pedagogical concepts, using one's own high school experience was a frequently employed concept of assumed importance. The tendency for beginning teachers to teach how they were taught has long been observed (Lortie, 1975), and this trend is apparent throughout the data for this study, as well. It was acceptable practice in the group to give an account for teaching practice that relied on personal high school experiences, and in Excerpt Eight, Paula does so.

About a month after the preceding excerpt, she used her high school experience to account for another pedagogical concept of personal importance. In the meeting where Jonathon asked the participants to free write (Fall 10 17), a few interns talked about how what they expected and what was actually occurring in the class were drastically different. Jonathon asked where their "preconceptions" or "ideals" came from (34:40-42), and in response, Reagan suggested, "<probably> the kind of classes that we were in in high school/ I assume we were all in (1.2) ∘<higher level classes>∘" (34:54-35:00). A few turns later, Paula expanded on Reagan's idea.

Excerpt Eight

1   Paula: I think part of it too is (syl, syl, syl, syl)

2   because (1.0) like (.) my high school/

3   >I've said this a number of times//<

4   but didn't have A P or C P or anything

5   but >it was jus'< (.2) the students (.) voices were really va:lued/

6   so even students who may've (.) maybe were <slower learners>

7   like (.6) ya know (.) we had >discussions a lot

8   they said their opinion<

9   'cause they were like (.)

10   my opinion MATters/

11   I'm gonna say it//

12   and so just the lack of (1.6) tha:t >more in the classroom↑<

13   like <the voi:ce> (.) of students being va:lued/

14   it's more of jus' (.) direct instruction:↑

15   I guess for the most part// (.4)

16   um: >and even if it isn't

17   if it's group work<

18   it's not like (.) o:h you really know ∘something worth sharing//∘

19   and I think that (1.2) m:y/ (h.)

20   I mean obviously I'm >a little bit jaded

21   jus' 'cause the classroom's so different<

22   than the high school I went to:/

Fall 10 17, 35:18-58

As she continues to talk beyond this excerpt and as she had talked about in other meetings (see Excerpts Ten and Forty-Eight below), Paula says her preferred method of teaching is getting students involved in classroom discussions, and in this excerpt she offers an account of why this practice is worthwhile. Here, she uses her high school experience—a pedagogical concept of assumed importance—to account for her preferred teaching methods.

Picking up from Reagan's suggestion that the kind of classes that they took in high school established their ideals, Paula begins an extended turn of more than two and a half minutes (all of which is not represented here) by stating, "my high school/ >I've said this a number of times//< but didn't have A P or C P or anything" (lines 2-3). The comments that follow are based on the model of her high school, and as she reminds the others, she has spoken about her high school experience "a number of times" (line 3), usually talking about what she found particularly valuable. As she presents the high school she graduated from, courses for different skill levels were not offered; instead, "it was jus'< (.2) the students (.) voices were really va:lued" (lines 4-5). By using the restrictive meaning (Lee, 1987) of the word *just* ("jus'"), she boils down the complexity of teaching and learning to one single concept: the value of student voice. As a result, she says that even "<slower learners>" (line 6) participated in discussions " 'cause they were like (.) my opinion MATters/ I'm gonna say it// "(lines 9-11). Her use of the phrase "they were like" suggests that rather than quoting something her students actually said, she is making a statement about the thought processes and motivations of the slower students she is talking about (Romaine & Lange, 1991). Obviously, she cannot know for sure why students did or did not talk in her high school classes, and at the time that she was taking high school classes, she was not capable of making a professional judgment about why discussions did or did not work.

However, her remembering of these discussions, accurate or not, has a strong rhetorical impact (Edwards & Potter, 1992) because the group had a pattern of accepting high school experience as valuable. Her construction of her high school experience is one in which all students felt valued and felt as if their opinions mattered. She contrasts her past experience where the voice of students had value to her current situation where that value is lacking (line

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12). As she constructs her current experience, she says that classrooms consist of "direct instruction:↑" (line 12). However, even as she says this, Paula displays doubt, raising the pitch of her voice as though asking a question. She stops talking about direct instruction and switches to talking about what has gone wrong with the group work that she has seen. Changing from talking about "direct instruction:↑" to talking about "group work" (line 17) preemptively prevents other participants from countering her statements by suggesting that they have seen activities that give students voice by allowing them to talk with each other. According to Paula, contemporary group work is "not like (.) o:h you really <u>know</u> ∘something worth sharing//∘" (line 18). She devalues the group activities she has seen by saying that they devalue student knowledge. She stresses "<u>know</u>", emphasizing the prior knowledge that students bring to the classroom instead of the material a teacher delivers during direct instruction. In the final lines of this excerpt, she reiterates that her judgment of the school she works in is based on the difference between it and "the school I went to" (line 22), once again emphasizing the authority of her high school experience.

Implied throughout this excerpt and stated explicitly after it is Paula's desire to implement discussions that will give all students a voice. By suggesting that most teachers do not value students' voices and contrasting herself to those teachers, she has presented the pedagogical concept of giving students voice in the classroom as one of personal importance and one that is unique to her. To demonstrate its worth, she has accounted for it with her own high school experiences, a proven pedagogical concept of assumed importance. In this group, the value of high school experiences was rarely challenged, and because her experiences are hers alone, they cannot be argued with very easily by others in the group (Edwards, 1997). Additionally, her own academic performance acts as a demonstration of her high school's

effectiveness, so her statements cannot be resisted by other members of the group without attacking Paula herself, an unlikely act that would do harm to their relationship. Making the effort to account for valuing student voices with her own high school experience demonstrates that it is a pedagogical concept of personal importance.

Like Paula frequently emphasizing the personal importance of classroom discussion, Zeke regularly presented relationships with students as a pedagogical concept of personal importance. Doing so is not particularly surprising. Relationships with students are consistently shown to impact teacher identity (Day et al., 2005; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011), and some authors claim that these relationships are the most important contributing factor (Beijaard, 1995; Sexton, 2008). In Excerpt Nine Zeke uses his high school experience to provide an account for the happiness he expresses about the state of a relationship he has with one specific student. In this meeting (Fall 09 26), Jonathon stated that he wanted to check up on the interns' abilities to write open-ended questions. He asked the interns to construct a question about a difficulty they were having. These questions were then used as conversation starters. Zeke asked, "how can I get to know the students that don't really want to be known or acknowledged//" (15:13-15:20). Reagan, Anna Lucia, Nick, and Mindy all offered suggestions, and then Jonathon asked, ">why's it < important to kno:w your kids//" (18:27-18:29). After stating that it was a way to show that "you care" (18:40) and that caring can lead to engagement, Zeke started to tell stories that demonstrated the relationships that he was forming with his students. One of them was a story of talking to a student at the mall. At the end of the story, he explained why the event was important to him, and in doing so, he used his own experience to account for the value he places on relationships.

Excerpt Nine

1	Zeke:	well I was HAPpy that he acknowledged me//
2		'cause when I remember in high school
3		I didn't get acknowle-
4		I didn't acknowledge teachers
5		if I saw them out//
6		I just kinda kept walking and was like
7		o:h I saw you in walmart// (.4)
8		why didn't you say hi↑ (.8)
9	Several:	(hehe)
10	Zeke:	yur:: a teacher//

Discussing a seemingly insignificant interaction at the mall, Zeke presents the encounter as noteworthy. He judges the encounter a positive one stating, "I was HAPpy that he acknowledged me//" (line 1). It might at first seem strange to be excited by merely being "acknowledged," but Zeke provides an account for the personal importance he gives to being spoken to by his student. To do so, he presents a memory from his own high school experience, and the memory serves the rhetorical purpose of giving value to the encounter with his student. He says, "I didn't acknowledge teachers" (line 4) and "I just kinda kept walking" (line 6). He presents his past action as the normal one to take as a high school student and one that the others might relate to, which they seem to when they laugh at his revoicing of his own high school teacher's question, "why didn't you say hi↑" (line 8). The tone in his voice presents the answer as something so obvious that the question seems ridiculous: "yur:: a teacher//" (line 12).

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Zeke constructs a story from his high school experience that depicts acknowledging teachers in public as off limits, and he takes for granted that the group will accept this practice as normal. Because his current student violated the practice of ignoring teachers by acknowledging Zeke at the mall, Zeke comes off as justified in his happiness. The special value he places on this encounter—and the relationship with his student that it implies—is accounted for by his own high school experience, and as a personal experience it is difficult to challenge.

As has been demonstrated, the interns in this study used personal high school experience to account for pedagogical concepts of personal importance in their present day practices and conversations. They also used other concepts of assumed importance to account for the concepts they presented as valuable. Until this point, these approaches have been shown in isolation. However, the final excerpt in this section serves as a reminder of the complexity of talk and of identity work, as it shows multiple strategies, including an explicit identity claim.

The next excerpt comes from the third meeting (Fall 09 12). Paula had been telling a story about the first full lesson that she taught without her mentor in the room. Her mentor was out for the day, and when the substitute discovered that the class had an intern, she excused herself to the library while Paula attempted to lead a discussion. As she told the story about the class, Paula talked about some difficulties that she had with the students' participation and the physical layout of the room and furniture. In Excerpt Ten she first makes an explicit identity claim about being a discussion-oriented teacher, and then further emphasizes the importance she places on discussion by using other concepts of assumed importance to account for her actions.

Excerpt Ten

1   Paula: well >>I mean and the thing is too<<

2   like I'm just a big advocate of <discussion> (.) in the classroom/ (.)

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3	the high school I went to we had (.2) seminar every week for two hours/
4	like everyone K through twelve// (.2)
5	so it's: (.6) I just feel like it fosters (.) a lot of the skills
6	you need in college//
7	((skipping 3 lines about the current classroom not being hers))
8	so maybe that'll be something (.) I can work on

This excerpt begins with an explicit identity claim: "I'm just a big advocate of <discussion> (.) in the classroom/ (line 1). She employs a *being* verb in her contraction "I'm," making this claim not about actions that she takes but about who she essentially *is*. She then uses the emphatic "just" (Lee, 1987) to highlight one aspect of her identity, as though to say, at her most basic level, she is simply "a big advocate of <discussion>". By presenting herself as an advocate of discussion, she implies that she actively tries to convince others of the merits of discussion, and trying to convince others of the value of discussion is exactly what she does in the next three lines.

First, she explains that in her own schooling, discussions held a dominant role. As she did in Excerpt Eight, she invokes her experience as authoritative. Because personal experiences were valued by the group, Paula can use them to support her partiality for discussion. Furthermore, she strengthens her position by stating that all the students at her school, "like everyone K through twelve//" (line 4) participated in these activities. The implication is that not only were the seminars beneficial to her, they were beneficial to the entire school, including students of all ages. She then shifts to another familiar taken-for-granted concept, college readiness. She claims that discussion "fosters (.) a lot of the skills you need in college//" (lines

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5-6). Like Excerpts Six and Seven demonstrated, invoking college readiness strengthens her argument for why discussion is valuable and worthy of being "something (.) I can work on" (line 8) for the duration of her internship.

This excerpt works to demonstrate that she is the kind of teacher who values classroom discussions by using a variety of techniques that complement each other. While the explicit identity claim makes a clear statement about what kind of teacher she *is*, the strategy of accounting for this pedagogical concept of personal importance demonstrates why this is a valuable type of teacher to *be*. Time and time again, the participants drew on concepts of assumed importance to emphasize what was of personal importance to them. In addition to contributing to their identities by supporting pedagogical concepts that they presented as important, employing concepts that they could take for granted as important to their profession to account for what they valued also established the acceptability of those identities.

Using pedagogical concepts of personal importance to account for actions taken.
Using pedagogical concepts of personal importance to account for actions taken offered the interns another method for emphasizing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept. In this method, however, it was the the pedagogical concept of personal importance that was used to account for something else they had done. Whereas the previous section discussed the method of accounting for concepts of personal importance with concepts of assumed importance, this section discusses how pedagogical concepts of personal importance were used to account for other actions whose importance was otherwise unclear. While these two strategies are related, the direction of accounting in relationship to the pedagogical concept of personal importance is quite opposite (Figure 2).

Concept of Personal Importance ←accounted for by Concept of Assumed Importance

Concept of Personal Importance accounts for →Action Taken
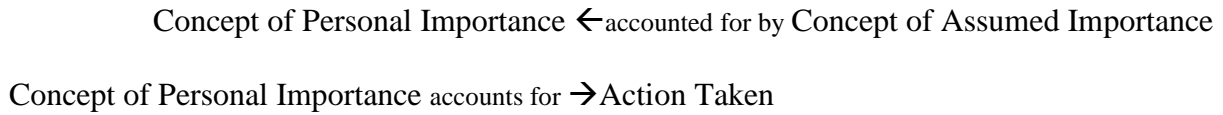
Figure 2. Relationship between Accounting and Concept of Personal Importance

Participants used the pedagogical concepts they valued to account for actions that they could not take for granted as important to others. Certainly, some of the concepts of personal importance that were used to account for actions were ones that could be said to have assumed importance as well, but assuming that a concept is important to a group does not negate the usefulness of an individual demonstrating the importance of the concept to herself. For example, though a teacher could assume that encouraging student expression was a practice generally valued by other teachers, she might still conduct discursive identity work to demonstrate this pedagogical concept was personally important, as well. Doing so would make the pedagogical concept relevant to her identity in a way that simply assuming that all teachers valued creativity would not.

For example, in Excerpt Eleven Anna Lucia used a pedagogical concept of assumed importance to account for use of a classroom strategy that she used but that others did not. Specifically, she used student learning to account for her actions, and in doing so, she presented the concept of assumed importance as one that also held personal importance for her. In meeting sixteen (Spring 03 01), Jonathon said that he wanted to talk "formally" (42:58) about lesson closure, but Mindy, Reagan, and Zeke focused their comments on the difficulty of implementing the strategy on a regular basis. After Paula stated that she had been trying to work on closure but had not been supported by her mentor, Jonathon asked why closure had been deemed so

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important by the state that it had been included as a required element on the formal lesson

evaluation rubric. Anna Lucia's response clearly demonstrated the personal importance of

student learning as she accounted for including closure in her lessons.

Excerpt Eleven

1   Anna Lucia: e- (.) sometimes <u>I</u> do it because <u>I</u> need to know

2   like (.) did they get it//

3   because they're doing an activity:/

4   and (.) I feel li:ke (.) >I went around/<

5   but >I can't say that< ninety percent of them go:t it//

6   so if I have an exit ticket of some sort/

7   I (.) flip through it

8   like okay >they didn't get this one//<

9   >they didn't get this one//<

10   >they didn't get this one//<

11   I need to reteach <u>tha:t</u>// (1.2)

12   >but then sometimes< it's for them to think

13   >did I get it//<

14   >did I get it//<

Spring 03 01 47:09-47:33

To begin, Anna Lucia states, "<u>I</u> do it" (line 1), to emphasizes that she incorporates closure

into her lessons. Where Jonathon has asked for a theoretical answer, Anna Lucia provides an

account for her own actions. Even though several other interns had worked up closure as

difficult, the importance of including it had clearly been established by Jonathon's authority as

their supervisor and by his invoking the state's requirement. What had not been established in this conversation though was *why* closure should be included. Anna Lucia was left with numerous options about how to account for her practice of including what none of the others did, but the one pedagogical concept she emphasized multiple times was student learning. In the excerpt, she says that she needs to know, "did they get it//" (line 2), but she cannot know if "ninety percent of them go:t it//" (line 5) simply by walking around. Exit tickets, a specific type of closure, allow her to see if they "got it" or, in other words, if they learned. Anna Lucia distinguishes between two situations when she uses exit tickets: times when she uses them to find out if ">they didn't get this one//<" (lines 8-10) and times when she uses them so that students can see ">did I get it//<" (lines 13-14). In both cases, what could be called student learning is the rationale for including closure. Anna Lucia demonstrates that she believes that student learning is important enough that it can account for a practice the others in the group dismissed as impractical. She presents herself as a teacher who is willing to do difficult work so long as it means students will learn more effectively.

While this is a clear example of using a pedagogical concept of personal importance to account for an action taken, it is also a rare one. The question and answer format of this conversation created a situation where Jonathon essentially said, "Can someone provide a pedagogical concept of personal importance to account for an action?" Though this format was rare in the meetings that provided the data for this study, the pattern of a mentor asking beginning teachers to account for why actions have been taken is fairly routine, and for that reason, I have included Excerpt Eleven. Most instances where this method for emphasizing what was personally important was employed were not formulated so obviously.

Though this next excerpt is also a fairly straight forward example of demonstrating the personal importance of a pedagogical concept by using it to account for an action, it is not a response to a question. In Excerpt Twelve, Paula makes a harsh criticism of the state's evaluation system and then accounts for her criticism with a pedagogical concept of personal importance. The excerpt comes from the same meeting (Spring 03-01) as the previous excerpt and takes place about twelve minutes later. Jonathon kept the discussion focused on the use of closure and worked up a connection between creating clear objectives and using closure to assess whether or not those objectives have been met. As he did so, the state's requirement to have clear objectives for every lesson took a central role in the discussion.

Excerpt Twelve

1   Paula: I feel like the evaluation system is almost like (.2) <destroying>/ (2.2)

2   I understand that it's goo:d/

3   and like this objective

4   yeah [we'll teach it]

5   Reagan: [it's a flawed system]

6   Paula: no >but I mean it's just like you're< losing/

7   when do you ever just rea:d/

8   and be like let's analyze this//

9   let's talk about li::fe/

Spring 03 01 59:01-59:15

Paula makes a harsh criticism of the state's teacher evaluation model, suggesting that it is "<destroying>/ (2.2)" (line 1). Though she does not provide a direct object for this transitive verb, the sentence fragment is enough to express disdain for the evaluation model. More often

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than not, criticism of the state's evaluation system was focused on the number of required

standards and indicators that were on the rubric used by evaluators during classroom

observations, and based on where this excerpt appears in the larger conversation, it is clear that

Paula is also talking about the many elements that must be included in each lesson, specifically

the inclusion of a central objective. Softening and perhaps even adding credibility to her harsh

statement, she claims to have an understanding "that it's goo:d/" (line 2) to teach objectives. She

even resists Reagan's assertion that "it's a flawed system" (line 5) by saying "no" (line 6).

Instead, Paula presents the real problem as what is being lost at the expense of including other

elements and maintaining a steady focus on a daily objective.

According to Paula, what is being lost is the opportunity to "just rea:d/ and be like let's

analyze this// let's talk about li::fe/" (lines 7-9). Using a statement that teachers have lost the

ability to "just rea:d" and "talk about li::fe" with their students to account for her harsh criticism

demonstrates that reading for enjoyment and classroom discussion are two pedagogical concepts

that are personally important to her. As Excerpt Ten previously demonstrated, Paula is a "big

advocate of discussion" (line 2). That excerpt demonstrated how the concept of discussion was

given personal importance by using concepts of assumed importance to account for it. Here

Paula uses the same pedagogical concept of personal importance to account for and excuse her

harsh criticism.

Earlier in the year (Fall 08 22), she used this same strategy in a more subtle fashion when

she gave an account of an unsuccessful lesson that invoked a pedagogical concept of personal

importance that relationships between students and teachers are pivotal to student involvement.

Jonathon opened the first meeting of the year by asking the interns to introduce themselves and

tell the group what they would like to get out of the internship. Paula was the fourth intern to

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introduce herself, and she followed Kelsey who had stated that she wanted to focus on pacing. Before Paula began talking about the difficulty she was having with that same issue, she explained that her mentor teacher had given her the opportunity to start teaching segments of the class early on in the semester so that the students would view her as a teacher rather than a helper.

Excerpt Thirteen

1	Paula:	um: (.) mine is pacing too like the issue that I'm worried about
2		um (.2) I:: have taught a <u>few</u> lessons/
3		not the whole class/
4		but she let me teach for about (.) fifty minutes or something// (.6)
5		um (1.2) and it went a little over
6		just (.2) I think (.2)
7		you know we've been taught (.) wait time so much
8		that like I(h.) ga(h.)ve (heh) them too much wait time
9		((I think//))
10		like come on guys
11	Jonathon:	fifty minutes later your like <u>o::h</u> we're outta time//
12	Group:	(hehe)
13	Jonathon:	I'm sittin' here lookin' at ya
14	Group:	(hehe)
15	Paula:	so (.) I mean
16		it's not that I'm like sitting there for (.) thirty seconds or something//
17		but (.) um (1.0)

18	>I guess like< trying to get them in<u>vo::lved</u>/
19	and getting them to talk
20	and getting them to respo:nd//
21	and it might be that I'm new
22	and they don't <u>know</u> me/

Paula begins talking about the area she wants to focus on throughout the year by stating that her focus is "pacing too" (line 1). The use of "too" emphasizes that her focus is similar to Kelsey's already voiced concerns, perhaps showing that Paula's concern is a normal one for an intern at this early stage. However, she then begins to make her situation uniquely hers by explaining that her concern is the result of a personal experience she had in the classroom. At this point in the semester, she has "taught a <u>few</u> lessons/" (line 2) "for about (.) fifty minutes or something//" (line 4). Depending on the situated use of the word *pacing* in educational settings, it can have one of two meanings. One meaning is the over-arching structure and time allotted to different areas of a curriculum across the duration of a course. The other is how time is used in a single class period. Paula's foregrounding of numbers and her statement that the lesson "went a little over" (line 5) make it obvious that she is using pacing to mean the timing of a single lesson. After introducing her issue, she then spends significant effort conducting implicit identity work. Though she says the lesson was too long because she gave the students "too much wait time" (line 8), she carefully presents a sequence of events that will not make her look incompetent. First, she uses the phrase "that like" (line 8) to create a cause-and-effect relationship between being taught wait time "so much" (line 7) by the university and her lesson going too long. In doing so she both demonstrates that she has put into practice the lessons of the university and

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implies that the university's overemphasis on wait time could be to blame for her pacing

problems. This logic presents her as a conscientious student who is the victim of her school's

curriculum. When Jonathon makes a joke about giving so much wait time that the whole class

was used up by silence, Paula clearly states that she was not "sitting there for (.) thirty seconds or

something//" (line 16). Despite saying that she had given too much wait time, she emphasizes

specific numbers again as she clarifies that she had not done something that might seem

ridiculous like sit in silence for half a minute. Though she says that she misapplied the technique

of wait time, her talk works to ensure that the mental picture her peers get from this story is not

one that makes her look foolish.

In the last few lines of the excerpt, she accounts for her actions. She emphasizes that she

wanted to "get them in<u>vo::lved</u>/" (line 18), and that is why she implemented so much wait time.

However, she presents a situation in which she could not have persuaded the students to become

involved because "I'm new and they don't <u>know</u> me/" (line 21-22). Here she presents the

relationship between teacher and students as the key element to classroom involvement. As she

reports it, the lack of these personally important relationships was responsible for the negative

end result. In the talk that follows this excerpt, she does not consider the quality of her

questions, lesson design, or any other aspect within her control. Instead, she uses a single

concept to account for the outcome of the lesson, and by doing so, she emphasizes the personal

importance of that concept. In presenting relationships as the one element important to the

success of the lesson, she presents herself as one who values relationships.

A week later (Fall 08 29), Reagan similarly demonstrated the personal importance of

teacher-student relationships when she used the concept to give an account. In this case,

however, she was not accounting for actions, but for feelings that she reported experiencing

when she visited a middle school classroom. During the first semester of their internship, the participants went to a middle school classroom one afternoon a week to get some experience outside a high school environment. At the time of this meeting, the interns had only been to their middle schools once, and in the following excerpt, Reagan talks about the experience as an odd one.

Excerpt Fourteen

1   Reagan: it's so weird// (1.2)

2   'cause you go from like (.) your classroom/ (.4)

3   that you're kind of like establishing yourself/

4   like doing mini lessons or whatever it is that you're doing::/ (.2)

5   >the kids know you you know the kids//<

6   and the:n (.) it's like (.) observation all over again like >ed one oh one<

Fall 08 29 15:32-16:27

She begins by making a sweeping statement about the experience: "it's so weird//" (line 1). After making this statement, she allows her judgment of the experience to hang in the air for a relatively lengthy amount of time, 1.2 seconds, before explaining why she said it. Throughout her explanation, she uses "you" to generalize her experience to the others in the group (Bramley, 2001; Wales, 1996). She states that they have been "establishing" themselves (line 3) and "doing mini lessons or whatever it is that you're doing::/" (line 4). Though she provides space for the others in the group to have their own experiences with the phrase "whatever it is that you're doing::/", she makes a broad assumption with the clauses that follow. After a brief pause, she increases her rate of speech to say, ">the kids know you you know the kids//<" (line 5). Her rushing through these sentences about knowing students presents the concept as an assumption

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that the group will not resist. She then contrasts their current situation of knowing their high school students with the lack of relationship they have with students at the middle schools by comparing the visits to the middle school to a past experience that they shared when they had to conduct classroom observations for an introductory education class (line 6). By presenting relationships with students as a pedagogical concept of assumed importance and invoking shared experiences, she not only accounts for her uneasy feelings, she accounts for all the negative feelings the interns might be feeling during their visits to the middle schools.

Like Anna Lucia in Excerpt Eleven, Reagan uses a concept of assumed importance to account for her feelings, and by doing so, she foregrounds that pedagogical concept as personally important. Imagining other ways that she could account for uneasy feelings during a classroom visit helps identify how identity work is accomplished here. Reagan could have said her uneasy feelings were the result of not knowing the middle school curriculum or content, not getting along with the middle school teacher, or not liking the age of the students. Instead, she works toward an identity that includes relationships with students as fundamental by accounting for her uneasy feelings with the lack these vital relationships. Despite the concept being one that could be taken for granted in conversation with other teachers, she works to include it as one that is also personally important to her. In doing so, she presents herself as the kind of teacher who values relationships.

Though the analysis of the previous excerpt might appear to focus on Reagan's feelings, it is the account that Reagan gives to excuse her expression of those feelings that is of interest. Because neither the other participants nor I could say how Reagan truly felt, her account only excuses what she has verbally expressed. In other words, verbalizing the feelings is what needs

accounting for because the other participants do not actually know what Reagan felt at the school.

Similarly, the final excerpt in this section demonstrates how Mindy accounted for a judgment that she expressed by supporting it with a concept of personal importance. After she stated a negative opinion of a collaborative planning session with her mentor, Mindy discursively constructed a specific version of collaborative planning to account for her negative judgment. The excerpt comes from the first few minutes of a meeting with Mindy and Anna Lucia at Suburban High School (Spring 03 18). Jonathon opened the meeting by apologizing for having taken so long that semester to visit Suburban High School and then asked a general question about how Mindy and Anna Lucia were doing. Mindy began to talk first and explained that she was having difficulties with teaching her "at risk seniors" (01:55-56) and feeling pressure because "they all need to graduate" (02:00-01). In response to this pressure, she had asked her mentor for help planning some poetry lessons. Mindy claimed that in a "roundabout way" (02:26-27) the mentor did not help her at all. In Excerpt Fifteen, she explains what she meant.

Excerpt Fifteen

1   Jonathon: wait (.) what did that look like (heh)

2   Mindy: (heh) she was like/ (.4)

3   ∘we:ll∘ (1.0) what do you want them to <u>lea:rn</u> from it//

4   ∘im- seriously like I know that this is where you start//∘

5   and she was like (.)

6   and I think (.2) you just do tha:t/ (.)

7   and look at what you want them to learn from it// (.4)

8   and then find activities for that//

9   and I was like (.) uh DU:::H I know that//

10   Anna Lucia and Jonathon: (heh)

11   Mindy: and I was like (.) <HELP me to <u>DO</u> something//>

Spring 03 18 (Suburban Only) 2:31-2:49

In response to Jonathon's questions, Mindy provides a report of her interaction with her mentor. All three participants orient to this story as a humorous one, as is evidenced by the laughter at the opening and end of the excerpt (lines 1, 2, 10). Mindy begins her report by revoicing her mentor's question: "∘we:ll∘ (1.0) what do you want them to <u>lea:rn</u> from it//" (line 3). By lowering her voice to a whisper as she pronounces "∘we:ll∘", Mindy presents her mentor as someone who is about to tell a secret, but no earth-shattering information follows. As she states the question her mentor asked her, Mindy places emphatic stress on "<u>lea:rn</u>". Though Mindy does not use the word *objective* during her report, the emphasis on what students learn refers to a type of planning where teachers first determine what students should know or be able to do at the end of a lesson. According to the textbook from Mindy's *Introduction to Secondary Schools* class, a class that Jonathon taught, this emphasis on student learning is called Objective Thinking, and it places an emphasis on writing objectives before determining what type of activities a lesson should include (Saphier, Haley-Speca, & Gower, 2008). Jonathon repeatedly emphasized this type of planning in that class and throughout the internship year, and Mindy confirms to Jonathon and Anna Lucia that this is a process she is already familiar when she claims in a whispered aside that she knows "∘this is where you start//∘" (line 4). In Mindy's version of the story, the secret that her mentor was going to share with her is no secret at all.

The continuation of her mentor's advice (not included here) includes sound logic and suggestions that the university would consider good teaching practice, but Mindy uses harsh

words to mock her mentor's input and judge the attempt to collaborate as a failure: "uh DU:::H I know that//" (line 9). As Mindy reports it, she was seeking to collaborate with her mentor teacher, but her mentor teacher did not provide adequate help. In fact, what her mentor offered was presented as stupid—a no-brainer worthy of a prolonged, insulting response, "DU:::H". Mindy then presents effective collaborative planning as an action-oriented activity when she emphasizes "DO" in her exclamation, "<HELP me to DO something//>" (line 11). In her construction, effective collaboration is a time when things are done, not just talked about.

Because the interns had presented collaboration and feedback in a variety of ways over the course of the year, Mindy cannot take for granted that what she values as personally important during collaboration will be universally recognized, but that does not prevent her from emphasizing the importance of one specific version of collaboration. She presents productive action as the hallmark of successful collaboration, and by presenting Objective Thinking as fundamental to teaching, she can judge as a failure any meeting that only includes a rehashing of such a basic concept. By using a version of collaborative planning that emphasizes action to account for her judgment, Mindy not only discredits her mentor's efforts, she presents herself as the kind of teacher who prefers action-oriented collaboration.

As is normal in all conversation, the participants spent a significant amount of time accounting for what they had done and said (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996). Doing so carried out implicit identity work by making pedagogical concepts of personal importance relevant in conversation. Each of these implicit identity bids contributed to the participants' ongoing identity negotiations, and although the participants often used concepts of assumed importance to account for their actions, doing so allowed each individual to highlight his or her unique connection to that particular concept.

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Before moving on to other methods that interns used to emphasize the personal importance of a concept, I must address a seemingly logical assumption that was not a dominant feature in the data. As I have discussed above, the participants demonstrated what was of personal importance to them by accounting for such pedagogical concepts with concepts of assumed importance, and they also used pedagogical concepts of personal importance to account for actions. Though both of these methods were used to emphasize personal importance and though the two methods are closely related, the data did not suggest that these two methods always occurred together or that they had to occur in a specific order. While it might seem logical to suppose that a speaker would first use a concept of assumed importance to account for a concept of personal importance and then use that same concept of personal importance to account for an action, that pattern was not consistently present in the data. This is not to say that an individual could not employ such a sequence, only that it was not evident in this study.

Establishing value. A final method that participants used in emphasizing what was personally important to them was *establishing value* for pedagogical concepts by building them up or by tearing them down in conversation. When they spoke in ways that built up the value of a concept, they were demonstrating that the concepts were personally important to them. Similarly, when they talked in ways that diminished the value of concepts, they were displaying for the group that certain actions and beliefs were not important to them.

By establishing the value or lack of value that certain concepts had, the interns made implicit identity bids that helped them be recognized as certain kinds of teachers. For example, a teacher who built up the value of classroom discussions could present herself as the kind of teacher who places personal importance on student voice and participation. Conversely, a teacher who diminished the value of classroom discussion would not only be presenting herself

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as someone who did find those particular ideals important, she would also be creating space to present something else as important. Suggesting that one concept does not have value necessitates a suggestion that a different yet related concept must be important. If a teacher does not value discussion, perhaps she values well-constructed presentations or independent work. Though diminishing the value of something does not clearly demonstrate what pedagogical concepts are of personal importance, the method carries out equally significant identity work by separating certain concepts from the speaker.

Several methods for building up the value of concepts were regularly used by the participants: *allotting conversational space, repeatedly returning to a subject,* and *boiling down a complex situation*. Keeping the length of this report in mind and attempting to focus my analysis on what is most beneficial to teacher educators, I will only briefly discuss *allotting conversational space* and *repeatedly returning to a subject* in this paragraph before I move into the analysis of *boiling down a complex situation*. Allotting conversational space was the practice of focusing on a specific concept for a longer span of time than was consistent with the other topics of conversation. Paula, for example, regularly spoke for several minutes at a time when she was talking about classroom discussions. Regardless of how long the other speakers' turns had been preceding hers, she took extended turns when talking about discussions. Similarly, Zeke would speak in extended turns when he was talking about teacher-student relationships. By taking up more of the conversational space with their talk about one concept, they built up the value of that concept by showing that it was important enough to take up a disproportionate amount of conversational space. Similarly, Paula and Zeke repeatedly returned to these subjects throughout the internship, and they both made their respective concepts of personal importance relevant to conversations across the span of the internship year. Doing so conducted powerful

identity work making these concepts the most readily identifiable aspects of their teacher identities.

More subtle identity work was carried out by *boiling down complex situations* and by *diminishing the value* of concepts, and these two methods of establishing value will be the focus of this section.

Boiling down a complex situation. A dominant way that the participants built up the value of practices was by *boiling down a complex situation* to a simplified solution. Though teaching is a complex endeavor with numerous elements working together to help students learn, the interns often reduced a troubling issue to one particular element that could remedy the challenging situation. This method of building up the value of a practice by boiling down a complex issue to a simple solution worked as an effective strategy to make implicit identity bids and presented one practice that the intern participated in as significantly more valuable than other possible actions.

The first excerpt that demonstrates this strategy is also the source of its name. Late in the meeting where Jonathon had asked the interns to free write (Fall 10 17), he spoke for over two minutes (45:47-47:56) with minimal interruptions about the difficulties that they had discussed earlier in the meeting. He challenged them not to hold too tightly to the teaching methods or activities that they had imagined using before they entered their own classrooms or met their own students. Excerpt Sixteen shows where Anna Lucia interrupted Jonathon and boiled down all the problems that Jonathon had presented in his summary of the meeting to one simplified solution.

Excerpt Sixteen

1   Anna Lucia: it's <per<u>sis</u>tence> in everyone of those cases//

2   Jonathon: [yes]

3   Zeke: [yeah]

4   Anna Lucia: I mean >that's all that it boils down to is like<

5   you're (.) not gonna sa::y/

6   oh yeah by the way you're not making a difference//

7   like I quit//

8   like (.6) you just (.6) >keep plugging along/< (.2)

Fall 10 17, 47:56-48:09

Anna Lucia interrupts Jonathon to state, "it's <per<u>sis</u>tence> in everyone of those cases//" (line 1), a claim that Zeke and Jonathon simultaneously accept (lines 2, 3). During the previous seventeen minutes, several problems that the interns were facing had been discussed, but Anna Lucia's utterance reduces them to one common solution: persistence. She then emphasizes the importance of persistence by stating explicitly, ">that's all that it boils down to<" (line 4). She says that her method for addressing a variety of complex issues is to ">keep plugging along/<" (line 8), suggesting that persistence is the key to several complex educational issues. While her view has some merit, it neglects a variety of best practices that can be learned and implemented without the exhausting work and brutish force of persistence. However, by reducing all teaching and learning problems to one solution, she emphasizes the importance of that solution. Because it would be unusual for her to build up the value of a practice so much without implying that she herself incorporated it into her daily life, Anna Lucia's deployment of this view presents her as the kind of teacher that will not give up.

Similarly, in the final meeting of the year (Spring 05 14, Metropolitan), Paula boiled down good teaching to being motivated and putting in effort. During that meeting, Jonathon had asked Nick and Paula for feedback on the university's education program. In Excerpt Seventeen, Paula talks about the high standards that the university had set for them and then boils down good teaching to two essential features: motivation and effort.

Excerpt Seventeen

1	Paula:	which is good// because I thi::nk (.4) a lot of (.6)
2		I mean to <u>me</u>: >being a good teacher is just being< <u>motivated</u>/
3		and knowing that if you: (.) (.h) struggle (.)
4		then you just keep trying/
5		>and you try to do better//
6		and you try to do better//<
7		((skipping 7 lines connecting high standards
8		to teaching being about the students))
9		like if you:: (.) >think your lesson isn't good enough< yet/
10		then go home and work on it for two more hours//

Spring 05 14, Metropolitan, 20:59-21:20

The excerpt opens with Paula stating that the high standards the university set are good "because" (line 1) much of ">being a good teacher is just being< <u>motivated</u>/" (line 2). The use of the subordinating conjunction "because" creates a cause-and-effect relationship between the high standards and motivation in which the reason for the university having high standards is to ensure that they graduate new teachers who are motivated. Implied in her statement is the notion that the high standards of the education program either develop motivation or weed out those

who do not have it, but stated explicitly is a boiled down concept of good teaching being the result of teacher motivation. Skill, knowledge, and raw talent are all excluded as she reduces good teaching to this one concept. The accuracy of her statement is not important, only the effect that the statement has. Like Anna Lucia above, Paula presents herself as the kind of teacher who will persist. She says that when difficulties come, "you just keep trying/ >and you try to do better// and you try to do better//<" (lines 4-6). By emphasizing "trying," repeating it three times, she foregrounds effort as an essential part of teaching; it is a counterpart of motivation. No matter what difficulties a teacher faces, Paula presents the vague notion of "trying" as the solution. She suggests that when lessons are not "good enough" (line 9), the answer is to "go home and work on it for two more hours//" (line 10). She does not talk about asking for help, locating resources, or borrowing materials; she only suggests more effort. In a later section, the implications these claims have on her identity as a collaborator will be discussed, but in this section, the focus should remain on the impact of her boiling down good teaching to motivation and effort. By doing so, she presents herself as a motivated teacher willing to put in any amount of time necessary to do what her students need. This presentation of herself is consistent with the one in Excerpt Seven when she stated that she had spent hours and hours of her weekend grading essays.

In Excerpts Sixteen and Seventeen both Paula and Anna Lucia employed the word "you." Anna Lucia said, "you just (.6) >keep plugging along/< (.2)" (line 8), and Paula said, ">and you try to do better// and you try to do better//<" (lines 5-6). In both excerpts, the participants generalize their claims to the others in the meeting (Wales, 1996). By doing so, they enlist the other participants in their rhetorical work to build the value of these concepts. In order for other participants to refute Anna Lucia and Paula's claims about what good teaching boils

down to, they would have to say, "No, I don't do that. I don't keep plugging along. I don't try harder." By using you, they have strengthened their claims about the boiled down elements of good teaching and thus increased the acceptability of presenting those elements as components of the kind of teachers they are working to be recognized as.

In an interesting twist, Harper used the strategy of boiling down a complex situation to demonstrate her preferred kind of teaching, but she immediately stated that she could not enact the practices she prefers. Though most instances of boiling an issue down included an implication that the speaker participated in the valued practice, Excerpt Eighteen does not. It comes from the meeting that began with free writing (Fall 10 17). Early in the discussion following the writing, Anna Lucia and Reagan made comments about having to give up previously held ideals. Harper entered the conversation by boiling down her difficulties to the lack of one type of classroom activity.

> Excerpt Eighteen
>
> 1   Harper: well I think there's that/
>
> 2   I just want group work// (.)
>
> 3   (heh)
>
> 4   Few: (heh)
>
> 5   Harper: like that's all I wa:nt/ (.)
>
> 6   and I can't even have tha:t//

Fall 10 17 32:42-33:09

Harper does not disagree with the comments Anna Lucia and Reagan made about giving up their ideals about teaching, but she reduces them in complexity. In one sentence she boils down all the difficulties that she has been facing in her classroom when she says, "I just want

group work//" (line 2). Using the word "just" has two possible functions here. The word's restrictive meaning presents group work as the only thing Harper is lacking, but its depreciatory meaning also suggests that her desire for group work is simple and reasonable (Lee, 1987). According to Harper's statement, the struggles that she and the others had written about and discussed earlier would all be solved—at least for her—if she were only able to have group work. She says, "that's all I wa:nt/" (line 5), but gives no account for why she "can't even have tha:t//" (line 6). By leaving everything else out, she makes group work the only relevant practice that would improve her experience.

Boiling down her troubles down to the one issue of "having" group work in her class establishes the value that she gives the practice and presents herself as the kind of teacher who would like to do group work. Unfortunately for her, she cannot present herself as one who actually does group work because she reports that she has not been able to implement it with her current students. Whereas Anna Lucia and Paula presented themselves as the kind of teachers who do what they value, Harper does not.

Harper built up the value of a concept and then stated that she herself could not act on that concept, but the final excerpt of this section demonstrates how Reagan built up the importance of a concept by boiling down a complex issue to suggest that another intern, Zeke, was not acting on what was important. After reviewing one of Kelsey's lesson plans that Jonathon had presented as a model, the meeting (Fall 10 10) turned to individual updates from all the interns. Jonathon asked if they were "okay" or "freaking out and busy" (28:37-40). After Harper said that she was "freaking out and busy" (28:51-53), a lively discussion about how stressed they all were and how much they had to do began among Anna Lucia, Harper, and

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Reagan. After about a minute, Zeke stated that he was not experiencing the same stress. His

comments follow in Excerpt Nineteen.

Excerpt Nineteen

1   Zeke: what's worrying <u>me</u> is you guys worry so much

2   and I don't feel like I worry enough//

3   Several: (hehe)

4   Harper: see [(syl syl syl syl)]

5   Anna Lucia: [that's good// 'cause] we're all [having heart attacks//]

6   Zeke: ['CAUSE YOU GUYS are always]

7   kinda flipping out/

8   and I'm doing [everything and every time]=

9   Harper: [that's <u>DA::Ngerous</u>//]

10   Zeke: =I ask my mentor

11   am I doing well//

12   she says [yeah you're doing everything]=

13   Anna Lucia: [don't (syl syl syl syl)]

14   Zeke: =you need to do

15   Reagan: have you really been planning though//

16   Zeke: YEAh I' been planning [s- s-]

17   Several: [(hehe)]

18   ((Anna Lucia)): please [give us ((all the insight//))]

19   Zeke: [thanks for calling me] ou::t//

Fall 10 10 30:04-30:23

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Zeke's opening presents his experience as different from that of the other interns. Though they constantly worry, he says, "I don't feel like I worry enough//" (line 2). Twenty minutes later, Zeke would go on to tell Jonathon that he is not "the type that really gets <tha:t upset or stressed>" (Excerpt Three). Here, however, he does not talk about what type of person he is or is not; instead, he talks about what he does and does not do. In this case, he does not worry. After the other interns have listed several specific worries they have, including class assignments, lesson planning, and the impact these requirements have on them, Zeke claims that he is not worrying as much as they are. This claim is received as a joke, and many in the group laugh in response (line 3). Anna Lucia's exaggeration that they are "having heart attacks//" (line 5) continues the joking but also emphasizes the extreme stress the others are experiencing.

Zeke's utterance sets off an immediate response in the group and amidst the overlapping talk, Zeke fights to get control of the floor again. He raises the volume of his voice to add an explanation to his opening statement: " 'CAUSE YOU GUYS are always kinda flipping out" (lines 6). This subordinate clause links his concern that he is not worrying enough to the stress he has seen in the others rather than any requirements that have been placed on him. He proceeds to present himself as an intern who is doing what is required of him and as someone who is actively seeking more to do. A traditional transcription of Zeke's utterances is helpful to demonstrate this move more clearly: "I'm doing everything, and every time I ask my mentor, 'Am I doing well?' she says, 'Yeah, you're doing everything.'" However, despite Zeke's presenting himself as someone who has the situation under control, Harper warns him that his lack of concern is "DA::Ngerous//" (line 9), perhaps implying that Zeke may eventually let something fall through the cracks.

As Zeke works to sure up his position as a responsible intern who is doing all that is required of him, Reagan undermines his statements by asking, "have you really been planning though//" (line 15). Here she boils down all the stress that the other interns have been talking about to one issue: lesson planning. Using the word "really" implies that Zeke is not doing this important action sufficiently, so he would not feel the same stress that the others feel. Zeke's comment, "thanks for calling me ou::t//" (line 19), acknowledges the challenge posed by Reagan's question. By boiling down the complex issues that cause stress for the other interns to planning, she gives value to the practice. Because she has earlier presented herself as someone who does experience stress from the internship, it follows that she must be planning. By the same logic, if Zeke is not experiencing stress, he must not be spending enough time planning. In this brief comment, Reagan has presented herself as the kind of teacher who plans and Zeke as the kind who does not.

These seemingly passing comments in these excerpts conducted lasting identity work. By emphasizing the importance of a practice by boiling down complex issues, participants often closed segments of conversation by presenting one pedagogical concept as significantly valuable and, therefore, personally important to themselves. Anna Lucia and Paula presented solutions of persistence and effort, Harper dreamed about group work, and Reagan showed the impact of planning. In all these cases, the participants went public with valuable solutions to complex problems, and each of their utterances worked toward presenting the speaker as a teacher who oriented to those practices as important.

Diminishing value. While boiling down an issue was a way of building up the value of a concept, the interns also tore down concepts. By *diminishing the value* of a practice, a participant reduced its importance and presented herself as the kind of teacher who did not wish

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to be associated with that practice. Interestingly, diminishing the value of a practice did not

necessarily mean that the participants did not take part in activities related to it, only that they

presented themselves as teachers who did not find importance in such practices.

For example, Paula diminished the value of lessons that reviewed material for final exams. In a

meeting at Metropolitan High School midway through the Spring semester (Spring 03 15),

Jonathon was attempting to schedule classroom observations. He said that he had realized that

the end of the year was approaching rapidly and implied that he needed to complete his

observations quickly. Paula expanded on Jonathon's statement saying, "an:d it'll just be review

stuff//" (10:08-10). In this utterance she makes relevant the practice of reviewing for the state's

mandatory end-of-course exams (EOC) that counted for 25% of the students' final grades. She

takes for granted the practice of spending several weeks reviewing for these tests when she

provides it as an account for why Jonathon must schedule observations soon. However, unlike

accounts that establish personal importance, this account diminishes the value of reviewing. In

the context of a discussion about when classroom observations can take place, Paula diminishes

the value of all upcoming review lessons. She uses the depreciatory "just," which demonstrates

that the review is of little value (Lee, 1987). Even though she presents these lessons as a type

that all the interns will conduct, her statement demonstrates that she does not value these kinds of

lessons and does not think Jonathon should observe them. Implying that review lessons would

not be good lessons for an evaluator to observe, Paula diminishes their worth and demonstrates

that she is not the kind of teacher who places importance on EOC review.

Excerpt Twenty shows Kelsey do the same less than a minute later. After Jonathon

suggested a specific date for an observation, Kelsey explained why that day would not be a good

one for a classroom observation.

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Excerpt Twenty

1   Kelsey: well (.4) all we're doing that monday (.)

2   for (.) my class (.2) is A C T review/

3   so I'm >literally pulling up an A C T thing on the internet<

4   and we are/

5   Jonathon: what do you have on tuesday//

Like Paula, Kelsey also diminishes the value of reviewing. Though not reviewing for the EOC, she will be conducting a review for the ACT that all of her 11th graders will take as a college entry requirement. She diminishes the value of this review by saying, "all we're doing" (line 1). Rather than presenting this as a day when she will teach an excellent lesson, she presents it as day when the only action she will be executing is ">literally pulling up an A C T thing on the internet<" (line 3). She so effectively and quickly diminishes the value of the review lesson, that Jonathon cuts her off to suggest another day before she can finish her description of the class (line 5). Much like Paula had done, Kelsey diminishes the value of a practice that she will participate in. While they do not present themselves as teachers who do not review, Paula and Kelsey do present themselves as teachers who do not value review by establishing it as something that is not worthy of observation.

Similarly, when talking about a date for one of his classroom observations, Zeke diminished the value of the mere coverage of literature. At a meeting late in the first semester (Fall 11 28), Jonathon was trying to schedule an observation with Zeke, and he asked Zeke how the coming week was shaping up. In Excerpt Twenty-One, Zeke responds in a way that diminishes the in-class reading of a text that he would be doing all week.

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Excerpt Twenty-One

1   Zeke: (hh.) (2.4) um (1.4) this week we're just (.6)

2   like right now we're just trying to get through lord of the flie:s//

3   Jonathon: uh huh

4   Zeke: so we're spending: like half of almost every class/ (.8)

5   just um: (1.0) just reading lord of the flies using that audio book// (.)

6   um (.6) just 'cause we need to get it done//

Fall 11 28 17:11-17:31

Like Paula and Kelsey, Zeke expresses hesitation at the suggestion of a classroom observation during an activity that he does not view as valuable. He displays discomfort with a sigh and multiple pauses (line 1) and then states that his class is "just trying to get through" (line 2) a novel. Here again is the use of the word "just" to diminish the importance of an action (Lee, 1987). His hesitations continue (line 4, 5, 6) as he displays more discomfort as he explains that he is "just reading" (line 5). For one reason or another—perhaps curriculum requirements or his mentor's instructions—he is willing to devote "half of almost every class" (line 4) to this activity, but he diminishes the importance of doing so by once again saying that it would not be a good lesson to evaluate.

According to Saphier et al. (2008), the design of a lesson can be based on one of several components: objectives, activities, or coverage. To begin planning with an objective is to base the lesson on a concept that students must know or something they must be able to do by the end of the lesson. Texts and activities are then selected to best support that objective. The second approach, basing lessons on activities, is usually the result of a teacher having seen interesting practices or exercises and wanting to find a place for them during the semester. Finally, being

driven by coverage is when the amount of course content—chapters in a mathematics textbook, historical time periods, number of novels, and etcetera—dictate lesson planning. In the above excerpt, Zeke diminishes the worth of what Saphier et al. (2008) call C*overage Thinking*. Though he cannot present himself as a teacher who does not implement coverage thinking because he is currently trying to cover *The Lord of the Flies* (Golding, 2003), by diminishing the worth of those kinds of lessons, Zeke presents himself as the kind of teacher who does not approve of them.

So far, the examples of how the value of a particular practice can be diminished have been fairly straightforward, and all three have centered on conversations pertaining to classroom observations. However, this strategy was at work throughout the data in more conversations than just those about evaluations. Though the final examples that follow both involve discussions of planning, I do not want to give the impression that these are the only types of conversations where this method was employed. Other instances included talk about failed lessons, successful lessons, their own school work, and the certification exam they had to take to receive their licenses.

In Excerpt Twenty-Two from the third meeting (Fall 09 12), Mindy diminishes the value of planning. She and Anna Lucia had been explaining the organizational structure of the high school where they worked. Suburban High School was divided up into four academies, each emphasizing different courses of study that the students could pursue: Business and Legal Professions (BLPA); Health Sciences; Liberal Arts; and Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM). As Mindy and Anna Lucia talk in the excerpt, they identify differences that they perceive in the personalities of the faculty members in each academy.

Excerpt Twenty-Two

1   Mindy: mmhmm and you wi:ll meet certain people/

2   and y'u'll be like (.) I'll bet that person's in B L P A:/

3   and then they are//

4   Anna Lucia: and you can tell

5   like oh >you're a health science person//<

6   Mindy: >yeah it's like< oh you plan everything/

7   you're a stem person// (heh)

8   Anna Lucia: (heh)

Fall 09 12, 35:31-41

Though Mindy does not say what the defining characteristics of faculty members in BLPA include, she clearly suggests that teachers in BLPA share some common traits that are detectable by others. She offers this observation without sarcasm or humor (lines 1-3). Anna Lucia supports what Mindy says by suggesting that the same is true about faculty from Health Sciences (lines 4-5). In these lines, they suggest that each academy has defining characteristics, but they do not say what those characteristics are. Then during Mindy's second turn in this excerpt, the tone changes. Introducing an imaginary encounter with someone from the STEM Academy, Mindy says, "oh you plan everything/ you're a stem person// (heh)" (lines 6-7). Anna Lucia joins the laugh at the expense of the faculty in the STEM Academy. In this excerpt and in others in the data, science teachers, math teachers, and other individuals outside the humanities are poked fun at for their differences in thinking and teaching styles.

Here though, what is laughable about STEM teachers is their planning. By laughing at other teachers because they "plan everything/" (line 6), Mindy and Anna Lucia diminish the

value of planning, and by working up the practice of planning "everything" as a specific trait that people in other disciplines have, they eliminate the need for themselves to be the kind of teacher who plans every detail. Meeting the exact requirements for their lessons plans was a continual struggle for the interns. They had a number of required elements placed on them by their field supervisor, university professors, mentor teachers, and school administrators. However, their talk about planning often resorted to diminishing the worth of specific elements of it. In this excerpt, Mindy diminishes the worth of planning each moment of a lesson.

In the following excerpt, Harper diminishes the worth of planning months in advance. During the fourth meeting (Fall 09 19), Harper provided a report of a lesson that she had taught. She told about difficulties she had while trying to explain writing concepts to her students and the surprise that she felt at how bad their writing was. The lesson that she was talking about was the second full lesson that she had taught, and though it failed, she said that the previous lesson had gone "great" and that the students "got it" (24:12). In Excerpt Twenty-Three, she talks about the differences in her and her mentor's approach to planning, and as she does so, she diminishes her mentor's approach.

Excerpt Twenty-Three

1   Harper: an' then another thing- (.)

2   >I was a little worried< (.) um (.4) about (.) me and my mentor/

3   as far as planning/

4   because she plans (.) months in advance/ (heh) (.hh)

5   and I plan (.) ∘>two days before//<∘

6   but I <u>work</u> well like tha:t//

7   if I planned a month in advance/

8	I'll have to <u>replan</u> when I get there
9	because I don't remember what I was doing//
10	and I was a little worried about that
11	but (.6) we've just become grea::t
12	we work great together//

Fall 09 19, 24:18-39

Harper transitions from talking about past lessons to talking about an area of potential conflict with her mentor by introducing the concern as "another thing" (line 1). She places specific parameters around what elements of her relationship with her mentor were troublesome as she says, ">I was a little worried< (.) um (.4) about (.) me and my mentor/ as far as planning/" (lines 2-3). Because interns in the program often struggled with lesson planning, she is not exposing an unusual or particularly noteworthy area of difficulty by talking about it in this meeting.

What is of interest in this excerpt is that she diminishes the value of advanced planning. Despite being encouraged by the university to plan in advance, she excuses why doing so is not necessary. She claims that her mentor "plans (.) months in advance/" (line 4). Whether or not this is a true statement or an exaggeration is not relevant to the rhetorical impact the statement has. Approximately a month into the internship, the interns were not in a position to have planned months in advance, and because they were in other teachers' classrooms, they usually did not know what and when they would be teaching. Her brief laugh and pronounced inhale (line 4) accent how unrealistic her mentor's practice may be for them. Nonetheless, she demonstrates her awareness that some in the group may not orient to her method of planning

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"∘>two days before//<∘" (line 5) as preferential when she lowers her voice and speaks quickly, moving past this information in a way that does not draw attention to it.

After acknowledging that this method of planning may not be preferred by the group, she justifies why her practice is not only acceptable but beneficial. First, she claims, "I work well like tha:t//" (line 6), presenting the practice of planning just a few days before a lesson as something unique and suitable to her. Then, she states why the alternative practice, planning "a month in advance/" (line 7) is actually inefficient. She claims that she would have to "replan when I get there" (line 8). By emphasizing that she would have to do more work by planning a second time, she presents early planning as a waste of time. She at once diminishes the value of advanced planning and presents herself as someone who is making good choices about her use of time.

In the last three lines of the excerpt, she states what a minor concern this issue is for her. She returns to the same language she started this segment with as she says, "I was a little worried" (lines 2, 10). Her use of the past tense presents the issue as something that has been resolved and is in the past, and her current update of their working relationship provides evidence that planning is not so important that it interferes in the relationship between intern and mentor. The conflict itself is diminished. Though she stops herself from saying that she and her mentor have become great friends (line 11), she does claim that they "work great together// (line 12). The difference in their planning techniques is presented as one of such little importance that it has not resulted in a conflict. Even though she brought the topic up, she has presented advanced planning as something of relatively small value.

By diminishing the value of practices, the participants not only separated themselves from association with those practices, they also worked to establish the acceptability of being

someone who does not participate in them. For example, Harper's presentation of herself as a teacher who does not plan in advance included an explicit justification (Potter, 1996) for why she does not need to do so. Similarly, the discursive work in the other excerpts included implicit suggestions that the speakers were justified in not valuing the practices that they diminished. Though some participants talked about actions (like end-of-course exam review) that they were required to include in their daily practice, diminishing the value of those practices separated them from the beliefs and assumptions that would regularly be associated with them. By suggesting that they did not value certain beliefs, assumptions, and practices, they made implicit identity bids that they were teachers who found other concepts more important.

   Conclusion. Emphasizing what was personally important to them as teachers was a frequent strategy for conducting implicit identity work in this group of participants. Highlighting certain teacher-related practices, beliefs, and assumptions allowed the interns to demonstrate that those concepts were personally important to them. The specific methods of accounting for pedagogical concepts of personal importance with concepts of assumed importance, using pedagogical concepts of personal importance to account for actions taken, and establishing value by building up or diminishing concepts allowed the interns to suggest what kinds of teachers they were without making explicit identity claims. These discursive moves worked collectively as the speakers participated in the ongoing negotiation of identity throughout the year.

   Though the analysis in this section focused on conversations about specific aspects of teaching—lesson planning, certain classroom activities, and relationships with students—an infinite amount of concepts could be emphasized by other beginning teachers. In the final chapter of this report, I will suggest the benefit of teacher educators having an understanding of

how these strategies work in conversations about any aspect of teaching and the significance of that discursive identity work in a teacher's daily practice.

Strategy 3. Locating Themselves in Relation to Other Educators

Introduction. The third strategy that participants used to conduct identity work was *locating themselves in relation to other educators*. Participants frequently presented stories about other educators that demonstrated their own stance on an aspect of teaching. By either aligning themselves with or distancing themselves from the practices of the educators about whom they were talking, they presented themselves as certain kinds of teachers. In other words, just as the stories about educators presented those educators as certain kinds of teachers, they also demonstrated the speakers' relationship to those educators. To use a metaphor, if specific aspects of teacher identity could be graphed on an *x* and *y* axis, the participants' reports about other educators located those educators at specific points on that imaginary graph. The participants used the positions that they established for those educators to then locate their own positions regarding that aspect of teacher identity. Haniford (2010) notes that teacher candidates have the challenge of locating themselves in relation to a variety of educators: mentor teachers, administrators, and faculty from their university program. Additionally, several enduring pop culture images of teachers are available for teachers to locate themselves in relation to as they develop their own teacher identities (Weber & Mitchell, 1995). These real people and fictional characters offered the participants real and imagined images to use as conversational resources, and this section discusses how participants used the opposing methods of *aligning* and *distancing* to present themselves in relation to the practices and principles of other teachers.

Aligning. Throughout the year, participants provided reports about their mentor teachers that were constructed in ways that aligned them with the actions that their mentors took and the

principles that their mentors represented. Though the participants had numerous relationships with education professionals that influenced their teacher identities, most discursive work that located them in relation to other educators appeared in conversations about the participants' mentors. This trend is not altogether surprising because an intern's mentor is the education professional with whom she spends the most time on a daily basis, and it is natural that the relationship would be a constant reminder of what the beginning teachers did and did not want to be associated with as educators. Aligning themselves with their mentors was a powerful identity move because as experienced educators, their mentors' provided both a model and an endorsement for the positions that the interns were working to achieve. This section discusses two techniques for aligning themselves with other educators: *praising* and *using the pronoun we*.

Praising. A dominant method for aligning with their mentors was praising them. As participants spoke in ways that demonstrated positive regard for their mentors' principles or practices, they were revealing that they oriented to those principles and practices as beneficial. Doing so had the implicit effect of locating the speaker as someone who also believed and did those things or, to continue the metaphor from above, as someone in the same quadrant of the graph. For example, Anna Lucia praised her mentor's passion, and in doing so, she aligned herself with her mentor's practices and presented herself as someone who also believed that passion is an important aspect of teaching.

Excerpt Twenty-Four comes from the second meeting (Fall 08 29) and is a response to Jonathon asking the interns if they had seen anything in the classroom that was "great," "inspirational," "cool," or "worth emulating" (11:31-44). Zeke responded first (part of which is represented below in Excerpt Twenty-Five) and explained how his mentor interacts with her students, and then Jonathon asked if anyone else had seen anything good. Anna Lucia responded

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by praising her mentor's passion. As she did so, she presented emotion-driven teaching as a positive approach and downplayed some other aspects that are often associated with good teaching.

Excerpt Twenty-Four

1   Anna Lucia: my mentor is like super passionate// (.2)

2   and she >kind of< works off of that//

3   like she'll find something that she's passionate <u>abou:t</u> / (.2)

4   and bui:ld the lesson around <u>that</u>//

5   >instead of like< (.2) the scien-

6   >and she talks about< the science of teaching/

7   versus the <u>art</u> of teaching://

8   and i- ∘>I don't want to get her in trouble for this//<∘

9   but like she <u>does</u> (.) put the >objectives and everything< in there/

10   but she doesn't <u>start</u> with the objecti:ve/ or the state standa:rd/ (.)

11   and say oh what can I find that <u>suits</u> that//

12   because then she feels like she won't teach it as we:ll//

13   and she tells the students like (.2)

14   I'm gonna teach this better because I care more about it//

15   and she'll use photos and images and thi:ngs/

16   that she (.) >gets emotional about↑< (.)

17   and I think that it really creates-

18   >like people have observed her< too

19   and been like ∘>she's so pa:ssionate//<∘

20	like the kids >eat it up/<
21	and it's <u>so</u> good//
22	like it inspires <u>me</u>
23	((skipping 6 lines))
24	(.h) but a::h (.) you kno- an
25	I've observed some other teachers that >don't necessarily do that//<
26	they're still great teachers
27	but (.) I love that (.) about my mentor

<div align="right">**Fall 08 29 15:32-16:27**</div>

Anna Lucia's turn begins with the statement that her mentor is "super passionate" (line 1), and this statement serves as a topic sentence, establishing both the tone and content for what follows. Even though it lacks any explicit judgment, the statement comes off as a positive endorsement of passion because Anna Lucia has offered her comment as a response to Jonathon's question about seeing things that are worth emulating. She presents passion as the foundation of her mentor's lessons: first, her mentor will "find something that she's passionate <u>abou:t</u> /" (line 3), and then she will "bui:ld the lesson around <u>that</u>// (line 4). By placing emphatic stress on "bui:ld" and "<u>that</u>", Anna Lucia highlights that the starting point and focus of her mentor's lesson design is on the text that her mentor feels passion toward. A few lines later, Anna Lucia makes it clear that her mentor does not start planning where the group members might expect; "she doesn't start with the objecti:ve/ or the state standa:rd/" (line 5).

Anna Lucia differentiates between the planning methods that her mentor teacher uses and the methods she has been taught in the university. The university's education program teaches that writing a clearly defined objective for the lesson should be the first step in planning.

Though she is clear to emphasize that her mentor "<u>does</u> (.) put the >objectives and everything<

in there/" (line 8), rushing through this statement presents objectives and other required elements

of a lesson plan as almost superfluous compared to having an emotional connection to the lesson.

Anna Lucia then reinforces the difference between how the university wants them to teach—"the

science of teaching" (line 6)—and how her mentor teaches—"the <u>art</u> of teaching" (line 7). She

places emphatic stress on "<u>art</u>", demonstrating that particular view of the profession as more

preferential than the "science of teaching." Before she does so, however, she establishes her

mentor's authorship of these words by saying, "she talks about" (line 6), and doing so

strengthens the footing of Anna Lucia's utterance about her preferred approach to planning and

teaching by attributing the statement to a more qualified and experienced teacher (Goffman,

1981).

However, Anna Lucia recognizes that this alternative method of planning is something

that may not be approved by the university when she says quietly as an aside, "∘>I don't want to

get her in trouble for this//<∘" (line 8), and she spends effort justifying why this passion-led

teaching is good. She presents her mentor as an individual who has determined how to get the

best out of herself. She says if her mentor starts with an objective "she won't teach it as we:ll//"

(line 12), so her mentor makes the thoughtful decision to employ a technique that will let her do

"better because ((she cares)) more about it//" (line 14). Continuing to justify her mentor's

methods, Anna Lucia shifts approaches and begins to explain the atmosphere that she thinks this

type of teaching creates in the classroom (line 17), but instead, she establishes a stronger footing

in the authorship of others (Goffman, 1981). She claims, ">people have observed her< too and

been like ∘>she's so pa:ssionate//<∘" (lines 18-19). Her use of like to introduce this reported

speech suggests that the following sentence is only an approximation of what was said, or it was

never said at all (Romaine & Lange, 1991). When Anna Lucia revoices what others have supposedly said, she does so with breathy excitement, but by not giving specific details about the speakers, the group must imagine that they are either other teachers or administrators who have endorsed her mentor's approach. To make her position even stronger, she then invokes the students who ">eat it up</" (line 20). Now that Anna Lucia has explained her mentor's methods and provided support for them with her mentor's own words, other teacher's words, and the students' actions; she makes an explicit statement of judgment: "and it's <u>so</u> good// like it inspires <u>me</u>" (lines 21-23). Though her closing remarks do allow for the possibility that other competent teachers can teach effectively without the same passion (lines 29-30), she concludes her turn by stating, "I love that (.) about my mentor" (line 31).

Throughout this excerpt Anna Lucia praises her mentor's passion. By presenting this approach to teaching as praiseworthy and working to get it accepted by the group, she presents herself as a teacher who also values passion. She would appear inconsistent if after all her effort to present her mentor's approach as noteworthy, she dismissed it as something that was not for her or was not her style. Her lengthy praise of her mentor's passionate teaching aligns Anna Lucia with her mentor and thereby positions herself as a passionate teacher, as well.

Zeke had taken a turn in the same meeting (Fall 08 29) to explain what he found praiseworthy in his mentor. I have presented them in reverse order because while Anna Lucia praised something that many readers of this study would value, even if they did not rank passion as more important than objectives or standards, Zeke praised a practice would more regularly be considered negative. It is not my purpose to pass judgment on the concepts of importance that the participants presented, nor do I intend to present Anna Lucia as somehow more enlightened

than Zeke. I include Excerpt Twenty-Five and its analysis to demonstrate that it is possible to praise a practice that could just as easily be constructed as negative.

Jonathon had asked the interns to report on anything positive that they had seen. After Nick joked by pointing at himself, Zeke was the first to provide a serious response. As he explained what he liked about his mentor, Zeke praised her personality and how she made fun of kids. Doing so made an implicit identity bid that aligned Zeke with his mentor teacher and her way of communicating with students.

Excerpt Twenty-Five

1   Zeke: I like I like how my mentor teacher: like doesn't make anything serious//

2   she hasn't written anyone up that I've see::n/

3   ah she's jus- she's jus' kind of a smart ass to the kids/

4   Reagan: (hehe)

5   Zeke: i- if I mean if the::y (.4) get out of li:ne/

6   she just kind of makes fun of 'em// (.2)

7   an' they just move forward//

Fall 08 29, 12:01-12:16

Zeke begins his response to Jonathon by stating that he likes how his "mentor teacher: like doesn't make anything serious//" (line 1). This line introduces the topic of his talk as his mentor's laid back classroom demeanor regarding "anything" that other teachers might "make ((…)) serious." However, when Zeke tells that "she hasn't written anyone up" (line 2) when they "get out of li:ne/" (line 5), he makes it apparent that the specific "anything" he is referring to is discipline. Rather than using seemingly undesirable formal methods of discipline, Zeke's mentor is presented as someone who uses the less serious method of being "a smart ass to the

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kids/" (line 3). Being a "smart ass" could easily be constructed in conversation as negative; however, Zeke's praise of this aspect of his mentor's behavior presents making fun of students (line 6) as positive. As he tells it, when a student is disruptive, his mentor makes fun of the student "an' they just move forward//" (line7). He simplifies a complex classroom interaction by suggesting that his mentor's mockery of disruptive students easily brings those students into line. Doing so presents her method as an effective one.

By presenting his mentor's behavior with positive regard, Zeke has demonstrated that her behavior is worth emulating. As beginning teachers less than one month into their internships, Zeke and the others were, for the first time ever, experiencing many classroom interactions as teachers rather than students. Each of those experiences was complex and required equally complex judgments. Zeke's utterance makes one such judgment visible but simplifies the issue's complexity. Zeke emphasizes the effectiveness of making fun of students as a classroom management technique while ignoring any possible negative implications of a teacher in a position of power making fun of students in front of their peers. Doing so allows him to present making fun of students as an acceptable form of classroom management. Working to present the method as acceptable aligns him with this method and presents him as the kind of teacher who will make fun of students to maintain order without presenting himself as the kind of teacher who senselessly belittles students. Interestingly, though Anna Lucia's talk turned away from passion-based teaching and began to favor objectives-based planning later in the year, Zeke continued to speak about using this method personally and claimed to be able to tell which students could and could not handle being made fun of (Spring 02 02, 19:06-19:14).

Using the pronoun we. The first two examples of aligning oneself with another have both demonstrated how praising a person can function to make implicit identity bids; however,

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speakers can align themselves in other ways, too. Excerpt Twenty-Six shows another way Zeke aligned himself with his secondary mentor. Excerpts Twenty-Four and Twenty-Five both came from early in the internship in a meeting where the interns were talking about the characteristics of their primary mentors for the first time. During the first meeting of the second semester (Spring 01 23), Jonathon asked the interns about their secondary mentors who they had just started working with. Zeke's reply was interesting because of the explicitness of his claim and what that explicit claim implied.

Excerpt Twenty-Six

1   Zeke: yeah there's no:

2   there's no complaints with ((last name of second mentor))//

3   she's really coo:l//

4   her and I like have literally the same mind set about everything//

Spring 01 23, 15:10-15

Compared with the praise of the previous examples, Zeke's negative statement that "there's no: there's no complaints" (lines 1-2) with his new mentor works as a fairly weak endorsement of her, and stating that "she's really coo:l//" (line 3) says nothing about her teaching. What is most interesting in this excerpt is Zeke's claim that he and his new mentor have "literally the same mind set about everything//" (line 4). He clearly aligns himself with his mentor, claiming that they are in synch in every way. Regardless of who made this statement, it would be a clear example of aligning with another person, but who he is aligning with is what gives this statement its strength.

Zeke's mentor had been awarded Teacher of the Year at her school after just two years of teaching. She was known throughout the county's school district and throughout the English

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education program as a teacher who could not only manage the most difficult of students but could also get those students to make significant academic gains. She had military experience that was often credited to her as an advantage, and during this year, she was a new mom, a life change that she seemed to handle with ease. In short, she was very well-respected by everyone who knew of her, and the other interns were well aware of who Zeke's secondary mentor was, having met her through a university function. By aligning himself with his mentor's "mindset," Zeke aligns his thinking with hers and makes a powerful claim about himself: he is the kind of teacher that she is. From this moment on, anything that he tells the group about what his mentor does or thinks becomes a way to show what he would do or think. In essence, he changes the subject of any future story from *she* to *we*.

Using the pronoun we when giving reports about classroom events was a prevalent strategy for the interns to align themselves with their mentors. Though Zeke's utterance works in a more abstract way to make all stories about his mentor into stories about him and her together by saying that they are of the same mindset, participants also gave reports that directly employed the first-person plural pronoun *we* to align themselves with their mentors. Using *we* presented their mentors and themselves as a team with a collective identity (Wales, 1996). When talking about a classroom practice, using *we* gave the intern more credit for an action or decision than saying *she* would have. Talking about an action as something *she*, the mentor, did would have placed the accountability for the action solely with the mentor teacher and not given any credit to the intern for the action. However, saying *I* would have placed all the accountability for an action with the intern without the endorsement of a more experienced educator. Because *we* implies that another person is responsible along with the speaker (Bramley, 2001), *we* provided the participants a safe midpoint between receiving credit for a good idea and risking being held

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responsibility for a bad idea. The intern could present herself as a certain kind of teacher with the safety of knowing that she was not out on a limb alone.

In the second meeting of the Spring semester (Spring 02 02), Reagan used *we* as she explained a technique that she and her mentor used to help a fidgety student. Zeke had presented a problem to the group about a boy who often stood up during class (see Excerpt Thirty-Nine). Mindy offered a suggestion, explaining that she had a student in her classroom with Attention Deficit-Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), and she allowed him to go out into the hallway to move around. Reagan then offered a suggestion to Zeke based on how she and her mentor handled a similar situation, and as she offered the advice, she used *we* to align herself with her mentor.

Excerpt Twenty-Seven

1   Reagan: yeah we do that for: (.) our walker too://

2   Nick: (heh)

3   Reagan: eh well you don't have blocks

4   but the three- >the with the forty five minute< bell/

5   we give him those three minutes

6   that you guys normally have to change classes/

7   and he has to be back// (.)

8   by the end of the (.) forty five minute bell//

9   I don't know how you would do it

10   but we just give him some time

11   we're like go::/ calm yourself//

Spring 02 02, 17:50-18:06

Reagan begins her turn by referencing Mindy's solution to allow a student with a lot of energy to go into the hall and walk around. A "walker" is a category that Nick had introduced as Zeke was telling the group about his difficult student, and here Reagan picks it up to talk about her student. Categories function as ready-made identifiers (Edwards, 1991). She says, "we do that for: (.) our walker too://" (line 1). Not only does Reagan align herself with Mindy's practice by publically endorsing it, she also aligns herself with her secondary mentor.

At Reagan and Zeke's school, some classes are on block schedules and some classes are forty-five minute classes called "skinnies." Reagan teaches on a block schedule with ninety-three minute classes. Forty-five minutes into her class, a bell rings that releases the students elsewhere in the building from their forty-five minute classes, and three minutes after that, another bell rings indicating that those students should be in their classes. As she begins to explain how she and her mentor help a fidgety student, she recognizes that Zeke is not on the same schedule that she is (line 3). Because he teaches freshman, he has forty-five minute classes.

Nonetheless, she proceeds to explain how she and her mentor allow the student to walk around in the hall during the three minutes that Zeke's students have to change classes. Though Reagan recognizes that she is not sure exactly how Zeke would apply this technique with his schedule when she says, "I don't know how you would do it" (line 9), she still presents the idea as one that could be effective for him. She presents the idea as one that is quite simple when she says, "we just give him some time" (line 10). The use of the depreciatory "just" here indicates that not much effort is needed to carry out this intervention (Lee, 1987). How Zeke responded to this suggestion is discussed later (see Excerpt Thirty Nine A-C), but for now what is important is how Reagan presents her idea as one that both she and her mentor are responsible for.

Reagan uses *we* four times in this short excerpt (lines 1, 5, 10, 11), and aside from using *I*

when she says that she is not sure how Zeke could implement the plan (line 9), she does not say *I*

or *she* again. The action that she and her mentor take is presented as one they are equally

responsible for. The group does not know who came up with the idea or who suggested it in the

first place, so the solution to the problem seems to have originated from both of them. By

aligning with her mentor, the English department head at Urban High School, Reagan claims

some accountability in implementing this plan. If the idea is received by the group as a good

one, this is a more advantageous move than saying, "*She* has him go out into the hall," which

would distance Reagan from the idea and responsibility for it. In that alternate construction,

Reagan would just be doing what her mentor told her to do. However, if she says, "*I* have him

go into the hall," she would be taking sole responsibility for a potentially controversial action.

As a beginning teacher, her action could be seen as irresponsible or as a sign that she does not

have control of the class; however, aligned with an experienced teacher who has a history of

success, Reagan presents herself as a teacher who is sensitive to the needs of her students and

willing to accommodate them.

Zeke used a similar strategy during the sixth meeting (Fall 10 10) when he used *we* to

align himself with his mentor teacher's planning methods and teaching. A short time after

Jonathon had asked Harper if she was "freaking out and busy" (28:37-40), several of the interns

talked about their stress level and the difficulty of getting all their lesson planning done on time.

Zeke then talked about not being stressed, and how much planning he was and was not doing

became relevant in the conversation (see Excerpt Nineteen). Jonathon then asked how much

support the interns were getting, and Anna Lucia and Paula explained their situations. Kelsey

said that she had been getting thorough feedback but was now only teaching on Mondays. In

response to the idea that Kelsey was not teaching and planning everyday, Harper said, "I've been teaching (.2) everyda::y/ (.4) for the past (.2) <u>four</u> weeks//" (35:39-43). Zeke then started to explain that he and his mentor were working together rather than one or the other teaching each day.

Excerpt Twenty-Eight

1	Zeke:	in my classroom it's just like me:/ an:' ((mentor's last name))/ (.6)
2		me and my mentor teacher//
3		and we're just in front of the class to<u>geth</u>er
4		and we just like (.2)
5		she'll just have like (.) s- somethin'
6		she'll have (.4) something she wants to teach for that day/
7		and our lessons are like (.) ou- our weeks are so malleable
8		'cause we'll find out stuff they don't know/
9		so we're just li:ke (.8) we need to teach that to them//
10		so:: because just all the time we're like/ (.6)
11		°<they really don't know that//>° (.2)
12		so we're uh we (.) go back
13		and we'll (.) teach it to 'em//

Fall 10 10, 35:47-36:14

Zeke begins by saying in "my classroom" (line 1), which distinguishes Zeke's situation as unique from the others who have spoken before him. Here, "my" functions to distinguish the class from the other interns' classes as opposed to claiming ownership of the room from his

mentor. Whereas the others have been solo teaching or watching their mentors teach, Zeke says that he and his mentor are working together.

He presents himself and his mentor as a pair (lines 1, 2) who are "in front of the class together" (line 3). Several prior remarks in this meeting had made the thoroughness of Zeke's planning relevant, and for a brief moment, it seems that his mentor does the planning. Though he begins by saying, "we just" (line 4), he changes to say, "she'll have (.4) something she wants to teach for that day/" (lines 5). Though he now locates the origin of their lessons with his mentor's desire to teach a particular concept, he quickly returns to first-person plural pronouns, using them in eight different places in the next eight lines. He presents the lessons and weeks as *ours* (line7) and then presents the process of deciding what to teach as something he and his mentor do together when he says, "we'll find out" (line 8), "we're just li:ke (.8) we need to teach that" (line 9), "we're like/ (.6) ∘<they really don't know that//>∘ (lines 10-11), "we (.) go back" (line 12), and "we'll (.) teach it" (line 13).

Zeke closely aligns his behavior with his mentor's as he presents an image of the two of them working together closely to make decisions about lessons that will meet the needs of their students. Though he had at one point said, *she* has something *she* wants to teach, the image of his mentor being the one to plan is quickly outweighed by the more detailed presentation of their group planning. Zeke's planning had been challenged by the other interns earlier in the meeting, but here he demonstrates that he is in synch with his primary mentor's ways of teaching. By aligning himself with his mentor teacher's methods, Zeke not only locates himself as a similar kind of teacher, he also implies the acceptability of his methods because they are endorsed by the experienced teacher he plans with.

By aligning themselves with their mentors, the participants were able to locate themselves in relation to other educators whose practices and beliefs had already been established through years of teaching. Though the participants mostly located themselves in relation to their mentors, in other contexts it would be possible for beginning teachers to align themselves with any educators by praising them. Their own high school teachers, current college professors, and even characters from movies provided ready figures to align with through praise, but doing so was something that these participants did not do very often. However, using *we* to position oneself in relation to another is only effective in particular situations. Because the speaker must have some reasonable claim of shared responsibility with the person she aligns herself with by using *we*, this method of aligning would most likely appear in co-teaching situations.

Distancing. Similar to the techniques that the participants used to align themselves with their mentors, *distancing* techniques were also regularly used to locate themselves in relation to other educators they spoke about. Just as aligning with a mentor made implicit claims about the speaker's association with that mentor's principles and practices, distancing moves placed separation between the speaker and the characteristics of the individual being spoken about. While distancing did not explicitly make additions to the participants' identities, the techniques contributed to the participants' ongoing process of identity negotiation by demonstrating what kind of practices and principles they did not want be associated with. To return to the metaphor of the graph divided by an *x* and *y* axis, though distancing did not position a speaker in a particular quadrant, it certainly showed which quadrant they were not located in.

For example, Excerpt Twenty-Nine shows Reagan distancing herself from her mentor by by making a plain statement that she did not like how her mentor teacher taught. Though she

never made any claims about how she actually wanted to teach, Reagan made it clear that she did not want to use her mentor's practices. The excerpt comes from the same meeting (Fall 08 29) where Zeke and Anna Lucia had aligned themselves with their mentors by praising them. After hearing from Zeke and Anna Lucia, Jonathon asked about a "bad thing" (16:25-26) that the interns might have seen that caused them to question why they were assigned to the classrooms they were in. Reagan's response distanced her from her primary mentor, demonstrating that she did not want to be recognized as the same kind of teacher as her mentor.

Excerpt Twenty-Nine

1   Reagan: I don't <u>love</u> my >mentor teacher's teaching style//< (1.0)

2   is it okay↑

3   Jonathon: no// (.4) u:m we'll have to fail you now//

4   Reagan: (hehe)

5   I mean like is it okay

6   that (.4) I'm learning from her

7   although I don't want to teach like her↑

Fall 08 29, 16:35-47

Her turn starts with a relatively mild statement about her mentor's teaching. She says, "I don't love my >mentor teacher's teaching style//<" (line 1). By using the negative construction "don't love," Reagan does not have to say, "I dislike" or "I hate." Instead, she presents herself as not being completely enamored with what her mentor teacher does in the classroom. Reagan says her problem is with her "mentor teacher's teaching style," not with the mentor herself. Implicit in her statement is the difference between how a teacher conducts herself in the classroom and how that teacher might act or *be* outside of the classroom. Several conversations

during the year included scathing remarks about how teachers taught mitigated by an endorsement of that teacher as an otherwise good person. Reagan seems to maintain this distinction too when she focuses on the actions of her mentor by saying that she does not want to "teach" (line 7) like her mentor rather than saying that she does not want to *be* like her. After saying that she does not "love" how her mentor teaches, she pauses for a full second before asking uneasily, "is it okay↑" (line 2). This question is directed at Jonathon and is a reminder of the authority that he has in the group. Though he responds with a joke that the university would "have to fail you now//" (line 3), the joke reminds the interns that he does have the most power in the group and a significant symbol of that power is his ability to endorse or not endorse their completion of the program. Reagan's question acknowledges Jonathon's authority by seeking his opinion of her current situation and feelings.

Though she first presented her opinion of her mentor's teaching with a statement that did not have much strength, Jonathon's joke indicates that her situation is not too serious and permits her to continue to speak more directly. She rephrases her question, "I mean like is it okay that (.4) I'm learning from her although I don't want to teach like her↑" (line 5-7). This clear statement about her mentor's teaching distances Reagan from the practices of her primary mentor. Much like Zeke's aligning with his secondary mentor in Excerpt Twenty-Eight associated him with everything that the other participants knew about his mentor, Reagan's distancing separates her from all that the group knows about her mentor. Doing so presents her as a different kind of teacher. Throughout the rest of this section, I discuss two implicit techniques the participants regularly used for distancing themselves from other educators: *mocking* and *negative positioning*.

Mocking. The example of Reagan distancing herself from her mentor is fairly explicit, and some other methods for distancing oneself from another can also be easy to pick up on. For instance, mocking someone or their practices was an effective technique for the participants in this study to distance themselves from other educators while simultaneously presenting their own practices as superior. Whereas Reagan's distancing included statements that she did not like her mentor's teaching, she did not present an alternative that was better. However, mocking others brings with it an implicit claim of superiority. By mocking someone, a speaker suggests that another, better way exists and that the speaker values that way significantly more than what has been mocked.

In the sixteenth meeting (Spring 03 01), one intern mocked her mentor for how she ended lessons, and in doing so she clearly suggested that a better practice was available. In sensitivity to the participants and their mentors, I have omitted the names and any other information that would make it possible for those familiar with the study to identify who was speaking and who she was speaking about. Jonathon had introduced closure as a topic of discussion, saying that he had notice this as an area that could be improved in many of the interns' lessons. An intern stated that closure had been an area that she had been trying to work on but was having difficultly getting support from her mentor. She was going to start teaching a play and had "made a whole packet for the whole unit//" (44:35-37). However, she was unsure how to structure each day as they worked though the packet, so she asked her secondary mentor for help. In Excerpt Thirty, the intern presents the incident as one worthy of mockery because the mentor's advice was not only unhelpful; it was also based on poor teaching practice.

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Excerpt Thirty

1   Intern: but I was like >well you know<

2   how do I plan where I'm gonna <u>end</u> everyday//

3   like how do you want me to go about doing that/

4   so I have like <u>clo:sure</u> and an exit ticket//

5   and she was like (.) well you just stop

6   where you- when the bell rings//

7   Female: (hehe)

8   Female: (hehe)

9   Several: (hehe)

10   Intern: the::n (.) you (.) pick up the packet where you left o(h.)ff (hehe)

Spring 03 01, 44:50-45:03

The excerpt begins with the intern asking her mentor how she should plan "where I'm gonna end everyday//" (line 1), and the intern says that she asked her teacher this question to make sure that the lessons have "clo:sure and an exit ticket//" (line 3). Her question makes relevant the need to end every lesson with some form of closing activity that ends the lesson and applies the learning, and she uses an "exit ticket" as a particular example. Because she presents this during a larger discussion about closure, she is able to demonstrate that she had already thought about the importance of this issue before Jonathon said that the interns needed to focus on incorporating the strategy into their teaching. Doing so presents her as the kind of teacher who values closure and similar practices that have been deemed beneficial to learning.

In the context of a conversation about the importance of closure and at the conclusion of the intern's story, her mentor's answer plays like a punch line to a joke, and the group shares a

big laugh. Though the intern had been struggling to figure out the best way to conclude a coherent lesson, her mentor says, "well you just stop where you- when the bell rings//" (lines 5-6). The simplicity of her answer suggests that teachers should simply talk until they are cut of by the signal to change classes. According to this model, lessons do not need a summary or concluding activity; the mad shuffle of books and scramble of students telling a teacher that she must be done for the day is a sufficient end. The intern does not even finish explaining that on the next day, "you (.) pick up the packet where you left o(h.)ff (hehe)" (line 10) without erupting into laughter herself.

By presenting this encounter with her secondary mentor as a joke, she mocks her mentor's practice and distances herself from it. Unlike Reagan's utterances in Excerpt Twenty-Nine that expressed her dislike of her mentor's methods, this intern demonstrates that her approach to planning is superior to her mentor's laughable approach. She displays no respect for the method her mentor uses, and though the intern does not know how to do any better, she expresses a desire to incorporate closure into her classroom practice.

In addition to distancing herself from the classroom practice of her mentor, this intern also used mockery to distance herself from how some of the teachers at the school behaved outside of the classroom. In the seventh meeting (Fall 10 17) after the interns had participated in the free write in response to prompts about what they wanted to do as teachers and why they thought those things were important, the interns expressed some of the disappointments that they had encountered now that they were teaching. One intern began to talk about how the entire environment of the school was different than she expected. In Excerpt Thirty-One she presents the teachers who worked in her school as uninteresting people who discuss petty topics.

Excerpt Thirty-One

1	Intern:	a lo:t of (.) the teachers are probably people
2		>I wouldn't want to be friends with//<
3		((skipping 5 lines))
4		but jus' you know <gossipy:: about>
5		I don't know//
6		just >talk about stuff
7		that I don't really< (.) <u>find</u> valuable> or care about// (.6)
8		and so the conversations aren't really steered to anything: <significant>/
9		(1.0) and maybe it's jus' that
10		I need to get to <u>kno:w</u> them/
11		but it's always just like/ (.4)
12		o::h so and so I don't like her//
13		>blah blah blah//<
14		or this or that//
15		>an' it's jus' like< (1.0)
16		>don'cha you guys< do anyth(h.)ing e(h.)lse↑
17		like eh wha- have you read a <u>book</u> lately/
18		>you want to talk about↑<
19		or [have you (.) DONE something↑]
20	Several:	[(hehe)]
21	Intern:	gone on a trip↑

Fall 10 17, 36:41-37:10

The excerpt begins with a strong statement that the teachers at the intern's school are not her kind of people or the kind she would "want to be friends with//<" (line1). In itself, this statement is a strong distancing move because it suggests that she would not associate with them except for the fact that her job requires it. She then goes on to explain why she does not want to be associated with them and claims that they are "gossipy" (line 4). The implication is that this gossipy talk takes place in the spaces outside the classroom like the teacher workroom or lunch table.

What starts as a classification of the teacher's talk as gossip changes into a harsh judgment. She says that the teachers ">talk about stuff that I don't really< (.) <find valuable> or care about//" (line 6-7). She then makes a broader claim that "the conversations aren't really steered to anything: <significant>/" (line 8). She gradually increases the severity of how she presents the other teachers' conversations. First, the conversations are gossip. Then, they are something that she does not value. Finally, they lack all significance. To help construct the teacher's utterances as worthless, she adds meaningless phrases: "so and so" (line 12), "blah blah blah" (line 13), and "this or that" (line 14). Though these are not tangible examples, the message is clear that the teachers' words are trite, perhaps not even worth repeating. Now that the intern has established how insignificant the conversations of the people she works with are, she can mock them openly.

She laughs as she imagines asking, ">don'cha you guys< do anyth(h.)ing e(h.)lse↑" (line 16). The implication here is that the teachers have nothing else to talk about and that they do not lead interesting lives. She asks, "have you read a <u>book</u> lately/ >you want to talk about↑<" (lines 17-18). Her focus on books is a safe one given that she is talking about a group of English teachers to a group of English teachers. After all, there is some irony in a group of literature

teachers who do not discuss literature, and several of the other participants laugh at her comment. Doing something (line 19) or traveling (line 21) are other options that she offers, but here she does not make a direct connection to conversation like she did with books. Though she asks if the teachers have a book they want to talk about, assuming they have read good books, she implies that something like traveling is not an available conversational resource because her co-workers do not do these types of interesting activities.

This story belittles the conversations and activities that the teachers in the intern's building participate in. She mocks the talk of the others which distances her from them and presents her as having a better option. She implies that conversations about books, activities, and travel are all superior to the gossip she has to listen to at work. By distancing herself from those she works with she not only shows what kind of person she is not, she implies the opposite, and she does so with some edge.

Negative positioning. Not all instances of distancing, however, required the sting that accompanied mockery. Participants were able to distance themselves from others through *negative positioning*. Like mockery, negative positioning is a method of distancing oneself from another's ways of acting, but unlike mockery it takes a more deliberate and explicit approach to analyzing why the actions of an individual are undesirable. Like an artist working in the negative space of a painting, speakers who present others' actions as undesirable position themselves in the negative space of that constructed image. Cohen (2010) has discussed a similar concept which he calls an *oppositional portrait*. While using this technique does not necessarily demonstrate what category a speaker belongs to, it makes clear what category she does not want to be associated with.

Paula's talk about one of her graduate classes demonstrates how negative positioning can work to distance the speaker from another person and her practices. Though all of the previous examples of positioning in this section have included talk about teachers who the interns worked with, identity work can be accomplished by locating oneself in relationship to anyone. For these beginning teachers, mentors were a steady resource for this kind of identity work, but other interns, teachers from the participants' own high schools, television and movie characters, and college professors were often called up as individuals to distance themselves from. During the final meeting of the year (Spring 05 14), Jonathon had asked Paula and Nick for feedback on his performance as a field supervisor and the graduate program as a whole. They both said that they wished the program had included more practical strategies and fewer abstract concepts. As Nick said, many of the lessons included "pie in the sky" (4:02-04) abstractions without specific strategies to implement. Paula continued to explain what she thought would have been more relevant, and in Excerpt Thirty-Two she complains about how one professor had placed an emphasis on political issues in her class. As Paula talks, she uses negative positioning to distance herself from the professor's practices.

Excerpt Thirty-Two

1   Paula: >and I just don't really feel like it's< (.) fai:r to:

2   you know and I have (.) very clear (.) political views/

3   but I would never (.)

4   Nick: do you↑

5   Paula: push that agend-

6   just hush//

7   Nick and Jonathon: (heh)

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8   Paula: on my studen:ts// (.h)

9   I just [wouldn't]=

10   Jonathon: [right]

11   Paula: =do that

12   I don't think it's right//

13   I think that you (.) give them the opportunity/

14   present them information and let them/ (.)

15   (.h) >work through that themselves/<

16   but I feel like that cla:ss was <literally/> (1.0)

17   all it was was pushing (.4) >a political view//<

18   which is

19   Jonathon: and even so

20   based on what you've been saying/

21   that doesn't necessarily sound exactly (.8)

22   like y- you've been saying practical/ hands ons/

23   Paula: it's not relevant at a::ll//

24   I feel like it wasn't relevant at all//

Spring 05 14, Metropolitan, 7:55-8:23

Preceding this excerpt, Paula had spent several minutes explaining how one specific education course had been conducted, and as she explained its significant political content, she presented the course's abstractness as being irrelevant to their current situation as beginning teachers. Additionally, she presented the professor's approach as pushy and inappropriate. Regarding one theory in particular, she said, ">and I just don't really feel like it's< (.) fai:r to:"

(line 1). Though she inserts an aside that Nick then jokes about, she makes it clear that she thinks it is unfair to "push that agend-" (line 5). Despite claiming to have "very clear (.) political views/" (line 2), a claim that Nick's joke (line 4) testifies in favor of, Paula says she would not push an agenda on her students, and she restates, "I just wouldn't do that" (lines 9-11). Earlier Paula had worked up the professor's use of politics as advancing a "left wing agenda" (7:14-16), and now she positions this action as something that she does not believe should occur in the classroom because, as she says explicitly, "I don't think it's right//" (line 12).

In contrast, she presents an alternative method for presenting similar content. She calls up the strategies and values she had made relevant in other conversations throughout the year when she previously talked about classroom discussions and including students' voices (Excerpts Eight and Ten). She suggests letting the students reach their own decisions instead of telling them how to think: "give them the opportunity/ present them information and let them/ (.) (.h) >work through that themselves/<" (lines 13-15). Paula reiterates that the "cla:ss was <literally/> (1.0) all it was was pushing (.4) >a political view//<" (lines 16-17). During her turn and in what preceded this excerpt, Paula presents her professor's approach to teaching challenging content as not only ineffective but as an abuse of her authority.

Jonathon interrupts Paula and makes some connections to what she and Nick had said earlier about wanting specific strategies that they could use in class. He says, "you've been saying practical/ hands ons/" (line 22), but Paula changes to "relevant" (lines 23, 24). This change is interesting because the meeting began with Jonathon asking, "how was tha:t/ <as far as> the experience of the last year/ (.2) with-" (00:47-52). Paula then cut in and said, "relevance↑" (00:53). During this final meeting of the year, Paula foregrounds relevance twice, and during this excerpt she uses it to say that her professor's political agenda was not relevant.

Because she said clearly that pushing an agenda is not something that she would do, her descriptions of the professor's teaching work to negatively position what she would do. The professors actions function like the negative space in a visual image: what the professor would do, the intern would not do. By clearly stating what she sees as a fault in the professor's practice, she presents herself as a teacher who values the opposite.

In the following excerpt, Excerpt Thirty-Three , Mindy uses more subtle negative positioning to present herself as the kind of teacher who socializes and collaborates with those in her assigned working group instead of one who forms cliques with others in the school. Like the intern's talk about the conversations that take place in the workroom (Excerpt Thirty-One), this excerpt also concerns teacher behavior outside the classroom. During a meeting at Suburban High School (Spring 03 18), Mindy and Anna Lucia had been talking about some of the problems they perceived at Suburban High School, particularly with how the faculty from the four different academies related to each other. According to them, some cliques had developed. For confidentiality reasons, some phrases with identifying information have been generalized.

Excerpt Thirty-Three

1	Mindy:	and then you have some (.2) random crossover teacher/ (.)
2		∘<((first name)) is in ((one academy))/
3		but she hangs out>∘
4		there (.) a couple teachers who like abandoned their work room
5		'cause they want to be in like the clique-y ((academy))//
6		so she's ((one academy/))
7		but she always in ((the other//))

Spring 03 18, 19:46-20:03

Mindy starts by creating a category (Edwards, 1991) of the "random crossover teacher/" (line 1). As Mindy and Anna Lucia had been talking, they had presented one of the school's academies as being less welcoming than the others and of sending a message that outsiders were not welcome. Here, Mindy works up a "crossover teacher" as a teacher who crosses boundaries into places she does not belong. Mindy starts to explain what one particular teacher does, but she changes to include the behavior of all crossover teachers, offering a definition of the category: "teachers who like abandoned their work room 'cause they want to be in like the clique-y ((academy))//" (lines 4-5). Given the use of other words with negative connotations in this excerpt like "abandoned" and "clique-y," the pejorative use of the modifier "random" from the first line of this excerpt is evident. As she presents these teachers' behavior, they cross lines that they should not cross so that they can be a part of an in crowd. She then summarizes the actions of the one teacher she is talking about specifically, saying, "so she's ((one academy/)) but she always in ((the other//))" (lines 6-7). This teacher has been assigned to or *is* one academy, but she spends her time in the other.

By using negative terms to present this teacher's action as bad, Mindy positions the teacher's behavior as bad, and she distances herself from it, presenting herself, instead, as a teacher who would do the opposite. Unlike Reagan's clear statement that she does not like her mentor's teaching, the unnamed intern's mockery of some of the teachers at her school, and even Paula's talk about her professor, this act of distancing is subtle. It is nonetheless effective. People do not usually degrade practices that they willingly participate in, so Mindy's presentation of the teacher's behavior as bad implies that she participates in different practices. Through the use of negative positioning she presents herself as the kind of teacher who would not leave those in her assigned working group just to visit friends.

Conclusion. Locating themselves in relation to other educators was as powerful a strategy as it was subtle because it allowed the participants to make identity bids without having to designate significant amounts of conversational space to talk about themselves. Instead, they could talk about others in ways that were readily accepted by the group and still build their own identities. Anna Lucia effectively presented herself as a teacher who valued passion by aligning herself with her mentor, but her praise of her mentor allowed her to do so without going on and on for too long about herself. Similarly, the unnamed intern's distancing from the "gossipy" teachers in the break room allowed her to suggest that she led an interesting life without saying outright, "I read books. I take trips. I do interesting things!" Additionally, locating themselves in relation to others allowed them to draw on the cumulative identities that had been worked up in conversations over the course of the year. Though Anna Lucia began the year by aligning herself with her mentor's passion, it was not long before she began to distance herself from her mentor. As she and Mindy talked about Anna Lucia's mentor over the course of the year, they worked her up as a less and less impressive mentor (e.g. Excerpt Thirty-Six), so as Anna Lucia distanced herself from her mentor, she was actually distancing herself from an image that she had created over several months. In subsequent conversations she could do less work describing her mentor while still making powerful claims about herself.

Strategy 4. Orienting to Feedback

Introduction. The discursive strategies discussed in the previous sections could allow an individual to present herself as any kind of person that can be imagined. Though my analysis of explicit identity claims mostly focused on certain kinds of English teachers who emphasize different domains of the curriculum like writing, literature, or grammar; individuals could use explicit identity claims to present themselves as any kind of teacher by making relevant any

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aspect of their teaching practice, beliefs, values, or relationships. Similarly, though the section

on emphasizing concepts of personal importance focused on only a few teacher-related issues

including classroom discussions, relationships with students, and lesson planning; teachers' talk

about an infinite number of pedagogical concepts of personal importance could contribute to

what kind of teachers they are recognized as. The excerpts in the section about locating

themselves in relation to others also demonstrated the wide variety of topics available for the

participants to align and distance themselves from including teacher passion, behavior outside of

the classroom, how to relate to difficult students, and what types of teaching strategies are

appropriate. However, this current section and those that follow it each examine how the

participants presented themselves in regard to one specific aspect of identity.

This section will discuss how the participants displayed their orientations to feedback.

Strategy four, *orienting to feedback,* displayed how receptive to input the participants were at a

given moment during the year, and these individual moments contributed to the identities that

they were developing as either *collaborators* or *individuals*. Categories are merely

representative placeholders that help speakers more easily discuss abstract ideas (Edwards,

1991), and these categories of *collaborator* and *individual* are no different. The exact parameters

about what defines each of these categories is not particularly important, nor is it important to

determine at which point someone ceases to be an individual and becomes a collaborator or vice

versa. Instead, these categories are simply intended to provide a tool for talking about the

participants' identity work in this study.

As I use the terms, a teacher who presents herself as a *collaborator* is someone who

orients to feedback from other educators as positive. Conversely, a teacher who orients to

feedback as negative presents herself as an *individual*. For the purpose of the discussion that

follows, these categories can be pictured as binary opposites at either end of a spectrum;

however, in real conversation the participants presented themselves in complex ways orienting to

certain types of feedback as positive and certain types as negative. At different times, Nick,

Mindy, and Laura explicitly stated what their preferences were concerning feedback, and they

had specific formats for how they wanted their mentors to give them feedback.

This section focuses on moments in the meetings when participants oriented to feedback

as positive or negative by discursively accepting or resisting input through a variety of

techniques. The excerpts display several techniques to accept and resist input, but many more

than are represented in this report were and could be employed to carry out the same discursive

work. Though I do include and highlight one specific technique for displaying one's orientation

to feedback by reporting past instances of accepting and resisting input, the intended purpose of

this section is to offer a more general explanation of the rhetorical impact of the ways that

participants' presented themselves as collaborators or individuals by accepting or resisting input.

Accepting Input. Accepting input from others was a consistent method that the

participants employed to demonstrate their positive orientation to feedback and present

themselves as collaborators. An argument could be made that collaboration requires mutual

input from both parties and results in change in the classroom. In the context of this study,

however, what was under investigation was how the participants presented themselves as

collaborators. Throughout the year, meetings included conversations about difficulties that

individual participants were facing, and in those conversations, the other interns and Jonathon

offered suggestions. The act of offering input to someone about a difficult situation could, itself,

be one strategy of presenting oneself as a collaborator. By giving input, participants implicitly

recognized the conversational space as one where collaborative work was being accomplished

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and used that space to collaborate. However, the participants were far more likely to offer advice than to accept it. At times, offering advice seemed to function more as a way to demonstrate experience or competence than as a way to help. Because accepting input from others occurred less frequently, however, it was a more powerful method for presenting themselves as collaborators.

For example, Excerpt Thirty-Four shows how Anna Lucia's acceptance of Jonathon's input worked toward establishing her as more of a collaborator than an individual. In the eighth meeting (Fall 10 24), the conversation had turned to classroom management. Several interns talked about the need to get control of the classroom after starting off the semester with a somewhat relaxed orientation to the rules. Paula said it was difficult for her to address behavior problems now "without coming off (.) as a B I T C H" (Excerpt Forty-Six, line 3). Anna Lucia suggested that it was sometimes necessary to be "hateful," and Paula immediately picked up the word "hateful" by repeating it as a method to maintain order (40:54-56). This sort of talk was consistent throughout the year. At an earlier meeting (Fall 08 29), Anna Lucia had said that she liked the middle school because she could "be meaner" (38:30-32), and later in the year Zeke and Mindy talked in ways that emphasized their ability to be mean. In this particular meeting, Jonathon confronted the interns' ideas. He drew an analogy between his having been an officer in the Air Force and the authority that teachers have in the classroom. He tried to persuade the group that acting with the authority that their role requires does not require them to be "adversarial" (46:30) toward the students. Though Anna Lucia at first resisted what he said, she eventually accepted the possibility that he may be right.

Excerpt Thirty-Four

1   Anna Lucia: I'm past the point/

2   where I can do the who:le (.6)

3   if I say it/

4   it goes//

5   [it's gone//]

6   Jonathon: [but but] (.2) but [(syl)] -

7   Anna Lucia: [I have] to be mean// (1.0)

8   Jonathon: eh- (.8)

9   Anna Lucia: maybe not//

10   Jonathon: I would contend that you don't//

11   Anna Lucia: okay

12   Jonathon: um [and-]

13   Anna Lucia: [I'd] rather not be

Fall 10 24, 47:35-48

This excerpt begins with Anna Lucia explaining why Jonathon's suggestion will not work in her class. She says, "I'm past the point/" (line 1), suggesting that because she did not start by enforcing rules the way that Jonathon says they should have, she cannot start midway through the semester. A few minutes earlier, Anna Lucia had told a story about how her mentor teacher had undermined her authority in front of the students, and when she told that story, she suggested that her mentor's action had established Anna Lucia's role as something less than authoritative. As a result, she says it is now too late to tell the students, "if I say it/ it goes//" (lines 3-4). Instead, she claims, "I have to be mean//" (line 7). Jonathon's discomfort with her statement is

made evident as he tries to verbalize comments to the contrary that do not take shape (lines 6, 8).

However, once Anna Lucia displays doubt in her own ideas by saying "maybe not//" (line 9),

Jonathon reiterates his suggestion that teachers do not have to be mean to enforce rules. He says,

"I would contend that you don't//" (line 15). Before he can provide the rationale for his

contention, Anna Lucia accepts what Jonathon has suggested and says that Jonathon's approach

is actually more in line with who she would like to *be* when she claims that she would "rather not

be" (line 13) mean.

This brief excerpt shows the moment in conversation when Anna Lucia discursively

accepts what Jonathon has suggested. Just six-and-a-half minutes earlier she had suggested that

the effective way to get classroom control was to be "hateful," but now she demonstrates a

willingness to try something different. A case could be made that Anna Lucia merely placated

her supervisor in order to end this conversational segment and any conflict that might come from

it; however, Anna Lucia did not speak in terms of being mean throughout the rest of the data

except to make a joke that the state's rubric by which teachers were evaluated was worded in a

way that allowed them to "be hateful once or twice//" (Fall 11 14, 34:47-48). In that joke, she

implied that being hateful was not something the state should allow. Though no conversation

can reveal whether or not Anna Lucia actually experienced a mental shift (Hopper, 2005) or how

she behaved in the classroom following this meeting, the excerpt does demonstrate how the act

of accepting input contributes to identity. Anna Lucia presents herself as someone who is

willing to take advice from others, even when that advice goes against what she had previously

claimed. Despite people's desire to appear consistent (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), Anna Lucia

publically exhibits a change of mind. Though this is just one small example, by orienting to

Jonathon's input as something that she is willing to receive, Anna Lucia works toward presenting

herself more as a collaborator than as an individual. Over time, more conversational exchanges like this would, and did, add to Anna Lucia's ongoing and cumulative identity development.

In Excerpt Thirty-Five, Paula similarly presents herself as someone willing to accept input. Taken from a meeting one month after the preceding excerpt (Fall 11 28), Paula had been expressing more difficulties that she was having concerning classroom management. In response, Harper suggested writing up students and giving them detentions, and Mindy told a story about the first time that she got angry in class. The message of both Harper and Mindy's input was that Paula needed to act more severe. Though Paula initially resisted their suggestions because she did not want to create a negative atmosphere in her classroom, she eventually did accept what they had to offer.

Excerpt Thirty-Five

1	Mindy:	but yeah the first time
2		and I've (.) written you know (.) a couple kids up and whatever//
3		and then they get scared of you//
4	Paula:	well I guess I just have to be more ruthless/

Fall 11 28, 1:00:21-29

The excerpt begins just as Mindy concludes her story about the first time she got angry, and she then mentions that, like Harper, she has also written up "a couple kids" (line 2). The account she provides for her display of anger in the classroom and for writing up students is to make sure "they get scared" (line 3). Here she establishes students' fear of their teachers as a pedagogical concept of personal importance by using it to account for the actions she has taken. Though Paula initially resisted Mindy's suggestion, the last line of the excerpt shows her accepting it when she says, "I just have to be more ruthless/" (line 4). Like Anna Lucia, Paula

has demonstrated a willingness to accept others' input even if it is contrary to what she has already said. Because identity is an ongoing negotiation with others (Gee, 2001), this single interaction would need to be reinforced by others like it to more fully develop a collaborative identity for Paula, and over time, orienting to her peers' input as something she accepts will present her to the group as a willing collaborator.

Excerpt Thirty-Five works as a nice companion to Excerpt Thirty-Four for two reasons. First, it is not the goal of this study to prove which methods of teaching are best or which participants are correct about what they say, so including two conversations that arrive at different conclusion about the same topic allows readers to make their own judgments. I do not intend to suggest that Jonathon and Anna Lucia are right and that Mindy and Paula are wrong, nor do I suggest the opposite. Though I side with the ideas that Anna Lucia eventually accepts, a number of educators whom I have worked with and respect have made statements similar to Mindy's. Both excerpts demonstrate that individuals can present themselves as collaborators by accepting other people's input whatever that input may be—right, wrong, or neutral. Second, this section is an attempt to show how beginning teachers can orient to feedback from anyone who might be in a position to give it to them: peers, mentor teachers, field supervisors, professors, or administrators. Feedback does not just flow from superior to subordinate, and collaboration does not only take place amongst peers of equal authority. Other instances of participants accepting input followed very nearly the same pattern as the excerpts above where a conversational segment was ended with one intern stating that the other participant's idea had merit. Over time, such implicit acceptance presents the speaker as someone who is willing to accept input and take a collaborative approach to teaching.

In addition to accepting input in real-time conversations, another method that the participants used to demonstrate their orientation to feedback was to report instances where they had accepted feedback at some previous time. In these instances, participants emphasized the personal importance of feedback by building up the value of it in reports where they had accepted input from others. In Excerpts Thirty-Six and Thirty Seven below, Anna Lucia talks about the feedback she has received from her two mentors. During the first meeting of the second semester (Spring 01 23), Jonathon asked the interns to tell him their teaching schedules, and Anna Lucia said that she was teaching junior English with the same mentor that she worked with in the first semester. Presumably because of the difficulties that Anna Lucia had shared about working with her mentor in the first semester, Jonathon asked how the experience was going. Anna Lucia's answer made the feedback that her mentor was giving her the most relevant part of her their interactions.

Excerpt Thirty-Six

1   Jonathon: how's that all going

2   Anna Lucia: we:ll she's never in there/

3   never speaks [to me about anything/]

4   Mindy: [she's never] in there//

5   Anna Lucia: and she (.2) looks at my lesson plans/

6   and gets the green highlighter out/

7		and puts a big <u>check</u> mark on the front
8		and gives it back to me//
9		[so]
10	Nick:	[(heh)]
11	Anna Lucia:	it's awe:some//

Here Anna Lucia presents her mentor as someone who is never in the room with her and as someone who gives her insufficient feedback. Throughout the first semester, Anna Lucia had complained that the feedback she was getting from her mentor was not regular and not of a very high quality. Now Anna Lucia adds that her mentor is never in the room when she teaches. By saying "she's never in there/" (line 2), Anna Lucia presents her mentor as someone who is not even in a position to give her feedback about her teaching, and Mindy supports Anna Lucia by repeating the same phrase (line 4). If Anna Lucia's mentor is not in a position to give feedback on the execution of lessons, she can only give feedback on the plans for those lessons. Anna Lucia presents her version of how this occurs. Her sarcasm is thick as she explains her mentor's practice of putting "a big <u>check</u> mark on the front" (line 7). Then, by sarcastically stating "it's awe:some//" (line 11), the group knows the situation is anything but. Less than a minute later, she demonstrates just how inadequate her primary mentor's feedback is when she tells how her secondary mentor gives her feedback.

Excerpt Thirty-Seven

1	Anna Lucia:	so she's been giving me a lot of good feedback// (.6)
2		and scripting me and stuff//
3		so

4   Nick: ∘that's good∘

5   Anna Lucia: ((alters voice to sound sing songy))

6   everything I've ever <u>hoped</u> and wanted for/

7   in a mentor//

<div align="right">**Spring 01 23, 19:23-25**</div>

In contrast to her primary mentor, Anna Lucia's secondary mentor is presented as someone who gives "a lot of good feedback//" (line 1). Once Anna Lucia makes this claim, she bolsters it by telling what the feedback looks like. She says her mentor is "scripting" (line 2) her. Scripting is the practice of trying to capture everything that occurs during a lesson by typing or writing down as many details as an observer can capture. At the time of this study, scripting whole lessons was the dominant method of recording events during formal classroom observations. It is a physically tiring and mentally draining process, and it was not required by mentor teachers. By saying that her mentor scripts her lessons, Anna Lucia demonstrates the kind of "good feedback" that her secondary mentor gives her and shows that her mentor goes beyond what is required of her by the university. Though Anna Lucia does not expand on the specifics of what else her mentor does, her use of "and stuff" (line 2) implies that her mentor does other things associated with scripting, perhaps including written feedback or post conferences where specific areas of strength and weakness are discussed. Whatever else her mentor does, she does much more than just putting a check mark on Anna Lucia's lesson plans without ever watching her teach. Though Anna Lucia jokingly says so in a voice that sounds like Dorothy from the *Wizard of Oz* (Fleming, 1939), she presents her secondary mentor as "everything I've ever hoped and wanted for/" (line 8). Anna Lucia's sarcasm is present again,

but she makes it obvious that one mentor's way of giving feedback is more preferable than the other's.

Though she mocks the check mark from her first mentor and praises the feedback of her second mentor, both excerpts show Anna Lucia's positive orientation to feedback as she establishes its personal importance by building up its value. As Anna Lucia constructs the fault of her first mentor, it is that she does not provide enough feedback. The simple green check mark lacks enough constructive criticism to be helpful, but her second mentor's feedback with all its detail is useful. By providing reports of how she has oriented to previous feedback, Anna Lucia presents herself as someone who has been and will be open to others' input. Throughout the corpus of data, Anna Lucia was the most accepting of feedback and often sought it in the recorded meetings. The conversational encounter in this excerpt is consistent with other instances where she demonstrated her positive orientation to feedback, accepting it from other interns, Jonathon, and her mentors. By doing so time and time again, she presents herself as a collaborator and not an individual.

Resisting Input. It could be argued that excerpts that show an intern accepting input from her mentors (Excerpt Thirty-Seven) or field supervisor (Excerpt Thirty-Four) do not demonstrate true collaboration because the power differential requires subordinates to accept the input of a superior. However, the data contradicts this assumption. The meetings were full of instances where input from mentors, professors, and Jonathon, as well as peers was resisted outright.

In the same way that accepting input demonstrated a positive orientation to feedback, *resisting input* demonstrated that feedback was unwelcome. By displaying a negative orientation to feedback over and over again, some participants presented themselves as *individuals* rather

than as collaborators who wished to exchange ideas. Obviously, resisting input is not always

inappropriate. In situations where the input is itself inappropriate, resisting it may be wise.

However, patterns of resistance can send powerful messages about how individuals orient to

feedback in general. As this section progresses, contrasting excerpts show Reagan resisting

input in one moment but collaborating by accepting input in another, but multiple excerpts work

together to demonstrate Zeke's pattern of resistance and the impact that pattern had on how he

was recognized by at least one other member of the group.

During the fourteenth meeting of the year (Spring 02 02), Reagan resisted Jonathon's

input about some troubles she had expressed. Jonathon had asked the group to present

something for the group to discuss, and Reagan said that she was having a difficult time getting

her students to complete work unless she told them that the assignment was for a grade. Mindy

and Harper said that they had similar problems and had begun collecting every assignment their

students completed. Despite Jonathon saying that this meeting would be a time for the group to

"trouble shoot together//" (9:09-10), he took over the conversation with an extended turn lasting

for approximately a minute-and-a-half (11:21-12:54). During it, he focused on how the

relevancy of a lesson could impact student interest and increase engagement. In Excerpt Thirty-

Eight, Reagan resists his input by cutting him off and diminishing the value of his suggestion.

Excerpt Thirty-Eight

1   Jonathon: but if you can try to make the stuff relevant/

2   that relevancy thing really carries a lo:t/ (.2)

3   [um]

4   Reagan: [it was] one of the most relevant °things that we've done//° (heh)

5   Jonathon: wh(h.)at's th(h.)at/

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6   Reagan: it was very very=

7   Jonathon: [oh]

8   Reagan: =[rel]ev(h.)ant (heh) (.)

9   they just don't care//

10   Jonathon: yeah//

11   Zeke: yeah/

The beginning of the excerpt shows the conclusion of Jonathon's turn. He had been speaking for over a minute and a half about the impact that relevance can have on student motivation. As he did so, he built up the value that relevancy has on the success of a lesson, boiling down Reagan's complex issue to one fault. In doing so, he presented Reagan's problem as fixable, but he also located the fault within Reagan's planning by suggesting that it was the lesson that had deficiencies, not the students.

As Jonathon starts to summarize his ideas (lines 1-2), Reagan cuts him off diminishing the value of his suggestion when she says, "it was one of the most relevant °things that we've done//° (line 4). Here she claims that despite the lesson being "one of the most relevant" that she has taught, the students were still unresponsive. Reagan resists the notion that the fault might lie in her planning and places the blame back on the students. She claims that her lesson was "very very relevant" (lines 6-8), but the students "just don't care//" (line 9). By not offering evidence of the relevancy of the lesson, the other conversationalists must take her word that the lesson was, in fact, the "most relevant" of the semester, and because no one in the meeting knows Reagan's students, neither Jonathon nor the other interns are in a place to contradict her when she says that "they just don't care," a statement that Zeke reinforces by agreeing (line 11).

Jonathon's next turn demonstrates that Reagan's resistance of his input is effective. Whether his saying "yeah" (line 10) is merely back-channelling or a statement of agreement like Zeke's, Jonathon's talk following the excerpt abandons the notion that relevance might contribute to the success of future lessons. Whatever the intention, Jonathon does not use "yeah" to pass his turn as a back-channel token normal would, and he offers a different suggestion.

The inclusion of this excerpt is not to demonstrate that Reagan proved that she was right, nor is it to say that she should have taken Jonathon's advice. While the analysis highlights the rhetorical usefulness of not presenting all the details about the lesson or the students, the truth remains that Reagan is the only one who knows what she taught on that day, and she does, in fact, know the group of students better than anyone else. The excerpt simply demonstrates how an educator can resist input by diminishing the value of that input. Doing so on a repeated bases could lead to being recognized as a teacher who does not accept input and who prefers to work as an individual.

Later in the same meeting (Spring 02 02), Zeke provided an example of this repeated resistance. He introduced a problem that he was having with one student in particular. Zeke explained that during his class one student would often stand and walk up to where he was teaching. When Nick and Reagan expressed that they had a similar student, Zeke worked up his student as different from the students Nick and Reagan were familiar with by saying he was "a weird kid" who "walks up and puts his <u>hand</u> on my shoulder (.) and like starts talking to me (.) in my ear/ (.) in front of all the kids" (16:56-17:01). As the conversation progressed, Mindy talked about how she and her mentor teacher handled a student with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). When she concluded, Reagan told how she and her mentor let a student with ADHD expend energy by walking around in the hall. In the lengthy conversation that followed,

Zeke resisted Reagan's and a number of others' suggestions. Because of the length of this

conversation, I have divided it into multiple excerpts (Excerpt Thirty-Nine A-C), and because it

has been included to demonstrate how one participant repeatedly resisted input, the focus of this

analysis will be on Zeke's utterances only.

Excerpt Thirty-Nine A

1   Reagan: but

2   we just give him some time

3   we're [like go::/ calm yourself//]

4   Zeke: [I don't know maybe I-maybe I'll] do that//

5   but (.2) he (.2)

6   Anna Lucia: or give him something [like a ball]=

7   Zeke: [talks a lot//]

8   Anna Lucia: =that he can like/ (.8) ho:ld/

9   [<or something>]

10   Zeke: [oh that is an] awful idea//

11   Several: (hehe)

12   ((skipping 5 brief turns))

13   Zeke: that will get (.2) that will leave his hands very quickly//

14   he's just=

15   Female: (heh)

16   Zeke: =I don't know one of those kids//

After Reagan offers a possible solution for Zeke to consider, he responds, "I don't know maybe I- maybe I'll do that// (lines 4). By beginning his turn with "I don't know," he begins by expressing doubt. Though he says that "maybe" he will try Reagan's idea, his commitment to what Reagan has suggested is anything but firm, and he provides additional information to demonstrate why her suggestion would not work: "he talks a lot//" (lines 5-7). Though no clear connection is made between why the student's talking would make Reagan's suggestion to let him go into the hall ineffective, Zeke's comment is enough for the group to move on to other suggestions. Anna Lucia suggests giving the student a ball to hold onto, presumably so the boy has something to manipulate and focus his energy on, but this suggestion is resisted with the comic statement, "oh that is an awful idea//" (line 10). After the interns share a laugh and make a few jokes, Zeke makes a prediction that a ball "will leave his hands very quickly//" (line 13). This comment effectively shuts down Anna Lucia's idea.

Though Zeke uses two different approaches to resist the others, he relies on evidence that only he has access to to ensure that Reagan and Anna Lucia cannot continue to advance their ideas. He resists Reagan's suggestion by providing additional information that no one in the group has, and when he resists Anna Lucia's suggestion, he does so by making a prediction based on his personal knowledge of the student. Over the previous five months, Zeke had emphasized the personal importance of student relationships more than any other intern, and in this excerpt, he puts his claimed knowledge of his students to work. Before the excerpt began, he talked about how "weird" the student is, and by making the student unique from all others that the other participants might have experience with, Zeke ensures that the others cannot provide useful input. The other group members do not have enough knowledge of Zeke's student to

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know what would or would not work in this unique situation, so Zeke is the only one who can

make such a prediction.

Zeke continued to resist, but as he did so he changed tactics.

Excerpt Thirty-Nine B

14   Zeke: he's just=

15   Female: (heh)

16   Zeke: =I don't know one of those kids//

17   he [likes]=

18   Reagan: [what about]

19   Zeke: =to talk a lot/

20   he needs attention all the time/

21   ((skipping 3:16 minutes, including Reagan offering another suggestion))

22   Reagan: that was >that was one idea/<

23   and then (.) I think/

24   Zeke: he would just <u>talk</u> though//

25   that's his thing

26   like if he: (.2) wa- was able to go [around the class]

27   Reagan: [>well make it like a privilege//<]

28   Zeke: [what's funny though=]

29   Anna Lucia: [yeah channel that] [energy]

30   Zeke: [=is that the other kids=]

31   Reagan: [(syl syl) if he talks]

32   Zeke: =recognize him

Zeke changes tactics completely by saying that the boy is "one of those kids//" (line 16).

Zeke creates a category of student that the others in the group might relate to (Edwards, 1991).

This explicit identity claim about the student presents him as a certain kind of student who "likes

to talk a lot/" (lines 17-19).   Where Zeke once presented the student as different from all others,

he now presents him as "one of those" that the other interns might be familiar with, the kind who

needs "attention all the time" (line 20). After seemingly opening the conversation to input by

implying that the others might be familiar with this kind of student, Zeke moves the conversation

to other topics (line 21) before anyone else can speak. In the omitted section, he tells his method

for making students raise their hands to talk and explains how he likes to joke with students by

making fun of them. By turning the conversation away from his problem, Zeke prevents anyone

else from making suggestions, but Jonathon turns the conversation back to the subject Zeke had

introduced.

Eventually, Reagan suggests making the student a helper by asking him to pass out

papers and other materials, a suggestion she completes in line 22. She then begins to offer

another suggestion (line 23), but Zeke cuts her off to provide evidence why her idea to use the

student as a helper would not be effective. Once again he predicts what would happen by saying,

"he would just talk though//" (line 24). As has already been mentioned above, the others do not

have the relevant experience with the student to challenge this prediction, and Zeke provides

more information that the group could not already know about the student that "his thing" (line

27) is walking around the class talking. This attempt to resist the others' input is not as

successful as previous attempts, and Reagan and Anna Lucia refine Reagan's suggestions (lines 27, 29). However, Zeke does not even acknowledge these utterances.

Instead, he changes his footing and says that "the other kids recognize him as a talker/ and a walker/" (lines 31-32). The footing of an utterance is where the speaker claims an idea originated (Goffman, 1981). Though the category "walker" was one that Nick actually authored when Zeke was first describing his student, Zeke uses the category to demonstrate that the "other kids" recognize the boy as a particular kind of student. The truthfulness of this statement about the class's cognitions cannot be verified, but by establishing his footing in the shared opinion of others, Zeke provides support to his owns claims about the student.

Anna Lucia then made a suggestion for Zeke to encourage the student to keep a journal. She proposed that the student might ultimately want attention from Zeke, and a dialogical journal could provide such attention without disrupting the class.

Excerpt Thirty-Nine C

34   ((skipping 3:12 minutes where Anna Lucia suggests that the boy keep a journal))

35   Anna Lucia: maybe he (.) doesn't have (.2) like a male figure/

36   that he feels like he could respect//

37   Zeke: [that's possible//]

38   Anna Lucia: [and so he's drawn] to you

39   Zeke: I think it's more just the attention though//

40   Anna Lucia: right//

41   Zeke: I think he really just likes the attention//

42   I think that wouldn't (.2) get him much attention//

43   Anna Lucia: but i- it would from you:/

44		maybe you could-
45		every night you could read it//
46		and you could write him like a sentence back//
47		and then=
48	Zeke:	[that'd be <u>sweet</u>]
49	Anna Lucia:	=[there would be back] and forth//
50	Zeke:	but
51	Two:	(heh)
52	Anna Lucia:	I don't know//
53	Zeke:	it'd be cute//
54		but I'll try it//
55		I'll try [something//]
56	Anna Lucia:	[I don't know]
57	Zeke:	I'll figure it out//

Spring 02 02, 24:26-24:49

As Anna Lucia explains her idea, she attempts to uncover the motivation behind the student's behavior. [16] Though Zeke momentarily entertains her suggestion about the boy's feelings toward Zeke as a male role model by stating, "that's possible" (line 37), he immediately discredits her by stating and reiterating that the student just wants attention (lines 39-41). Though not as sophisticated as some of the earlier methods he employed, Zeke strengthens this claim by rephrasing his suggestion that the student just wants attention two times. Anna Lucia is not dissuaded, and she continues to advocate for her idea (lines 43-47). However, Zeke makes

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[16] In the interest of respecting the participants of this study, I am not summarizing or commenting on the portion of the meeting skipped over in line 34.

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two comments that completely devalue her proposal: "that'd be <u>sweet</u>" and "it'd be cute//" (lines 48, 53). He presents her idea as something juvenile or below him. After so much resistance, Anna Lucia gives up trying to collaborate.

Zeke then concludes the conversational segment. He self initiates a repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) of the statement, "I'll try it" (line 54), changing instead to "I'll try something//" (line 55). By saying that he would "try it," he commits to Anna Lucia's idea, but saying he would "try something," releases him from that commitment. Saying he will "try something" might imply that he will implement one of the ideas from the brainstorming session, but his concluding statement makes sure he is not committed to implementing any of the ideas that the others had suggested. When he says, "I'll figure something out//" (line 57), he effectively shuts down any other suggestions by taking his issue off the table and stating that he would be the one to find a solution.

Despite the variety of resources that the interns had at their disposal, they often said they would "figure out" what to do on their own. With access to a field supervisor, two mentor teachers, the peers in their cohort, and their graduate professors, participants chose to "figure out" problems they were facing without others' input. Saying they preferred to work in isolation despite being surrounded by competent educators sent a clear message about how they oriented to feedback from others. Though Zeke introduced the problem as one for discussion, his resistance to everyone's suggestions and his statement that he would be the one to figure out the problem demonstrates that feedback is actually unwelcome.

The cumulative impact of Zeke's discursive actions presents him as an individual rather than a collaborator. Evidence that he was recognized as an individual who was resistant to input was demonstrated later in the meeting when he and Harper both said that they had a student who

regularly slept in class. Anna Lucia, who had demonstrated time and again that she valued

collaboration by both offering and accepting input, disregarded Zeke's problem and invited

Harper into a side conversation to offer suggestions about how to help a tired student.

Though Zeke was recognized as an individual because he consistently resisted input in this

excerpt, and though he resisted input in other meetings (Excerpts Forty and Forty-One below),

this aspect of his identity is not fixed or permanent. Similarly, though Anna Lucia often

presented herself as a collaborator, she might present herself differently in different situations.

More generally stated, though the discursive work of a participant in one moment presented him

or her as one kind of teacher, other utterances could work in the opposite direction. For example,

in Excerpt Thirty-Eight, Reagan resists Jonathon's input, but in Excerpt Thirty-Nine A-B, she

offers several suggestions to Zeke. In one excerpt she presents herself as an individual, in the

next, as a collaborator. Identity is constantly being renegotiated (Gee, 2001), but the amount of

effort it takes to renegotiate what kind of person an individual is recognized as depends on how

much identity work has already occurred.

Elsewhere, Zeke's discursive work also contributed to his being recognized as an

individual when he gave a report about a situation where input was offered. Much like Anna

Lucia's report about her mentors' feedback presented Anna Lucia as a collaborator, Zeke's

report of the post conference following his first classroom observation demonstrated his

orientation to feedback. Just like giving reports about accepting input displayed the speaker's

positive orientation to feedback, giving reports about resisting input did the opposite.

As of the fourth group meeting (Fall 09 19), only Nick and Zeke had been observed in the

classroom. Jonathon asked both interns to give a report about the observation process to help the

others feel at ease. Zeke said he was not nervous before the observation, and then he stated how

he felt about the experience. According to his version of the experience, the feedback after the observation was not particularly useful.

Excerpt Forty

1   Zeke: I was pretty <u>prou:d</u> of myself// (1.0)

2   you didn't say anything

3   that really hurt my feelings/ (1.0)

4   except for the stuff I expected you to say//

Fall 09 19, 15:20-27

Zeke says that overall, he was proud of himself (line 1). Though he does not say what his pride is based on, he suggests that it is the result of Jonathon not having said "anything that really hurt my feelings/" (lines 2-3). My own anecdotal experience conducting post-observation conferences has shown that interns' feelings are usually hurt when they are told that what they are doing is not working or what they are doing goes against sound practices. Zeke suggests that these comments were absent from his post conference except for "the stuff I expected you to say//" (line 4). Zeke presents the input that Jonathon offered as information that he was already familiar with. Despite not having implemented those concepts in the lesson that Jonathon observed, Zeke claims to know what he should be doing. By saying that he already knew everything that his supervisor told him, Zeke implies that Jonathon's feedback was not especially useful.

At the next meeting (Fall 09 26), Zeke again implied that he already knew everything he needed to know about a problem he was having. Jonathon had asked the interns to write an open-ended question for the group to brainstorm solutions together, and then they went around the group discussing the questions that each had drafted. Both how Zeke asked his question and

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how he concluded his segment of the brainstorming session demonstrated that feedback from his peers was not welcome.

At the beginning of Excerpt Forty-One, Jonathon tells Zeke to direct his question to his peers because Jonathon would not respond, and he did not speak again for nearly three minutes. To maintain a focus on how Zeke resisted input, several minutes have been skipped over. In that time, Anna Lucia, Mindy, and Nick made a series of suggestions centering on persistence before Zeke expanded on the trouble that he was having by telling a story about one student in particular. When Jonathon did speak again, he told a brief anecdote relating to one of Zeke's comments and then asked Zeke why it was important for a teacher to know his or her students. In response, Zeke made connections between relationships and student engagement, and then Jonathon closed that segment of brainstorming.

Excerpt Forty-One

1   Jonathon: yeah and don't ask me because I'm not answering you

2   Zeke: a'ight (.4) <so all of <u>you</u>>//

3   ((read with a campy voice))

4   how can I get to know the students

5   that don't really want to be known or acknowledged// (.)

6   ((end altered voice))

7   seemingly so (.4) >EVERYone wants to be< acknowledged//

8   ((skipping 4:15 minutes of discussion))

9   Jonathon: so what's th- what's his verdict// (1.2)

10   or is he screwed for life//

11   Zeke: MY (.) my thought was just keep at it

12		but
13	Female:	yeah
14	Female:	yeah
15	Zeke:	I just figured that would be my an- my answer//

Zeke asks his question by reading it off the paper he wrote it on, and he clearly has a reading voice when he speaks (lines 3-5). However, more than just a reading voice, his exaggerated pronunciation and altered voice suggests that he does not take the activity seriously. As the other participants make suggestions in the portion of the conversation that has not been included above, Zeke only offers two continuers, saying "yeah" twice (15:47, 15:56). Then he tells a story to illustrate the type of student he means when he says some do not want to "be known" (line 5), and when he completes it, Jonathon asks for a final "verdict" (line 9). Jonathon's question effectively closes down this segment of the meeting, and although he had presented the time as one when in which the interns would troubleshoot issues together by asking and answering open-ended questions, he now orients to Zeke's question as one that should have a single answer or "verdict." If the group does not produce a sufficient answer, Jonathon jokes that Zeke might be "screwed for life" (line 10).

Despite Jonathon directing his question to everyone in the group except Zeke, a fact that is evidenced in his altering of "th-" to "his" (line 9), Zeke is the only one who answers. Zeke does not allow the others to speak here as he grabs the floor and states, "MY (.) my thought was just keep at it"(line 11). This expression echoes what Anna Lucia, Nick, and Mindy had all suggested about persistence, but he does not present this idea as one that he got from the others. Instead, he states that he "figured that would be my an- my answer//" (line 15). This line works

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as a good book end with the opening of the excerpt that demonstrates Zeke might not take this activity seriously. As Zeke asks his question, he does not present himself as someone who is genuinely seeking the input of his peers, and at the end of the excerpt, he makes a statement similar to the one that he made about the feedback Jonathon gave him during his post conference (Excerpt Forty). In both situations, he claims to have already known what was going to be said. In this excerpt, he had already "figured" the answer to his question before he presented it. Once again, he demonstrates that he is not that kind of teacher who collaborates. Instead, he resists input, figuring out issues on his own and working as an individual.

      Conclusion. The nature of the recorded meetings foregrounded how participants orientated to feedback in a way that might not occur in other settings. Because Jonathon had the authority to require the interns to bring their problems into the conversational space of the meetings, he created an environment where input into each others' practice was a more regular aspect of conversation than would be present in most faculty meetings, teacher work rooms, or graduate classes. However, though the concentration of these conversations was higher than might occur in schools, I believe the same sort of discussions do occur between beginning and experienced teachers in a variety of settings. As these conversations take place among educators, all conversationalists can show how they orient to feedback by accepting or resisting input, and doing one or the other over a period of time can get one recognized as either a collaborator or an individual. Of course, collaborators and individuals were just two of the many kinds of people that the participants in this study presented themselves as, but they did not accomplish this aspect of their identities in isolation from other aspects. Negotiating an identity is an ongoing and complex process (Britzman, 2003; Gee, 2001), so at the same time a participant presented herself as a collaborator, she could also present herself as someone who valued doing one's own

planning for her classes. Similarly, while another intern might have presented herself as an

individual in her orientation to feedback, she could also emphasize the value of close

relationships with students in the same conversation.

Strategy 5. Talking about Failure

     Introduction. Each report of an event that a person tells presents one of many possible

versions (Potter, 1996). Though presented as factual, reports are usually constructed in ways that

are most favorable to the speaker's purposes. Usually, speakers present themselves as the

protagonists of the versions that they construct, but it may be useful at times to do otherwise. In

certain contexts, it may be favorable for a speaker to come off as inept or bumbling. For

instance, a person trying to entertain a group might tell a self-deprecating story to get a laugh,

and someone wanting to show growth over time could tell a story that showed just how clueless

he was before developing into his current state. In either of these cases, the report might not be

told simply be to make the speaker look good. However, most reports do have some way of

presenting the speaker in a favorable light. For example, a report that makes the teller look

completely incompetent could be told to make someone else feel better, and speakers can use

other roundabout methods of presenting themselves favorably even when talking about

difficulties that they have experienced.

     Throughout this study, reports of failure were often constructed in ways that presented

the speakers as competent teachers in spite of the failures they were discussing. Despite talking

about events where they had experienced significant problems, the interns constructed versions

of the events in ways that were favorable to themselves. Creating a favorable report was often

accomplished by giving an account for why they had experienced the problems in the first place.

An account is simply the reason a person gives for an outcome or what the person attributes the

outcome to (Potter, 1996). These attributions may be stated explicitly, but a speaker may also construct versions of events that provide accounts implicitly, just as many of the excerpts in the section on personal importance demonstrated. In either case, the participants in this study regularly included excuses in the versions of their reports about problems that they had experienced. An excuse is an account that recognizes an outcome as negative but includes details that attribute the outcome to some unavoidable external factors thereby suggesting that the outcome, while not ideal, is permissible (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). A teacher who arrives at school later than planned and therefore does not have adequate time to set up for a particularly complex lesson might attribute the lesson's failure to the slow barista at the coffee shop. Doing so might present the teacher in a more favorable light than if she simply said that stopping for coffee was a bad decision and that she was responsible for the lessons' failure. On the other hand, taking responsibility for her actions could also function to present the speaker in a favorable light if the recognition of her fault is accompanied by a commitment to change. This section focuses on how the participants constructed versions of failure by either *blaming the situation* or *blaming self* for the failure and the effects of each type of construction.

Blaming the Situation. Though the interns often talked about failures, most of their talk did not suggest that they were at fault for what had occurred. Rather than constructing versions of failure in which the interns blamed themselves, participants often constructed versions that did not undermine how competent they appeared. Instead, they blamed the situation for negative outcomes. In the ongoing process of identity negotiation, *blaming the situation* helped maintain a favorable identity by presenting a version of the events in which the speaker had limited agency. After all, if a situation prevented a teacher from achieving success, that teacher could not be judged for failing. The unfavorable situation provided an excuse for failure, allowing the

speaker to claim that the negative outcomes had to be tolerated because of the extenuating circumstances (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). When situations were blamed for failure, the situations were often constructed as ones that could not be changed because they were the result of external circumstances outside the speaker's influence. As such, a situation had to be endured until other external elements corrected it. Instead of requiring the speaker to commit to action, versions that blamed the situation presented the outcomes as out of the speaker's hands.

Talking about failure in ways that blamed the situation was one way that the interns presented themselves as competent; however, because identity is negotiated in social space, the other participants must have accepted the speaker's version as true for the speaker to be recognized as competent. Otherwise, the shift of accountability might have been viewed as a sign of negligence. Although participants rarely contradicted each other openly in ways that explicitly rejected versions that blamed the situation, that does not mean that all of these versions were accepted as factual. People rarely call someone out in a group setting, so it is possible that some participants disagreed with other speakers but did not challenge them openly. In this section, I note when participants challenged others' reports, but I do not spend extensive time focusing on whether or not other participants accepted the reports as factual. Instead, my analysis attends to the identity work that the versions made possible.

Excerpt Forty-Two is a clear example of three participants shifting blame onto something other than themselves. In the third meeting (Fall 09 12), Jonathon asked those who had started teaching already how they were doing and asked, "are we having successes// are we having problems//" (18:55-58). Zeke immediately answered Jonathon's question by stating that the students do not do very well, but he blamed the composition of the school for why more students were not achieving success rather than suggesting that he was at fault.

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Excerpt Forty-Two

1   Zeke: I mean (.6) they don't do very well//

2   but

3   Female: (heh)

4   Zeke: I don't think that's my fault//

5   Female: (heh)

6   Zeke: (hehe)

7   Reagan: <I am with you:> [on that one//]

8   Female: [(uh yeah)]

9   Reagan: (heh)

10   Zeke: ye(h.)ah (heh)

11   uh (.2) they'r- they're doing really poorly//

12   but (.) I think that's just (1.0) the population/

13   and how bad they were//

14   when they came in (.) to the class//

Fall 09 19, 18:59-19:16

In response to Jonathon's question about whether or not the interns were experiencing successes or failures, Zeke states a broad problem. He takes the floor quickly by starting with "I mean" (line 1) and then pauses momentarily before presenting the failure that he will expound on. He says that the students "don't do very well//" (line 1), but then he quickly displaces blame by saying, "I don't think that's my fault//" (line 4). If the subject "they" of his opening clause "they don't do very well" does not make it clear that his students are to blame, his statement that it is not his fault does so clearly. In between these two utterances, another intern offers a

knowing laugh which Zeke himself responds to with a laugh. This non-verbal exchange seems to suggest that at least one other intern can relate to the problem that Zeke is facing and that she too has students who are not doing well.

Like Zeke clarifying the implications of his opening statement by providing an explicit comment to follow it, Reagan clarifies the meaning of the laughs. Her explicit statement "<I am with you:> on that one//" (line 7) is delivered slowly and deliberately, and another female agrees before Reagan is even finished speaking (line 8). In just a few seconds the group has established that students in several of their classrooms are not succeeding and that the interns are not to blame for their lack of comprehension. Their agreement about this version adds to its apparent factuality. Despite having been teaching for a just a few weeks, their inexperience and lack of skills are not offered as viable explanations for the negative outcomes. Instead, Zeke begins to present one version of the situation that places blame elsewhere.

After stating again that the students are not doing well (line 11), he provides an excuse for why this failure is not his fault. He says, "I think that's just (1.0) the population/ and how bad they were// when they came in (.) to the class//" (lines 12-14). According to Zeke's version, the population of the school is to blame. Urban High School consisted of mostly African-America students from low-income families. The school was well-known for the students who attended it, so Zeke could deploy this detail with relatively little threat that others would challenge him. Doing so invokes all the stereotypes associated with such students. He also adds that his students were particularly "bad" when they first came into his class. As he presents the situation, the demographics of his students and how poorly prepared they were before they got to his class have more to do with the lack of leaning than anything he is doing.

Because the final section of this chapter addresses the ways in which participants worked up the impact of students on their classrooms in detail, I will not go into detail about that aspect here. Instead, I will highlight how blaming the situation presents Zeke—and the interns who agree with him—as competent. By blaming the population of the school and how poorly prepared the students were before this year began, Zeke blames factors that he has no control over. Certainly, he cannot affect who is and is not admitted into the school. If it were zoned for this population of underachievers, no teacher in the building can be held accountable for their poor performance. However, he also implicitly blames other teachers who did not successfully teach these students in previous years. Because he cannot right this wrong either, he will simply have to endure the situation he finds himself in.

Despite very little experience teaching, the interns in this excerpt seem content to blame anyone else for the problem as long as long as they are not implicated. At the start of the next meeting (Fall 09 12), Zeke made his blame of other teachers more explicit. In the time before the meeting had formally begun, Zeke told Jonathon about his students' failure on a grammar quiz, and in the Excerpt Forty-Three, Zeke blames other teachers for the students' poor performance on the quiz that he gave them.

Excerpt Forty-Three

1   Jonathon: so what do you <u>make</u> of that then//

2   Zeke: um (1.2) I make that

3   they just haven't been (.6) taught (1.2) sentence fragments/

Fall 09 12, 00:30-38

The excerpt begins with Jonathon asking Zeke to state what he will take away from the experience of seeing so many students fail an assessment (line 1). In response, Zeke blames the

students' previous teachers for not teaching the content in question. By claiming that "they just

haven't been (.6) taught" (line 3), he uses the restrictive "just" to boil down the students' failure

to one factor (Lee, 1987): the students have not received the instruction that they should have

received by now. Despite the quiz that Jonathon and Zeke are talking about being an assessment

designed to measure whether or not the students had understood Zeke's lesson, Zeke attributes

their gap in knowledge to other teachers. It is a similar move to Paula's statement in the same

meeting when she said that the reason her students were not good writers was because "the

TIME hasn't been taken/" (52:55-57) by other teachers to teach them how to write (Excerpt

Seven, line 22).

By blaming the previous teachers the interns are able to present themselves as competent

individuals doing the best that they can given the bad situations they are in. However, for this

strategy to work, the version must be accepted by the other conversationalists. In both cases,

however, Jonathon confronts the versions as questionable. Jonathon prompts Zeke to say, "they

may not have been taught anything/ but it's my responsibility to teach them anyway↑" (01:32-

37), and he explicitly confronts Paula, telling her that previous teachers did "target this stuff//"

(Fall 09 19, 53:32-34). These challenges complicate how effectively the interns' attempts to

blame the situation work.

Excerpt Forty-Four offers a seemingly more effective attempt. Mindy blamed the quality

of a mandatory test for her students' failure of it during the Fall semester. Late in the year

(Spring 03 18), Jonathon visited Suburban High School to see how Mindy and Anna Lucia were

doing. Moments after she complained about not getting help teaching poetry from her mentor

(see Excerpt Fifteen), Mindy said she was also not getting help preparing her students for the

final exam. The state's Department of Education mandated that freshmen, sophomores, and

juniors take common assessments across all districts. Senior English, however, did not have a state-mandated test. The final exam for that class was one that was written by district personnel downtown. As Mindy talked about the test, she blamed it for her students' inability to succeed.

Excerpt Forty-Four

1   Mindy: but I mean I had a lot of kids fail last semester

2   'cause ((someone in the downtown office)) writes it

3   and um (.) it (.4) is a terrible test// (2.0)

4   um (.4) like there are even some

5   that I'm like how the heck is this the right answer//

Spring 03 18, 03:19-30

Mindy first states her problem that she had "a lot of kids fail last semester" (line 1). Because it is the teacher's job to teach students and ensure that they have learned the content before taking the final, having a high number of students who do not pass the test is problematic. However, rather than presenting a version of the first semester's events that holds Mindy responsible, she constructs one that blames the test and its writer for her students' failure. She draws attention to "it" by pausing before and after saying the word with emphatic stress. Doing so draws attention to the clause that passes judgment on the exam: "and um (.) it (.4) is a terrible test// (2.0)" (line 3).

She allows this judgment to sink in for two full seconds before supporting her claim that "there are even some" (line 4) questions that she cannot figure out "how the heck is this the right answer//" (line 5). This statement assumes that as a competent English major and language arts teacher she should know the answers to all the questions. Her inability to correctly answer some

of the questions is presented as evidence of the test's inadequacy. By supporting her claim that

the test is terrible, Mindy adds to the apparent factuality of the version she has presented.

At this point, it is important to remember that the factuality of the participants' claims is not of

interest in this study. Perhaps Mindy is correct; perhaps the test is terrible. Zeke and Paula

might be correct, too. The situations may be particularly challenging ones which are, in fact,

constrained by external factors, but the purpose of this analysis is to look at the effect of

presenting these versions—factual or not—in conversation. Though steps were often taken to

make their versions look like factual representations of reality, I cannot make claims about how

closely their reports match what really happened or what was really to blame for a specific

failure because to do so would be to privilege my version over theirs. What is of interest is how

constructing the events as factual contributed to their discursive identity work.

Reagan spent significantly more effort constructing the factuality of her version of her

struggles with classroom management during the first semester. In the second meeting of the

Spring semester (Spring 02 02), Jonathon asked the group to talk about any classroom

management issues that they were having, so the group could help trouble shoot them. He

justified this activity by stating that before the semester break in December several interns had

asked to talk about classroom management techniques in subsequent meetings. However, when

he asked for specific classroom management problems to discuss in this meeting, the interns

talked in ways that implied that most of these problems had been resolved. Reagan then made an

excuse for the problems that she previously had with classroom management, claiming that they

were an unavoidable result of her role as a first-semester intern in the classroom. She then

expended a good deal of effort to construct this version as factual.

Excerpt Forty-Five

1   Reagan: I think part of it (.) is (.)

2   um (.2) last (.2) semester (.6) I came in (.) in the middle/

3   and [so]=

4   Anna Lucia: [yeah//]

5   Reagan: =they knew I was an intern//

6   [and they]=

7   Anna Lucia: [mmhmm]

8   Reagan: =knew

9   that they could (.) you know (.) screw with me//

10   Anna Lucia: yeah//

11   Reagan: an:d (.6) I didn't know better/

12   so I've (.) you know//

13   but this semeste- I guess just like starting this semester/ (.8)

14   from the very beginning//

15   like they barely even know

16   who: (.2) is supposed to be teaching that class//

17   ((skipping 4 lines))

18   and so I think that helps/

19   just like establishing from the very beginning/

20   like I:: run the show//

21   I'm it//

22   Anna Lucia: [definitely]

23   Reagan: [let's go]

24   Anna Lucia: I agree

The "it" (line 1) that Reagan refers to is the difference in her classroom management between the first and second semesters. According to her version, "I came in (.) in the middle/ and so they knew I was an intern// and they knew that they could (.) you know (.) screw with me//" (line 2-9). This statement makes her role in the classroom the determining factor for how well she was able to keep order in the class. According to her, because her students knew that that she was not a regular faculty member, they felt like they could "screw with" her.

Reagan employed a common interpretive repertoire that the interns used frequently.17 An interpretive repertoire is a common way of speaking about a subject (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996), and throughout the year, several participants talked about being an intern and being new to a class as factors that limited their effectiveness. For example, Paula claimed that because she was new and her students did not yet know her, they did not participant in her first discussion (Excerpt Thirteen), and in other instances, participants presented the impact of beginning the Fall semester in roles other than the primary teacher as a disadvantage. By basing her version of her first semester difficulties on this common interpretive repertoire, Reagan strengthens the factuality of that version. Anna Lucia's ready agreement (lines 4, 7, 10) not only demonstrates the familiarity of the interpretive repertoire but also that she has accepted Reagan's version of her difficulties.

Though Reagan appears to begin work on a version that would place her at fault for the previous semester's trouble, she never finishes it. She says, "I didn't know better/ so I've (.)" (lines 11-12), suggesting that she does know better now and probably acts differently as a result

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17 Interpretive repertoires are similar to what others call Discourses (e.g. Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 2010)

of her new knowledge. Her use of the word "so" sets up the expectation that she will explain the

new course of action she took in the Spring now that she has a better understanding of the

situation, but she leaves the clause that would have provided this information incomplete when

she says, "I've (.) you know//" (line 12). Instead of completing a version that would have blamed

her for the problems in the Fall, Reagan returns to one that will place blame on a situation that

was common to all the participants: being a student-teacher who did not start teaching on the first

day of school.

To bolster her claim that being an intern who began teaching in the middle of the

semester caused discipline problems, she presents her current situation as a stark contrast. In the

second semester, she was able to start teaching "from the very beginning//" (line 14). She

includes the word "very" which emphasizes that she could not have started teaching any sooner,

and to add to the factuality of that statement, she claims that her students "barely even know

who: (.2) is supposed to be teaching that class//" (lines 15-16). According to this version,

teaching from the "very start" creates a situation where the students do not know any difference

between her and the teacher of record. She ends her turn with an explicit statement that "I think

that helps just like establishing from the very beginning/ like I:: run the show// I'm it//" (lines 18-

21). Supposedly, because she was "it" from the start, Reagan's students give her the respect due

a teacher, and they behave accordingly. Instead of screwing with her, her students do what they

should. Anna Lucia again agrees (lines 22, 24) with Reagan's version that not teaching for the

first few weeks created problems throughout the whole first semester. Though claims cannot be

made about how all the participants feel about this version of the events in Reagan's class, Anna

Lucia, at least, appears to recognize the factuality of Reagan's version of a problematic situation

that led to a negative outcome. When versions like these that blame failure on extenuating

circumstances are effectively employed, a struggling individual may still be able to present herself in a way that is viewed as competent by others.

Blaming Self. An alternative way of speaking about failures was to construct versions that held the speaker responsible for a failure by *blaming self*.[18] In these versions the speaker presented herself as responsible for what had gone wrong. Doing so might initially seem to undermine how competent a speaker looks to others, but *blaming self* allowed participants to demonstrate growth and recognize a fault before someone else did so. Interestingly, like blaming the situation did, blaming self could also present a speaker as competent. In these versions, the blame for what had occurred was usually accompanied by an explicit explanation of how that situation had been remedied or an implication that the speaker's recognition of the problem would lead to better results in the future.

Midway through the first semester, Paula blamed herself for some discipline problems that she was having. Excerpt Forty-Six comes from a conversation in the eighth meeting (Fall 10 24) that had turned toward issues of classroom management. A few minutes before Anna Lucia accepted Jonathon's suggestion that she did not have to be hateful to get control of her class (Excerpt Thirty-Four), Paula blamed herself for the management issues that she was having.

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[18] Possessive and reflexive pronoun usage in sentences including the word *self*, make clear writing difficult. For clarity sake, I have avoided the use of these pronouns in many sentences. I have chosen not to the replace possessive pronouns with the article *the* because stating that someone was *blaming the self* can be misunderstood as a phrase that makes relevant notions of an essential or core self or identity, and those are constructs that I wish to avoid.

Excerpt Forty-Six

1   Paula: I don't know it's difficult for me to know

2   how to address that (.4)

3   without coming off (.) as a B I T C H//

4   >you know what I mean<

5   like I want to/ (..h)

6   I think I'm realizing

7   like I've bee:n (.) too cool with them maybe↑

Fall 10 24, 40:29-39

The excerpt begins with Paula stating that she does not know how to "address" (line 2) the discipline issues that she is having "without coming off (.) as a B I T C H//" (line 3). In this statement, she clearly expresses concern about her identity and not wanting her students to recognize her as the kind of teacher that can only be described by a word she considers too offensive to speak, but she also implicitly suggests that she must take some action about the disorder by presenting the situations as one she needs to "address." If the situation were beyond her control and the chaos of the classroom something that had to be endured until December, she would not need to expend the mental energy trying to "know" (line 1) what do. She makes her fault explicit when she says, "I've bee:n (.) too cool with them maybe↑" (line7), and after the excerpt concludes, Paula continued to speculate about how the class could have been different if she had taken her sister's advice to be stern from the start of the semester.

By blaming herself, Paula publically recognizes that she needs to do something different in the future. Though she does not outline a formal plan, she makes it clear to the group that she has reflected on her problems and discovered that she needs to develop her classroom

management skills. Despite taking almost a full minute to explain how "sassy" (39:31) her students were, she does not blame them for the current classroom environment, nor does she blame her mentor who began teaching the class in August. Instead, she holds her "cool" behavior singularly responsible.

Similarly, Excerpt Forty-Seven shows a time when Anna Lucia took responsibility for a problem that she had experienced during the first semester. In a meeting at Suburban High School that Jonathon had with Anna Lucia and Mindy midway through the Spring semester (Spring 03 18), Jonathon asked them to give an update about how their experience was going. After Mindy talked, Anna Lucia said that the new speech class that she had started teaching in January was "going like amazin::g//" (09:23-24) and then explained the differences between how much better her new English class was than the one she had the previous term.

Excerpt Forty-Seven

1	Anna Lucia: english class is going well//
2	we di:ved right into <u>research</u>//
3	((begins speaking with a smiling voice))
4	and thi(h.)s was the point in the semester <u>last</u> semester/
5	((returns to regular voice))
6	when I was li:ke (.4) the first day of research/ or second da:y/
7	I was like in tears/
8	and it was horrible// (.h)
9	and I feel a lot of growth//
10	like I feel totally comfortable/
11	I was able to reflect on what I did (.) poorly/

12	and what I needed to fix//
13	um and then even now I'm thinking about things to do again//
14	for next time that are better//
15	but (.2) it's going much (.) more smoothly/

<div align="right">**Spring 03 18, 09:29-51**</div>

Anna Lucia contrasts her current semester to her bad experience in the Fall, stating that "thi(h.)s was the point in the semester <u>last</u> semester/ when I was li:ke (.4) the first day of research/ or second da:y/ I was like in tears/ and it was horrible// (.h)" (lines 3-8). Two weeks earlier, she had stated, "I don't like teaching research//" (Spring 03 01, 17:11-13). Perhaps, the strong emotional response she now tells about was the reason for her dislike of research. Though she never states the sort of problems that she had in the first semester, saying that the experience was "horrible" and responsible for her being "in tears" clearly shows that the topic was a problematic one for her to teach.

The smile that can be heard in her voice as she explains the difficulty she was having sends a clear message that she no longer struggles with teaching research, and despite not liking teaching research during the first semester, she says with a bit of enthusiasm that her class "di:ved right into <u>research</u>//" (line 2) this semester. She presents a judgment that this semester's class is "going well//" (line 1). Given the contrasting description that she gave about her Fall experience, this positive evaluation suggests significant differences, and she presents a version of what is different in the new class. As she does so, Anna Lucia blames herself.

She first suggests that she was to blame for the experience in the first semester by saying, "I feel a lot of growth// like I feel totally comfortable/" (line 9). By saying that she has grown, she implies that she had an area that needed development, and by developing the area of

weakness, she has grown more confident in a domain that had previously made her cry. Rather than saying that the students in her Fall class were deficient, that she did not get proper support from her mentor, or that the testing schedule did not allow adequate time for the students to conduct research, she takes full responsibility for what happened before. In response to the negative experience, she says that she reflected on "what I did (.) poorly/ and what I needed to fix//" (lines 11-12). If she were holding an external factor responsible, she would not need to reflect on what changes to make. Instead, she would need to endure the situation until the next semester when she might get better students. However, if she is to blame for what occurred and what will occur, reflection is quite appropriate. In reference to the current semester, she says, "even now I'm thinking about things to do again// for next time that are better//" (lines 13-14). She again takes responsibility for what is not working in her second attempt at teaching research. According to Anna Lucia, the pay off for her reflection and for the changes she implemented is that "it's going much (.) more smoothly/" (line 15). Though blaming herself could have made her appear incompetent, she has instead presented herself as a reflective practitioner who is able to assess a negative situation and make the changes necessary to improve it and make it go "more smoothly." Instead of presenting the bad situation as one that had to be endured until some external factors changed, she presents her difficulty teaching research as a challenge that she could and did conquer.

Talking about difficulties in ways that presented them as challenges that could be conquered suggested that the participants could alter the outcomes in their classrooms, and these versions also blamed self for problems by suggesting that the difficulties had not been addressed adequately. For example, Paula blamed herself for not having managed the physical layout of her room better when she tried her first classroom discussion. In the third meeting (Fall 09 12),

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when Paula reported how her first lesson without her mentor had gone, she presented some of the logistical difficulties as a challenge to be conquered rather than as a situation that would have to endured until she was assigned to a new room. Though Excerpt Thirteen from this meeting shows that Paula blamed the little amount of time that she had spent with her students as a reason for their lack of participation, Excerpt Forty-Eight shows that she also recognized that the physical arrangement of the classroom had an impact on the discussion and would continue to impact future activities if she did not do something other than what she had done. As she spoke about the situation, she implied that how the physical arrangement of the room impacted lessons was ultimately her responsibility.

Excerpt Forty-Eight

1   Paula: and so it's that awkwardness of/

2   do I put all the chairs in a circle before everyone gets in here↑

3   and (1.0) if we have an activity/

4   they do it in their la:p//

5   I mean so tha- that's sort of the issue//

6   I'm working through//

Fall 09 12, 28:46-57

Paula's comments are in regard to the desks and chairs in her mentor teacher's classroom. The room was set up in small clusters, each consisting of four desks and four chairs. Two desks in each cluster faced the front of the classroom, and two faced the back. Unlike many of the other interns' classrooms, the desks and chairs were not connected to each other, so Paula seemingly had more options for how to arrange the room. However, because of the number of

desks in the room and the skinny aisles between them, moving furniture around—especially once the students were in the class—was challenging.

Excerpt Forty-Eight begins with Paula mentioning an idea that she had and then immediately explaining its "awkwardness" (line 1). She recognizes that she could rearrange the room by moving the desks to the perimeter and putting "all the chairs in a circle" (line 2) during the passing period between classes. While setting up the room in this way would have been more conducive to discussions, the activity she had struggled with during her first lesson and the one that her talk continually placed the most value on, she recognizes that this option would also create difficulties when lessons included a second activity because students would have to "do it in their la:p//" (line 4). By presenting one option and then the faults associated with that option, Paula demonstrates that she has thought through the difficult situation that she encountered. Instead of presenting the physical arrangement of the room as a constraint that must be endured, Paula says it is "the issue// I'm working through//" (lines 5-6). Stating that she is "working through" her problems shows that she is approaching it as an "issue" that must be acted on and conquered. Her talk does not demonstrate acceptance of the situation as one she will merely endure until the end of her internship; instead, it is one that she must find a positive solution to.

Similarly, in the conversation following the free write that Jonathon had asked the interns to complete (Fall 10 17), Anna Lucia presented the challenging reality that she was experiencing in the classroom as something she needed to adapt to and overcome. The interns had finished writing about the third prompt: "What is helping/hindering your progress of achieving the goals you articulated in your first free write?" Then Jonathon asked, "what's helping or hindering you// what (.) consistencies or inconsistencies are you seeing//" (31:20-24). Anna Lucia was the first to speak, and she talked about how the reality of the classroom was helping her "address"

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(31:48) the "lofty ideals" (31:39-40) that she had before the internship. Rather than blaming any external factor for not being able to achieve what she had intended to before entering the classroom, she presented a version of the situation that required her to make alterations to her own thinking and actions.

Excerpt Forty-Nine

1   Anna Lucia: there's a new version two point oh version of my dreams//

2   which is (.) like (.) what I want/

3   and then what I've got//

4   or what's reality//

5   and then (.6) finding a way to compromise and not sacrifice// (.4)

6   but also knowing what you've <u>got</u>//

7   and working with that//

8   and that can be a hindrance o:r (.) a help (syl, syl, syl)//

9   depending how you look at it//

Fall 10 17, 31:54-32:10

The excerpt begins with Anna Lucia invoking the abstract concept of "dreams" (lines 1). This term can refer to a wide range of cognitive processes, but rhetorically it works to suggest that Anna Lucia had specific positive expectations and mental constructs for what she thought would happen in the classroom. Often times, beginning teachers enter the classroom with exposure to a variety of pop culture images of teachers (Weber & Mitchell, 1995), and the impact of the apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975) that teachers received during their own schooling is frequently talked about in teacher education. Though Anna Lucia does not make clear where her dreams originated from or what they were, she does make it clear that they

were changing into a new "new version two point oh version" (line 1). As she explains why her dreams have changed, she speaks in ways that hold her responsible for what must occur.

Though she says that there is a difference between "what I want/ and then what I've got//" (lines 2-3), she does not lament this discrepancy. Certainly, she could spend more time explaining how "what's reality" (line 4) is not living up to her dreams, holding the students, the school, or her role as an intern responsible, but instead she talks about "finding a way to compromise and not sacrifice//" (line 5). This statement presents her current situation as one in which she must take an active role in making adjustments and change her teaching to accommodate her students. While she does say that "what you've got//" (line 6) is responsible for the compromises, she ultimately presents the teacher as responsible for "working with that//" (line 7). According to her version, altering dreams to match reality "can be a hindrance o:r (.) a help" (line 8). Because Anna Lucia attaches a positive spin to these changes by using a metaphor of a new and improved computer program "version two point oh," she implies that she has oriented to the compromise as a "help."

The excerpt ends with Anna Lucia recognizing that she has presented one version, but others are available. She makes relevant that her version is a subjective construction when she says, "depending how you look at it//" (line 9). She has chosen to see the disconnect between what she had expected in the classroom and what she is experiencing as a challenge that she can use to her advantage; doing so holds herself responsible for the dissonance. Though it would be easy for her to blame her students for not living up to the standards she had originally had for them before she met them, she ultimately presents herself as responsible for being "the teacher that they (.) that they need// <not the teacher that you> want to be//" (45:16-20).

Though taking responsibility for negative outcomes as Anna Lucia and Paula have done in the excerpts above could have threatened how competent they appeared to the others, they used these versions that blame self to show their development and willingness to adapt. It would have been better for everyone involved for the difficulties of the first semester to have resulted in more positive outcomes, and perhaps, a more skillful teacher could have gotten better results. Telling stories of success could easily present the interns as competent. However, the interns had to create versions of the events that accounted for what actually happened (including failures), and the excerpts that blamed self showed that accepting responsibility for negative outcomes could still present the participants in ways that demonstrated developing competence by showing that through planning and adaptation challenges could be conquered.

Conclusion. As could be expected, much of the talk that occurred during the year included discursive moves that worked toward establishing competence. In front of peers and an evaluator, being recognized as the kind of teacher who discharged her duties competently was far more favorable than the alternative. Even when making jokes, participants worked to ensure that they were viewed as good at what they were all learning to do. Giving reports of failure that preserved this appearance was a dominant strategy. Jonathon's frequent inquiry into the struggles that the interns were facing and his own tendency to speak in negative terms could easily account for the frequency of these reports. Though his patterns might have increased the frequency with which the participants employed these strategies, like all the strategies discussed in this study, their significance is not in the fact that they appeared, but in what they accomplished. Though *blaming the situation* and *blaming self* are very different approaches, they both worked to display the competence of the speaker. However, the other conversationalists had to recognize the speaker as competent for the strategy to have been

effective; otherwise, the speaker could be negotiating an identity that is not favorable to her. For example, a teacher who *blames the situation* could be recognized as one who shirks her responsibility, and a teacher who always *blames self* could be seen as someone who does not understand all the forces at work within a classroom. Even with the most carefully constructed versions, the social nature of identity negotiation allows for the possibility that individuals will be recognized as kinds of teachers that they find unfavorable.

Strategy 6. Working Up the Impact of Students on Lesson Outcomes

Introduction. As has been discussed above, any report of an occurrence was merely one construction of many possible versions that could have been used to report on the event (Potter, 1996). As the previous section showed, speaking in certain ways about classroom difficulties made certain implications about accountability and agency, and speaking in alternative ways would have made available alternative implications. One consistent area of trouble for the participants was difficult students. Difficult students provided such a consistent challenge for the interns that conversations frequently focused on them, and the interns' versions of these students and the impact that they had on their classrooms provided an open space for identity work. How the interns presented difficult students *worked up* specific versions that came with implications about both the students and the speaker.

As I use w*orking up*, it is the process of creating a specific version of something through talk. Participants often worked up versions of difficult students that aided in making implicit identity bids, and although the participants presented many different kinds of students as difficult—including those with behavior problems, low skill levels, poor work ethics, and etcetera—how the interns worked up the impact of the various difficult students achieved similar discursive work. The participants often worked up students in ways that demonstrated their own

orientations to issues of responsibility about what outcomes in the classroom and to what actions could be taken in the face of difficulty. The focus of this section is how the participants worked up the impact of students on lesson outcomes in ways that demonstrated one of two tendencies: *initiative* or *passivity.*

Like other strategies that the participants employed throughout the study, this one located them on a spectrum between two opposites as they demonstrated initiative or passivity. As I use the phrase *demonstrating initiative*, I mean any discursive work that displays a tendency for taking responsibility for what occurs in the classroom and working toward positive outcomes. *Demonstrating passivity* means the opposite. It refers to the discursive work that displays a tendency for avoiding personal responsibility for what occurs in the classroom. Because people rarely attempt to make improvements in situations they are not responsible for, when the tendency to avoid responsibility was displayed, work toward improving outcomes was not present. As discussed previously, because identities are not fixed, how a participant presented herself in one moment could differ from how she presented herself in another. One day a participant could demonstrate initiative, and the next meeting she could demonstrate passivity. Because how a person is recognized is constantly being renegotiated (Gee, 2001), an identity is the cumulative result of ongoing interactions with that person, individual excerpts are presented as mere examples of a discursive strategy rather than as evidence of any specific identities that the participants achieved. How any of the participants were recognized by the others was a result of the all the interactions those participants had with one another in and out of the recorded meetings. My terms *demonstrating initiative* and *demonstrating passivity* are not intended to reflect how the participants thought about themselves or each other; like all previous terms, these

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serve only as tools to aid in the discussion of the participants' identity work as they presented themselves as teachers who take initiative or as those who do not.

Demonstrating Passivity. Although I first defined initiative and then defined passivity in terms of its contrasting relationship to it, I will discuss passivity first because doing so will make the demonstration of initiative more evident in subsequent excerpts. As I use *passivity*, it is the tendency for avoiding personal responsibility and any work that might create positive outcomes. As interns talked about their classes, some of them worked up the impact of their students' behavior and skill level as forces too powerful to manage. As such, students were presented as the most significant contributing factor for the success or failure of a lesson. Presenting the impact of students in this way was accompanied by a demonstration of passivity toward the situations that the speaker was facing. After all, if students dictate outcomes, then teachers cannot affect change. Much like *blaming the situation*, the impact of students was often worked up in ways that limited the effect that any teacher could have, and the students themselves became a situation that had to be endured.

The most straightforward example of this type of talk came from Reagan and Zeke during the third meeting of the year (Fall 09 12), and it is represented in Excerpt Fifty. Reagan had been talking about the problems that she had experienced planning in advance because she was not getting as far as she wanted to each day. When Zeke agreed with her, they worked up the impact of students in a way that dismissed any need to plan differently than they had been doing.

Excerpt Fifty

1   Zeke: I kno:w// (.2)

2   no it's the same way with u:s//

3   Reagan: I mean they really [do dictate/]

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4   Jonathon: [here's your]

5   Reagan: oh (.) (syl)

6   Zeke: they dictate the (.6)

7   yea:h they dictate the classroom

8   much more [than we would]=

9   Reagan: [<ye::s>]

10   Zeke: =like to give credit for//

11   Reagan: yes the:y do//

The excerpt begins with Zeke agreeing that he has had the same difficulty that Reagan

has had making progress through material at the planned rate. He aligns himself with Reagan by

first displaying an understanding of her situation by saying, "I kno:w//" (line 1) and claiming that

he has the same problem in his own class by stating, "it's the same way with u:s//" (line 2).

Interestingly, Zeke's use of the plural first person pronoun "us" also aligns him with his mentor,

showing that a more experienced teacher is also having the same problem that he and Reagan

are.

Reagan then states "they really do dictate/" (line 3). Though she does not finish because

Jonathon cuts her off with an unrelated utterance about some papers he is handing her, Zeke

picks up her wording when he says, "they dictate the classroom much more than we would like

to give credit for//" (lines 7-10). Reagan agrees with how Zeke has completed her sentence (line

9) and agrees with his proposition that the students "dictate" what occurs in the classroom (line

11). Though Zeke may appear helpless when he says that the students dictate what occurs

"much more than we would like to give credit for," giving the students credit for what occurs in their classrooms is a rhetorically useful position.

By working up their students as the ones who are responsible for what occurs in the class, they are able to save face. Rather than saying that they have not planned appropriately for their classes, the interns say that the students determine what can and cannot happen during the class time. They explicitly present their students as accountable for the slow pace. Reagan and Zeke make no mention of how they could alter their planning or how they could change their approach to their lessons; to do so would hold them accountable by claiming responsibility for the events that occur in the classroom. Holding the students fully responsible demonstrates a passive approach where Reagan and Zeke do not take action to resolve problems—nor do they need to—because they cannot affect change.

If accepted by the other conversationalists, working up the impact of students on lesson outcomes in ways that suggested that no teacher—no matter how effective—could succeed allowed the participants to make claims about their own competence despite experiencing regular difficulties. However, if others in the conversation did not recognize the impact of students in the same way, the speaker might actually present herself as an irresponsible teacher unwilling to be held accountable for what occurred in her classroom. Rarely did the conversation demonstrate that another participant oriented to a fellow intern's actions as irresponsible; however, because explicit challenges to someone's face are rare, it is possible that the participants simply chose not to challenge their peers even when they did not agreed with the implications of a statement about the impact of students.

Earlier in the same meeting as the previous excerpt (Fall 09 12), Zeke had demonstrated passivity about an upcoming lesson as Jonathon was trying to schedule Zeke's first classroom

observation. Jonathon had asked the interns about their teaching schedule and was attempting to

work around conflicts in their teaching schedules and his own teaching at the university.

Because it was early in the year and Zeke was "doing one a week//" (05:33-34), options for when

to observe him were limited. In Excerpt Fifty-One, Zeke states that the lesson would not be a

successful one, but he presents the students as being responsible for why the lesson would be

disastrous.

        Excerpt Fifty-One

1	Zeke:	I'm doing a thing <on sentence fragments and run ons> on wednesday//
2	Jonathon:	would that be exciting
3	Zeke:	<it will> (.) not be exciting at <u>all</u>//
4	Jonathon:	no (syl)
5	Zeke:	and I will get no responses >(from them) like<
6		((skipping 3 lines))
7	Zeke:	but (.4) if you want to watch me crash and burn (.6) you-
8		((skipping 4 lines))
9	Zeke:	I mean I'm gonna crash and burn on this either way//
10	Jonathon:	(hehe)
11	Zeke:	I mean if you want to come watch me crash and burn/
12		you can do it//
13		<u>I:</u> don't really care
14		i- I
15	Jonathon:	um
16	Zeke:	'cause I just know these students/

17		and (.) they've been doing this testing:/
18		((skipping 6 lines))
19	Zeke:	an- (.2) wednesday they're going to be hating li:fe/ (1.0)
20		'cause they're gonna be like a::h more (.) grammar stuff//
21	Jonathon:	[oh]
22	Zeke:	[so] they're not gonna be responsive
23		I just know for a fact//

Fall 09 12, 4:45-5:30

Zeke begins by telling Jonathon what lesson is available for him to observe (line 1), but when Jonathon asks if the lesson will be exciting (line 2), Zeke replies, "<it will> (.) not be exciting at all//" (line 3). Despite presenting this lesson as an option for an observation, Zeke clearly states that it will not be good a class. Jonathon's question has made "exciting" teaching the relevant criterion, but Zeke says his lesson will not meet Jonathon's expectation. Zeke then adds, "I will get no responses" (line 5). Though he does not present a cause-and-effect relationship, Zeke closely links the dull lesson with a lack of responses from his students. After establishing that the lesson will be dull, he increases the intensity of his description of the lesson, claiming that it will be one where he will "crash and burn" (lines 7, 9, 11). He repeats the phrase "crash and burn" three times, adding force to his prediction that the lesson in question will be a disaster. Despite having seven days to plan for this observation and despite teaching just one lesson a week, Zeke predicts that this lesson will fail, and he demonstrates no initiative to work toward a more positive outcome.

Regardless of his prediction, Zeke does not dissuade Jonathon from coming to the class. In the omitted lines, Jonathon offers Zeke several opportunities to reschedule, but Zeke responds,

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"if you want to come watch me crash and burn/ you can do it//" (lines 11-12), and he predicts that the lesson will fail "either way" (line 9), whether or not Jonathon comes to see it. Though it seems unusual to invite an evaluator to a lesson that will not go well, Zeke presents this foregone conclusion about the lesson as the result of his students, not as the result of anything he has done or will do.

Zeke often spoke in ways that emphasized the importance of having good relationships with students and of knowing how his students think. Here he appeals to this value and says, "I just know these students/" (line 16). His claim to know his students not only allows him to hold them accountable for what will happen in the class, but it also allows him to present himself as a competent teacher who knows how his students function. He describes the week that his students will have leading up to the class that will be observed. They will have had two days of computer-based testing, a process that he says will leave them "hating li:fe/" (line 19). He predicts that they will groan, "a::h more (.) grammar stuff//" (line 20) and that they will not "be responsive" (line 22).

Although Zeke has shown that he has a clear understanding of the state of mind that his students will have on the day of the observation, he does not consider altering his plan during the next week. He recognizes the effect that the testing might have on his students and recognizes that they do not like grammar lessons, but he does not demonstrate any initiative in his approach to the lesson. In spite of Jonathon introducing exciting teaching as a conversational resource, Zeke does not entertain the notion that exciting teaching could be a helpful approach to his situation. Instead, he presents the students' boredom and unresponsiveness as an unavoidable fact (line 23) and the inevitable cause of the lesson's failure. In doing so, he demonstrates passivity by working up the students, not himself, as responsible for what occurs in the class.

A week later he maintained this same position in a side comment to Nick. Jonathon was scheduling more observations, and Zeke mentioned that he had already had his first. Then he told Nick that the lesson had gone badly, and consistent with how he talked about his students during the previous meeting, he once again held them responsible for the outcome.

Excerpt Fifty-Two

1   Zeke: ∘I failed miserably/∘

2   Nick: yeah

3   Zeke: (heh) I didn't do bad

4   they just didn't ((...))

Fall 09 19, 6:49-55

As Excerpt Fifty-Two begins, Zeke says quietly and under his breath that he "failed miserably/" (line 1), but he alters that initial version to one that is more favorable for him. In his second version, he says that he "didn't do bad" (line 2). Though the recording is garbled at the end of his utterance, he clearly shifts the focus of who was responsible for the bad lesson from himself to his students. By not taking responsibility for what happened, he constructs a situation where he does not need to expend effort to work toward positive outcomes in the future. Instead, he needs different students altogether. By working up the impact of students as insurmountable, he has demonstrated that he is a passive teacher, the kind that does not take responsibility for what occurs in his classroom and does not work toward positive outcomes when faced with difficult students.

Though other instances of demonstrating passivity usually occurred while participants were talking about the negative impacts of difficult students, some participants also demonstrated passivity as they worked up the positive impact of good students. Presenting a

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positive outcome as something the students were responsible for suggested that the speaker had

not taken initiative to achieve a desired result, nor could he or she take the same initiative to

repeat the positive outcome in the future. Like Zeke attributing his "crash and burn" to his

unresponsive students, it was possible for participants to attribute successes to their students.

Nick demonstrates this approach in Excerpt Fifty-Three.

In the same meeting where Reagan and Zeke had stated that students dictate what

happens in the classroom (Fall 09 12), Nick attributed his success during the first weeks of

teaching to his students' good behavior. Jonathon had questioned those who had started teaching

about how they were doing, and after Zeke told how poorly his students were doing (Excerpt

Forty Two), Nick presented a more positive version of what was happening in his class;

however, as he did so, he worked up the positive impact of his students in a way that

demonstrated his own passivity.

Excerpt Fifty-Three

1   Nick: I just saw myself fumbling an' (.) bumbling more//

2   but it's actually go:ne (.4) pretty well/

3   you know the- (.4) you know haven't ha:d/

4   I mean I've got a group of C- C P kids (.8)

5   and they're chatty/ (.6)

6   but (.6) you know they-

7   >you don't really have to call 'em <u>out</u><

8

9   you know it's mo:re

10   you know when we're doing stuff/

11	they're actually do it↑
12	shocking//
13	u:m (.2) so it's (.4) gone pretty smooth// (.2)
14	°so far//°

Before the excerpt begins, Nick had expressed surprise about how well things were going in his class, and he uses a football metaphor of "fumbling an' (.) bumbling" (line 1) to emphasize the clumsiness that he expected from himself at the start. Despite his expectations that his early experiences would be rough, he claims, "it's actually go:ne (.4) pretty well/" (line 2). To account for this statement, he could take responsibility for what has been occurring in class, perhaps by saying that he has been implementing what he has learned from the university or from his mentor teacher, but he instead shifts to a description of his students.

He first mentions that his class consists of "C P kids" (line 4). Though obviously not true of every high school student, those who sign up for college preparation (CP) courses are generally thought of as students who focus on their school work and take class time more seriously than others. Making this aspect of his class relevant emphasizes that he is not dealing with the kind of difficult students that Zeke has told the group about. Though Nick does call them "chatty" (line 5), he clarifies that their talk is not disruptive to what he is trying to accomplish in class, and he does not have to ">to call 'em out< <for talking too much/>" (lines 7-8). He also says that when he asks the students to complete assignments, "they're actually do it↑" (line 11). The upward inflection demonstrates surprise about this statement, and he further emphasizes that he has been surprised by their willingness to work when he says, "shocking//" (line 12).

Nick's turn ends with a closing statement that reemphasizes the success that he has been experiencing: "so it's (.4) gone pretty smooth//" (line 13). He links this statement to the description of the students that has come before it with the coordinating conjunction "so." Doing so emphasizes the cause-and-effect nature his talk has worked to establish between the positive outcomes in his class and the students' behavior. He then lowers his voice to say, "°so far//°" (line 14). This ominous statement seems to indicate that trouble is sure to come, and this concern is consistent with a demonstration of passivity. Working up his students as responsible for the success that he has experienced constructs a world in which Nick cannot maintain positive outcomes because he was not the one who created them in the first place.

By working up the impact of students as a powerful force that could not be managed or controlled, the participants constructed situations in which they lacked the agency to create or reproduce positive outcomes. Within these constructions passivity was presented as an acceptable tendency because no amount of effort on the interns' part could alter the outcomes. Though most of the excerpts in this section have demonstrated how the participants worked up the negative impact of students to create situations where teachers were not responsible, Nick's presentation of his positive situation works similarly. In both cases, these moments in conversation presented the intern as a passive teacher who could not control the outcomes in his class.

Demonstrating Initiative. The opposite of a passive teacher is one who takes initiative, and as I have stated above, *demonstrating initiative* is accomplished in discourse that displays a tendency for taking responsibility for what occurs in the classroom and working toward positive outcomes. Talk where participants demonstrated initiative worked up the impact of students as less restricting than those who demonstrated passivity. While still presented as a significant

challenge, the difficulties that students caused for teachers could be presented in such a way that the teacher was able to develop a plan, take action, and move toward a positive outcome. Talk of this sort demonstrated that the teacher was the kind who took action.

During the same meeting where Zeke told Nick that he had failed miserably and where he would later talk about being observed by Jonathon (Fall 09 19), Paula demonstrated initiative as she talked about what poor writers her students were. After Zeke and Nick had given reports about their first classroom observations (see Excerpt Forty), each of the other interns provided an update about her experience. When Paula's turn came, she began by talking extensively about issues with her students' writing, and as she did so, she listed a number of specific problems: "sentence fragments galore/" (50:07-09), "pronoun antecedents don't agree:/" (50:10-12), "starting sentences with half of a sentence/" (50:15-17), and "obvious things like <batman is (.) bat<u>men</u>↑>" (50:26-29). Despite presenting her students as having very low skills, her next segment of talk demonstrated initiative as she outlined her plan of action. Excerpt Fifty-Four is lengthy and as a result it will not receive the same line-by-line analysis that others have, but I have included such a large segment of her talk to show the effort that she put into demonstrating initiative.

Excerpt Fifty-Four

1   Paula: but I'm (.) really gonna spend like (1.6)

2   THESIS (.2) like TOPIC sentences for paragraphs/

3   like they just don't <u>get</u> how to make 'em connect/

4   so I think I'm just gonna like (1.2)

5   split up the class an' (.8) like (.2) give 'em each candy bars↑

6   like (.4) one- (.) half the class has kit kats//

7	>I was tellin' 'em about it today//<
8	and half of 'em has milky ways//
9	and basically having them (.2) say (.) why
10	kit kat is better than milky way
11	and why milky way is better than kit kat//
12	and >get 'em in small groups< and have 'em like (.) <talk about it↑>
13	and have a THESIS for that// (.2)
14	and then have topic sentence <u>A</u> topic sentence B topic sentence C//
15	and like ya know (.2) talk about the best ideas/
16	and sort of get them working together
17	so hopefully they understand it in a <really simple> (.8)
18	you know (.4) <easily accessible> way/
19	and they get <u>candy</u>/
20	((skipping 42 seconds))
21	and so I think (.hhh) really need to take some time out/ (hh.)
22	I'm really gonna try an' jus' (.) squeeze in whatever I can/
23	and go over (.) some of the most egregious errors//
24	like <spend a day> on one >spend a day< on one//
25	like >scatter 'em out< just try 'n-
26	or at least forty five minutes you know
27	like just 'n try and fil- (.) fill those things in with (.) those s:kills// (.h)

Fall 09 19, 51:01-52:33

After presenting her students' writing abilities as deficient, Paula says, "but I'm (.) really gonna spend like" (line 1). Though she does not finish this sentence, the other conversationalists can easily fill in the word "time" to end the clause. Instead of finishing a vague claim that she will spend time addressing her students' writing issues, Paula begins a detailed explanation of her specific plan to address their deficiency. After starting to explain that she will focus on "THESIS" and "TOPIC sentences for paragraphs/" (line 2), suggesting that her first goal will be to work on the structural issues of writing, she provides an account of why this will be her first step. She states, "they just don't get how to make 'em connect/ so I think I'm just gonna" (lines 3-4). Paula has explicitly stated that her students are not good writers, but she does not suggest that they cannot become good writers. Instead, her future teaching will be based on the notion that they can improve. Because of their difficulties she is "just gonna" take action. Using the depreciatory "just" (Lee, 1987) as she introduces her plan suggests that it is a not particularly challenging task. Instead of being powerless to act in the face of such terrible writers, she has been called to action by the students' difficulties.

She outlines the details of a lesson that she has designed to address the students' particular issues "in a <really simple> (.8) you know (.4) <easily accessible> way/" (lines 17-18). She will "split up the class an' (.8) like (.2) give 'em each candy bars↑" (line 5), making sure that "half the class has kit kats//" (line 6) and "half of 'em has milky ways//" (line 8). She says that once she has provided the students with something tangible to experience, she will ">get 'em in small groups<" to "<talk about>" (line 12) why their candy bar is better than the other. Her plan includes several details that present her as a competent teacher. It includes group work, a practice that had received a good deal of emphasis since the implementation of the state's new evaluation system, and it also includes something for the students to hold while they talk.

Though candy bars are not manipulatives in the traditional sense, they do allow students to experience the subject in a real and personal way, another technique valued by the formal evaluation rubric. In addition to any educational benefit of giving students something to hold, her students are teenagers, and in her plan, "they get <u>candy</u>/" (line 19), something all teens are assumed to love. Until this point, her lesson has consisted of all prewriting activities, emphasizing a sound practice for helping students draft better essays. Her next step is to have the students turn the brainstorming into the concrete elements of an essay. She says that she will ask her students to "talk about the best ideas/" (line 15) and create "a THESIS for that// (.2) and then have topic sentence <u>A</u> topic sentence B topic sentence C//" (lines 13-14).

In the next 42 seconds, which are omitted here but appear above (Excerpt Seven), Paula discusses what she perceives to be other teachers' passivity concerning bad writing. In opposition to them, she positions herself as someone who will take action, saying that she will "take some time out/" (line 21) to "squeeze in" (line 22) instruction on "some of the most egregious errors//" (line 23). Rather than using her turn to state how limiting her students' lack of knowledge is, she uses her talk to explain what she will do to help them learn. The excerpt concludes with Paula saying that over the course of the semester, she will insert short lessons into her schedule (lines 24-26) to "fill those things in with (.) those s:kills// (.h)" (line 27).

In Excerpt Fifty-Four, Paula's talk about her students' deficient writing skills works up the impact that her students have on the class in a way that is significantly different from the excerpts that demonstrated passivity. Elsewhere in the data, Paula repeatedly emphasized the importance of intervening so her students can write well and be prepared for college (e.g., Excerpt Seven), but no where in this conversation does she present her students as too far behind to be helped, a suggestion that would allow her to take a passive approach. Though addressing

her students writing difficulties required her to alter her original plans for the course, expressing a willingness to make these changes demonstrates initiative. She presents a lesson tailored to meet their needs as she understands them. While her students do limit what she can do in her classroom, she does not speak as a passive observer. Instead, she presents herself as the kind of teacher who will take action in the face of a difficult situation.

Paula's demonstration of initiative was in response to a problem that had surprised her during her first month of teaching, but it is possible for a teacher to demonstrate initiative by explaining proactive steps to discover difficulties before they have the opportunity to develop into significant problems. In response to Jonathon's question in meeting sixteen (Spring 03 01) about why lessons should include a formal closing activity, Anna Lucia spoke about using closure in a way that demonstrated her use of the strategy as an act of initiative. Though Excerpt Fifty-Five was included above to demonstrate how Anna Lucia used the personally important concept of student learning to account for using closure (see Excerpt Eleven), here it shows how the impact of students can be worked up in such a way that a teacher can demonstrate initiative.

Excerpt Fifty-Five

1   Anna Lucia: e- (.) sometimes I do it because I need to know

2   like (.) did they get it//

3   because they're doing an activity:/

4   and (.) I feel li:ke (.) >I went around/<

5   but >I can't say that< ninety percent of them go:t it//

6   so if I have an exit ticket of some sort/

7   I (.) flip through it

8   like okay >they didn't get this one//<

9	>they didn't get this one//<
10	>they didn't get this one//<
11	I need to reteach tha:t//

The previous discussion of this excerpt showed how Anna Lucia uses the personally important concept of student learning to account for the inclusion of closure on a regular basis, but here I want to highlight how that accounting also carries an implicit assumption that students may very well not "get" (lines 8, 9, 10) one or more of the key elements of the lesson. Therefore, a teacher must take the initiative to constantly look for mistakes and gaps in learning. In fact, Anna Lucia emphasizes these gaps in learning as she explains her process of examining the students' work after she has collected it. She says she will "flip through" ((line 7) looking for those items "they didn't get" (line 8, 9, 10). Rather than saying that she is trying to make sure they did learn, she says that she is intentionally looking for what her students did not grasp. She displays an awareness that some of them will regularly fail to understand every part of the lesson. She then states that her need to know what they did not learn is to inform her that she needs "to reteach tha:t//" (line 11).

Elsewhere, some participants constructed poor performance on formative and summative assessments as the students' fault. For example, Zeke once said, "it's not like we're not teaching it/ ((…)) they just don't want to pick it up" (Fall 10 24, 21:54-22:07). By working up the impact of students this way, interns constructed a classroom in which no amount of initiative on the teacher's part could bring positive outcomes. However, Anna Lucia suggests another way of orienting to students by expecting them to have some trouble learning and planning to reteach whenever needed. As she presents the students who do not easily learn what she intended to

teach, they are a normal part of every classroom, not an anomaly that she must face during this one semester.

Anna Lucia and Paula's talk reveals that the impact that difficult students have on a class can be worked up in ways that do not limit teachers' ability to take action. Instead of presenting difficult students as on overwhelming force that will alter the outcome of a class and restrict the teacher from achieving positive outcomes, Excerpts Fifty-Four and Fifty-Five show that teachers can alternatively demonstrate initiative regarding how to work with difficult students. Doing so allows them to present themselves as the kind of teacher who will take action.

Though the participants in this study worked up the impact of students in a variety of ways, at times demonstrating initiative and at times demonstrating passivity, more examples of passivity appeared in the data. The wider implications of this type of talk will be discussed in the final chapter, but here I will limit my comments to the identity work immediately accomplished in the above excerpts. Both types of talk—those that demonstrate initiative and those that demonstrate passivity—can also make moves toward competence. The participants who demonstrated initiative also demonstrated competence by displaying their knowledge about how to approach difficult students. By outlining future plans or discussing best practices, they displayed the knowledge that they had about education and an awareness of what strategies to implement when faced with challenges. However, as participants worked up the impact of students as unalterable, they implied that the difficulties they were having with issues like classroom management or test scores were actually not their fault. Working up the impact of students in this way enabled participants to present themselves as competent in spite of their problems. Of course, because identities are a negotiation, how these discursive identity bids

were received by the others in the group actually plays a significant role in the identities that the participants can achieve.

      Conclusion. Throughout the year interns worked up the impact of students in ways that allowed them to demonstrate initiative or demonstrate passivity. However, it must be remembered that the impact of students and the categories that were often created to support claims about the impact of students do not need to be assessed for their factuality. It was the apparent (not actual) factuality of the situations that the participants reported on that allowed them to conduct implicit identity work. By working up students as the most powerful factor in the success of a lesson, the beginning teachers were able to demonstrate an acceptable level of passivity because it appeared that no amount of effort could have altered the situations they were facing. Of course, if other conversationalists rejected such constructions, a teacher might appear inept for not taking initiative in a situation where action was called for. Conversely, while demonstrating initiative would generally be oriented to in conversation as positive, situations are imaginable where talking about taking action could appear futile or even silly if the odds truly were stacked against a teacher.

      What was and was not factual about the situations that the participants found themselves in is of little relevancy to the recorded conversations. As students were discussed, identity work took place in conversation about classrooms that most of the other participants would never visit. As such, no one could know anything other than what was constructed discursively. Even demonstrating initiative could be accomplished without ever taking action. For example, Paula's plan to intervene and improve her students writing demonstrated initiative, but only her students know if that plan was actually implemented. Her statement that she had already told her students about her plan seems to make it more likely that her statements are factual and that she would

have actually followed through, but that is not of concern here. Of concern is simply the implicit

identity bids made by working up students and their impact and how that contributed to the

ongoing identity negotiations of these participants.

Chapter Summary

This lengthy chapter has attempted to demonstrate several of the dominant strategies that

the participants in this study employed in their ongoing identity work. No claims about the

participants' conscious use of these strategies have been made explicitly and no inferences about

the participants' intentions should be made based on implicit suggestions that I may have

inadvertently included in the subtext. The focus of the analysis remained fixed on the possible

effects of each included strategy. Many other discursive strategies could be employed, but I

have included only those which appeared with regularity and those which I believe can be most

fruitful for other teacher educators (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). What follows is a brief summary

of these strategies.

Making explicit identity claims was the most obvious strategy that the participants used.

Explicit claims were those that emphasized states of being or abilities, acquired knowledge,

developed preferences, and experienced feelings. *Being verb* sentence constructions were often

used to make essentialist claims about what participant *is* or *is not* at her core. Explicit

statements about significant identity traits were also made using action verbs, but in these cases

identity seemed to be oriented to as a set of actions rather than an essential state of being. In

both cases, what kind of English teacher participants worked to be recognized as—literature,

writing, grammar—became relevant.

Emphasizing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept allowed the participants

to make implicit identity bids by presenting specific beliefs and practices as personally

important. While classroom discussions, persistence, and relationships with students were some of the concepts that were regularly emphasized by the participants, the personal importance of an infinite number of concepts related to education could be emphasized by other teachers. Methods for emphasizing the personal importance of a concept included *accounting for pedagogical concepts of personal importance* and *using pedagogical concepts of personal importance to account for actions taken*. When a participant emphasized the personal importance of a concept by accounting for it, she often used concepts of assumed importance to justify the personally important practice or belief. Conversely, the participants also emphasized the personal importance of concepts by using them to account for actions. Using a concept to justify an action demonstrated that the speaker oriented to that concept as important. Finally, participants emphasized what was personally important by *establishing the value* of specific concepts, a method that was often accomplished by *boiling down a complex situation* to one important element or by *diminishing the value* of unimportant concepts.

Locating themselves in relation to other educators* allowed the participants to conduct identity work by expressing how they related to other teachers and the broader types that they represented. Though any educational figure could be used in this strategy—including mentors, administrators, professors, and pop culture images, the participants in this study most frequently positioned themselves in relation to their own mentors. They did so by either *aligning* themselves with their mentors' practices and beliefs or by *distancing* themselves from the same. Aligning was accomplished by *praising* their mentors or by talking about classroom decisions and activities with the first-person plural pronoun *we*. Distancing was often accomplished by *mocking* those who the participants did not want to be associated with and by *negative positioning*, the process of talking about other educators' objectionable practices and beliefs.

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The negative talk about these practices and beliefs made implicit claims that the speaker valued the opposite.

Orienting to feedback was a way that the participants presented themselves as either *collaborators* or *individuals*. By *accepting input* or giving reports about moments when they had a done so, the participants displayed an openness to feedback and a willingness to collaborate. *Resisting feedback,* on the other hand, and giving reports about resisting displayed a more individual approach by making clear that feedback was unwelcome. Because identity is not fixed, participants could present themselves as collaborators in one moment and individuals in another, and these discursive moves would constantly work to renegotiate this aspect of their identities.

Talking about failures provided conversational space for the participants to make implicit identity bids about their competence. Though these identity bids needed to be accepted and recognized by other conversationalists to be effective, both *blaming the situation* and *blaming self* could work to the speaker's advantage. Constructing a version of failure that blamed the situation presented it as one that had to be endured. Participants could use this construction to make implicit claims of competence by presenting situations as so bad that even a competent teacher might not be able to alter them. Constructing a version of failure that blamed self demonstrated an awareness of a deficiency and a desire to improve. As such, the speaker could present herself a growing professional, identifying weaknesses and taking steps to correct them.

Working up the impact of students on lesson outcomes was another strategy that participants used to make claims about their own competency. Like conversations about failures, those about difficult students often included talk that suggested that changes could or could not occur. *Demonstrating passivity* could be presented as acceptable if the impact of students was

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worked up as a force that could not be overcome. However, *demonstrating initiative* was a method of presenting themselves as competent by showing that a plan could be put into place and the impact of students could be managed. Like blaming the situation and blaming self, these implicit claims of competence depended on the recognition of the factuality of the versions worked up by the speaker.

In fact, all of the strategies discussed in this chapter were dependent on the co-conversationalists and not just the speaker. Though at times my analysis did include comments about conversational turns that seemed to recognize or resist the identity bids being made, I cannot claim to know how each participant saw the others. The strategies in this chapter are some of many contributing factors in the ongoing negotiation and renegotiation of identity, and these participants also interacted with each other in classes and social situations. Two years after the collection of this data, I cannot say how the participants remember each other; however, I suspect that the impressions that readers of this study have about the participants are consistent with how the participants recognized one another. In the final chapter of this study, I will discuss the implications of the discursive strategies used to construct those impressions.

Chapter 5

Implications

Introduction

When I initially conceived of this project, I had imagined that the analysis would focus on the discourse that demonstrated that the participants were moving from a position where they spoke as students to a position where they spoke as teachers. However, these types of utterances did not seem as interesting or helpful to other teacher educators as what I ultimately included in the analysis. Rather than simply focusing on the discursive moves that demonstrated a shift in orientation from student to teacher, my analysis focused on the discursive strategies that participants used to present themselves as a variety of kinds of teachers. Shifting my attention, I then drafted the research question *how do English education interns in a year-long internship employ discursive strategies to negotiate teacher identities?* Having described six strategies in response to this question, including *making explicit identity claims, emphasizing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept, locating themselves in relation to other educators, orienting to feedback, talking about failures,* and *working up the impact of students on lesson outcomes*, I now shift my attention to the practical implications of this analysis. As I discuss the implications of each strategy, I make connections to the literature from Chapter 2. I have integrated the connections to the literature to avoid redundancy and to keep down the length of the present chapter.

Orienting to identity as *a socially negotiated and contextually occasioned version of what an individual represents* makes the very notion of identity slippery, and it could be argued, that if identities are constantly in flux, any analysis of how they are developed has little practical application for teacher educators. However, as mentioned previously, identities tend to act as

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self-fulfilling prophecies (Kagan, 1992). That is, the identities that teachers develop can impact how successful they believe they have been and can be. A review of research reported that the image a teacher has of herself can play a central role in development and how successful beginning teachers may feel (Kagan, 1992). Because of the central role that identities play, many researchers have argued that teachers should feel empowered to author their own identities; however, far fewer have explained how to do so (Rodgers and Scott, 2008). It has been suggested that because Discourses shape identities, expanding Discourses can be one way to expand identities (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). Because of the theoretical stance of this study, I have avoided speaking about how broader Discourses shape identity (Miller Marsh 2002a), but the notion that expanding the language choices that a beginning teacher has available is not contrary to the assumptions of this study.

Offering new discursive possibilities to beginning teachers can give them new ways to talk about themselves and allow them to take a more active role in the negotiation of their own identities. Though all identities are negotiated in social space (Gee, 2001), not all individuals understand the role that their talk plays in working up those identities. In spite of limitless possibilities for how to talk about a subject, beginning teachers may have limitations in their own discourse, and those limitations can restrict the identities that are available to them. For example, though a negative classroom incident can be discursively constructed into a variety of versions (Potter, 1996), some teachers may only be able to speak in ways that work themselves up as failures or that do exactly the opposite and place all the blame for failure on others. In either case, more fruitful identities may be possible, and those identities may be available by broadening the conversational resources available to beginning teachers and demonstrating the variety of discursive strategies that are possible.

The purpose of this chapter is not to describe any specific identities that teacher educators should try to help their preservice teachers work toward, but it does assume that certain identities are more fruitful than others and that teacher educators would be interested in helping beginning teachers develop those kinds of identities. Each reader will have a different conception of what a fruitful teacher identity consists of, but as I use the term *fruitful identity*, I simply mean an identity that will benefit a teacher throughout a career in education. Olsen (2010) encourages teachers to examine how their identities fit in with educational theory and relate to educational topics, and I would suggest that fruitful identities are those that are consistent with theory and sound classroom practices. The nature of this chapter is not to suggest any specific classroom practices that teacher educators should promote with their preservice and student teachers; rather, the discussion in this chapter is intended to aid teacher educators in examining the discourse about the pedagogical concepts they are already trying to teach their beginning teachers.

Nias (1989) has noted that individuals who are experiencing stress, like those common to the first year of teaching, tend to cling to the identities they have previously developed, but part of the process of joining a new profession is "construct[ing] identities that fit into that world" (Ronfeldt & Grossman, 2008). Beginning teachers may be open to alternative identities if, as Danielewicz (2001) suggests, teacher educators teach them specific ways to present themselves as teachers. Chapter 2 suggests that positive change is possible during the difficult first year of teaching, and new language patterns are often the cause for this change (Alsup, 2006; Irwin & Boulton, 2010; Irwin & Hramiak, 2010; Trent, 2010a). Reflection has been shown to have a close relationship to identity development (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009), so perhaps reflection on discourse and on the strategies at work in it can provide an access point for teacher educators to nudge beginning teachers toward fruitful identities.

Having reviewed the theoretical notions which motivated this study, the remainder of this chapter explains how the analysis can be of use to other teacher educators as they work with beginners. In spite of identity development being a key component of learning to teach, little has been written about how teacher educators can assist those with whom they work through the process of identity development (Rodger & Scott, 2008). While the following discussion is informed throughout by the research introduced in Chapter 2, the chapter chiefly offers tools that teacher educators can use to aid in the process of identity development. This approach is rooted in Rodgers and Scott's (2008) claim that while self-authoring an identity is important, some individuals have difficulty and must be helped to find their voice. Therefore, teacher educators should be prepared to assist beginners as they start to create the identity narratives that Connelly and Clandinin (1999) called "stories to live by." The main body of this chapter is divided into three sections which address how an awareness of the six discursive strategies can be helpful to teacher educators and beginning teachers, alike. The first section discusses *explicit identity claims*. The second explores two strategies that allow speakers limitless possibilities regarding the kinds of identities they can work up: *emphasizing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept* and *locating themselves in relation to other educators*. The final section discusses *orienting to feedback, talking about failure,* and *working up the impact of students*, three strategies that offer bounded possibilities for presenting a speaker along a continuum between binary opposites. Each section ends with discussion questions for teacher educators to use as they help beginning teachers understand the implications of their talk. The questions are compiled in Appendix E. The chapter concludes with final comments and suggestions for further research.

Explicit Identity Claims

  In the analysis chapter, explicit identity claims were introduced as straight forward statements about the kind of person that a participant *is* or the kind of person she acts like. These claims were accomplished through *being* verb constructions, in which a participant stated that she essentially *is* one kind of person, and through statements about an individual's actions, abilities, knowledge, preferences, and feelings. Both types of explicit claims were powerful and efficient methods for negotiating how a speaker was perceived; however, the impact of each type of explicit claim is dramatically different.

  If Kagan (1992) is right that identities work as self-fulfilling prophecies, teacher educators should examine how beginning teachers' explicit identity claims limit and license specific actions that are appropriate for the kinds of teachers the claims present them as. In thinking this way, *being* verb constructions become especially problematic. As Sfard and Prusak (2005) have suggested, people often reify identity through *is* sentences. Such claims that hinge on verbs of *being* suggest that an identity is an essential parts of a person's essence. As noted previously, participants in other studies about identity (Britzman, 2006; Bullough et al., 1989; Cook, 2009; Danielewicz, 2001; Franzak, 2008; Freese, 2006; Horn et al.,2008; Sumara and Luce-Kapler, 1996; Weber and Mitchell, 1996) have also spoken in ways that suggest that identity is a fixed and essential component of who a person *is*, and the participants in this study were no different.

  What makes these types of essentialist claims problematic is that they suggest that some behaviors are simply not possible for certain kinds of people. In other words, when someone makes an explicit claim that she is one kind of teacher, she can justify having deficiencies in areas where another kind of teacher might excel. Simultaneously, however, she would be

holding herself accountable to carry out the appropriate actions of the kind of teacher she claimed to be. For example, a teacher who claimed to be a literature teacher might be able to accept her students' bad scores on the state's writing assessment, but she would not be able to excuse her students' deficient skills in literary analysis. As a literature teacher, she might also justify extended time discussing books at the expense of assigning more writing tasks. Interestingly, such identity claims can be linked to the participant's educational biography (Britzman, 2003). Kagan (1992) and Connelly and Clandinin (1994) noted the restrictive nature of biographical experiences, and it would seem that the course of study that these participants had followed limited how they could talk about themselves as teachers. Expectations from the state's Department of Education were in conflict with their own biography and expressed preferences about what they wanted to teach. Danielewicz (2001) has noted that such conflicts between institutional requirements and how beginning teachers see themselves is likely. In the face of such conflicts between biography and experience, Miller Marsh (2003) has challenged teacher educators to make space for beginning teachers to examine their biographies and how they impact their current experiences.

Of course, preference for one area of the curriculum is only one aspect about which a teacher could make explicit identity claims. As beginning teachers start their careers, they can make unlimited claims about the kinds of teachers that they are, and these can lead to the kinds of teachers they become. Teachers can make claims about their level of organization, their classroom management, their attention to detail, how they respond to feedback, how well they get along with coworkers and students, how creative or innovative they are, or whether they are fun or strict teachers. Infinite aspects of identity are available to make explicit claims about, and a variety of claims can be made pertaining to each of these aspects. Teacher educators must be

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on the lookout for *being* verb constructions and challenge beginners to consider the specific behaviors that are limited or licensed by each one.

Certainly, some explicit claims that beginning teachers make about themselves could contribute to the development of more fruitful identities than others do. For example, Nias (1989) noted that being a caring person was often a component of teachers' identities. Developing a caring identity through explicit claims could be beneficial as a teacher comes into contact with a variety of students with different needs, is asked to give more effort without extra compensation, or tries to offer support to fellow teachers. Of course, even seemingly fruitful identities could become harmful. *Being* a caring teacher could be damaging to an individual if she burns out from trying to do too much for too many. Other identities are more obviously detrimental to the success of a teacher. For example, making essentialist claims about not *being* a good planner could excuse entering the classroom unprepared day after day, a practice that would impact student learning. Making claims about not *being* a good communicator might excuse not making calls to the parents of a student who is having difficulties. In each case, certain behaviors align with the claimed identities and certain behaviors are out of synch with them. Many beginning teachers, however, may not understand how these explicit identity claims function in relation to how they act, and teacher educators can help make them aware of two important principles related to these types of claims.

First, beginning teachers should be made aware that identities are not fixed. Instead they are dynamic (Beijaard, et al., 2004), fluid (Danielewicz, 2001; Hallman, 2007; Urzua & Vasquez, 2008), and shifting (Lauriala & Kukkonen, 2005; Miller Marsh, 2002a; Rodgers & Scott, 2008; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011; Varghese, et al., 2005). They develop over time (Britzman, 1992; Danielewicz, 2001) and often this development takes place through learning

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(Battey & Franke, 2008; Horn, et al., 2008; Sachs, 2001; Sfard & Prusak, 2005; Timostsuk & Ugaste, 2010; Wenger, 1998). This information can free beginners who believe that they are failing at an aspect of teaching simply because they have not been born a great teacher. Instead, they can develop the skills that a person needs to carry out great teaching. To use the example above about not planning, a beginning teacher could develop organizational skills, review university materials about lesson design, and collaborate with more experienced educators to help improve her planning skills. Similarly, developing communication skills and learning specific strategies to interact with parents and other stakeholders could help a beginning teacher feel more comfortable calling the homes of her students. What should be emphasized is that even though individuals may not currently possess a skill or specific set of knowledge, those skills and that information can be learned and added to their identities.

The second action that teacher educators can take is to encourage beginning teachers to employ discourse that reflects the malleability of identity. However, doing so may be a challenge. Beijaard (1995) found that even when researchers oriented to identity as malleable, participants created storylines that indicated stability, but altering how they talk about identity-related issues could be a first step for some beginning teachers to develop more fruitful identities than the ones that may presently limit them. Explaining the impact of *being* verb constructions and offering replacements that emphasize actions, abilities, knowledge, preferences, and feelings can emphasize the malleability of identity and the possibility for development over time. Instead of the claim, "I *am* not a good planner," a beginning teacher might be encouraged to rephrase her statement. "I do not take the time to plan"; "I have not learned how to plan effectively"; or "I feel stressed out when I try to plan" are alternative constructions that emphasize actions, knowledge, and feelings respectively. All of them offer the possibility for change. A teacher

who does not take time to plan can alter how she spends her evenings. Someone who has never

been taught to plan can gather resources and learn specific strategies. A teacher who has

negative feelings about planning can examine the causes of her anxiety and seek help. None of

these actions are possible if a teacher simply *is* a bad planner.

The following questions have been designed to assist teacher educators and the beginning

teachers they work with discuss the potential impact of explicit identity claims and explore how

changes in discourse could offer new possibilities concerning identities:

- How are *being* verb constructions used by a speaker to make explicit identity claims?

- What actions are limited or licensed by these explicit identity claims?

- How could explicit identity claims made with *being* verbs be reconstructed to

  emphasize actions, abilities, knowledge, preferences, or feelings?

- How would these alternate methods for making explicit identity claims alter what

  actions are limited or licensed by the claims?

Limitless Possibilities

After discussing explicit identity claims, the remaining analysis turned to implicit identity

work, and I discussed two strategies that could be used to make implicit claims about any facet

of a teacher's identity. *Emphasizing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept* and

locating themselves in relation to other educators both allowed participants to display a wide

variety of orientations to a wide variety of aspects in the teaching profession. These strategies

offer limitless possibilities for discursive identity work and consist of a variety of methods. The

participants demonstrated the importance they placed on specific concepts by *accounting for*

pedagogical concepts of personal importance with other concepts that they could take for

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granted as important; *using pedagogical concepts of personal importance to account for actions taken*; and *establishing value* by *allotting conversational space*, *repeatedly returning to a subject*, *boiling down a complex situation*, and *diminishing value*. They also located themselves in relation other educators by *aligning* themselves with or *distancing* themselves from other educators through *praising*, *using the pronoun we*, *mocking* the practices of others, and *negatively positioning* themselves in relation to others. Although the analysis of these methods included a few recurring topics like classroom discussions, persistence, relationships with students, elements of a lesson, effective planning, and classroom management, these examples are not a comprehensive list of where this type of identity work can occur, nor is such a list necessary.

The methods that make up emphasizing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept and locating themselves in relation to other educators can be employed in teachers' discourse about a wide variety of topics to negotiate infinite kinds of identities, so commenting on which identities are fruitful and which ones are not is impractical. As mentioned above, even agreeing on which identities teacher educators want to see develop in beginning teachers would be difficult; however, an understanding of how these strategies impact the development of the identities of beginning teachers is vital. The next sections demonstrate the usefulness of helping beginning teachers understand the implications of the two strategies.

Emphasizing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept. A great deal of identity work occurs without the conscious knowledge of the speaker (Goffman, 1959), and the often implicit nature of emphasizing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept makes it a strategy with implications for identity development that could be easily overlooked. Discursive studies about beginning English teachers (Alsup , 2006; Britzman,1992; Miller Marsh, 2003)

have suggested that the Discourses that individuals have available to them make certain identities available. In other words, the language that the participants used shaped their worlds, and reflexively, the speakers and their identities were simultaneously shaped by the worlds they created with their discourse (Potter, 1996; Potter & Hepburn, 2008). As teachers employ strategies to emphasize what is personally important to them, they construct specific versions of the world and possible identities. However, alternative constructions could make other worlds and other identities available to them.

As beginning teachers employ different methods to emphasize what is important to them, teacher educators should help them reflect on the impact on their identities of suggesting that such concepts are important and examine the impact of alternatives. Encouraging beginning teachers to reflect like this is not to suggest that all new teachers will be wrong about what they emphasize as important or that they will all need their attention drawn to their errors. Instead, the reflection could help beginning teachers understand how emphasizing a pedagogical concept—positive or negative—contributes to their identities and encourage them to work toward identities that are fruitful. After guiding them through an analysis of how their talk emphasizes the importance of a pedagogical concept, a mentor can encourage reflection on the kind of teacher who would emphasize such a concept. Focusing on the kind of teacher who would emphasize a specific concept could direct the conversation toward issues of identity. Then after examining what actions are limited and licensed by both the emphasized concept and the identity of that kind of teacher, alternatives could be explored. Step by step the process would look like this:

1. Identify what concept has been emphasized as personally important.

2. Consider what kind of teacher would place importance on this concept.

3. Reflect on what behaviors and practices are limited and licensed by the concept and the identity that might accompany an emphasis on that concept.

4. Speculate about alternatives.

For example, the previous chapter showed Anna Lucia and Paula emphasizing the importance of persistence and trying hard (Excerpts Sixteen and Seventeen). At first pass, these emphases seem entirely positive, but interrogating the full impact of the interns' talk can reveal some troubling complexity. Certainly, the kind of teacher that would emphasize these traits is one that is hard working, and hard work is generally valued. Anna Lucia worked diligently all semester and applied a great deal of skill in her teaching. However, extreme effort could also be the result of not working efficiently or effectively, so an emphasis on hard work could, in fact, contribute to a less fruitful identity. Paula, for example, mentioned elsewhere that beginning teachers should be willing to work on a lesson plan for several hours after a long workday if the next day's lesson plan was not good enough (Excerpt Seventeen), and in another conversation, she emphasized how much effort she was willing to put into grading even at the expense of her weekend (Excerpt Seven). Perhaps, the identity that she was developing was that of a hardworking but inefficient teacher. It would seem that the practices that were licensed by Paula's emphasis on hard work where those that took up significant effort and much of her personal time. Other practices that other teachers would consider working smarter seem to be limited or excluded entirely by Paula's emphasis on hard work.

These comments are not intended to discredit Paula's effort or motivation, but they do open the door for alternatives. Certainly, teacher educators do not want to encourage beginning

teachers to be lazy or to shirk their responsibilities, and one alternative to hard work would be laziness. However, another alternative might be to emphasize the importance of collaboration. Perhaps, discourse that emphasized working with others in addition to hard work would license practices that were not so exhausting, like team planning and sharing resources. Paula's other emphasis on expending effort grading papers created a situation where success for her was judged in terms of how many assignments she could grade, how much feedback she could give, and how quickly she could return papers to her students. However, an alternative to her emphasis on the importance of grading could have been to spend a higher percentage of time planning effective lessons than evaluating student work. This concept is one that Kelsey's mentor, a National Board Certified teacher and the department head at Metropolitan High School, once told me she was trying to develop in herself, and her emphasis on planning effective lessons conducted its own identity work and limited and licensed it own set of actions. I do not mean to suggest that Kelsey's mentor was correct and that Paula was wrong, I only want to encourage the examination and discussion of similar identity work.

For example, Zeke's emphasis on relationships with students is consistent with the many studies that have found a strong connection between those relationships and teacher identity (Beijaard, 1995; Bullough et al., 1989; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011). Nias (198) has called relationships with students the "joker in the hand of every tacher" (p. 56) because no one else can confirm what is said about what takes place behind the closed door of the classroom. Even so, Cook (2009) has found relationships with students to be a site of struggle. Though all teachers have different boundaries with students, some would certainly suggest that Zeke's relationships with his students were too informal, and if he did, in fact, have inappropriate boundaries, that would not be surprising. Establishing clear boundaries has been identified as a struggle for some

beginning teachers (Flores, 2001; Ronfeldt & Grossman, 2008). Zeke talked enthusiastically about having been given a nickname and celebrated being talked to in a social situation away from school. Examining how Zeke's emphasis on relationships with students affects his teaching could lead to valuable alternatives. It would be possible that an over-emphasis on personal relationships with students—though expected—could lead to deemphasizing other important aspects of teaching. Student learning, rigorous instruction, and classroom management might all be neglected in order to foster an environment where students felt comfortable to bond with the teacher. If this were the case, examining alternative versions of how to measure success in the classroom could be helpful. For example, student proficiency on assessments or improved writing skills could be offered as other concepts of pedagogical importance to emphasize as a way to evaluate how a beginning teacher is doing.

Most of the methods under the strategy of establishing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept placed positive value on a concept; however, the method of diminishing the value of a concept devalued how important some concepts were. Although this method worked in an opposite direction, it conducted similar identity work to the other methods under this strategy. Because it functions differently than the other methods in this section, how a teacher educator could discuss the implications of this type of implicit identity work needs to be addressed specifically.

Mindy diminished the value of planning every moment of a lesson (Excerpt Twenty-Two). Considering what kinds of teacher would devalue comprehensive planning could lead to categories such as spontaneous teachers, teachers open to student contributions, and irresponsible teachers. Each of these kinds licenses specific practices and attitudes. A spontaneous teacher might exhibit a free spirit and emphasize creative learning. A teacher who is open to student

contributions might regularly follow student questioning and interests, pursuing what her students want rather than her own desired objectives. An irresponsible teacher might not plan anything and instead leave what happened in the classroom to chance. These three different kinds of teachers are all possible identities that could develop from diminishing the value of planning. Obviously, some of these identities are much more fruitful than others, but all of them account for any incompleteness in Mindy's plans. Considering alternatives to Mindy's statements, she could have built up the importance of comprehensive planning, presenting herself as the kind of teacher who plans thoroughly and effectively. Such language would have licensed different practices in relation to planning, most obviously creating comprehensive lesson plans. That version would also limit the spontaneity, importance of student interest, and irresponsibility that were all made available by the original version.

Of course, what I am arguing for is discussion about how these concepts impact identity rather than judgment about which ones are most correct or most sought after. A great many educators would argue for a component of spontaneity in the classroom. Many would also argue for effective planning. None would support irresponsibility. Discussions about how such concepts are oriented to can allow teacher educators to offer alternative ways to talk about them and even alternative pedagogical concepts to establish as important. Doing so may give new language and new interpretive repertoires (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996) to beginning teachers who may presently have only one way to discuss some aspects of their profession.

What follows is a list of questions to assist teacher educators and mentors foster productive discussions with the beginning teachers with whom they work. The questions help identify the strategy of emphasizing the personal importance of a pedagogical concept and talk through the implications of using that strategy.

- How does the speaker's use of accounts demonstrate what is of personal importance?

  o Are pedagogical concepts of personal importance excused or justified with concepts of assumed importance?

  o Are behaviors or practices excused or justified with pedagogical concepts of personal importance?

- How does the speaker's talk establish the value of pedagogical concepts?

  o Is disproportionate conversational space allotted to a concept or is a concept repeatedly returned to across multiple conversations?

  o Are complex issues boiled down to simplified solutions?

  o Is the value of a practice or belief diminished?

- What kinds of teachers might also emphasize similar concepts as personally important?

- What actions are limited and licensed by the importance placed on these pedagogical concepts and the identities they work up?

- What alternative concepts are available to emphasize as important?

- What would be limited and licensed by these alternatives?

Locating themselves in relation to other educators. Like emphasizing the personal importance of a concept, the strategy of *locating themselves in relation to other educators* offered the participants a wide range of available identity traits, limited only by the individuals and images they had available to use as discursive resources. The participants in this study often located themselves in relation to the practices and beliefs of other educators who they were in relationship with, most frequently their mentor teachers. This tendency should not be a surprise because other researchers have found that teachers' relationships with other educators is one of

the most significant factors in teacher identity development (Beijaard et al., 2004; Day et al., 2006), and the most consistent relationship the participants in this study had was with their mentor teachers.

However, teacher educators must recognize that beginning teachers have access to the images of many other educators that they can use as resources when carrying out this kind of identity work. In this study, participants also located themselves in relation to former teachers that they had in high school, current college professors, and pop culture images. Specifically, the films *Freedom Writers* (LaGravenese, 2007) and *Mr. Holland's Opus* (Herek, 1996) were invoked to discuss desirable but unobtainable identities from pop culture, but many other images from film and television are available for other teachers to call up as conversational resources. Such characters and many other sources contribute to the prior images that beginning teachers bring into teaching. Numerous researchers have warned against the possible negative effects of these images. Weber and Mitchell (1995, 1996) suggest that beginning teachers need to reflect on the composite image that we have developed as a culture in regard to what a teacher should and should not be. They call this image a common cultural text and suggest that it creates a stereotype that beginning teachers often compare themselves to. Similarly, Britzman (1986, 1992, 1994, 2003), Connelly and Clandinin (1994), and Nuthall (2005) all warn against the cultural myths that have been created around teaching that limit what identities are available to teachers. The authors in these studies warn that these images can often be uninformed and unrealistic.

Of course in this study, the factuality of the images that the participants invoked in their discourse was not important; rather, it was the rhetorical effect of those images (Billig, 1996). Whether a teacher accurately describes a character in a film, a common cultural text or myth, or

even a living person has little consequence. More significant is the identity work that can be achieved after an image is constructed. Teacher educators can help beginning teachers by demonstrating the effects that locating themselves in relation to other educators has on their developing identities and exploring alternative discursive constructions.

Exploring alternatives may seem counter intuitive to individuals who have not considered that any description—even of a person—is a version constructed for a discursive purpose (Potter, 1996). Pointing out the identity work accomplished by *praising*, *mocking*, and *negative positioning* in conversations about real or imagined teachers is unlikely to meet resistance, and even though a speaker might not be consciously aware of the effect of using the word *we*, she would likely agree that doing so aligned her closely with another person. It is not these techniques that require alternatives. Clearly, it would not be helpful to ask a teacher, "Instead of mocking the terrible practice that you just talked about, how could you praise it?" However, it may be helpful to ask if the image of the teacher that has been worked up in conversation could be constructed differently and if changing how the image was constructed would change how the speaker would locate herself in relation to it. To demonstrate how this type of reflection can be useful, I will offer examples from the analysis section of interns locating themselves against other educators with whom they had contact and an example of how I positioned myself against a pop culture image before I became an educator.

In Excerpt Twenty-Four, Anna Lucia aligned herself with her mentor's passion. As she did so, she constructed an image of her mentor as a teacher whose primary motivation for selecting which texts to teach was her passion about those texts. According to Anna Lucia, her mentor's lessons were wonderful because of the emotional connection that she had to each narrative. Anna Lucia expended considerable effort to establish the factuality of the image of her

mentor with whom she was aligning herself. Reflecting on the identity work accomplished by her talk, Anna Lucia might quickly identify the kind of teacher that her talk works up as a passionate one. And examining her talk, she might quickly notice how she touched on actions that are limited and licensed by this identity. For example, Anna Lucia claimed that her mentor did not make decisions about what to teach by first examining the state's standards documents. Instead, Anna Lucia said her mentor gave her emotions free reign in her text selection. This level of reflection could be relatively easy. What might be more difficult is trying to imagine alternative versions for how to describe her mentor. Alternative versions might include a teacher who disregards her professional training to instead make text selections based on her own interests rather than appropriate reading level, course objectives, or alignment to school curriculum. The mentor could also be presented as someone whose teaching is energetic but does not focus on any specific requirements from the administration, district office, or state department of education.

It is not my intention to disparage Anna Lucia's mentor. In all my dealings with her, she seemed professional, well-planned, and, yes, passionate. I do not have enough knowledge about what happened in her classroom to make a personal judgment about which version I think is most factual, but I offer the alternatives for how Anna Lucia could have talked about her mentor to highlight that other versions are possible. If another version were presented, Anna Lucia might have conducted different identity work. Similarly, Paula might have constructed another version of the professor that she distanced herself from. She presented her as a woman who abused her position in front of the class in order to advance a political agenda (Excerpt Thirty-Two), but Paula could have alternatively constructed him as a woman who feels great conviction about certain social issues and tries to make a positive change where she works. Of course, I am

not in a position to testify to the factuality of either of these versions, but each one offers Paula different options for her own identity work. She might wish to distance herself from the image of a teacher who abuses her position, but as a self-proclaimed teacher of social justice (Fall 11 28), Paula might readily align herself with the image of a teacher who tries to make a positive difference at her place of work. Doing so might license a new set of practices on Paula's part. Though this sort of reflection might seem like revisionist history, it would be difficult to say if one of the two versions of her professor is factual and if one has been made up.

The difficulty of establishing the factuality of versions comes, in large part, from the fact that, as social beings, people constantly interpret and judge the interactions of others based on their own experiences (Hatch, 2002) and construct versions for their own benefit (Potter, 1996). Even events that can be watched repeatedly, like those in a film, are open to individual interpretation. For example, when I was in high school, I watched and enjoyed the film *Dead Poets' Society* (Weir, 1989). For many English teachers my age, this movie holds special significance. The story focuses on Mr. Keating, a radical English teacher who teaches at a conservative boarding school. He inspires his students to break from conformity, "seize the day," and live their lives unfettered from their parents' restrictive values. In high school, this message resounded with me, and during my sophomore year, I had an English teacher who not only taught like Mr. Keating but also looked like Robin Williams, the actor who had brought Keating to life. My experience in his class solidified my appreciation for Keating's methods and inspired me to become an English teacher. Like Keating, he too was fired and disappeared from our lives quickly, but since that time, I have heard many other English teachers praise Keating and his ability to tap into the "barbaric yawp" (Whitman, 1940, p. 102) of his students. Images of Keating are often invoked by beginning and experienced teachers alike who align themselves

with his anti-establishment practices; however, other versions of him can be worked up in conversation.

During my senior year in high school, I found out some information about my sophomore teacher that explained his quick termination and mysterious disappearance from my high school. I will not go into details, but he was not the man we believed (and hoped) he was. As it turned out, some of his anti-establishment thinking had crossed into the criminal, and I had to develop another version of this man whom I now saw as flawed. The following year when I was a freshman in college taking an introductory education class, I took advantage of an extra credit opportunity that required me to view and reflect on a movie about a teacher. It seemed natural to choose *Dead Poets' Society* because the film was so important to me. This time as I watched it, I was older, had been disappointed by the ordeal with my own English teacher, and was beginning my training as an educator. During that viewing of the film, I constructed a drastically different version of Mr. Keating. Though none of the content of the film had changed, I interpreted the events differently. I now held Mr. Keating responsible for the tragic events at the end of the film, and despite his incredible classroom presence, I began to distance myself from his image, a discursive practice I have maintained for nearly twenty years. The character I once praised as an example for all teachers, I now use as an example of irresponsibility and carelessness. The man whose image I once aligned myself with to license energetic teaching unrestricted by the formal establishment, I now distanced myself from limiting any methods that might deliberately drive a wedge between parent and child. The revised version of this pop culture teacher offered me alternative components of my own identity because I was able to locate myself differently when I worked up an alternative version of Mr. Keating.

The questions that follow are intended to assist teacher educators make evident similar effects that this strategy has on beginning teachers' identities. As has been mentioned already, no specific answers should be considered right or wrong. What could be helpful for beginning teachers is to reflect on the implications of locating themselves in relation to images of other teachers: real or imagined from their past or their present. Doing so may help beginning teachers see the possibilities of taking active roles in this aspect of their identity development.

- How does talk about another educator (real or imagined) work to align or distance the speaker from that educator?
- With which behaviors, practices, or beliefs is the speaker aligning or distancing herself?
  - If aligning, what kind of teacher would find these behaviors, practices, or beliefs praiseworthy?
  - If distancing, what kind of teacher would find these behaviors, practices, or beliefs worth mocking?
- What alternative versions of the educators, behaviors, practices, or beliefs could be presented by the speaker?
- How would the speaker locate herself in relation to these alternate versions?

Bounded Possibilities

The remaining discursive strategies in this study each allowed the participants to locate themselves on spectrums between binary opposites. *Orienting to feedback* by *accepting* or *rejecting input* from others allowed the participants to present themselves on a spectrum between *collaborator* and *individual*; *talking about failures* by *blaming the situation* or *blaming self* allowed them to make implicit claims of their own competence by suggesting that a situation was

too difficult to be overcome by even the best of teachers or by demonstrating that they had already acknowledged a weakness and were taking the corrective actions necessary; and *working up the impact of students on lesson outcomes* by *demonstrating initiative* or *demonstrating passivity* allowed them to present themselves as teachers who either did or did not take action when faced with difficult students. Unlike the other strategies, each of these allowed the participants to conduct discursive work about one specific aspect of their teacher identities. The limitless possibilities for applying the strategies already discussed in this chapter made it difficult to discuss which specific identities would be most fruitful, but the bounded nature of these three strategies makes it easier to suggest which identities might be more beneficial to teachers.

Orienting to feedback. Most teacher educators would rather that beginning teachers develop habits of collaborating with others; however, it has long been recognized that teachers labor in isolation (Lortie, 1975; Nias,1989), and qualitative research into teaching has consistently found themes of isolation in participants' responses (Britzman, 2003; Flores, 2001; Huberman, 1989; Sexton, 2008; Zembylas, 2003). Beginning teachers may believe the myth that asking for help reveals weakness, and this belief can foster such feelings of isolation (Britzman, 1986). *Orienting to feedback* allowed participants in this study to present themselves as collaborators or individuals; those who presented themselves as individuals presented themselves as laboring alone, not accepting input from their mentor teachers or field supervisor. This identity could foster the isolation that so many other studies have noted, but a collaborative identity could be a more fruitful option.

As was mentioned earlier, relationships with colleagues are a significant contributing factor to teacher identity (Beijaard et al., 2004), but developing the identity of an individual could restrict other teachers from having a positive impact on a beginner. By developing the

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identity of an individual, a beginning teacher may cut herself off from the feedback of more proficient peers and colleagues. For example, Zeke regularly resisted input. Excerpts in the previous chapter demonstrated how he did so through the use of unique knowledge of the situation and negative predictions about why the suggestions of others would fail (Excerpt Thirty-Nine A-B) and his tendency to say that he already knew what suggestions others would give him (Excerpts Forty and Forty-One). Eventually he was recognized by Anna Lucia as an individual, and she stopped offering him her insight. The identity that he had developed in the meetings was one that prevented him from hearing from those in his cohort. As the year progressed and he struggled through the internship, he continued to resist input from his mentors and his field supervisor. Despite being surrounded by excellent teachers at Urban High School and having a field supervisor willing to work with him, by the end of the year, he had not developed the skills he needed to feel comfortable in the classroom, and he did not seek a full time teaching position. Anna Lucia, on the other hand, consistently presented herself as a collaborator by accepting input from those around her and adjusting her teaching to match that input. Her teaching continued to evolve throughout the year, and by the time she graduated from the program, she was being pursued by the school where she had done her student teaching. About a year later when Anna Lucia moved away from the area, she was told by Kelsey's mentor, who was then the head of the English program for the entire county, that Anna Lucia would always have a job in the district if she returned. Though these are merely anecdotal pieces of evidence, the correlation between success in the program and those who developed the identity of a collaborator was fairly consistent.

The analysis section about accepting and resisting input contained many excerpts demonstrating a variety of methods that could be used to implement these strategies, and many

more discursive methods could be employed to display how a speaker oriented to feedback from others. The questions here are designed to aid beginning teachers specifically examine if their own talk demonstrates a tendency for accepting or resisting feedback. Hopefully, through reflection, those who have started to develop the identity of an individual can move toward collaboration.

- Has the speaker accepted input by attempting to incorporate other educators' suggestions into her unique situation or resisted input by invoking unique knowledge of a situation to suggest that the input would be ineffective?

- Has the speaker accepted input by maintaining an openness that a suggestion could result in a positive outcome or resisted input by predicting that a suggestion will result in a negative outcome?

- Have comments or short stories about feedback sessions demonstrated that the speaker is open to or closed to feedback?

- How do these discursive moves present the speaker as an individual or a collaborator?

Talking about failure. Where blame is placed when *talking about failure* can also conduct powerful identity work for beginning teachers. Though *blaming the situation* and *blaming self* can both, at times, function to display competence—one by claiming that a failure was out of the teacher's hands and the other by showing that a weakness had already been identified and was in the process of being corrected—beginning teachers who maintain patterns of *blaming the situation* may instead develop an identity of a teacher who is not accountable for what takes place in her classroom. In these cases, outside forces are presented as being responsible for all failures. Lacey (1977) talked about similar practices of *upward* and

downward displacement of blame. In Lacey's early work on teacher socialization, upward displacement of blame held individuals and forces with more authority than the teacher responsible for what occurred in the classroom. These forces could include administrators, teacher evaluators, or district and state policy. The downward displacement of blame, which aligns more closely to the strategy of *working up the impact of students* discussed below, holds those with less authority responsible for situations that do not turn out well. Furthermore, Lacey (1977) found that participants sometimes talked about their responses to negative situations using *strategic redefinition* to present versions that justified why their otherwise unacceptable behaviors were necessary given the bad circumstances they found themselves in. Certainly, some circumstances truly are beyond the control of the teacher, and researchers have discussed how policy from the local to national level impact teaching and teacher identity (Alsup, 2006; Britzman, 2003; Cohen, 2008; Danielewicz, 2001; Gewirtz et al., 2006; Kelchtermans, 2005; Lasky, 2005; Mahoney et al., 2006). Whatever the adversity, however, teachers are still charged with ensuring that student learning occurs in their classrooms. In terms of how successful teachers are at achieving this most important objective, a more fruitful identity is one in which teachers holds themselves responsible for the outcomes of their classes and take responsibility for their own actions.

Certainly, *blaming self* is not something people often want to do. Blame has such a negative connotation that no one wants to be associated with it. Even when softening the term from *blaming* to *identifying who or what is responsible for an outcome*, individuals regularly try to save face by justifying negative outcomes with circumstances beyond their control Potter (1996). Even now, readers of this report may be thinking, "But some things really are too big to overcome." They may even have specific examples to refute what I am suggesting: "We did not

have access to the internet in our classrooms that year"; "The bell schedule was so screwy that week"; or "The class was just too big." I admit that these are actual statements that I have made in the past. Though they may have helped me preserve some sense of competence, they did little to help me take control of similar situations in the future. Constructing alternate versions of these failed experiences—no matter how uncomfortable those alternatives make us—could be a step toward developing into the kind of teacher who not only takes responsibility for negative outcomes but adjusts future practices to affect change. Instead of the statements I listed above, I could have said, "I did not plan well-enough in advance to reserve the computer lab that had internet access when I needed it"; "I did not have well-established routines to give my students a sense of stability during a week with an unusual bell schedule," or "I did not alter my methods to appropriately accommodate for the large class size." All of these statements would have granted me a degree of agency the next time I faced a similar situation.

Beijaard et al.'s (2004) literature review identified agency as one of the essential features of a teacher's professional identity, and Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) stated in their review that agency has been found to powerfully affect identity development. Taking responsibility for what occurs in the classroom can develop habits of claiming agency and adapting as necessary. Though Britzman (1986) warns against the myth that everything depends on the teacher, a degree of responsibility for what occurs is necessary. When participants in this study took responsibility for their actions, they also spoke about the changes they needed to make or were in the process of making. They used such moments to demonstrate that they were taking control of their classrooms and were willing to alter their practices. Paula recognized the need to change how she interacted with her students (Excerpt Forty-Six) and how she set up the physical arrangement of the classroom (Excerpt Forty-Eight), and Anna Lucia recognized the need to

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change how she taught research skills (Excerpt Forty-Seven) and how she conceived of her goals

for each class (Excerpt Forty-Nine). Though the data for this study does not provide evidence of

whether or not the participants actually changed their practices, their talk displayed an

acknowledgement of a need to do so.

The questions in this section are aimed at identifying moments in talk when a beginning

teacher might be *blaming the situation* to such an extent that she has removed herself from all

responsibility for affecting positive outcomes when faced with difficult circumstances. In any

discussion about responsibility for what happens in the classroom, the goal should not be to guilt

or shame new teachers for being at fault for negative outcomes in their classroom. Instead, as

individuals starting a new career, beginning teachers should be empowered by these

conversations to learn more about their profession and develop new skills that will cultivate more

positive outcomes the next time they face a similar challenge. Rather than feeling unprepared to

face the same challenges over and over again, these conversations can offer hope by nudging

beginning teacher towards the identities of teachers whose skills improve over time and are thus

prepared to face new challenges. To make these conversations positive, it may be helpful to

emphasize that most beginning teachers face the same types of struggles (Cherubini, 2009;

Veenman, 1984).

- When discussing a failure, who or what is held accountable by the speaker's version of
  the experience?

- What actions are limited and licensed by a version of a failure that blames the situation?

- How would altering the version of a failure from blaming the situation to blaming self
  allow for different actions?

Working up the impact of students on lesson outcomes. The final strategy of those that allowed the participants to present themselves along a spectrum between two opposites is *working up the impact of students on lesson outcomes*. By *demonstrating passivity* or *demonstrating initiative* when faced with difficult students, beginning teachers can present themselves as the kinds of teachers who either do or do not take action. Closely related to *talking about failure*, this strategy demonstrated how much responsibility the speaker took for the occurrences in the classroom, but in this strategy, rather than obscure requirements or uncontrollable conditions being presented as responsible for negative outcomes in the classroom, students were sometimes talked about as a collective force too powerful to overcome. This strategy is similar to what Lacey (1977) calls the downward displacement of blame.

Certainly, the make-up of some class rosters include more students who do not conform to traditional school behaviors more than others do, but much like *blaming the situation* fails to empower teachers to make positive changes in the future, *demonstrating passivity* similarly constructs teacher identities that do not encourage growth overtime. Like Irwin and Bolton (2010) noted in their own research, Reagan and Zeke used the pronoun "they" when making the claim that the students dictate what occurs in the classroom (Excerpts Fifty). In doing so, the beginning teachers separated themselves from the responsibility of having to help them learn and displayed a passive approach about how to handle students who are unmotivated to work and who instead create distractions. Instead the interns transferred responsibility to the students (Nuthall, 2005). Similarly, when Zeke said that he would "crash and burn" while teaching a specific lesson because his students would not be responsive (Excerpt Fifty-One), he displayed a passive approach to how to plan for students who have had an academically tiring week. These versions of why lessons do not succeed only require that teachers cross their fingers and hope for

a class that consists of bright, energetic learners. When good students do get assigned to the classroom and positive outcomes occur, teachers who demonstrate passivity cannot reproduce those outcomes because they did not take initiative to create them in the first place. Nick, for example, claimed that the successes he experienced were not the result of any skill on his part but were the result of his students being willing to do what he asked (Excerpt Fifty Three). The identities these utterances help develop are not particularly beneficial to beginning teachers because they may continue to have apprehensive feelings about encountering difficult students in the future.

Much more fruitful is a teacher who is willing to take action when faced with difficulty, and *demonstrating initiative* was a way for the participants to develop this kind of identity. When Paula identified a deficiency in her students' writing, she did not simply shrug her shoulders and say she would not be able to have her students write effective essays. Instead, she demonstrated initiative by outlining a specific plan to address her students' unique needs (Excerpt Fifty-Four). Anna Lucia also demonstrated initiative when she talked about using techniques at the end of her lessons to determine whether or not her students understood the new material so that she could discover if reteaching were necessary (Excerpt Eleven). Teacher educators should encourage this kind of talk about the impact of students. Even though every class is unique and some are much more difficult than others, teachers should be encouraged to become the kinds of teachers who face the challenge of difficult students with creativity and initiative. To encourage this kind of talk, alternative versions of these accounts should be encouraged. For example, after Reagan and Zeke claimed that students dictate so much of what occurs in the classroom, they could have been asked to distinguish between what they as teachers have control over and what the students actually have control over. After establishing which

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parts are the teacher's responsibility, Reagan and Zeke could then be challenged to take initiative in the areas that the teacher does have control over. Although it may be very true that some students will not do homework, it may also be true that a teacher is experiencing classroom difficulties because she is still trying to create lessons that are dependent on the students having prepared before coming to class. In such an instance, the teacher could accept the reality of what her students are and are not willing to do and alter her plans accordingly. In the instance where Zeke predicted that his students would be exhausted from testing and have zero tolerance for a mundane lesson, he could have planned something more interactive or fun. By moving from discourse that demonstrates passivity to discourse that demonstrates initiative, beginning teachers may begin to enact the steps necessary to create positive outcomes even when they encounter difficult students.

The final questions in this chapter examine how beginning teachers may be working up the impact of students in ways that demonstrate passivity rather than initiative. Though teacher educators should caution beginning teachers about the possibility of some of the best initiatives not working, mentors should still encourage beginners to speak as the kind of teachers who will take action. Just like speaking as the kind of teacher who takes responsibility for failure allows an individual to create an identity where growth is possible, speaking in ways that demonstrate initiative allow for teachers to be active in how they respond to difficult students in the future.

- When discussing how students impact the classroom, how does the speaker's version of a situation demonstrate initiative or passivity?

- What actions are limited and licensed by a version that demonstrates passivity?

- How would altering a version from one that worked up students as a force too great to be overcome to one that suggested that teacher initiative could have a positive impact allow for different actions?

Conclusion

As preservice teachers enter the profession, they experience a shift from student to teacher (Beauchamp and Thomas 2006,2009; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2007), and it has been the goal of this report to explain one portion of that process. However, if Britzman (1992) and Danielewicz (2001) are correct that teachers never arrive at a completed or fixed identity but are always in the process of developing them, every teacher will continue to negotiate and renegotiate her personal and professional identities throughout her career. Therefore, the discursive strategies discussed in this report and the implications of them have application across the span of all educators' lives. Certainly, teacher educators should want to help beginners move through the early stages of teaching into what Huberman (1989a, 1989b) calls a period of stabilization, but long after a teacher has moved beyond the stage classified as beginning, she can benefit from an understanding of how her talk plays a key role in shaping her identity. Unfortunately, it does not seem like discussions about these concepts would have much impact on preservice teachers any earlier than their entry into the classroom.

Preservice teachers have developed ideas about who they would like to become as teachers and how they would like to teach based on their own experiences in school (Britzman,

2003; Flores, 2010; Kagan, 1992; Sumara and Luce-Kapler, 1996), but these images are often uninformed. Their anticipatory socialization is usually based solely on their apprenticeships of observation, which do not include the insider knowledge of the profession that comes through formal training (Hatton, 1988; Lortie, 1975; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Despite teacher educators desire to challenge these preformed ideas and discuss identity related issues, for example, by using Olsen's (2010) excellent textbook about teaching and identity, doing so before field experiences begin may not be effective because teachers tend to value experience over theoretical knowledge (Hargreaves, 1984; Lortie, 1975), and this "valorization of experience" (Britzman, 2003) can diminish how much learning takes place about teaching before preservice teachers enter the field. Some have gone so far as to suggest that preservice education can be totally "washed out" during early teaching experiences (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981). Rather than discussing identity in abstractions during preservice education, the tools in this chapter are intended to help beginning teachers understand the powerful identity work that is accomplished in their talk about their own experiences as they are occurring. During the chaos that often surrounds the first year of teaching, these tools may allow some to take the oft encouraged active role in identity development (Beijaard et al., 2004) and "(re)claim the authority of their own *voice*" (Rodger and Scott, 2008, p. 733).

It is my hope that these tools would aid all educators throughout their careers. Readers desiring to understand the link between discourse and identity further can read De Fina, Shiffrin, and Bamberg (2006) and Benwell and Stokoe's (2006) collections about *Discourse and Identity*. With an awareness of how our language influences identities, we might be more aware of what we say in the break room, in department meetings, and at home. We might start to see seemingly insignificant conversations as encounters where our discourse authors our own identities and the

identities of those around us, and as we become more and more aware of the link between discourse and identity, we might also challenge our peers to examine how their talk does the same. Although this study was conceived of as one about beginning English teachers and the research that I read in preparation for my work focused on English educators, the strategies that I focused on during my analysis apply to other fields as well. Whereas English teachers discuss being writing or literature teachers, each other discipline would have its own curriculum domains for individuals to cling to. Similarly, while class discussions are a go-to practice in English classrooms, teachers of other subjects might focus on hands-on learning and manipulatives. As an English teacher, it is hard for me to know what the science teacher's equivalent is for Reagan's claim that she loves Shakespeare or the math teacher's equivalent for Zeke's enjoyment of teaching logical fallacies. Each discipline naturally has its own topics of conversation and available discursive resources, but teachers in all fields conduct similar discursive identity work.

The influences on teacher identity that are discussed in Chapter 2 are intended to highlight specific areas that beginning teachers are likely to talk about: prior images, biography, relationships with students, and external demands. Each of these areas can provide fertile ground for examining discursive identity work, and most of them showed up in the data for this study. The participants' discussions about prior images of teachers consistently allowed them to locate themselves in relation to other educators. Paula repeatedly invoked her educational biography as support for her instructional decisions. Zeke repeatedly emphasized the personal importance of the relationships he had with his students, and many others worked up the impact of students on their plans. Kelsey and Paula diminished the value of fulfilling the external demands of

reviewing for state mandated tests, and all the interns expressed their thoughts about the changing teacher evaluation requirements.

Suggestions for Further Research

As Chapter 2 showed, identity development is an area where abundant research is taking place; however, many publications do not offer clear explanations of how studies concerning identity can have practical application in the classroom. More research that makes theoretical concepts of identity useful in the schoolhouse are needed. Though I believe that the questions offered in this chapter can help teacher educators assist beginning teachers develop more fruitful identities, further studies are needed to examine the actual impact on teaching of these and other tools intended to help teachers develop their identities. Multiple authors have also written about the connection between emotions and identity, but how this link can be beneficial for beginning teacher remains unclear. Talk about emotions was limited in the data for this study, but research into the discourse surrounding emotions and teaching could bring this abstract concept into view. Finally, similar studies to this one using participants from different disciplines and stages in their careers would allow for conclusions about how the discursive strategies in this study are used by participants in other areas of teaching.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Email Inviting Interns to Participate in the Study

Dear XXXX,

      Over the course of the year, I will be conducting an original research study as part of the degree requirements of my PhD program. I will be studying the process that new teachers go through as they make the transition from student to teacher. As a graduate student just starting rstudying, so I'd like to invite you to participate in the project.

      Before I explain the details of the study, I want to make it completely clear that you are not required or expected to participate, and participation or non-participation will in no way benefit or hurt you as you progress through your master's program and teacher certification process. If you decide not to participate, you will not be denied any opportunities that you are entitled to as a member of the university's teacher education program; conversely, if you agree to participate, you will not be granted extra privileges that are unavailable to those who do not.

      As part of our normal interaction as mentor and intern, we will meet weekly to check in with each other and talk about your progress, clarify important dates and requirements, monitor the relationship you have with your cooperating teacher, and discuss any other topics you find relevant. Additionally, we will have a number of informal conversations when we see each other throughout the year. If you agree to participate in this study, you are agreeing to allow me to audio record, transcribe, and analyze the meetings and informal conversations. Select portions of the transcripts will then be included in the written manuscript of my dissertation. Precautions are in place to maintain confidentiality throughout the study. If you are interested in reading the specific details of them, I have included them in this email below my signature.

      For those of you who decide not to participate, we have two options depending on your comfort level: (1) you can be recorded along with your peers, but your contributions to the conversation will be omitted from transcription and analysis, or (2) you can opt out of being recorded, and I will meet with you in a group separate from the one that I do record. If even one person expresses discomfort with being recorded, I will divide the group into two smaller groups and only record the one consisting of individuals who wish to participate in the study. By doing so, the individuals who did not want to be recorded will not be identifiable by their peers. If neither of these options is acceptable for you, please let me know, so we can talk about an alternative. I do not want you to feel pressured in any way.

      Please email me any questions you have about the project, so I can address your concerns. I will also set aside some time at our first meeting for you to ask questions. At that time, I will distribute informed consent forms on which you can indicate whether you do or do not wish to participate.

Joshua P Johnston

<center>Appendix B</center>

Informed Consent Form
<center>A Discursive Analysis of Preservice Teachers' Identity Construction
during a Student-Teaching Internship</center>

INTRODUCTION

You are invited to participate in a research study for the purpose of examining how beginning teachers create teacher identities through talk with other beginning teachers during their student-teaching internship.

INFORMATION ABOUT PARTICIPANTS' INVOLVEMENT IN THE STUDY

As part of our normal interaction as mentor and intern, we will meet weekly to check in with each other and talk about your progress, clarify important dates and requirements, monitor the relationship you have with your cooperating teachers, and discuss any other topics you find relevant. Additionally, we will have a number of informal conversations when we see each other throughout the year. If you agree to participate in this study, you are agreeing to allow me to audio record, transcribe, and analyze these meetings and informal conversations for the duration of the 20XX-20XX academic year. Select portions of the transcripts will then be included in the written manuscript of my dissertation.

Before I record any conversation or meeting I will remind you that I am doing so and ask permission to record that specific event.

RISKS

The risks of this study are minimal; however, there may be an apparent conflict between my role as a field supervisor and as primary investigator in this study. However, I serve merely as your mentor. While I conduct classroom observations as part of my responsibilities, I am not involved in officially evaluating you for licensure; other members of the program will conduct the formal evaluation process that leads to teacher certification. I want you to understand that you do not have to participate and make you aware that participation or non-participation will not impact your formal evaluations.

For those of you who decide not to participate, I will provide options for how we can proceed depending on you comfort level: (1) you can be recorded along with your peers, but your contribution to the conversation can be omitted from transcription and analysis, or (2) you can opt out of being recorded, and I will meet with you in a group separate from the one that is recorded. Should even one individual express discomfort with being recorded, I will divide the group into two equally sized sub-groups and only record the sub-group consisting of individuals who agree to participate. By doing so, I can offer the same supportive, group experience for those who do not wish to participate as I do for those who do participate. Additionally, the creation of a second group consisting of individuals who have and have not agreed to participate will prevent anyone from being able to single out individuals who did not want to participate.

<div align="right">Initial _____ Page 1 of 3</div>

<center>343</center>

While the process of recording, transcribing, and analyzing the meetings and conversations will allow me to pay closer attention to what you have said and to see details in your comments that I might not notice at the time when the conversations originally take place, all of the data will be naturally occurring. That is, all the information will be recorded as part of our regular interactions. I will not be implementing interview protocols or any other sort of techniques to uncover information that would not naturally be exchanged in the conversations between interns and their mentor. The meetings and conversations are all part of my routines; I have been conducting such meetings and informal conversations for the last two years in support of two previous groups of interns.

A second concern is the relationship that I have with the supervisor of the English Education program, Dr. XXXXXX. Not only is she the head of your program; she is also my advisor, supervisor, and a member of my dissertation committee. As such, we regularly discuss my research and course work, and this research study will only be finalized when she reads and signs off on the dissertation. During the process, she and I will naturally discuss general trends and specific findings of the study; however, she will not be provided with any identifying details relating to individual participants. While my role as a field supervisor requires me to discuss your progress with Dr. XXXXXX, I will not discuss findings of the study as they relate to your work in the teacher education program. The other members of my committee are outside of the English education program and thus outside your supervisory chain of command.

BENEFITS

Participants in this study will receive no tangible benefits as a result of participating. The researcher has neither stated explicitly or suggested implicitly that any financial, material, or symbolic gain will come as a result of participating.

You are not required or expected to participate in this study, and participation or non-participation will in no way benefit or hurt you. If you decide not to participate, you will not be denied any opportunities that you are entitled to as a member of the university's teacher education program; conversely, if you agree to participate, you will not be granted extra privileges not made available to your peers.

The project only benefits the larger academic community by providing insight into the difficulty new educators experience as they make the transition from student to teacher, and it provides a good example of how difficult it is for novice teachers to talk about their experiences while also trying to create an identity for themselves.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of anyone that you mention while being recorded is an especially important concern. Though this study does not deal with any vulnerable populations, you may discuss your interactions with minors or individuals with special needs. Therefore, pseudonyms will be used for all references to people and places in every draft of the written documents, conversations, and presentations associated with the study.

Initial _____   Page 2 of 3

In the event that I collaborate with other graduate students or faculty in data sessions or working groups, every member of the group will sign a confidentially statement. This step is particularly important because data analysis sessions will require the use of original audio files. Though it is possible for me to insert pseudonyms into transcripts, I have no way of removing the names of people and places from audio files. For that reason, individuals who are involved in your program will not be allowed at collaborative sessions where the original audio files are played. To keep the data secure, the digital recorder will remain on my person or in a securely locked office anytime it contains recordings. Once the audio file is downloaded onto a password protected computer, the digital recorder will be erased. The password is only known to the primary researcher; it contains both letters, numbers, and symbols. Transcripts will be maintained in a securely locked office when not on my person. In compliance with the University's policy, I will destroy all data three years after completion of the study.

CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, please contact Joshua P. Johnston at (XXX) XXX-XXXX or XXXXXXX@XXX.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, contact the Office of Research Compliance Officer at (XXX) XXX-XXXX.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may decline to participate without penalty, and you may withdraw participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be disregarded during analysis.

CONSENT

Please initial the line next to the statement that expresses your wishes and strike a line through the text that expresses the opposite:

I have read the above information and received a copy of this form.
_____ I agree to participate in this study.

I have read the above information and received a copy of this form.
_____ I do not agree to participate in this study.

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Investigator's signature _____ Date _____

Appendix C

Date Duration Location Participants	Meeting Summary

Fall 08 22
 	
44:19
 	
Student Union Lounge
 	
All Participants
	(Interns signed research documents before recording began)
	- Interns introducing themselves and stating what they want to get out of the internship:
	  1-Nick explaining that he wants to work on delivering correct content effectively
	  2-Zeke saying that he wants to sound less robotic in front of the class and become a better disciplinarian
	  3-Kelsey stating that she wants to improve pacing and planning
	  4-Paula saying that she wants to work on pacing and is worried about being able to differentiate and make content accessible for lower-level students
	  5-Harper explaining her schedule and telling about the store she owns
	  6-Reagan saying that if she can gain confidence, she will make better decisions
	  7-Anna Lucia saying she wants to gain confidence in planning
	  8-Mindy stating she needs to gain confidence to work with the mentors in her room
	- Jonathon clarifying assigned mentors and teaching schedules during introductions
	- Jonathon explaining weekly meetings, field observation workbook, teacher education program dispositions, and self-evaluation forms

Fall 08 29
 	
49:09
 	
Student Union Lounge
 	
All Participants *Mindy arrived at minute 20:00
	- Jonathon answering questions:
	  1-Paula asking when they should take over the class
	  2-Zeke asking whether or not student work is collected during observations
	  3-Anna Lucia asking for criteria for what qualifies as "a minority or low SES class"
	  3-Reagan asking about their responsibilities when they visit the middle schools
	-Interns discussing whether or not they like the middle school experience and Anna Lucia telling a story about a boy dropping his pants in the library
	-Jonathon asking about great things they've observed and bad things they've observed:
	  1-Zeke saying that he likes his mentor's lack of seriousness and tendency to make fun of the students and telling a story about a hypothetical scenario he used in class that resulted in students crying
	  2-Anna Lucia praising her mentor's passion
	  3-Reagan asking if it is a problem that she does not want to have the same teaching style as her mentor
	- Jonathon answering questions about self-assessments and explaining how they can be helpful
	- Discussing a case study about being too personal with students:
	  1-Paula suggesting that teachers should not share too much but saying that teachers at her school use social media to cross boundaries they should not
	  2- Reagan telling about an experience she had with one of her teachers
	  3-Zeke telling about a time when he saw a teacher crying with a student
	  4-Nick suggesting the rule that if a teacher has to think about a comment, it is probably an inappropriate comment
	  5-Anna Lucia saying that teachers must deliberately set themselves apart
	  6-Jonathon and Zeke talking about Zeke looking young
	- Jonathon scheduling visits to classrooms to meet with mentors
	- Jonathon reminding interns to continue to complete the observation workbook

Fall 09-12
 	
58:27
 	
Student Union Lounge
	- Group scheduling initial observations, including Zeke's prediction that he will crash and burn
	- Jonathon arguing for scheduling observations during normal lessons and discussing the importance of being willing to talk about failures
	- Jonathon asking about good and bad things from the week:
	  1-Zeke saying that he cannot believe how little his students know
	  2-Nick saying his kids are chatty but all things considered, things are going well
	- Jonathon's emphasizing the need for reflection
	- Jonathon asking if anyone is experiencing conflicts with mentors
	- Paula telling about the difficulties of teaching without her mentor around
	- Anna Lucia talking about not having her own room

All Participants but Harper *Nick arrived at minute 9:50	- Jonathon suggesting the need to deliberately respond to situations and to decide who they want to be as teachers - Mindy and Anna Lucia explaining Suburban High School's different academies - Zeke talking about not having a computer at school - Jonathon and Anna Lucia talking about being professional - Paula talking about other teachers' negative workroom talk about students - Reagan and Jonathon discussing how much of the text needs to be read in class when studying a play

Fall 09 19
 	
63:49
 	
Student Union Lounge
 	
All Participants *Mindy arrived at minute 8:30
	- Zeke telling how poorly his students did on a quiz
	- Group scheduling observations
	- Nick telling about his first observation and talking about chatty students and the support he gets from his mentor
	- Zeke telling about his first observation
	- Zeke talking about how bad his students are at English; Jonathon suggesting that he still has to teach them
	- Anna Lucia talking about not knowing computer programs; Jonathon mentioning not to assume what students know
	- Harper talking about what bad writers she has and how she and her mentor relate
	- Zeke saying he wishes his students could at least "BS"; Jonathon highlighting that "BS-ing" is itself a skill set
	- Discussing how to teach skills during a lengthy text:
	  1-Paula emphasizing the use of a character students would be interested in
	  2-Jonathon defending not reading every word of plays
	- Mindy expressing frustration about mentor teacher's movie watching and talking about how she handled a student who hit another student
	- Kelsey briefly stating that she started teaching and it went well
	- Paula talking about her students' poor writing skills and how they have not been taught; Jonathon challenging the notion that students have not been taught
	- Jonathon helping Anna Lucia with formatting in Word
	- Reagan and Zeke criticizing late work policies at their school

Fall 09-26
 	
54:43
 	
Student Union Lounge
 	
All Participants but Paula *Harper arrived minute 11:57
	- Group engaging in small talk about homework and scary books and movies
	- Interns writing down something they are excited about
	- Zeke and Jonathon talking about previous hairstyles they have had
	- Anna Lucia telling story of cutting off a boy's rat tail when she was in grade school
	- Jonathon discussing "good questions" and asking interns to write a question about something they are having trouble with so they can brainstorm as a group:
	  1-Zeke asking his question about how to get to know distant students
	  2-Nick asking his question about students who sleep in class
	  3-Reagan asking about trying to get resistant students engaged in classroom activities
	  4-Mindy talking about creative activities
	  5-Harper asking how to make sure students are understanding during instruction but before assessment
	  6-Mindy asking about changing routines mid semester to aid the performance assessment that interns are evaluated on
	  7-Kelsey asking how to get students to see the importance of pre writing

Fall 10 10
 	
59:15
 	
Student Union Lounge
	- Group engaging in small talk about snow days and fall break
	- Group discussing round two of observations
	- Interns reviewing and discussing one of Kelsey's lesson plans
	- Jonathon asking how the observations can be more helpful
	- Interns providing updates:
	  1-Harper saying that she is far behind on class work and several others agreeing
	  2-Zeke saying he is not as stressed out as the others
	  3-Anna Lucia and Reagan saying they are getting very little mentor support
	  4-Paula explaining how her mentor provides feedback on her plans
	  5-Kelsey explaining her mentor's detailed process of providing feedback and being challenged by Harper and Anna Lucia for not teaching everyday
	  6-Zeke talking about co-teaching on the fly with his mentor

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All Participants *Paula arrived at minute 5:20	7-Mindy telling how her mentor makes suggestions to her plans 8-Reagan stating that she gets no support because her mentor is so busy - Jonathon emphasizing using him as a resource - Group negotiating taking a group photo - Jonathon and Reagan informally talking about camera lenses - Zeke talking with Jonathon about not being very stressed and not doing much original planning

Fall 10 17
 	
52:30
 	
Student Union Lounge
 	
All Participants
*Anna Lucia arrived at minute 2:40
*Paula arrived at minute 21:22
	- Jonathon following up on an email he sent about the interns giving him the lesson plans they used for that day
	- Group scheduling observations and talking about creating an observation calendar accessible to everyone
	- Jonathon talking about emailing mentors to provide feedback; Harper expressing worry that her mentor is not telling her things
	- Group freewriting on three topics:
	  1-As I teacher, I want to . . . As a teacher, I believe it's important to . . .
	  2-Why do you believe these traits and aspects are important? (Think about some of the following: past teachers, your experience as a student, you parents values, your interactions with your parents, you college courses, your professional education, your peers, movies, anything else)
	  3-What is helping/hindering your progress of achieving the goals you articulated in your first free write?
	- Anna Lucia, Harper, and Reagan talking about the idea that their reality does not reflect their expectations
	- Zeke talking about some students who are lost causes and their impact on society
	- Paula saying she wishes the atmosphere of the school was more positive
	- Jonathon proposing that the common feature of their comments about their expectations and reality is the students
	- Mindy talking about being frustrated about her mentor not focusing enough on the students' writing needs
	- Jonathon emphasizing serving the students

Fall 10 24
 	
53:46
 	
Student Union Lounge
 	
All Participants
*Anna Lucia arrived at minute 4:39
	- Group scheduling observations
	- Anna Lucia asking about changes to lesson plans during evaluations and Reagan asking about including extra activities on plans in case the lesson is short
	- Jonathon encouraging them to complete the field observation workbook
	- Group discussing action research presentations
	- Jonathon emphasizing the importance of depending on and collaborating with peers
	- Jonathon asking interns to report positive experiences:
	  1-Anna Lucia talking about how much support she gets from Mindy and Harper
	  2-Zeke talking about enjoying the kids but emphasizing how much they dislike English and how bad they are at it
	- Anna Lucia talking about the low point in her semester
	- Zeke saying he is not stressed
	- Nick saying that his new students are curious learners
	- Reagan talking about a successful lesson about the American dustbowl
	- Reagan introducing the conflict between being a student and a teacher
	- Anna Lucia saying she has decided to do fun things and Mindy talking about burying words she does not want to see in papers
	- Jonathon talking about how the interns talk in terms of things are happening *to* them
	- Jonathon emphasizing prioritizing downtime with friends
	- Jonathon checking in on the feedback interns are receiving from mentors:
	  1-Anna Lucia reporting no improvement
	  2-Zeke reporting that because he has become more involved in seeking it, he is getting more feedback
	  3-Paula reporting that she gets feedback on plans but not on their execution
	  4-Reagan saying that her mentor gave good feedback for the first time today but told Reagan she can be "cold" with the students
	- Paula talking about implementing a seating chart, adhering to rules, and facing bad attitudes

	- Jonathon talking about "wearing the rank" in the classroom without attitude; interns resisting this idea - Anna Lucia raising the point that they are not the authority and that mentors can undermine them - Jonathon giving an example of a teacher being overly stern with students in a class he is currently taking

Fall 11 07
 	
48:29
 	
Student Union Lounge
 	
All Participants but Harper
	- Interns informally talking about what assignments are due in their classes
	- Group discussing which observations Jonathon will conduct and which ones school administrators will conduct
	- Anna Lucia saying that the state has changed the number of required observations
	- Interns reading through the planning rubric and flagging specific performance indicators they would like to discuss
	- Jonathon talking about the structure of 15-minute classroom observations
	- Reagan asking about how it will work during an evaluation if they do not get to certain parts of of a lesson
	- Jonathon responding to the topics that were identified above:
	  1-Providing appropriate time for student work and lesson closure
	  2-Interpreting rather than reproducing
	  3-Measuring student performance in more than two ways
	  4-Using participation as assessment
	  5-Accommodating individual student needs
	- Paula bringing up here deaf student
	- Jonathon collecting and examining observation workbooks
	- Group informally talking about dinner
	- Interns asking a variety of questions about classroom observations

Fall 11 14 51:42 Student Union Lounge All Participants but Reagan	- Group scheduling observations with particular attention to coordinating three observations in one day at Metropolitan High School - Interns discussing taking off of school to write their performance assessment - Anna Lucia and Jonathon trying to set up a time for a pre-conference and observation - Anna Lucia talking about Enigma's song "Return to Innocence" - Zeke talking about having to "not be nice" to get his kids to be quiet - Paula talking about a girl who has been confrontational - Interns discussing the Praxis tests - Jonathon talking about never letting their teaching certification lapse - Jonathon talking about the Spring observation cycles - Jonathon introducing the environment rubric, including clarifying the bullet about being "generally respectful" - Interns asking questions about the field observation workbook - Jonathon and Zeke talking about one of Zeke's students - Kelsey and Nick talking about taking their classes to see a dress rehearsal of a play - Anna Lucia, Mindy, and Paula talking about Greek yogurt - Group talking about restaurants that offer free food specials - Group discussing the restaurant Cook Out and a few movies
Fall 11 28 79:37 Student Union Lounge All Participants	- Anna Lucia and Harper planning a lesson - Anna Lucia and Mindy asking Harper about her new school placement - Anna Lucia, Harper, and Jonathon discussing Thanksgiving break - Zeke talking about the realization that he is about to become an adult - Anna Lucia, Harper, Jonathon, and Zeke informally talking about movies, British safety mascots, and famous people who have died - Anna Lucia, Harper, Kelsey, and Zeke discussing writing the commentaries for the performance assessment - Jonathon and Zeke discussing an upcoming observation; Jonathon telling Harper he needs to visit her new school; Jonathon scheduling observations with Anna Lucia and Mindy; Jonathon trying to schedule an observation with Reagan - Interns talking about convincing their methods teacher to cancel their last class - Jonathon explaining pre conferences - Reagan asking how occasional inconsistencies in respect can still be "at expectations" - Reagan asking about talkative classes in relation to classroom observations

	- Zeke talking about a student whom the others in his class do not like and telling a story about a fight that almost happened during a classroom observation
	- Zeke suggesting that inconsequential off-task behavior is a subjective classification; Jonathon responding in terms of how behavior impacts student learning and safety
	- Interns free writing:
	  1-about what changes they would like to make before the next spring semester
	  2-about what goals they have for the next semester
	- Paula saying she is disappointed to not get a new set of students because she will have to address increasing behavior management issues
	- Group discussing "writing up" students
	- Interns talking about looking forward to not having so many graduate classes
	- Reagan mentioning that her students are behind, so she will not get to do *Raisin in the Sun*; Jonathon talking about English class being about a way of looking at literature, not a survey of literature
	- Interns discussing end-of-semester procedures at their schools and the college, including one particular reading education assignment
	- Zeke talking about having to recomplete an assignment for his reading education class
	- Paula asking Jonathon about using the "Declaration of Independence" to teach persuasion; Jonathon suggesting "Letter from Birmingham Jail"

Fall 12 05
 	
40:01
 	
Student Union Lounge
 	
All Participants but Harper and Kelsey
*Nick departed at minute 19:06
* Paula arrived at minute 24:45
	- Jonathon asking the interns to tell him what would be helpful in these meetings during the second semester:
	  1-Anna Lucia mentioning the need for more specific explanation of teacher evaluation rubrics
	  2-Nick asking about teaching seniors during their last semester; Jonathon saying it is the worst experience
	- Jonathon asking what sort of goals the interns have for themselves:
	  1-Anna Lucia saying she wants to finish her work earlier and have better systems
	  2-Nick saying he wants to be more a part of the school
	- Group joking throughout about how organized Kelsey is
	- Jonathon talking about "going slow to go fast"
	- Zeke claiming that nothing will change at the semester break in year-long classes
	- Nick talking about how much of his field observation workbook is completed
	- Group discussing where to meet during the second semester
	- Group talking about uncomfortable encounters with "creepy" people
	- Interns talking about Jonathon's appearance and the few times they have seen him in a tee shirt
	- Group talking about Jonathon's officemate
	- Jonathon explaining end-of-semester procedures and summarizing decisions about next semester
	- Discussing what classroom evaluations school administrators will conduct
	- Zeke questioning his role in the classroom in the next semester; Jonathon providing a lengthy explanation of what is expected
	- Jonathon and Anna Lucia discussing a classroom visit
	- Paula, Reagan, and Zeke discussing a portfolio assignment for a graduate class

Spring 01 23 36:47 Student Union Lounge All Participants but Kelsey * Paula arrived at minute 2:00 * Anna Lucia,	- Jonathon checking in with how the interns feel; interns saying the feel good - Zeke explaining that he feels more comfortable in the second semester - Paula explaining her gradual integration into her second class - Interns explaining their schedules - Paula explaining why one "crazy" class is not a good one to observe but says that she has not been called some of the bad names that other teachers have been called - Nick and Reagan making funny comments into the recorder throughout - Nick explaining his schedule for the semester - Jonathon talking about losing his office key - Interns talking about Harper's handbag - Reagan describing her schedule and the personality of her new mentor - Interns discussing the meaning of the word "hooligan" - Zeke describing his schedule and the difference between his primary and secondary mentors - Anna Lucia, Nick, and Reagan discussing Kelsey's birthday - Anna Lucia describing her schedule, raving about her new mentor, and joking about her first mentor

Harper and Mindy arrived at minute 10:47	- Jonathon and Anna Lucia talking about why some teachers should and should not be mentors - Mindy describing her schedule - Group discussing the decorations in the lounge - Jonathon telling a story about recording a man who was telling a story on the bus - Group scheduling subsequent meetings and confirming the new location - Jonathon explaining and apologizing for scheduling multiple observations in one day - Interns asking if they get to select their own pseudonyms for the study; Jonathon justifying why he selected them - Anna Lucia, Harper, and Jonathon scheduling pre conferences and observations

Spring 02 02
 	
58:28
 	
Restaurant
 	
All Participants but Paula
*Anna Lucia arrived at minute 2:00
*Harper arrived at minute 7:20
	- Jonathon, Reagan, and Zeke talking about how dressed-down Jonathon is
	- Jonathon distributing newspaper article about the New England Patriots for potential classroom use; Zeke saying he might use it teaching fact and opinion
	- Anna Lucia, Jonathon, Nick, and Zeke talking about football
	- Interns talk about being in a new context for the meeting
	- Jonathon asking if everything is okay with the new mentors
	- Anna Lucia talking about not wanting to listen to her primary mentor's feedback and having to remind herself that she is still an intern
	- Reagan explains the feedback method her second mentor has implemented
	- Harper talking about how chipper she feels compared to the rest of the group
	- Jonathon asking about classroom management issues so the group can help trouble shoot them and the group discussing each topic (Jonathon talking most):
	  1-Reagan asking about the difficulty of getting students to work when activities do not count for a grade; Harper talking about checking everything; Jonathon talking about how the inherent worth of a task impacts of motivation
	  2-Zeke talking about a student who stands with him at the front of the room; Nick using the category "walker"; Mindy, Reagan and Anna Lucia making suggestions; Zeke telling why he thinks each suggestion will not work; Zeke telling about his hands raising policy and "messing with" students; Jonathon telling about an experience with one particular student and the need to evaluate how distracting the behavior actually is; Jonathon praising a strategy Nick used during an observation
	  3-Mindy telling how her co teacher in the fall distracted her students; Jonathon saying that Harper's first mentor did the same thing; Anna Lucia telling stories about her mentor talking with students while she teaches
	  4-Reagan suggesting that establishing from the start of the semester that she was in charge was beneficial; Anna Lucia, Harper, Mindy and Zeke talking about how they are more aware of not getting off track when students introduce tangents
	  5-Harper asking about "sleepers" who have issues at home and what is more important—sleep or work; Zeke talking about the student who sleeps a lot in his class; Jonathon asking them to consider what their motivation is for having student stay awake; Anna Lucia and Zeke talking on top of each other, she with suggestions and he actions that demonstrate that neither the student nor his parents care; Jonathon suggesting that the relational component in how Zeke handles this situation is important; Jonathon talking about creating activities that students care enough about to stay awake; Zeke saying the guy never comes to class anyway
	- Jonathon talking about scheduling observations over email and emphasizing the need to write lesson plans
	- Anna Lucia and Jonathon talking about report card pick up
	- Anna Lucia explaining how to order graduation supplies; Reagan and Zeke complaining about having to order another cap and gown
	- Jonathon telling about Mark Twain wearing his doctoral robe around the house
	- Anna Lucia and Harper telling Reagan how to study for the Praxis exam and taking more than one exam on the same day
	- Anna Lucia, Jonathon, Nick, and Mindy talking about poor communication from the college of education and how much they should tell the upcoming cohort about the experience
	- Anna Lucia, Jonathon, and Nick discussing Nick's drawing on the picture of Tom Brady in the newspaper article about the Patriots
	- Jonathon and Nick talking about a four mile race that involves eating junk food at the half-way point

Spring 02 16
 	
57:36
 	
Restaurant
 	
Jonathon
Kelsey
Nick
Paula
Zeke
*Nick departed at minute 44:04
*Kelsey departed at minute 49:45
	- Jonathon handing out cards with areas that each intern identified as needing to be targeted for development at the close of the last semester
	- Paula asking about how to develop a classroom management plan
	- Jonathon asking about second semester confidence, about changing relationships with mentors, and about issues causing discomfort
	- Paula saying she is stressed about finding a job; Jonathon suggesting creating a thirty-second elevator talk for upcoming interviews
	- Jonathon asking interns to articulate their objectives for that day's class and interns stating and explaining their objectives
	- Jonathon asking interns to explain how they will know that the student can meet the objective and interns responding
	- Jonathon challenging the use of the word "understand" in objectives and arguing for strong measurable objectives
	- Jonathon differentiating between activities and assessment
	- Jonathon and Zeke discussing student engagement:
	  1-Zeke asking about what to do when students will not complete work
	  2-Jonathon inquiring about the sort of accountability Zeke uses and suggesting implementing more accountability
	  3-Zeke resisting Jonathon's suggestion
	- Jonathon talking about keeping seniors engaged and asking what types of in-class activities the interns like in their college courses
	- Jonathon talking about relating to what the students enjoy and about a short story he once taught that he did not like but his students did
	- Zeke returning to the discussion with Jonathon about student engagement:
	  1-Zeke talking about the difficulty of engaging so many kids because they all think different things are relevant
	  2-Jonathon saying they need to connect despite difficulty and giving examples from his own high school experience and from a time when he wrote a social contract with some difficult students
	  3-Zeke explaining the difference between his two classes and saying his sophomores just will not engage because they dislike English
	  4-Jonathon advocating making the class more fun for students to attend and calling attention to a successful day when Zeke did so
	  5-Zeke saying he usually uses his mentors' materials and does not go out of his way to create creative lessons

Spring 03 01
 	
73:03
 	
Restaurant
 	
All Participants
*Anna Lucia arrived at minute 4:20
*Reagan arrived at minute 10:35
*Harper arrived at minute 31:50
	- Participants getting settled and discussing Anna Lucia being late because she was sitting in the car talking on the phone
	- Zeke talking about how much the students control what happens; Jonathon telling about students he had who always talked in class
	- Group discussing whether or not the bright sun coming in and landing on the table is going to cause a problem during the meeting
	- Group discussing who would and would not be present at the meeting
	- Jonathon checking in with all interns and each one providing and update:
	  1-Mindy telling about how great her secondary mentor is and how absent her primary mentor is, how low-level her students are, and how she is focusing on her organizational skills and teaching the writing process
	  2-Anna Lucia raving about her secondary mentor and her lack of interaction with her primary mentor and explaining her difficulty managing her schedule with Action Research and teaching
	  3-Kelsey stating that she gets a lot of feedback, has good students, and needs to work on Action Research
	  4-Reagan talking about what she is teaching in her classes, how she feels that she is improving as a literature teacher, and how she hates teaching writing because her students are bad at analysis
	  5-Zeke saying that his mentors have pushed him to plan more comprehensively, that he doubts his plans when he sees what his mentor has prepared for the day, and that he needs more "negative feedback"
	  6-Paula talking about showing a Shakespeare film that she is uncomfortable with and struggling with classroom management which may cause her to score poorly on formal evaluations

	7-Nick stating that he is happy to be done in the library and talking about the differences between teaching freshman and seniors
	8-Harper telling that she is teaching renaissance poetry, having a difficult time getting her first block students to engage with her, and working on her classroom management
	- Jonathon suggesting a change in the format and frequency of the meetings
	- Interns discussing another intern who recently left the program
	- Group discussing the difficulty of including closure in a lesson; Jonathon spending significant time advocating for lesson closure despite difficulty and answering questions from interns about how to do so
	- Paula questioning when the students just get to read and appreciate books
	- Jonathon spending significant time arguing that they teach skills not specific books and Reagan, Zeke, and Paula resisting his ideas
	- Harper and Jonathon setting up a classroom observation
	- Reagan making a suggestion about teaching renaissance poetry to Harper
Spring 03 13 36:00 Urban High School Jonathon Reagan Zeke	- Jonathon explaining the need to get together and apologizing for the short notice - Zeke telling about the frustrations he is facing because his students are not writing their research papers - Reagan venting about students needing to be beaten - Reagan providing an update on teaching the *Crucible* and *Othello* - Reagan talking about hating teaching writing; Zeke responding that he loves it - Reagan and Zeke accounting for acting differently in the classroom during the second semester and feeling more like teachers -Reagan asking about submitting end-of-year documents; Zeke explaining the process - Jonathon explaining to Reagan how to clear up an incomplete from her transcript - Group discussing Jonathon's officemate - Reagan talking about going out with people from the college last night - Reagan and Zeke discussing their experiences taking the Praxis exam - Jonathon talking about the difference in technology use between when he was in college and now - Jonathon explaining how many evaluations still remain - Zeke asking about not seeking a full-time teaching position and subbing for a year instead - Reagan and Zeke talking about an upcoming job fair

Spring 03 15
 	
28:56
 	
Metropolitan
High School
 	
Jonathon
Kelsey
Nick
Paula
	- Jonathon asking how the interns are doing and if they have finished the performance assessment
	- Jonathon asking what each of their action research projects are:
	  1-Nick: community involvement and student motivation
	  2-Kelsey: impact of reading aloud
	  3-Paula: Socratic seminars centered on social justice issues and how they affect student identity and peer-to-peer interactions
	- Group scheduling the remaining classroom observations and trying to work around several holidays and alternative schedules
	- Nick and Paula talking about teaching Macbeth
	- Jonathon telling about his 15-minute classroom observation of Harper
	- Kelsey, Nick, and Paula talking about passing scores for the Praxis exams and telling about their experiences taking it
	- Jonathon talking about facilitating sessions at their end of year action research conference

Spring 03 18
 	
58:41
 	
Suburban
High School
 	
Anna Lucia
Jonathon
Mindy
	- Jonathon asking how the interns are doing and how their relationships with their mentors are
	- Mindy talking about her "at-risk" seniors, her "crazy" sophomores, her upcoming poetry unit, and the difference between the support she gets from her two mentors
	- Anna Lucia discussing the positive working relationship she has with her secondary mentor and outlining her plans for the rest of the semester
	- Jonathon asking about their plans after completion of the program:
	  1-Anna Lucia explaining that she may move if she gets engaged
	  2-Mindy saying that she will stay nearby but does not want to teach middle school
	- Anna Lucia, Jonathon, and Mindy discussing Mindy's upcoming procedure on her jaw and Jonathon's former overbite
	- Mindy explaining the difference between how she and her sister were raised
	- Anna Lucia and Mindy talking about the distinct differences between the different academies at Suburban High School and explaining the impact that each has on interns' experiences

	- Anna Lucia and Mindy describing one academy as being elitist and suggesting that was why Harper had a bad experience there - Anna Lucia talking about her primary mentor treating her like a kid and her secondary mentor treating her like a peer - Jonathon explaining how he thinks next year's school placements will work - Anna Lucia and Mindy explaining why they think the administration will not conduct and will not be convinced to conduct any classroom observations - Jonathon describing some of the issues he is having with the new evaluation systems - Anna Lucia telling about her unannounced observation by the superintendent - Anna Lucia and Jonathon discussing whether or not unannounced observations require formal lesson plans to be submitted - Group scheduling observations - Jonathon telling about an "amazing" teacher he worked with who had a second full-time job - Group discussing Action Research - Jonathon telling about his officemate's dissertation defense and future job - Anna Lucia asking about the impact of not teaching for a year after graduation; Jonathon explaining how to "spin it" on a résumé - Anna Lucia asking about Department of Defense schools; Jonathon explaining how they work - Anna Lucia asking about Jonathon's wife's wedding photography services
Spring 05 14 22:02 Suburban High School Anna Lucia Jonathon Mindy	- Jonathon asking for feedback on the intern experience during the year - Anna Lucia and Mindy saying that they believe the university classes should be more aligned with what they will be expected to do in their classrooms - Anna Lucia and Mindy suggesting that English interns should not take the general reading education class because it is too general to apply in English teachers - Jonathon asking what he could do differently as a field supervisor - Anna Lucia saying that she appreciated that Jonathon got to know them first - Anna Lucia saying that repeating the process second semester is good - Mindy saying the emphasis on planning at Suburban High strengthened their teaching - Anna Lucia and Mindy talking about reflecting on the year and acknowledging how they have grown - Jonathon explaining changes to the "Introduction to Secondary Schools" he teaches - Jonathon reflecting on his own student-teaching experience - Anna Lucia and Jonathon talking about wedding photography - Anna Lucia talking about all the materials she and Mindy are making copies of
Spring 05 14 23:20 Metropolitan High School Jonathon Nick Paula	- Jonathon asking for feedback on the intern experience during the year - Nick and Paula talking about the impact of the performance assessment and lack of clear guidance - Nick and Paula suggesting incorporating more practical strategies in the classes instead of focusing on such broad concepts - Nick and Paula evaluating the individual courses they took - Paula criticizing the action research professor's emphasis on Critical Race Theory in his Trends and Issues class and taking a stance against professors advancing liberal agendas in class - Jonathon asking what he could do differently as a field supervisor - Nick praising his mentors' level of involvement and feedback and Paula advocating for mentors to model teaching and give more feedback - Group discussing frequency and format of classroom observations - Nick and Paula saying that they feel prepared overall - Paula talking about the need to maintain high standards and hard work

Appendix D

Transcription Symbols adapted from Jefferson (2004) and Gee (2010)

((word)) Double parentheses contain the transcriber's notes.

(word) Single parenthesis indicate transcriber's best guess.

(syl) *syl* indicates a syllable that cannot be understood.

[word] Left and right brackets indicate the beginning and ending of overlapping talk.

word Underscoring indicates a stress on a word or part of a word via pitch.

WORD Capitals indicate a stress on a word or part of a word via volume.

°word° Degree signs around words indicate that the words between were spoken more softly than the surrounding words.

>word< Right/Left carats indicate the words between were spoken more quickly than the surrounding words.

<word> Left/Right carats indicate the words between were spoken more slowly than the surrounding words.

I C Individual capital letters indicate that those letters were called by name. For example, a capital *I* should be pronounced *eye*. A capital *C* should be pronounced *see*.

= An equal sign indicates no break or pause from one line to the next.

- A dash indicates a quick cutoff.

(.2) Numbers in parentheses indicates pauses in approximate tenths of seconds.

(.) A dot in parenthesis indicates a brief, immeasurable pause.

:: Colons within words indicate a prolongation of the sound immediately preceding them. The more colons that are present, the longer the sound.

(h.) An *h* followed by a dot in parentheses indicates an outbreath. The more *h*s that precede the dot, the longer the breath. This can occur in the middle of a word during laughter.

(.h) A dot before an *h* in parentheses indicates an inbreath. The more *h*s that follow the dot, the longer the breath.

/ One slash indicates a continuing intonation, like when listing items.

// Two slashes indicate a final intonation, like the end of a grammatical English sentence.

↑ An up arrow marks indicates a rising intonation, like the end of an English question.

' An apostrophe maintains its conventional use to indicate the omission of letters and is used in the transcripts to maintain readability.

(heh) *heh* in parentheses indicates a short, controlled laugh.

(hehe) *hehe* in parentheses indicates a longer, more uncontrolled laugh. In some cases, variations of this spelling are used to emphasize unique laughs.

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Appendix E

Discussion Questions

Explicit Identity Claims

- How are *being* verb constructions used by a speaker to make explicit identity claims?
- What actions are limited or licensed by these explicit identity claims?
- How could explicit identity claims made with *being* verbs be reconstructed to emphasize actions, abilities, knowledge, preferences, or feelings?
- How would these alternate methods for making explicit identity claims alter what actions are limited or licensed by the claims?

Emphasizing the Personal Importance of a Concept

- How does the speaker's use of accounts demonstrate what is of personal importance?
  - Are pedagogical concepts of personal importance excused or justified with concepts of assumed importance?
  - Are behaviors or practices excused or justified with pedagogical concepts of personal importance?
- How does the speaker's talk establish the value of pedagogical concepts?
  - Is disproportionate conversational space allotted to a concept or is a concept repeatedly returned to across multiple conversations?
  - Are complex issues boiled down to simplified solutions?
  - Is the value of a practice or belief diminished?
- What kinds of teachers might also emphasize similar concepts as personally important?
- What actions are limited and licensed by the importance placed on these pedagogical concepts and the identities they work up?
- What alternative concepts are available to emphasize as important?
- What would be limited and licensed by these alternatives?

Locating Themselves in Relation to Other Educators

- How does talk about another educator (real or imagined) work to align or distance the speaker from that educator?
- With which behaviors, practices, or beliefs is the speaker aligning or distancing herself?
  - If aligning, what kind of teacher would find these behaviors, practices, or beliefs praiseworthy?
  - If distancing, what kind of teacher would find these behaviors, practices, or beliefs worth mocking?
- What alternative versions of the educators, behaviors, practices, or beliefs could be presented by the speaker?
- How would the speaker locate herself in relation to these alternate versions?

Orienting to Feedback

- Has the speaker accepted input by attempting to incorporate other educators' suggestions into her unique situation or resisted input by invoking unique knowledge of a situation to suggest that the input would be ineffective?
- Has the speaker accepted input by maintaining an openness that a suggestion could result in a positive outcome or resisted input by predicting that a suggestion will result in a negative outcome?
- Have comments or short stories about feedback sessions demonstrated that the speaker is open to or closed to feedback?
- How do these discursive moves present the speaker as an individual or a collaborator?

Talking about Failure

- When discussing a failure, who or what is held accountable by the speaker's version of the experience?
- What actions are limited and licensed by a version of a failure that blames the situation?
- How would altering the version of a failure from blaming the situation to blaming self allow for different actions?

Working Up the Impact of Students

- When discussing how students impact the classroom, how does the speaker's version of a situation demonstrate initiative or passivity?
- What actions are limited and licensed by a version that demonstrates passivity?
- How would altering a version from one that worked up students as a force too great to be overcome to one that suggested that teacher initiative could have a positive impact allow for different actions?

Vita

Joshua Peter Johnston was born in Warwick, New York, to Curtis and Mary Johnston. He graduated from Crown Christian Academy in Charlotte, North Carolina, before he attended Lee University in Cleveland, Tennessee. There, he completed the requirements for a Bachelor's degree in 2000 with a double major in history and English education and was given the annual award from the Department of English and Modern Foreign Languages. That same year, he was awarded a Tennessee teaching certificate for history and English, grades 7-12. He then joined the United States Air Force and attended Officer Training School, receiving his commission as a Second Lieutenant in 2000. After working as a spacelift maintenance officer at Cape Canaveral Air Force Station, he resumed his academic pursuits and completed a Master's degree in traditional literary studies at the University of Maine in 2004. He then taught at the United States Air Force Academy and served as the Executive Officer of the Department of English and Fine Arts until he resigned his commission as a Captain in 2007. At the Air Force Academy, he was named an Outstanding Academy Educator. Since separating from the military, he has taught high school in Maine and Tennessee. He is currently employed at Lenoir City High School in Lenoir City, Tennessee, where he teaches theater and 10th and 11th grade English. Upon completion of of this dissertation, he will have completed the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Tennessee.