Stockholm University

Teacher Identity as Discourse

A Case Study of Students in Swedish Teacher Education

Johan Christensson

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Abstract

This thesis comprises three separate studies that together explore how Swedish student teachers construct or produce professional identity in interaction while navigating different institutional and professional instances of teacher education. As a discourse analytical contribution to research on teacher identity, the main theoretical framework is mediated discourse theory (e.g. Scollon 2001a). For data construction and analysis in the studies, different parts of the two related methodologies of nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon 2004) and multimodal (inter)action analysis (Norris 2011) are employed. Constructed through an ethnographic approach, the interactional data consist of audio and video recordings of interaction in instances from three different components of a Swedish teacher education program: a rhetoric course, a bachelor thesis course in history and teaching placement. Furthermore, the data include observational field notes and interviews, as well as resources used by the participants, primarily written texts.
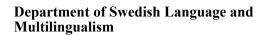
Taking place early on in teacher education, Study I focuses on student teachers performing oral presentations under the fictitious presumption that they are speaking as teachers. Employing the notion of communicative project (Linell 1998), the empirical aim of the study is to shed light on how student teachers manage institutional affordances and constraints affecting interactional role shifts from student teacher to teacher. In Study II, three student teachers are writing their bachelor theses in the subject of history, and the study focuses on the interactional production of teacher identity of one of the students during seminars. While partly being a methodological study, Study II empirically explores how student teachers interactionally relate to their future profession in an academic disciplinary setting, highlighting which actors and institutions are involved in the production of professional identity. Finally, Study III concentrates on a student teacher during his final teaching placement. Focusing on previous experiences resemiotized as stories, Study III highlights how discourse re-emerging from the historical body (Nishida 1958) can be used in interaction in producing identity.

The results suggest that the production of teacher identity by the student teachers is a co-operative and communicative task, where previous experiences as well as an anticipatory perspective on the teaching profession are important features. The three studies identify different resources that can be used and adapted by students to suit different purposes in professional identity production, described as textual resources, embodied resources, and narrative resources. In turn, the different uses of such resources motivate the need for studying identity in interaction with an approach where ethnographic and sociocultural knowledge is part of the analysis. The creative use of resources in identity production highlights that students use knowledge and experience linked to academic and professional as well as everyday discourse in producing professional identity. Presuming an interest in opportunities for student teachers to develop professional identity during their education, it appears fruitful to reflect upon how potential resources are designed and implemented in teacher education, and how institutional affordances and constraints affect the possibilities of using them.

Keywords: *teacher identity, teacher education, mediated discourse theory, nexus analysis, social action, oral presentation, essay writing, teaching placement.*

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Contents

1 Introduction

In many ways, it is obvious that student teachers should develop a professional identity as teachers during their education (cf. Beauchamp & Thomas 2009).[1] The professional identity of student teachers, i.e. their teacher identity, is an area predominantly researched in the educational sciences. However, few studies in that field of research seem to concern themselves with how professional identity is constructed in interaction. Understanding identity production as a discursive endeavor, i.e. that people 'are enacting their identities through discourse' (Jones 2012:4), sociolinguistic approaches ought to be well equipped for such studies (cf. Bucholtz & Hall 2005). The present thesis is an inductive case study relying on ethnographic approaches to shed light on student teachers navigating different instances of a teacher education program at a Swedish university. Placed in the overarching field of sociolinguistics, this compilation thesis entails three separate studies, each of them presenting a discourse analytical approach to student teachers' professional identity in interaction.

1.1 Teacher education in contemporary Sweden

This subsection aims to provide a brief overview of the organization and general status of Swedish teacher education, consequently forming a basis for understanding the situation of student teachers. Teacher education in Sweden spans over several faculty-specific areas, which in turn encircle different subjects and traditions. As a way to understand its organization, Swedish teacher education can be seen as being divided into two major segments: firstly, the general segment, predominantly fueled by research from the social sciences and focusing on teaching as a professional practice, and secondly, the disciplinary segment, focusing on subject-specific knowledge (Erixon Arreman & Erixon 2017:26). In this thesis, Studies I and III engages with data from the general segment of teacher education, while Study II focuses on the disciplinary segment.

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[1] Student teacher refers to a student undertaking teacher education. It is equivalent to the term pre-service teacher.

Historically, teacher education in Sweden has undergone a gradual academization. Previously operating in teacher training colleges, as an alternative to university studies, it has gradually become integrated in academia, at least over the last 40 years (Erixon Arreman & Erixon 2017). One of the major arguments for such integration was demand for a stronger connection between teaching and research, and a general need for research expertise (Ek et al. 2013). Moreover, academization of teacher education has been an international phenomenon, where it has been motivated as a way to raise the status of teacher education. Simultaneously, the involvement of universities has changed the view on teaching from a mainly practical perspective to a more theoretical perspective (Robinson 2017:57). However, teacher education internationally still can be described as having a low status within academia (Murray 2017).

The status of Swedish teacher education is commonly discussed in politics and in different media outlets. As positioned somewhere between state, schools and higher education, with a potentially complex relationship to all of them, no other area within higher education in Sweden has been investigated and restructured to the same extent as teacher education (Hallsén 2013:11–13). As such, teacher education is an ever-changing and highly politicized matter.

The most recent major reform in Swedish teacher education took place in 2011. The aim of the reform was to make teachers specialize on knowledge adapted for specific age-groups of learners, which previously was not the case. By doing so, the reform, among other things, aimed to strengthen teachers' professional identity (SOU 2008:109). A few years later, the TALIS (Teaching and Learning International Survey) of 2013 (OECD 2014, figure 7.3 in the survey) found that only 5 % of teachers in Sweden agreed or strongly agreed that their profession was sufficiently valued by society, as compared to 59 % in the neighboring country of Finland. In a Swedish context, then, teachers seemed to experience a societal undervaluation of their profession. The reasons for this may be several, but Edling and Liljestrand (2020) point to the general conception that teachers are held responsible as a potential cause for poor school achievement, and such achievement is nowadays made public through the interest in cross-cultural testing systems such as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), PIRLS (Progress In International Reading Literacy) and TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study). Although problematized in the academic literature, e.g. with regard to PIRLS' claim to hold the potential to measure children's literacy competence (Zuckerman et al. 2013), such tests play a central role when discussing school achievement and teacher education in Swedish political debate, and furthermore in motivating the need for future reforms.

The public discussion of teacher education in Sweden often takes the form of criticism, especially in different media outlets. The general picture points to the impression that Swedish teacher education is in need of improvement,

and among critical voices heard in these discussions we find, e.g., researchers from different disciplines, politicians and teachers themselves. Often, there is a tendency to raise issues related to both teacher education and school practices simultaneously, and common examples of criticism may highlight teacher education as undemanding and non-academic (Edling & Liljestrand 2020), or emphasize potential gaps between theoretical and practical aspects of education (Carlgren & Marton 2007:93). In an overview of the media representation of teacher education issues in three large Swedish newspapers, Edling and Liljestrand unearth four main categories of teacher education debates: *a woolly scientific basis*, *students' insufficient knowledge*, *shortage of teachers*, and *order problems*. Following the previously noted tendency, the categories touch upon both teacher education as well as more school-related issues. The first two categories concern the academic status of educational sciences as a discipline, and the supposedly low demands on student teachers' academic achievement, whereas the latter two categories concern issues that are more practical and societal (2020:8). One curiosity to mention in the context of the media critique of Swedish teacher education is that one intense critic of teacher education highly visible in Swedish newspapers and television is a newly examined teacher. His account to a large degree echoes the criticism recognized by Edling and Liljestrand (2020), and he appears dissatisfied with his own educational experiences as a student teacher (see Skogstad 2019).

Then, there are student teachers who must learn to navigate and cope with different academic, professional and societal tensions potentially affecting their development of teacher identity (cf. Macken-Horarik et al. 2006). As participants in teacher education, these students are often aware of some of these tensions. The issue is discussed by two students participating in the thesis project (Jens and Viktor; see Study II) in an interview from May 2017:

> **J**: My experience is that the department kind of looked down on us. It felt like the good students were the bachelor students [who are not part of teacher education], and we were something that they have to put up with. I felt that from other departments as well. […]
> **V**: Yeah, there's this image of student teachers as a boil that just goes along
> **J**: Yeah, we generate their income. That's how it is. Honestly, if we weren't there the department wouldn't get their money
> **V**: Exactly, and to me that is a big problem

Jens and Viktor seem to put forward the idea that they as student teachers feel less valued than other students, and they potentially point to an academic view of student teachers as lacking something in comparison to other students, e.g. lacking sufficient disciplinary knowledge or lacking the ambition to become researchers.

It is not uncommon that student teachers and teacher education are discussed in terms of discourses of deficit (Candling & Crichton 2011). With

little interest in describing what student teachers do not do, or what they lack, the present thesis instead focuses on what they actually do during their teacher education. All three studies comprised in this thesis highlight student teachers as they act in interaction, and they all to different extents concern the connection between social action and the 'bigger picture', i.e. larger scale actions and the local discourses used to produce them.

1.2 Aim and research questions

With the motive of providing a background to the aim and research questions, and to place the thesis in its sociolinguistic milieu, I will briefly summarize selected approaches that have been employed to study identity in interaction. Previous sociolinguistic research on identity in interaction appears to have mostly been carried out in research traditions with an ethnomethodological perspective (Garfinkel 1967). For example, in conversation analysis (CA, see Sidnell 2010 for an overview), identity can be understood as a constantly changing and indexical phenomenon, tightly connected to the conversational context (Benwell & Stokoe 2006:36). Hence, CA criticizes approaches where power asymmetry and identity categories are presupposed (Heritage 2005). CA has been used to a rather limited extent in the study of teacher identity (Shelton & Smagorinsky 2017), but recent CA research has focused on, e.g., the professional identity of novice teachers (Li 2020).

In highlighting the relationship between identity and categorization, where categories are seen as locally constituted in interaction, the framework of member categorization analysis (MCA, Sacks 1995; see Schegloff 2006 for an overview) has been used. Employing MCA on interactional data, researchers have been studying identity in relationship to, e.g., the interactional constitution of gender (Kahlin 2008), language and educational ideologies (Cekaite & Evaldsson 2008), computer mediated interaction (Abd Rahman 2018), and ethnicity and nationality (Mohd Nor 2020). Fruitful attempts to combine MCA with discourse analytical concepts to study both spoken and written language have also been made (e.g. Hagren Idevall & Bellander 2014). Often associated with MCA, the study of identity in interaction has been carried out through the concept of *positioning*. Positioning was introduced in interactional studies by Davies and Harré (1990), and it concerns how social actors interactionally position themselves in relation to social categories. Positioning is often employed to highlight the negotiation of identities in talk (Deppermann 2013:63), and the concept has been used, e.g., to investigate the identities of adolescents in a multicultural environment (Engblom 2004) and to analyze the interactional use of discourse markers to produce speaker identity (Aijmer 2018).

A generalized view of studies of identity in interaction is that identity is locally constructed and negotiated between social actors in interaction; thus,

claims on identity construction should be supported by evidence found in the immediate interaction, and nowhere else. Identity is indeed a phenomenon where the immediate interaction between social actors is essential. However, identity also connects to, e.g., the histories and previous experiences of social actors, as well as larger discourses in society (Bucholtz & Hall 2005; Norris 2011; Jones 2016). Consequently, identity construction could be studied from a wider perspective. A broader view on how to approach identity in interaction, where ethnographic knowledge is incorporated in analysis, has been addressed in recent discourse analytical studies of identity (e.g. Norris 2011; Matelau-Doherty 2020). A central point of departure in such studies is that what is often referred to as context in interactional studies should be included in analyses in order to understand identity in interaction. This is a research direction that inspires the present thesis.

The overarching aim of the present thesis is, on the one hand, to explore empirically, through a mediated discourse theoretical approach, how student teachers produce professional identity in interaction.[2] On the other hand, the aim is to broaden the perspective on how identity in interaction may be studied through different methodological combinations. Thus, the thesis explores how student teachers can build professional identity while navigating different academic and professional instances during their teacher education. A main motivation for studying student teachers' professional identity in interaction is that such an investigation may provide us with information on which resources student teachers use to identify with their future profession, and by extension, how these may be facilitated or constrained by the discursive environments (Northedge 2003b) of teacher education. With the situation of student teachers navigating teacher education as well as previous approaches to analyzing identity in interaction as a backdrop, the present thesis intends to reach its aim through the following research questions:

1) Which resources are used by student teachers to produce professional identity in interaction?
2) How can the discursive environments in different instances of teacher education be adapted to facilitate the progress of student teachers in their production of professional identity?
3) How can identity in interaction be methodologically approached in a way that sufficiently acknowledges the complex nature of the concept?

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[2] In sociolinguistics, identity is traditionally described as being constructed in interaction. In this thesis, identity is regarded as being *produced* in interaction (in line with, e.g., Scollon 1997:57; Norris 2011:xv).

1.3 Introduction of the studies and organization of the thesis

There are three separate studies included in the thesis. They respectively highlight different instances and *sites of engagement* (Scollon 2001a:3) of a Swedish teacher education program: a rhetoric course, a bachelor thesis course and teaching placement (see section 4.1 for data overview).[3] Study I takes place early in teacher education, where the students are engaging in the institutional offer of role-playing as teachers during oral presentations; Study II takes place during the fourth semester, where the students are writing their bachelor theses in history, and disciplinary perspectives are prevailing; Study III takes place in the latter stages of teacher education during the final teaching placement, and the student in focus is expected to be able to teach a class of pupils by himself. Studies I–III does not concern the same participants. The three studies are briefly introduced below (see Section 6 for elaborated summaries):

I. *Anna is prepared and ready to begin her role-playing presentation. Since she is going to be a teacher in the future, she has decided to perform her speech in the role of teacher. The fictitious audience will be pupils preparing for a school trip. When it is her turn, Anna rises from her chair and moves towards the whiteboard in the classroom. Standing in front of her fellow student teachers, she commences her presentation by distributing the roles to herself and the audience. Then, she starts to speak in her role as teacher.*

   Study I takes a close look at how student teachers manage institutional affordances and constraints while performing role-playing oral presentations. By conceptualizing a role shift as a communicative project, the article focuses on how student teachers use different textual and embodied resources in order to accomplish the role shift from student teacher to teacher in interaction. Taking place during a rhetoric course, the article highlights an academic institutional setting where student teachers are institutionally invited to pretend to be teachers.

II. *Jens, Samuel and Viktor are writing their bachelor theses in the discipline of history. They are writing about different topics, but they are trying to help each other in the writing process. During a seminar discussion, Jens wants to make sure that the aim of his thesis is motivated from a professional perspective. He simultaneously notices that*

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[3] A social action is carried out in a social space, where social practices and mediational means intersect (Scollon 2001a:4). The real-time window in which this occurs, and can be observed, is described as a site of engagement (Scollon & Scollon 2004).

Viktor seems to be having a hard time with the writing process. Since they know each other and have worked together for some time, Jens wants to help Viktor. When the tutor is present in the room, she notices Jens aiding Viktor, therefore telling him that his use of pedagogical phrases indicates that he will be a good teacher in the future.

Study II is, on the one hand, a methodological article testing a method for analyzing identity in interaction, and on the other hand, an empirical study of how a student teacher may relate to his future profession while writing a bachelor thesis in history. Study II explores student teachers' professional identity in an academic institutional setting where focus is on disciplinary knowledge, and reflection upon the teaching profession is not explicitly encouraged.

III. *Eric is undertaking his final teaching placement. He now only has one semester left of his teacher education. He is in a school where he has taught before, during earlier teaching placements. One significant aspect of Eric's inspiration to teaching is how a teacher helped him to get his life in order, and it is important to Eric to be friendly with the pupils in his class. He regards the pupils as important and wants them to mold the discussion in the classroom. However, when talking about the Second World War he finds that he needs to moderate the discussion.*

Study III sheds light on one student teacher during his final teaching placement, at the late stages of his teacher education. The study explores how he uses stories based on his previous experiences as a resource for managing the interaction order in the classroom. Study III thus highlights a student teacher in a semi-professional setting, where he is expected to be able to teach a class of pupils, essentially by himself.

This 'kappa' (summarizing part of a compilation thesis) is organized as follows. Section 2 provides the main theoretical framework of the thesis, with social action, discourse and identity as the central points of departure. In section 3, the situation of students in vocational education is highlighted through previous research on their discursive navigation between different academic and professional settings. Furthermore, relevant studies on teacher identity are presented. Section 4 offers an overview of how nexus analysis has been employed as framework for data construction and analysis, together with a detailed summary of the construction of the datasets for Studies I–III. In addition, sample principles and methodological reflections are presented. In section 5, Studies I–III are summarized, followed by a joint discussion of the

research questions in section 6. Finally, concluding remarks can be found in section 7.

2 Theoretical framework

In this section, the theoretical framework fueling the thesis will be presented. First and foremost, mediated discourse theory and its understanding of discourse and social action will be introduced, followed by a discussion on the concepts of language and multimodality. In the final subsection, the concept of identity is theoretically discussed from a sociolinguistic perspective. Due to the cross-border nature of identity, literature from other fields of research is touched upon as well.

2.1 Mediated discourse and social action

The overarching theoretical perspective employed throughout the present thesis is mediated discourse theory (MDT, Scollon 2001a). MDT is the basis for what is referred to as mediated discourse analysis (MDA), mainly developed and advanced by Ron Scollon and Suzie Wong Scollon (e.g. Scollon 1998, 2001a; Scollon & Scollon 2003, 2004). MDA is furthermore closely related to the framework of nexus analysis (see Scollon & Scollon 2007; Lane 2014).[4] In this thesis, MDT is regarded as the overarching theoretical framework, and nexus analysis is seen as its methodological operationalization. MDT can be understood as a 'theoretical position within critical discourse analysis' (Scollon 2008a:15), where the vantage point is social action, rather than, e.g., a text or a genre. MDT is an interdisciplinary framework, and the Scollons appear to be linguists with a particular broad research interest, as they draw on (among a variety of research within linguistics) the thoughts of scholars from Soviet psychology (Vygotsky, e.g., 1978, 1981) and literary sciences (Bakhtin, e.g., 1981, 1986), as well as Southeast Asian philosophy (Nishida 1958, on the concept of historical body). The writings of Vygotsky, Bakhtin and Wertsch (who develops Vygotsky's thoughts, e.g. 1991, 1998) are important to the development of MDT in general, but perhaps in particular to the

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[4] Nexus analysis was introduced as a methodological program to approach and analyze social action by Scollon and Scollon (2004), based on Scollon's (e.g. 1998, 2001a), and Scollon and Scollon's (e.g. 2003) writings. A few years later, Scollon and Scollon (2007:615) suggested that nexus analysis should be a replacement term for MDA. However, MDA continued to be referred to as a mainly theoretical framework (cf. Scollon 2008a:15).

interest in social action and mediation (cf. Scollon 2001a:2; Jones & Norris 2005:5; Jones 2016:44).

Focusing on social action, MDT concerns how discourse can be used by social actors to act in the social world. Furthermore, it is an open-ended theoretical framework encouraging the incorporation of different concepts that might facilitate the understanding of social action. This is an appealing aspect of MDT, since people in society seldom seem to align themselves in accordance with disciplinary boundaries. MDT, as developed by linguists, together with its combination of a focus on social action and an openness for a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches that are relevant to understand social action, is a sound choice for scholars interested in complex issues (cf. Blommaert & Huang 2009; Kuure et al. 2018), such as identity in interaction.

As a discourse analytical framework, MDT has a rather broad view on discourse. Firstly, 'discourse' encapsulates the traditional definition in sociolinguistics as language in use (e.g. Brown & Yule 1983:ix; Gee 2014:19). Discourse can also be understood in a wider context, as ways of being in the world (Gee 1989:6), and communicating using language and 'everything else at human disposal' (Gee 2014:25), e.g. clothes or objects. Gee writes about these two types of discourse as *discourse* and *Discourse* (see Gee 2015 for an overview), and in MDT the notion of discourse incorporates both discourse in the narrower sense, and Discourse in the broader sense (Scollon 2001b).

The approach to discourse in MDT is both historical and anticipatory, i.e. discourse comes from somewhere, and it is going somewhere. Scollon accommodates this phenomenon through the notion of discourse itineraries (2008b:233; see also Scollon & Scollon 2004:27, on cycles of discourse), meaning that discourse transforms across time, space and modes of communication. Such transformation of discourse can be understood as processes of *resemiotization* (Scollon 2008b; Scollon & Scollon 2004). In order to clarify: a lecturer using a video conferencing tool for the first time might have a note with written instructions on the computer screen. After a while, the note might be unnecessary, since the lecturer now knows how to perform these actions. Furthermore, he/she can instruct others on how to perform these actions, e.g. in the mode of speech. Thus, the written piece of discourse can be understood as made part of the individual's historical body, further resemiotized to the mode of speech. In contrary to what some conceptions of discourse might suggest, discourse should not be seen as forces that unilaterally influence social actors. Instead, discourse is used by social actors as they act. It is also highly relevant for identity, since using discourse in interaction is always identity-making; it says something about who you want to be perceived as and how you perceive others in the social world (Jones 2012:4).

Scollon puts forward three main theoretical principles organizing MDT: the principle of social action, the principle of communication and the principle of

history.[5] Each of these principles lead to different corollaries: *the principle of social action* highlights, e.g., that social action is the unit of analysis, that all social action occurs in situations where identity claims are made, and that all social action has the purpose of socialization*; the principle of communication* highlights, e.g., that all action is mediated by mediational means, and that these mediational means are related to each other in different ways; *the principle of history* highlights, e.g., that all discourse relates to other discourses, and is used in later discourses. Hence, all communication is a response to previous communication, as well as anticipating future communication (2001a:6–8).

The three principles organizing MDT, and their consequences, as described by Scollon (2001a), appear as predecessors to the view of social action as occurring in the intersection of three elements, put forward by Scollon and Scollon (2004). Here, social action is seen in the intersection between the historical body, the interaction order and discourses in place. *The historical body* concerns the life stories and experiences of a social actor, and it can be seen as 'a storehouse of discourse sedimented in the history and memory of the individual' (Jones 2008:245). In contrary to what the name might suggest, the historical body has both a historical aspect and an anticipatory aspect, as it concerns the embodied past experiences of a social actor, and the process in which new discourse is acquired. The historical body is a concept originating from the Japanese philosopher Nishida (1958), as adopted by Scollon (1998, 2001a). It resembles Bourdieu's (1977) notion of habitus. However, there are differences between these concepts, as in their inherent perspective of time, where the historical body is constantly changing and habitus is more durable (cf. Hanell & Blåsjö 2014:18).

The interaction order points to the 'different social arrangement by which we form relationships in social interactions' (Scollon & Scollon 2004:13), and it originates from Goffman's (1983) observations that people act differently depending on who they interact with and in which setting they interact. As such, it concerns the interpersonal relationship between social actors (Scollon & Scollon 2003:45). For a student teacher, the interaction order vastly differs between, e.g., the action of discussing a bachelor thesis with a teacher educator, and the action of instructing pupils during teaching placement.

The notion of *discourses in place* essentially highlights relevant discourses in a social situation, pointing to the idea that discourses constantly circulate through any given place in the world (Scollon & Scollon 2004:14). Discourses in place can thus be understood as 'all semiotic systems which we find "in place"' (Scollon & Scollon 2003:17). For example, when approaching a site of engagement, there is a variety of discourses circulating through that social

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[5] Scollon (2001a:6) points out that the latter two principles could be seen as extensions of the first principle, and in an interpretation of this Norris (2019:32–33) regards the principle of communication and the principle of history as sub-principles to the principle of social action.

situation that may be more or less relevant for the social actor to use in action. In the case of a student teacher attending a history course, examples of potential discourses in place could be conversations in the classroom, writing on a whiteboard, institutional expectations to attend the class, etc. The discourses to consider for analysis are those that social actors highlight as relevant by using them in the social action under scrutiny.

Intuitively, the possible variations of social actions being performed by one or more social actors seem endless – a head movement from left to right as well as the performance of an oral presentation could both be considered social actions on different scales. As a way to grasp both smaller and broader actions, Norris (2004a:13) divides social action into lower-level actions, higher-level actions and frozen actions. *Lower-level actions* can be understood as the smallest pragmatic unit of meaning of a mode (Norris & Makboon 2015:44), e.g. an utterance. Lower-level actions are chained together forming *higher-level actions*, which are larger actions on a wider time scale, such as having a meeting, or writing a thesis. In turn, higher-level actions may be embedded in each other (see Norris 2017), where having a meeting may embed actions of, e.g., drinking a cup of coffee, presenting information and summarizing the meeting. Furthermore, they can be embedded in even larger actions, such as undertaking an education. The concept of *frozen action* is in a sense historical and refers to 'higher-level actions, entailed in material objects' (Norris 2004a:11). Thus, frozen actions can be understood as material evidence of actions that have been previously carried out, e.g. the organization of desks in a classroom.

One important aspect of MDT is the sociocultural notion of *mediational means*. Mediation points to the idea that social actors are indirectly in contact with the social world through the employment of different means (Wertsch 2007:178), i.e. we cannot affect social reality through our thoughts alone. With respect to mediational means, Vygotsky (1981:140) distinguished between two such categories, referred to as signs and tools, where an example of the former would be spoken language and the latter could be a computer. Both of these phenomena are encapsulated in the concept of mediational means, and in the later development of Vygotsky's thoughts, Wertsch (1991:28) writes about these as psychological tools and technical tools. Although different types of tools, both spoken language and a computer are culturally developed and used by social actors in social groups; hence, they all can be grouped together as *cultural tools* (Wertsch 1998:17). Scollon draws on these ideas and, from my understanding, his perspective is that it is crucial that all social action is mediated, but also that all social action is discursive (2001b:8). In a vein similar to that of Wertsch, Scollon use the terms mediational means and cultural tools interchangeably.

Specific mediational means may be highlighted with respect to their properties in combination with how they are used by social actors. In these cases,

they are often conceptualized as resources. Previous research has suggested several types of resources, not always clearly defined in literature, but among the commonly used ones we find: *textual resources*, e.g., linguistic expressions at the micro-level (Hernandez 2020) or actual written texts (Schmidt & Skoog 2019); *multimodal resources*, e.g. different modes of communication used in interaction (Mondada 2007); and *discursive resources*, e.g. resources that are used to reflect social reality, such as narratives (Holmes 2005). What distinguishes different types of resources is often to which purpose they are used, or which materiality that characterizes them. Recourses can also be described in terms of different contextual factors (Linell 2011:166). I choose to focus on the notion of resources rather than on mediational means/cultural tools, since the concept appears more participant oriented and more clearly highlights that resources are productively *used* for an interactional purpose.

2.2 Language and multimodality

In a sociocultural tradition, language has since long been seen as the fundamental means of mediating social actions (Vygotsky 1978; Scollon 2008a), and traditionally in sociolinguistics, language has been seen as a division of spoken language and written language. As a result of that division, several scholars have highlighted an unfortunate split between the study of spoken and written language in discourse studies (e.g. Scollon 1996; Karlsson & Makkonen-Craig 2014), visible, e.g., in the general focus on spoken language in conversation analysis and on written language in critical discourse analysis. In this thesis, language is understood as a dual mode of communication that can be used in interaction, together with other modes, incorporating both spoken language and written language. Spoken language can be understood as an embodied mode, alongside modes such as gaze and posture (Norris 2004a:xi). An embodied mode is a mode that needs the human body in order to be realized. Written language, then, would be an example of a disembodied mode, similar to layout and images (cf. Jones 2012:86).

With respect to multimodality, I wish to highlight that multimodality as an interest in the meaning potential and materiality of different modes is not the main concern of this thesis. However, since all communication is multimodal (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001; cf. Scollon & LeVine 2004), the multimodal resources that social actors employ while producing social actions need to be acknowledged if we want to understand their identity production. That is the central motivation for the multimodal perspectives employed in this thesis (see in particular Studies I–II). Furthermore, a multimodal discourse analysis may help to better understand the transformation of discourse across different itineraries, as discourse often is resemiotized across different modes of communication (cf. Scollon 2008b).

2.3 Identity from a sociolinguistic perspective

Identity is a complex concept that is employed in several different fields of research, such as linguistics, sociology, psychology and cultural studies. Moreover, it appears in politics, e.g., in the shape of 'identity politics', and in everyday social life – i.e., it is a concept of interest in both research and in public debate (Rampton 2010:234). One probable reason for the ambiguity surrounding identity in sociolinguistic research may be the relationship between identity and similar concepts, such as the discourse analytical notion of *subject position*, or the oft-used *role* in interactional studies (cf. Benwell & Stokoe 2006; Luk 2017). This has led to some arguing that these different understandings of identity are a potential difficulty for its applicability in research (e.g. Sarangi 2011), while others highlight the conceptual openness of identity as an appealing factor (e.g. Norris 2011). One striking aspect of the concept of identity is that it seems to enclose what might appear as different dichotomies: identity is both a psychological phenomenon and a sociological phenomenon (e.g. Sarup 1996; Bucholtz & Hall 2005); it is both the small pieces and the large puzzle (e.g. Norris 2011); it is both our self-image and how others perceive us (e.g. Gee 2001; Scollon & Scollon 2003). In this subsection, I will address theoretical aspects of identity selected mainly from a sociolinguistic perspective (see section 3.2 for previous research on teacher identity). It is not, by any means, an exhaustive overview. Instead, the purpose is to justify why identity can be a productive concept to work with despite its complex nature.

Two main perspectives on identity are identity as a psychological phenomenon and identity as a sociological phenomenon. As psychological, identity is seen as a rather stable phenomenon hidden within a person (cf. Gee 2001, on core identity); as sociological, identity is seen as a fluid and constantly changing process (cf. Jenkins 2014, on social identity). To some extent, the first perspective may relate to an essentialist view on identity and the former to a social constructivist view on identity. Since the postmodern turn, the theorizing of identity has generally been refocused from the private sphere towards a more social space, and instead of seeing identity as mirrored in discourse, it is mainly understood in sociolinguistics as constituted in discourse (Benwell & Stokoe 2006:18; Bucholtz & Hall 2005). Hence, one central aspect is the relationship between identity and discourse. Identity as a solely psychological phenomenon has traditionally been treated very cautiously in linguistics (Scollon & Scollon 1995:36); however, psychological aspects are often acknowledged to different extents, e.g., in Norris' (2011:xv) view on identity as 'constructed socially as well as psychologically [...]'.

Social constructivist perspectives on identity have been criticized for making identity a concept that is too 'soft', undermining its analytical applicability and reducing its ability to make substantiated claims (Brubaker & Cooper

2000). To address such criticism, Joseph (2004) argues that a clear line between essentialism and constructionism undermines our possibilities to understand why identity is produced in the first place, and in a social constructivist view of identity, there needs to be space for essentialism. A common way to address such matters is to see identities as processes with varied stability (cf. Bucholtz & Hall 2005; Norris 2011), i.e. as 'both wave and particle' (Jones 2016:135). Norris manages this balance by conceptualizing expressions of situated identity in interaction as *identity elements*, meaning that some identities are more volatile, while others are more enduring (2011:31; see also Study II).

Bucholtz and Hall (2010) notice that the meaning of identity is often implicit in research, and it has been proposed that identity does not necessarily need to be defined in order to be fruitfully employed (e.g. Gray & Morton 2018). In a theoretical discussion on identity, Barkhuizen (2017:3) argues that the concept should be defined as a 'composite conceptualization', aiming to incorporate several different dimensions of identity. Defining identity as an inventory of dimensions, aspects or principles is a relatively common way to manage the complexity of the concept in different branches of linguistics (e.g. Gee 2001; Bucholtz & Hall 2005).

One of the more frequently used approaches to identity in sociolinguistics is a framework aiming to acknowledge both detailed analysis of language and wider social aspects. The framework is designed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), who put forward identity as divided into five principles: emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality and partialness. These principles come together in the definition of identity as 'the social positioning of self and other' (Bucholtz & Hall 2005:586). The first two principles of identity are ontological, i.e. they concern the nature of identity. As such, the *emergence* principle points to the idea that identity comes into the social world discursively, e.g. through language in use (2005:587). The *positionality* principle instead highlights that social actors position themselves in relation to categories, and that people tend to position themselves in relation to locally situated categories, rather than pre-constructed categories introduced by researchers. The positionality principle thus challenges ideas of seeing identity as pre-discursively defined social categories imposed on social actors, and it emphasizes the need for ethnography in the study of identity (2005:591).

The three remaining principles concern the actual mechanisms of how identity takes form in society. The principle of *indexicality* highlights how identity is constituted in linguistic form, and one of the more obvious realizations of that phenomenon is social actors explicitly mentioning a category in speech. The *relationality* principle emphasizes that identity is never autonomous, but instead is intersubjectively produced with other social actors in interaction (cf. Norris 2011, on co-production of identity). Finally, the *partialness* principle highlights the idea that representation of identity is always partial, meaning that identity production is affected by both interactional and ideological con-

straints. Which principles of identity made salient in research essentially depends on the researcher's choice of method of analysis (Bucholtz & Hall (2005:607).

From the perspective of MDT, identity is seen as being produced through social action (e.g. Scollon 2001a; Norris 2011; Jones 2016). However, identity production is not necessarily the main purpose of social action (Scollon 2001a:142). That does not mean that identity is a side effect or byproduct of social action, but rather that it is produced with different levels of awareness and agency (Norris 2011). Agency can be understood as the capacity to act at will (Linell 1998:270), and an individual carrying out social actions can be seen as a 'strategic actor who works with others to construct his or her identity anew in every interaction' (Jones 2016:153). This strategic actor is not only agentive, or solely under the influence of society. Instead, there is an ongoing mediation between all of these aspects (Norris 2011:34; cf. Bucholtz & Hall 2005).

As Bucholtz and Hall (2005) pointed out through their positionality principle and the partialness principle, social actors produce identity and are affected by different social structures simultaneously. Sociolinguistic research paying interest to identity (e.g. Kahlin 2008; Lillis 2013) may do so in relation to different combinations of the 'big six' categories of difference (or discrimination): gender, ethnicity (race), class, age, sex and function (cf. Bowleg 2008; Davis 2008). As a theoretical perspective in such studies, the notion of intersectionality becomes important, meaning that these categories of difference intertwine and enforce each other. The relationship between intersectionality and identity is strongly established in feminist theory (Hill Collins & Bilge 2016:73), and there is research pointing to how forces of power and discrimination may affect student teachers' professional identity production (e.g. Hynds 2014). These categories are not treated to any greater extent in the present thesis, mainly due to them not appearing as relevant for the social actions in focus.

A theoretical discussion on identity is vital, since it highlights that it is a complex phenomenon that appears to be important to people, which we see in, e.g., resistance towards identity categories. In summary, identity in the present thesis is seen as a multifaceted and discursive phenomenon produced through social action. Affected by situational affordances and constraints, identity is also regarded as being produced with different levels of agency, and it should be understood as a process that highlights both how social actors perceive themselves and how they are perceived by others. Identity is often observable in the use of discourse, e.g. through social actors positioning themselves in relation to self-produced or imposed social categories, and in the tensions and negotiations that may arise from such categorization.

3 Students in vocational education

In this section, previous research on identity in relation to vocational education is presented. First, students' use of academic discourse is presented as a common denominator for a review of how students may navigate vocational education. Furthermore, previous research on student teachers' professional identity is presented (for a theoretical discussion of identity as a concept, see section 2.3). As previously noted in this thesis, student teachers' professional identity has, to my knowledge, been sparsely treated outside of the educational sciences. Hence, this section to a certain extent covers literature from that field of research. Finally, some concluding remarks on identity in relation to student teachers will be presented.

3.1 Navigating academia and a future profession

Student teachers are participants in vocational education – as novices, they are training to become professionals, and they share an anticipatory orientation towards a future profession with students in other vocational education areas. This is a process that has been described in terms of transformation of social actors, often related to processes of socialization (Lave & Wenger 1991). In light of student teachers' professional identity development, there is an expectation of student teachers to gradually 'grow into the profession' (Beauchamp & Thomas 2010:631), and from an educational perspective, teacher identity can be seen as a process of learning to becoming a teacher (Wenger 1998:5).

There is a vast collection of research on students undertaking different types of vocational education, such as, e.g., pre-service nurses (e.g. Wittek 2012), translators (e.g. Svahn 2020) and engineers (e.g. Windsor 1996; Hållsten 2008). A common denominator for these students is that they are training to become members in several academic and professional social groups. Among the fundamental competencies that these students need to develop is to adequately use academic discourse (e.g., Lea & Street 2006) in the process of appropriating institutional knowledge. Scollon and Scollon separate such knowledge into two parts: firstly, the hidden curriculum (e.g. knowing how to sign up for a course), and, secondly, disciplinary knowledge (2004:131).

From a sociocultural perspective, the main role of education could be described in terms of supporting students' participation in different knowledge

communities (Northedge 2003:23a). For students, then, education brings both intellectual challenges, such as making meaning of disciplinary discourse, and social challenges, such as becoming a member of a community. Moreover, students in vocational education need to become familiar with specialized professional discourse (cf. Gunnarsson 2009:5). In research on writing, several have highlighted the connection between identity and a developed use of academic discourse (e.g., Ivanič 1998; Lillis 2013; Blåsjö & Wittek 2017), since students need to have a sense of identity in a social group in order to be able to appear as competent within it (Macken-Horarik et al. 2006:243). Thus, academic discourse is a relevant vantage point in drawing parallels between teacher education and other areas of vocational education.

Interested in the social challenges found in academic discourse, Northedge (2003a) studies a university course in a care setting. He describes how care issues are treated through different types of discourse. In doing so, he identifies three categories in which discourse is used by different actors and institutions: the everyday discourses (found in, e.g., an article written by a journalist), the discourses of care practice (from, e.g., a spokesperson from a hospital), and the academic discourses on care (found in, e.g., a scientific journal article written by a researcher). Northedge (2003a) further argues that students in health education are often exposed to a single authoritative voice offering a one-sided and polished perspective, while students themselves instead engage in a variety of discourses on many levels. Hence, there is a need for improvement in facilitating student learning, and one way of achieving this is through an appropriate *discursive environment* (Northedge 2003b).

Student teachers, as well as health care students, need to be able to use different academic, professional and everyday discourses throughout their education. Focusing on a teacher education setting, Macken-Horarik et al. (2006) employ a systemic functional linguistics (e.g. Halliday 1985) perspective when conceptualizing Northedge's (2003a) discourse categories as discourse domains. Each discourse domain is characterized in terms of language use and associated text types, as the *everyday discourse domain* (commonsense and mass-mediated language use), the *academic discourse domain* (specialized and theoretically informed language use), and the *professional discourse domain* (practical and stakeholder-based language use). In later adaptations of these discourse domains, it has been highlighted that they can potentially be split into several subordinate domains, e.g. different disciplinary domains residing in the academic discourse domain (Blåsjö & Josephson 2017). One of the most interesting ideas that Macken-Horarik et al. (2006) put forward is that it is productive for students to navigate between the domains. In the case of student teachers, such movement might be relevant for their future profession as well, since guiding pupils from the use of everyday discourse into the use of disciplinary discourse is described as one of the key roles of a teacher (Northedge 2003b:174). Although originally designed with writing in mind,

the discourse domains have been employed as an interpretative lens for understanding language use in teacher education more generally (e.g. Arneback et al. 2017; Blåsjö & Christensson 2018; Study II).

3.2 Professional identity of teachers and student teachers

Section 2.3 provided a theoretical discussion on the concept of identity, where identity was put forward as a discursive process produced through social action, concerning what we are and what we want to appear as. Hence, identity is not just a detached exercise in social categorization, but also a complex social process that matters to the individual. The professional identity of teachers – teacher identity – could then be described as the ongoing process of identification with the teaching profession (e.g. Britzman 1991; Alsup 2006; Beijaard 2017). Beijaard (1995) suggests four central areas that matter for teachers' professional identity development: the workplace (classroom, school organization), the subject matter (status of the subject), relationship with pupils (interaction with pupils, respect for/of pupils) and role conception (influence of norms and values, commitment to service). Student teachers most likely encounter all these areas as well, although potentially navigating different, and more hybrid, settings; the 'workplace' for a student teacher could, e.g., be interpreted as both an academic institution as well as a school, especially during teaching placement.

Four different perspectives on identity in educational contexts are identified by Gee (2001), focusing on how identities are shaped and which forces are important in its production: (1) *nature-identity*, a state developed from forces of nature (e.g. an identical twin), (2) *institution-identity*, a position authorized by authorities within institutions (e.g., a professor), (3) *discourse-identity*, an ascription or an achievement recognized in discourse (e.g., a listener) , and (4) *affinity-identity*, experiences shared between different groups of people (e.g., a 'soccer fan', see Study III). These four perspectives may be seen as separate entities, but they simultaneously interrelate and may be perceived as different aspects of the same identity type (Gee 2001:101). Using teacher identity as an example, being institutionally given the role of teacher would highlight institution-identity as teacher; using pedagogical phrases in scaffolding a pupil may highlight a discourse-identity as teacher; sharing experience related to the teaching profession would highlight affinity-identity as teacher. The concept of nature-identity hardly seems applicable to teacher identity.

Teacher identity is a predominant research theme within the field of educational sciences, but it is a concern of applied linguistics as well, mainly through the focus on language teacher identity (e.g. Li 2017). Teacher identity

is often studied as institution-identity and/or in relation to subject matter, i.e., the institutionally legitimized role, as well as teaching subject matters. Hence, from a teacher identity perspective it may be important to distinguish between, e.g., a STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) teacher (El Nagdi et al. 2018); a LESLLA (literacy education and second language learning for adults) teacher (Colliander 2018); or a physics teacher (Larsson 2019). Research on teacher identity mainly focuses on the professional identity of teachers, but the interest in student teachers' professional identity appear as more vivid in recent years (e.g. Friesen & Besley 2013; Leijen et al. 2018; Muchnik-Rozanov & Tsybulsky 2019). In a Swedish context, it so far seems to be an under-researched area.

One relatively widespread view of student teachers' professional identity is a dialogical approach to teacher identity, with Bakhtin (1981) as the common denominator. Different takes on this line of research are used in the case of teacher identity in general (e.g. Akkerman & Meijer's 2011), as well as in studies specifically focused on student teachers' professional identity (e.g. Farnsworth 2010; van Rijswijk et al. 2013; Leijen et al. 2018). Combining Bakhtin's notion of internally persuasive discourse with Alsup's (2006) description of borderland discourse, van Rijswijk et al. (2013) studied written texts where student teachers reflected upon themselves as teachers. They found that student teachers seem to relate to a perception of 'the good teacher', a model representing the image of an ideal teacher shaped by the voices of significant others (see Mead 1970), which student teachers then interact with (van Rijswijk et al. 2013). The model of 'the good teacher' is also a reoccurring phenomenon in previous Swedish research on teacher identity, as in Rhöse's (2003) interview study. Constructing and relating to the image of an ideal teacher (cf. Wenger 2000 on *imagination*) can also be part of teacher educational design, as in cases where student teachers are encouraged to reflect upon their future professional self (Beauchamp & Thomas 2010).

4 Data overview and methodological approaches

This section presents the three datasets used for the studies composing the thesis in further detail, together with methodological approaches to data construction and analysis. In the final subsection, methodological reflections are discussed.

4.1 Overview of datasets

The data that the current thesis is based on was constructed with an ethnographic approach in three separate instances of an upper secondary school teacher education program at a Swedish university. Each dataset highlights student teachers' involvement in different academic and professional instances, all of which could be described as conventional in a Swedish teacher education context: performing oral presentations, writing a bachelor thesis and teaching a class of pupils. In table 1, the three datasets are placed in accordance with the educational structure of the studied teacher education program. Each dataset is linked to the study with the corresponding number.

Table 1. Organization of a teacher education program for upper secondary school

Segment	Educational content	Dataset
Semester 1	Subject 1 (1–30 ECTS)	
Semester 2	UVK + teaching placement	I
Semester 3	Subject 1 (31–60 ECTS)	
Semester 4	Subject 1 (61–90 ECTS)	II
Semester 5	UVK + teaching placement	
Semester 6	Subject 2 (1–30 ECTS)	
Semester 7	Subject 2 (31–60 ECTS)	
Semester 8	Subject 2 (61–90 ECTS)	
Semester 9	UVK + teaching placement	III
Semester 10	Subject 1 (91–120 ECTS)	

UVK = Educational science core (pedagogy and didactics), ECTS = European Credit Transfer System

In Sweden, each educational year is separated in two semesters: spring (January–June) and autumn (September–January). A full-time student is registered for courses covering 30 ECTS credits each semester, and the teacher education in focus in this thesis covers a total of ten semesters, i.e. five years. In the particular case of subject matter studies for the student teachers in this thesis, a student chooses two subjects: one major subject (120 ECTS) and a secondary subject (90 ECTS). All student teacher participants in Studies I–III had history as their major subject. The UVK clusters mark semesters focused on the educational sciences core, and during these semesters the students study pedagogy and didactics, while simultaneously undertaking teaching placement.

As can be observed in table 1, datasets I and III correspond approximately to the beginning and to the end of the teacher education program, with dataset II being slightly closer to the halfway point. The thesis does not follow the same students through all the datasets; hence, an individual development of professional identity is not discussed. However, I see the data as having potential, on a more generalized level, to enable analysis of student teachers' production of professional identity at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of their education. One of the students performing oral presentations in dataset I (although not in focus in that study) is also the main participant in dataset III. Apart from him, no other student participation overlaps the three datasets. Ideally, it would be preferable to follow the same students through their education, but given the time frame of my postgraduate education, this was not possible. An overview of each of the datasets can be seen below.

Dataset I
- 19 video recorded presentations (approximately three minutes each)
- Observational field notes from three sessions of oral presentations
- Two written instructional texts for students
- Two other written texts: grading criteria and syllabus

Dataset II
- Video recordings of seminar interaction (approximately 130 minutes)
- Audio recordings of seminar interaction (approximately 320 minutes)
- Audio recording of a stimulated recall interview with two of the participants (approximately 70 minutes)
- Audio recordings of interview with tutor (approximately 100 minutes)
- Observational field notes from five seminar sessions

Dataset III
- Three video recorded presentations (overlapping with dataset I, but not in focus in Study I, approximately 9 minutes)

- Two video recorded classes during teaching placement (approximately 90 minutes)
- Field notes from an interview with a student teacher
- Observational field notes from three classes during teaching placement

The process of constructing the datasets was initiated in the following order: II (2015), I (2016), III (2016). Dataset II also includes a stimulated recall interview that took place in 2017. The interviews in datasets I–III were semistructured (Brinkmann 2014:286), with the intention of allowing for participants to broach issues that appeared to be important to them.

All three datasets concern recordings of interaction and working with such data calls for the need of transcription. A general approach to transcription in this thesis has been to strike a balance between 1) adequately representing data, 2) highlighting the phenomena on which the analytical process focuses, and 3) being readable. In the work with transcription in different stages of the analysis, I have used tools that have previously been recognized as effective for such tasks. For transcription of spoken language, I have employed Jefferson's (2004) well-established conventions. In transcription of other modes besides speech, I have been inspired by Norris's (2011, 2019) way of working with image-transcription, together with Mondada's (2016) conventions for detailed multimodal transcription. For further notes on transcription, see Studies I–III.

4.2 Nexus analysis as framework for data construction

Nexus analysis has been proposed as a methodology incorporating both the construction of data and the analysis of data (Scollon & Scollon 2004). As a whole, nexus analysis can be described as consisting of three phases: Engaging the nexus of practice, navigating the nexus of practice and changing the nexus of practice (Scollon & Scollon 2004:153).[6] My interpretation of these phases, which often seem to overlap, is seeing them as data construction, discourse analysis and implication of results, respectively. This subsection concerns the phase of engaging the nexus of practice (see section 4.3.1 for navigating the nexus of practice). Employing nexus analysis in accordance with Scollon and Scollon's elaborate guidelines could be described as undertaking a 'full nexus analysis' (2004:152) – I do not make any claims to fully do so.

A general outlook in nexus analysis is the need for ethnographic fieldwork, as it facilitates a deeper understanding of social action (Scollon & Scollon

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[6] Nexus of practice refers to 'the point at which historical trajectories of people, places, discourses, ideas, and objects come together to enable some action' (Scollon & Scollon 2004:viii).

2003:160, 2004:13). Thus, nexus analysis has guided the general ethnographic approach to data construction in the present thesis. The ethnographic approach in this thesis can be described in terms of my participation in and observation of different instances of teacher education, with the main goal of understanding how social actors' actions relate to both immediate interaction and wider social contexts (cf. Scollon & Scollon 2007; Copland & Creese 2015). As some of the various definitions of ethnography, such as participation in a setting during 'an extended period of time' (Atkinson & Hammersley 2019:3) may not be fulfilled in this study, I refer to my data construction as an ethnographic approach.

The general strategy for selecting samples in the three studies is information-oriented, meaning that samples were chosen based on the expectations of information content (cf. Flyvbjerg 2006:230). In turn, such expectations were informed by the ethnographic fieldwork. In the following subsections, the data construction for each dataset will be described, together with an elaborated description of sampling in the corresponding studies.

4.2.1 Dataset I – the rhetoric course

Study I concerns oral presentations held in an obligatory rhetoric course in the early stages of the teacher education program, in which the participating students were only graded in terms of pass or fail. Out of the seven students performing oral presentations, two of them are studied more closely in Study I.

All three sessions where student teachers performed oral presentations followed a similar organization. However, the first session distinguished itself, e.g., by the tutor and me introducing ourselves to the students. When the student teachers performed their presentations, they did so in a fairly streamlined way: immediately after one student finished the presentation, the next student stood up and started moving towards the presentation spot at the front of the classroom. Most of the students stood in front of a table placed in the middle of the room while performing their presentations, while others chose to stand behind the lectern placed close to the windows in the room. Each session started with voice warm-up and body warm-up, and I participated in all these activities together with the students and their tutor. During sessions 2 and 3, the students got extra time to practice their presentations in smaller groups of two or three people, before they performed the assessed presentation in front of the class.

In agreement with the tutor, the video recorded presentations were used as a pedagogical tool for students to further develop features that were hard to capture through feedback from their peers. The recordings were uploaded to a secure university server by staff, and links to the presentations were distributed to the students. By request, the students were only able to see their own presentations. At the department responsible for the rhetoric course, filming students' oral presentations for them to develop their presentations skills was

not an unknown practice. Figure 1 illustrates the configuration of the classroom.

Figure 1. Overview of the classroom in the moment of an oral presentation

As figure 1 demonstrates, the camera was placed in the center of the room (marked with a blue arrow), surrounded by desks organized in the shape of a U. The camera was focused directly on the desk in the center, where most of the students performed their presentations. During the oral presentations, I was positioned behind the camera in case any adjustments were needed, which occasionally was necessary when students chose to perform behind the lectern. The significance of producing 'good data', with high quality audio and video was not only important for my own subsequent analysis, but also for the students themselves who were going to use the recordings in the development of their presentation techniques.

While constructing dataset I, and in the following process of reviewing the video recorded data, I quickly deemed the introductory parts of the students' oral presentations as interactionally interesting. In particular, the shift from student teacher to teacher appeared as relevant in terms of professional identity. While viewing the recordings repeatedly, I made rough transcriptions of all the introductory parts of the students' presentations. General findings and tendencies found in the total dataset are reported in the study (Study I, figure 2) as a way to provide an overall picture of the role choices of all students in the class. For the next step, I chose to focus on oral presentations that were performed during the second session of the rhetoric course, since I figured that

the students would be more comfortable with the presentation form by then. Anna and Joel were the only two students during session 2 who performed their presentations in the role of teacher; hence, the focus on them in Study I.

4.2.2 Dataset II – the bachelor thesis course

During the autumn of 2015, 13 student teachers met for 8 sessions while writing their bachelor theses in history. All sessions were led by a tutor, and each of them had a theme related to the academic writing process, e.g. how to write the introductory part of a bachelor thesis or a summary of previous research. In the final session, the students were assigned the roles of discussant and defendant, each of them having to defend their finished bachelor thesis in a critical discussion in the class. At the department where the students wrote their bachelor theses, a general perception was that students at the bachelor level rarely have sufficient knowledge about what is a suitable subject for a bachelor thesis in history. Furthermore, the material used for theses in history is often located in archives, of which the students are generally not familiar. Consequently, researchers at the department suggested potential bachelor thesis projects, which were collected by the tutor and distributed among students in dialogue with them.

The work during the bachelor thesis course was divided between working with the whole group of students and working in separate smaller groups. When all students were together, they often discussed methodological issues that the tutor had identified as relevant for all of them. At times, they separated into smaller groups inside the larger seminar room (see figure 2).

Figure 2. Student teachers discussing their drafts in the seminar group of Study II. The chair in the lower left corner of the picture is that of the researcher.

The tutor created four groups of students, with the aim of putting student teachers with similar subject choices for their bachelor thesis together. During my introduction, I told the students about my thesis project, and gave each one of them a form for informed consent, which they were free to sign if they wanted to participate in the study. I received signed informed consent from all 13 student teachers in the class. After my presentation, the students continued working, and at the end of the lesson, the tutor suggested a group of students, simultaneously asking them if they would allow me to join them during the session. This group of student teachers became participants in Study II. As noted in that study, I rather quickly became treated as a member of the group.

Working with dataset II, I initially coded the video recorded interaction in a digital software program for qualitative data analysis (NVivo), aiming to find where student teachers explicitly discussed the teaching profession. Since a rather obvious way of realizing identity in discourse is by explicitly pointing to it (Bucholtz & Hall 2005:594), I regarded such actions as a sample criterion for sequences where it could be fruitful to study the production of teacher identity. I roughly transcribed the six higher-level actions I could find in the data, of which two were used in the article, and consequently transcribed them in even further detail. The two instances represented in Study II were chosen based on their potential to demonstrate different aspects of professional identity production in interaction.

4.2.3 Dataset III – teaching placement

The process of constructing dataset III is a clear example of how the ethnographic approach to data construction has affected the design of the studies. During the recordings for dataset I, I met Eric, the student teacher in focus in Study III. He had not attended the rhetoric course when he originally was supposed to do so and needed to pass that course in order to get his diploma. Thus, in the rhetoric course, he was a vastly more experienced student teacher compared to his peers, and he was very interested in my research project. During informal discussions, he invited me to join him in his teaching placement and provided me with contact details to his personal tutor at the school in question. After contacting her, I had a meeting with both of them, asking if I could be allowed to video record Eric teaching his class. Following that, and an interview with Eric, I joined him in one of his classes and presented my research project and myself to the pupils. All involved individuals were enthusiastic about potentially being participants in the research project, and in that respect, establishing a zone of identification (Scollon & Scollon 2004) was a rather uncomplicated endeavor. Figure 3 shows the classroom design.

Figure 3. The classroom space, as seen from the front desk

Based on ethical principles of research, and discussions with Eric and his personal tutor, pupils that had signed informed consent and wished to be participants in the study were placed to the far right of the classroom (as seen from the teacher's desk in figure 3) with a camera focused on them. I was located in the back, to the left (in front of the door, see figure 3), where I could see the classroom and simultaneously direct a camera towards Eric. The classroom space turned out to be disordered at times, and occasionally pupils that had not signed informed consent appeared in front of the cameras. All such instances were discarded and were not subject to analysis.

While constructing and working with dataset III, I noticed that the student teacher in focus tended to use stories of his own experiences relatively often, both in the interview and in the classroom. Seeing stories as representations of experience, I saw the potential to study how experience could be used in the production of identity. First, I went back to Eric's oral presentations from the rhetoric course, searching for actions where he used personal stories to highlight his view on education and the teaching profession. I regarded that as data with relevance to his historical body, which potentially could enrich the interpretation of his actions in the classroom. Furthermore, I made rough transcriptions of actions in the classroom where Eric used different stories engaged with pedagogical tasks. This was done to make the potential connection

between personal experience and professional activities. Two such actions were selected for further analysis in Study III.

4.3 Analytical approaches

This section provides an introduction of the analytical approaches employed in the thesis. Firstly, nexus analysis will be discussed as a framework that allows for the combination of different analytical tools. Furthermore, vertical identity analysis will be introduced, as a model in the nexus analytically inspired framework of multimodal (inter)action analysis. For detailed descriptions of analytical methods, see Studies I–III.

4.3.1 Nexus analysis as framework for analysis

In this subsection, focus is directed on the analytical process, i.e. the phase of navigating the nexus of practice. Scollon and Scollon (2004) allude to the idea that nexus analysis might be employed to different degrees, and the main purpose of this subsection is to clarify how it has been employed in the thesis. The core of nexus analysis can be understood as the focus on social action as the central unit of analysis, and how the histories and relationships of social actors (historical body and interaction order), together with surrounding discourses (discourses in place) make that action possible. Nexus analysis is an open-ended framework, encouraging the incorporation of concepts from different traditions, as long as it benefits the understanding of the social action in focus. Interactional sociolinguistics, critical discourse analysis and linguistic anthropology are highlighted as particularly relevant areas in which to find such analytical tools (Scollon & Scollon 2004:173). The concepts utilized within the framework of nexus analysis in this thesis can mainly be associated with the traditions of interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. communicative project, Study I) and discourse analysis (e.g. affinity-identity, Study III).

In Study I, nexus analysis is combined with the concept of communicative project (Linell 1998), in order to both conceptualize and analyze the role shifts. Taking lower-level actions as the vantage point, the analysis pays attention to detailed interaction as part of higher-level actions that constitute role shift as a communicative project. In Study III, nexus analysis is combined with the notion of affinity-identity. Affinity-identity is part of a framework for the analysis of identity in educational contexts (Gee 2001), and in Study III, it is employed to connect previous experience as discourse to identity production in the classroom. The methodological approach of Study II is presented below.

4.3.2 Vertical identity analysis

Vertical identity analysis is a model for analyzing identity in interaction that is incorporated in the wider framework of multimodal (inter)action analysis (MIA, Norris 2011). MIA can be understood as a development of nexus analysis with the focus on multimodal interaction, and it was originally introduced under the name multimodal discourse analysis, aiming for a way to analytically incorporate what traditional discourse studies might treat as simply context (Norris 2004b:101). In the present thesis, the model for vertical identity is the central method for analysis in Study II, where identity in interaction is analyzed in three layers of discourse: the central layers of discourse, the intermediary layers of discourse and the outer layers of discourse. These layers of discourse are 'vertical' in the sense that they could be interpreted as representing levels of interaction where different actors and institutions are involved in identity production: a personal level, a network level and a societal level (Norris 2011:179–181). As in the case of nexus analysis, social action is the starting point for analysis.

Although not explicitly concerned with context, Norris's (2011) vertical identity analysis captures a great deal of what Linell (2011) refers to as contextual factors, and the three layers of discourse are clearly reminiscent of Fairclough's (1992) layered view on context. In Study II, vertical identity analysis is tested as a method for analyzing identity in interaction. It appears as a fruitful method for studying identity in interaction, and it distinguishes itself as being a methodology that brings both theoretical and methodological tools that rather straightforwardly can be applied in the study of identity in interaction.

4.4 Methodological reflections

In this subsection, I gather my methodological reflections on both data collection and interpretation of results. As such, a purpose is to address matters of validity and reliability in the thesis.

It has been noted on several occasions in this thesis that identity is a complex phenomenon. In order to analytically approach identity in interaction with validity in mind, then, calls for a methodology that has the potential to manage complexity. Furthermore, the need to go beyond the immediate interaction and acknowledge a wider context is also noted in the thesis. For such purposes, the rationale for ethnography is sound, since one of the focal points of ethnography is that the context in which this data is constructed should be an object of analytical interest, as opposed to assumed (Rampton 2007:585). Due to its potential to analytically manage complexity, e.g. through its openness to incorporating different concepts, together with its ethnographic approach to data construction (cf. Blommaert & Huang 2009), nexus analysis

was deemed to be an appropriate method for both data construction and analysis throughout the thesis.

As I was interested in depth of knowledge of a complex interactional phenomenon, rather than breadth, it was natural to design Studies I–III as case studies. Similar to the selection of samples for the data represented as excerpts in each of the studies, the larger cases comprising Studies I–III were designed based on a general information-oriented selection (Flyvbjerg 2006). Thus, it also became important to construct data sufficiently allowing for a more profound analysis of the social actions in focus. Hence, several different types of data were constructed. This is potentially a question of ecological validity (cf. Cicourel 2007), which I interpret as constructing data with the potential for making substantiated claims that are generalizable and applicable to the 'real world'. As such, it also addresses the potential criticism of case studies as presenting results that are not generalizable (cf. Flyvbjerg 2006, who refers to such criticism as a misunderstanding about case study research).

Ethnography highlights the importance of reflecting upon the researcher's background and role in the process of data construction (Rampton et al. 2014:5), and in discourse studies such reflection is an important aspect of explaining the research design (Rogers 2017:46). Scollon and Scollon argued that the researcher's own life and values could be an asset in guiding the choice of which issue to study (2004:154). My interest in the phenomenon of teacher identity has its origin in me being a former student teacher who has devoted much thought to when one actually 'becomes' a teacher during teacher education.

My own background was also important in the process of establishing a *zone of identification*, i.e. finding a sphere where one can become recognized as a participant (Scollon & Scollon 2004:11). During data construction, I encountered a large number of student teachers, teacher educators (and teachers), pupils and administrative personnel in different departments at a Swedish university. In the process of gaining access to these departments, and in contact with participants, I found my own historical body to be an asset. At the time of data construction, I was an employee at the department from which the first dataset originated. At the department from which dataset II originated, I had previously worked as a study counselor for six months in 2014. Hence, I was familiar with several of the employees at these departments, having a basic idea of which of them to approach in the data construction process, as well as a reasonable chance of gaining access.

In my contact with student teachers, I found my own background as a student teacher to be useful. Having been engaged in teacher education at a university, I could utilize my own previous experience of being a student teacher in interactions with my participants. I knew basically how their education was organized, and I could often relate to their reflections about different aspects of teacher education while engaging in discussions with them. At times, I

found them treating me more as a fellow student teacher than as a participating researcher. In relation to my connection with the participants, it is relevant to highlight that a majority of them (particularly in datasets II and III) were male and around my age. Thus, from a gender point of view, the composition of the participants was quite homogenous. In general, this could have been an effect of my approach to data construction. The student teacher who participated in Study III initiated the data construction himself, and the composition of participants in Study II was due to external factors, as the students in dataset II were placed together by their tutor, who suggested that I should join their group. As I explained in section 2.3, the big categories of difference are not employed in this thesis. If one desires to do so, it would perhaps be preferable to have a more gender-balanced group of participants.

One of the main thoughts guiding the ethnographical approach to data construction in this thesis can be described as the flexibility to react and adapt to participants' activities, and making sure, to the best of my ability, to construct data in a way that sufficiently describes the actions taking place. Adapting to participants' ideas has been rewarding, while simultaneously also affecting the design of the studies to different degrees. Productive examples of that approach include how the video recordings from the first dataset were integrated as a part of the rhetoric course and how the video recorded classroom interaction in dataset III can be attributed to an idea from the student teacher in focus in the corresponding study.

5 The three studies

This compilation thesis explores how student teachers produce professional identity in three different instances of their teacher education. In this section, Studies I–III are summarized and furthermore contextualized in relation to the thesis as a whole. The three studies come together in a mediated discourse theoretical perspective on social action and identity, employing different approaches on how to study student teachers' identity production connected to the teaching profession. A joint discussion of the results centered on the research questions follows in section 6.

5.1 Study I: Role shift from student teacher to teacher

In research on professional identity of teachers and student teachers, two features of relevance are the relationship to voices of authority (Farnsworth 2010), and institutional norms and values (Beijaard 1995). Study I concerns the action of shifting between the two institutionally assigned/encouraged roles (cf. institution-identity, Gee 2001) of student and teacher, during role-played oral presentations in a rhetoric course. Conceptualizing these interactional role shifts (cf. Metzger 1995) as communicative projects (Linell 1998; 2009), focus is directed to lower-level actions (Norris 2004a; see section 2.1), and how they appear as being chained together in higher-level actions, which in turn construct the role shifts. Study I contributes a detailed exploration of how role shifts can be constituted, and which resources student teachers may use to perform them.

The data used in Study I was constructed through an ethnographic approach guided by the framework of nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon 2004), consisting of 19 video recorded oral presentations performed by seven different student teachers, as well as observational field notes and different written texts (see section 4.1, dataset I, for details). Framing the role-played interaction as an anticipatory activity pointing forward in time towards the teaching profession, Study I grasps the interactional phenomenon of role shift by conceptualizing and, consequently, analyzing it as a *communicative project* (CP, Linell 1998). Analytically, the student teachers' role shifts are studied through a set of criteria, based on the writings of Linell (1998, 2009, 2010), and formulating a basic understanding for what constitutes a CP.

The results of Study I suggest that the role shifts between student teacher and teacher are planned activities that are performed through a set of higher-level actions (referred to as main actions in the study), linked together in a specific order: setting the scene, changing perspective and performing new role. In turn, each of these actions consists of chained lower-level actions mediated by different embodied resources, such as gaze and movement. In the first higher-level action (setting the scene), students frame their presentations by explicitly distributing roles using spoken discourse (e.g. 'I'm a teacher and you're my pupils'), thus producing an action that anticipates the change of perspective and performance of the new role. In doing so, an interpretation is that they also resemiotize institutional discourse from the mode of written text (an instruction to consider who you are speaking as and who you are addressing) to the embodied mode of speech (explicit role distribution in the classroom). In this way, student teachers early in the presentation seem to demonstrate knowledge of the 'hidden curriculum' (Scollon & Scollon 2004:131), i.e. the potential importance of the instructional texts provided to them. This can be a way to actualize expectations connected to the institution-identity as student teacher, while simultaneously preparing to shift to the institution-identity as teacher.

The second higher-level action (changing perspective), functioning as a bridge between the first and third higher-level actions, actualizes the importance of multimodal resources (cf. Mondada 2007). In changing perspective, the student teachers combine gaze, movement and spoken contextualization cues to highlight that the presentation in the role of teacher will soon begin. In the third higher-level action (performing new role), the student teachers appear to produce their first utterance in the role of teacher. As the results of Study I suggest, a possible way to highlight that is through a shift in voice. This action simultaneously completes the role shift as a communicative project.

Analyzing the role shift as a communicative project provides insight into how student teachers may organize their identities in relation to institutional constraints. Although the student teachers appear as sole speakers in a one-sided role-played interaction, the results of Study I further highlight how shifting from the role of student to the role of teacher is a dialogical endeavor within a hybrid activity type (cf. Linell 2009; Sarangi 2016). The hybridity of the presentations is realized through the choice to perform the presentations as teachers: from a role-played and professional perspective, students are presenting as teacher to an audience of pupils or fellow teachers. From an academic and institutional perspective, the presenters are students who need to perform an assessed oral presentation in accordance with certain expectations.

In summary, the resources used in Study I appear to vary between the three higher-level actions constituting the role shift. Firstly, a significant textual resource appears to be the written instructions that are designed to guide the students in how they should perform their presentations and other related

tasks. The texts, as related to the academic discourse domain (Macken-Hora-rik et al. 2006), appear as resources mainly used to help students conform to the institutional expectations to correctly perform an assessed task. Thus, their function seems to be most significant in the higher-level action of setting the scene. Furthermore, there are different embodied resources employed in the process of linking the higher-level actions that constitute the role shift. For the action of performing new role, voice shift appears to be a significant resource.

5.2 Study II: Teacher identity in three layers of discourse

Balancing on the intersection between subject matter discourse and professional discourse has been highlighted as an important feature for both teachers' and student teachers' development of professional identity (e.g. Beijaard 1995; Peterman 2017). In Study II, we see three student teachers writing their bachelor theses in the discipline of history, where the focus on subject matter is highly prioritized. Originally motivated by an interest in Norris's (2011) methodology that could enable identity analysis on both a micro-level and a macro-level, the study takes the potential tension between teacher education discourse and subject matter discourse as its point of departure for analyzing student teachers' identity in interaction. Study II may, on the one hand, be read as a methodological contribution to the study of identity in interaction, and, on the other hand, as an empirical exploration of how student teachers produce teacher identity in three layers of discourse: the central layers of discourse, the intermediary layers of discourse and the outer layers of discourse (Norris 2011). In relation to the research questions of the present thesis, Study II thus contributes with the testing and evaluation of a methodological perspective on how to analyze identity in interaction through the use of interactional and ethnographic data, and with knowledge about how student teachers may produce professional identity in a setting where disciplinary discourse is prevalent.

The data used in Study II consist of audio recordings and video recordings of seminar interaction between three student teachers. Furthermore, an interview with their tutor, and a stimulated recall interview with two of the student teachers, is part of the data (see section 4.1, dataset II, for details).

The evaluation of the model for vertical identity analysis suggests that it can be a fruitful tool to employ in the analysis of identity in interaction, since it enables the analysis of social actors' immediate actions, as well their use of larger societal discourses. Thus, the model sheds light on social actors and institutions involved in identity production on both a micro-level and a macro-level. However, Norris (2011) argued that social actors have very limited agency in the outer layers of discourse. The results of Study II instead point

in the opposite direction, suggesting that social actors may influence the outer layers of discourse through their actions, e.g. by using professional discourse when it is not expected.

The results highlight how a student teacher appears to use both embodied and disembodied resources in different layers of discourse in the production of professional identity, e.g., the use of gaze to ensure co-production with the other participants in the room, and the use of a regulatory text (curriculum) through the resemiotized buzzword of 'awareness of history' (or *historical consciousness*, cf. Edling 2017:39). Furthermore, Study II provides an example of resistance towards imposed identities. At one point, the student teacher in focus is scaffolding a peer in the writing process. Noticing that the student seems to help his peer in a pedagogical manner, the tutor explicitly highlights his use of pedagogical phrases as a feature that will make him a good teacher in the future. One way to see this is that her professional vision (Goodwin 1994) possibly identifies scaffolding as a sign of identity (Wortham 2006) that indexes the teaching profession. This seems to surprise the student teacher, who resists co-producing professional identity at this point. As such, it could be interpreted as the phenomena of identity without identification (Gee 2009:45), where an identity is imposed on a social actor that does not identify with it. This is a result that resonates with the tension and negotiation of identity in interaction recognized in previous research (e.g. Engblom 2004; Kahlin 2008).

Although methodologically oriented, Study II contributes with empirical results that have potential relevance for the discussion on the relationship between subject matter and pedagogical matter in teacher education. In previous research, predominantly in the educational sciences, the benefits of encouraging students to reflect upon the teaching profession has been highlighted (e.g. Muchnik -Rozanov & Tsybulsky 2019). However, Study II suggests that even when such reflection is not encouraged, student teachers may still engage in it. By unpacking higher-level social actions, such as discussing an aim of a thesis and giving feedback to a fellow student teacher, the analysis demonstrates how students may use discourse linked to the teaching profession and teacher education in order to perform actions within the rather rigid academic practice of a bachelor thesis course in history.

In summary, a significant textual resource used for professional identity production identified in Study II is the curriculum in history, actualizing the professional discourse domain (Macken-Horarik et al. 2006). Furthermore, the embodied resource of gaze may be an important resource in the co-production of identity, since it appears to be used in the intermediary layers of discourse to attract the attention of other participants in interaction.

5.3 Study III: Teacher identity in the classroom

In research on student teachers' professional identity, the importance of experience appears as a reoccurring theme (Beachuamp & Thomas 2010:632), whether it be, e.g., experience as learners of subject matter (Peterman 2017) or experiences from teaching placement (Johnston 2016). Interested in the discursive use of experience in interaction, Study III focuses on a student teacher during his final teaching placement, where he is expected to take on the lion's share of the responsibility of teaching a class of pupils in the subject of history. These particular conditions potentially make for the argument that the student teacher is expected to have appropriated the more practical skills and goal-oriented tasks that are practiced by the participants in Study I, as well as the capacity to manage disciplinary discourse in relation to the teaching profession that can be seen in Study II. Taking this as a point of departure, Study III sheds light on a student teacher's interactional use of experience resemiotized as stories, and how these stories can be used as resources to produce professional identity in the classroom. Study III contributes with knowledge of how a student teacher towards the end of his education uses discourse re-emerging from his historical body to manage the interaction order in the classroom in different ways. Through the methodological approach of combining nexus analysis and the concept of affinity-identity, the results further highlight how commonplace experience, more than educational experience, can be relevant for student teachers' professional identity.

The data used in this study consists of video recorded classroom interaction, where a student is teaching a class of pupils about the Second World War. The student teacher's personal tutor (a professional teacher supervising the student) is also present in the classroom. Furthermore, video recordings of three oral presentations during his education (see section 4.3, dataset III, for details), an interview and observational field notes are used. The data has been constructed using the ethnographic approach advocated in nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon 2004). For analytical purposes, the nexus analytical understanding of historical body, discourses in place and interaction order are employed, in combination with Gee's (2001) notion of affinity-identity.

The results of Study III suggest that the student teacher seems to resemiotize previous experience rooted in his historical body. Such experience re-emerges as discourse in the shape of stories. These stories may be used as resources to produce affinity-identity in the classroom, with a potential purpose of engaging with pedagogical tasks in the classroom. The stories in focus concern his experience of being a soccer fan, as well as the experience of visiting a concentration camp, and the results point to how these stories can be used for multifunctional purposes in the classroom. In the action of introducing the theme of the Second World War, the student is interrupted by a pupil using soccer discourse. Knowing this pupil, and being interested in soccer

himself, the student teacher produces affinity-identity as a soccer fan by verbalizing an anticipatory story of how pleased he will be if a certain soccer team loses the Europa League finals. In this case, Study III argues that the student teacher attends to the social relationship with his pupil by forming an affinity group in which he may be included, while simultaneously producing an action that aims to influence the interaction order in the classroom.

In a later instance, the discussion in the classroom concerns the Holocaust. Here, the student teacher uses a story reflecting his experience of visiting a concentration camp, in a discussion of the horrors that occurred at such places. Reacting to a few pupils making jokes about the subject, the student teacher modifies his story to highlight people excluded from the affinity group, i.e. those who do not share the experience of having visited a concentration camp. Thus, he reacts to a situation that he is expected to deal with as a teacher in the classroom (potential cases of racism occurring in the classroom), and his production of affinity-identity seems to be reinforcing the idea that people outside of the affinity group lack experience that would facilitate their understanding of how serious the issue is. Furthermore, it demonstrates for the personal tutor in the classroom that he can handle these kinds of situations. This excluding use of affinity-identity is something that is not described in any further degree by Gee (2001).

In summary, the most significant resource used for identity production in Study III is stories. The stories, as resemiotizations of experience within the historical body, seem to be used to produce both including and excluding affinity-identity in relation to the pupils. Furthermore, they appear to be used to engage in professional tasks concerning the social relationship to pupils, and managing of the interaction order in the classroom, as well as institutional expectations actualized by the personal tutor. As concerning both personal approaches to teaching, and professional expectations, one could argue that the affinity-identity is embedded in professional identity production.

6 Discussion of the results

As introduced in Section 1.2, the overarching aim of the present thesis is, on the one hand, to explore empirically, through a mediated discourse theoretical approach, how student teachers produce professional identity in interaction. On the other hand, the aim is to broaden the perspective on how identity in interaction may be studied through different methodological combinations. The research questions are:

1) Which resources are used by student teachers to produce professional identity in interaction?
2) How can the discursive environments in different instances of teacher education be adapted to facilitate the progress of student teachers in their production of professional identity?
3) How can identity in interaction be methodologically approached in a way that sufficiently acknowledges the complex nature of the concept?

In this section, a joint discussion of the results will be presented under three headings corresponding more or less to each research question: resources in identity production, discursive environments, and studying identity in interaction.

6.1 Resources in identity production

This subsection mainly attends to the first research question of the thesis, concerning the ways in which student teachers produce professional identity in interaction. The types of resources brought up in this subsection are inductively derived from the results of Studies I–III (see section 2.1, on resources). One type of resource that stands out as relevant can be understood as *textual resources* (written texts, cf. Schmidt & Skoog 2019). Texts in general are obviously important in education, as they are primary objects of mediation used by teachers (Giraldo 2017). However, the results of this thesis suggest that certain texts appear to be salient in students' interactional production of identity. The written texts highlighted in Studies I–II (a study guide, a template text, and the curriculum in history) actualize the academic discourse domain and the professional discourse domain, respectively (Macken-Horarik et al.

2006). As such, an interpretation is that when these texts are brought into interaction through processes of resemiotization, they are used as resources that highlight student teachers' knowledge in relevant areas. In the action of setting the scene in the initial stages of an oral presentation (Study I), it appears to be rational to act in a way that highlights academic knowledge connected to the requirements of an assessed task – particularly for novice students. Hence, the instructional texts as textual resources in the higher-level action of setting the scene could then be understood as being used to produce *student* teacher identity. In the higher-level action of role shift, however, the texts could be interpreted as resources in the shift towards a teacher identity. Study II highlights how a student uses a textual resource connected to the professional discourse domain (the curriculum in history) in the higher-level action of motivating the aim of his thesis. In this study, it is proposed that this textual resource may work as a boundary object (Star & Griesmar 1989) between the academic discourse domain and the professional discourse domain. Thus, referring to the curriculum in history in a setting where disciplinary discourse is dominant could be interpreted as highlighting a trajectory towards the teaching profession, since it, to a certain extent, actualizes professional knowledge that ought to be part of both a student teacher's and a teacher's historical body. As such, it is a textual resource that seems quite suitable for professional identity production. A subject-specific curriculum is most likely an expected resource for student teachers to employ in teacher education in general, but in the instance of Study II, it appears to be an unexpected phenomenon, as relating to the teaching profession is not encouraged in this setting.

Based on the results of the thesis, another type of resource that appears to be relevant in identity production can be referred to as *embodied resources* (resources in embodied modes of communication, cf. Norris 2004:xi). During the oral presentations in Study I, and in particular the higher-level action of shifting perspective from the institution-identity of student to the institution-identity of teacher, students use different embodied resources, such as gaze and movement. These resources seem to make participants in the interaction aware of the transitioning between two identities, as well as highlighting when the first utterance as teacher occurs. In Study II, we see one example of a student teacher using gaze in the action of ascertaining that his fellow student teachers are paying attention to his claims of explicit professional identity. In other words, the embodied resources identified in the thesis are mainly used for supporting the interactional aspects of identity production. If textual resources are brought into interaction and used to highlight academic and professional knowledge, embodied resources appear to be components of interaction concerning the mechanisms of *co-production* of identity. These two types of resource seem to concern different layers of discourse, respectively (Norris 2011), as the textual resources actualize discourse in the outer layers

of discourse (e.g. through itineraries connected to institutions), and the embodied resources the central, and potentially intermediary, layers of discourse (e.g. through immediate interactional use and potential to manage attention).

The third type of resource that appears salient in identity production can be thought of as *narrative resources* (stories, cf. Holmes 2005, on discursive resources). One example is the use of stories in Study III, where a student teacher uses discourse pertaining to the sport of soccer to produce an affinity-identity as a soccer fan with a pupil who is also a fan. By doing so, he resolves the emerged communicative problem of the student interrupting him, but the purpose of such affinity-identity production appears to be dual: the student teacher needs to demonstrate to his personal tutor that he can handle an interrupting pupil, while simultaneously appearing to maintain a friendly relationship with the pupil. As such, the story is used as a resource to engage in a task that is highly relevant to the teaching profession, since the student teacher handles the situation professionally, while at the same time keeping his relationship with his pupils in line with his own concept of 'good teacher'. These results resonate with previous research on student teacher identity, where managing views on education and relationships with pupils is a recognizable feature (e.g. Persson 2006; van Rijswijk et al. 2013).

The results of Study III also suggest that stories can be utilized to produce affinity-identity with the purpose of exclusion, i.e. pointing to those people who are not in the affinity group. This can be observed when the student teacher produces a story concerning his own visit to a concentration camp and highlights that such an experience may affect future actions in a way that may be unavailable to people outside the affinity group. Stories as narrative resources in the classroom appear to be relevant for professional identity production in at least two different ways: (1) they appear to be resources used to re-negotiate a previously established interaction order, which ought to be an important aspect of teaching; and (2) as discursive representations of previous experiences re-emerging from the historical body, they highlight a synthesis of personal and professional features, which is an important aspect of teacher identity (cf. Britzman 1991; Alsup 2006; Beijaard 2017). Thus, it is not only previous experience as learners in higher education that matters for teacher identity (cf. Beauchamp & Thomas 2010; Farnsworth 2010), since more commonplace experiences such as an interest in soccer or a field trip to a concentration camp can be relevant as well.

In summary, the different resources used in student teachers' interactional production of professional identity in Studies I–III are described as textual resources (e.g. a template text for an oral presentation or a curriculum in history), embodied resources (e.g. movement, gestures, and gaze) and narrative resources (e.g. a story about visiting a concentration camp). The results suggest that the resources mediate the student teachers' actions at different levels of identity production: the textual resources appear to actualize an institutional

level in identity production; the embodied resources concern the interactional mechanisms of co-production of identity with other participants; the narrative resources bring personal experience rooted in the individual's historical body into interactions. Together, these resources can be considered part of the students' toolboxes (Wertsch 1998) for professional identity production (cf. identity kit, Gee 1989:7).

6.2 Discursive environments

This subsection mainly attends to the second research question of the thesis, concerning potential implications for teacher education. As such, it concerns, to a certain extent, the nexus analytical phase of changing the nexus of practice. Northedge (2003b) puts forward the idea of an appropriate discursive environment in light of teachers supporting learners' use of academic and disciplinary discourse. In the MDT/nexus analytical perspective employed in the present thesis, an appropriate discursive environment is understood as an issue of how to institutionally broaden the scope for action to facilitate student teachers' professional identity production.

Previous research has demonstrated that people do not always follow institutional advice on how to act (e.g. Jones 2008; Hanell 2017), and the results of the present thesis suggest that students' professional identity production in a teacher education setting could be facilitated beyond explicitly instructing them to relate to the teaching profession. One feature that appears to be important for this purpose is knowledge of how different recourses for identity production can be modified by social actors as they act. Consequently, how resources are adapted to the discourses in place in a specific site of engagement appears to be a relevant phenomenon to study when concerned with improving that discursive environment. Wertsch (1998:58) notes that a potential problem of studying resources (mediational means) from the perspective of their use is that it may reinforce the idea that they are designed to facilitate the actions that social actors wish to produce. This actualizes historical aspects of the resources used in identity production, as well as their inherent affordances and constraints. In Study I, the written study guide states that role distribution is something students should jot down in a written assignment and provide to their tutor. However, the students also make role distribution explicit in the interactional action of setting the scene (framing the presentations). Moreover, the curriculum in history is most likely intended to regulate educational design, but in Study II the results highlight that it can be used in producing professional identity. The story of visiting a concentration camp in Study III appears to be initially produced to mark affinity with pupils in the classroom, but it is adapted to deal with a disorderly situation in the classroom and is used to exclude pupils outside the affinity group. Such adaption of resources ap-

pears as a creative and fruitful feature in the production of professional identity. Thus, an appropriate discursive environment could be interpreted as an environment that facilitates the adaptation of different resources.

Another relevant aspect when considering how to facilitate student teachers' professional identity production seems to be their capacity to cross 'boundaries' between different discourse domains (Macken-Horarik et al. 2006). The instances in which both Studies I and II take place could be described as two different, but rather concrete academic settings, while Study III sheds light on a student teacher in a more professional setting. In Study I, professional identity production could be understood as an institutional offer or encouragement. However, the novice student teachers the study focuses on use discourse rooted in the academic discourse domain in the introductory phase of their presentation, closer to the academic activity in which they are involved. In Study II, we see how a student uses discourse related to the professional discourse domain in the production of teacher identity in a disciplinary and academic setting, where such identity production is essentially not encouraged. In Study III, at the end of teacher education, a student instead uses discourse re-emerged from his historical body, related to the everyday discourse domain (Macken-Horarik et al. 2006). In the classroom space, circulated by discourse predominantly actualizing the professional discourse domain, issues that seem less pertinent in the instances of Studies I–II are instead highly important, such as social relationships with pupils.

It is important to highlight that the situations these student teachers are involved in are not the same, and due to the in-depth analysis of their interaction, there are relatively few student teachers covered in Studies I–III. Hence, based on the limited data, one ought to be careful not to overstate the generalizability of the results. Acting in each of these instances of a teacher education program (a rhetoric course, a bachelor thesis course, and teaching placement) naturally involves many variations of discourses in place and interaction orders. The results highlight how student teachers adapt to the shifting discursive environments, and that they use discourse related to all three of the discourse domains (and crossing the 'borders' between them) in their professional identity production. Moving between the discourse domains is a productive effort (Macken-Horarik et al. 2006; Blåsjö & Christensson 2018), and the results of this thesis suggest that it can be an asset in professional identity production as well. Thus, an appropriate discursive environment would be an environment that makes efforts to facilitate the navigation between an academic, a professional and an everyday discourse domain.

6.3 Studying identity in interaction

This subsection mainly attends to the third research question of the thesis, concerning methodological issues on how to analyze identity in interaction.

The reviews of the concept of identity in section 2.3 and teacher identity in section 3.2 point to identity as a complex phenomenon defined in different ways. This is a trait it shares with several other concepts, often used in linguistics, that mean different things to different researchers, e.g. discourse, genre or context (cf. Scollon et al. 2012:7). How to approach complex phenomena in interaction could be discussed in terms of to which degree one aims to acknowledge complexity in the analytical process. One of the challenges faced when interested in identity is how to acknowledge the complexity of the concept, while still keeping it manageable in analysis. I would argue that it is fruitful to engage in such complexity, even if it leads to results that do not always appear as elegantly structured. After all, that may be evidence that we engage in an appropriate manner with a 'social process that reaches deep' (Rampton 2010:247).

The results of the present thesis come together in the argument, in line with Norris (2011), that a focus on social action is a fruitful point of departure for the study of identity in interaction. Furthermore, a nexus analytical approach to social action can enable the analysis of several different aspects of identity. As an example, the analysis of identity as produced in three layers of discourse in Study II pays attention to the majority of Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) principles concerning the mechanics of identity in interaction: the indexicality principle (explicitly making an identity category relevant), the relationality principle (co-production with other participants), and the partialness principle (identity is both produced by actors and simultaneously imposed on them).

When focusing on interaction, the concept of context is often discussed (e.g. Linell 1998:127; ten Have 2007:57–58; Goodwin 2018:188), mainly in terms of the degree to which ethnographic and sociocultural knowledge should be analytically acknowledged. Even though current CA-related research may display a more tolerant approach to ethnographic data (e.g. Kunitz & Markee 2017:25), my impression is that what can be interpreted as resources beyond the immediate conversational context tend to be treated as contextual information (cf. Sidnell 2010:246; Heath & Luff 2013:305–306), which is not necessarily subject to analysis. In Study III, the ethnographically grounded knowledge of a student's view on teaching is utilized in the analysis of classroom interaction. Such data is helpful, e.g., in grasping a participant's historical body, and it is potentially an example of 'sophisticated ethnography' (Blommaert & Huang 2009:268) in action, since it is one of several ways to include historical aspects in analysis. Not considering ethnographical data for analysis may increase the risk of distorting the relationship between social action and discourse (cf. Scollon 2001a:142).

The results of this thesis suggest that one of the most important gains of using social action as the vantage point for analysis in combination with an ethnographic approach to data construction is that it allows for drawing the lines from smaller actions to larger discourses in society. This can be seen in, e.g., the discourse itineraries from a joke in a classroom to the societal view

of what is, or is not, a joking matter (Study III), or in the reasoning of how the Swedish National Agency for Education can be an actor involved in feedback conversations between three student teachers (Study II). If we wish to pay attention to identity as a complex phenomenon beyond a theoretical discussion, it appears to be fruitful to consider different resources beyond immediate actions as analytically relevant. In that endeavor, the concept of context appears to be less important.

7 Conclusion

By using a discourse analytical approach to study identity production in interaction, this thesis offers an ethnographically grounded bottom-up perspective on social interaction, where tracing discourse from social actors' immediate actions to greater societal structures is a central feature in the uncovering of potential resources used for identity production. As the introduction of this thesis has highlighted, student teachers navigating teacher education are facing different tensions concerning academia, profession and society. The results have suggested that they often seem to manage such tensions creatively, e.g. by adapting resources used in interaction while producing professional identity in the shifting discursive environments found within their teacher education. As examples of such adaptation of resources, the results of the thesis have highlighted resemiotization of academic and professional texts, as well as modification of a verbalized story. Simultaneously, this calls for teacher educators interested in facilitating such identity production to explicitly highlight the potential of using discourse related to all three discourse domains (academic, professional and everyday discourse domains; Macken-Horarik et al. 2006). In this respect, the analyses of the thesis are in line with arguments from Northedge (2003a, 2003b) and Macken-Horarik et al. (2006) concerning the importance of educational settings relating to more than one type of discourse.

Methodologically, this thesis approaches identity in interaction by taking social action as the unit for analysis. Such an approach makes contextual limits less of an issue: if a certain resource is interactionally used in the action in focus, it is a resource deserving analytical attention, whether it is a text or a social actor's personal background. While theoretically acknowledging different dimensions of identity, it is consequently important to employ analytical concepts with the potential of making at least some of these dimensions visible. The notion of communicative project (Linell 1998) highlights how a shift from one institution-identity to another may be a communicative and goal-oriented effort (Study I); the notion of identity elements in vertical identity analysis (Norris 2011) helps us see how identity is co-produced with several actors and institutions, and that several identities may be produced simultaneously (Study II); and the notions of resemiotization and historical body (Scollon & Scollon 2004; Scollon 2001a) highlight how our accumulated experience can re-emerge as discourse that may be used in identity production

(Study III). Hence, the present thesis has demonstrated several methodological approaches for studying identity in interaction, held together by mediated discourse theory.

The results of this thesis provide deeper knowledge concerning the production of professional identity. The results also point to interesting areas for further research. One potential task for future research would be to follow the same student teachers over a greater timespan, in order to make claims about *development* of professional identity in the aspects pointed out here. In such an endeavor, studies could relate to the results of this thesis, which suggest that student teachers may navigate the borderlands between different discourse domains more frequently as they move on the educational trajectory towards the teaching profession.

Sammanfattning

Denna sammanläggningsavhandling är en diskursanalytisk och induktiv fall-studie av lärarstudenters konstruktion eller produktion av yrkesidentitet i interaktion. I de olika delstudierna studeras identitet i interaktion mellan lärarstudenter, lärarutbildare och elever i tre olika områden som kan anses karakteristiska för svensk lärarutbildning: en retorikkurs, kandidatuppsatsarbete och verksamhetsförlagd utbildning. Ett motiv till att undersöka lärarstudenters yrkesidentitet är att det kan synliggöra exempel på olika resurser som studenter använder för att förhålla sig till läraryrket, vilket i sin tur kan bidra med kunskap om hur olika diskursiva sammanhang i lärarutbildningen kan påverka vilka resurser som används och hur.

Avhandlingens övergripande teoretiska ramverk är *medierad diskursteori* (*MDT*, Scollon 2001a)*,* och varje delstudie belyser läraridentitet genom att kombinera olika teoretiska begrepp och metodologiska infallsvinklar från sociolingvistiken. I MDT anses sociala handlingar utföras i skärningspunkten mellan tre olika element: historisk kropp, interaktionsordning och situationens diskurser (Scollon & Scollon 2004).[7] Huvudpoängen kan sägas vara att alla dessa element bör uppmärksammas i analyser av social handling, vilket också har varit ett mål med avhandlingens olika delstudier. Med huvudsakligen samtalsanalytisk forskning på identitet i interaktion som bakgrund är avhandlingens syfte att empiriskt utforska hur lärarstudenter producerar yrkesidentitet i interaktion, och att vidga perspektiven på hur man kan undersöka identitet i interaktion genom olika metodologiska kombinationer. Följande frågeställningar föreligger:

1) Vilka resurser använder lärarstudenter för att producera yrkesidentitet i interaktion?
2) Hur kan olika diskursiva sammanhang i lärarutbildningen anpassas för att underlätta lärarstudenters produktion av yrkesidentitet?
3) Hur kan man metodologiskt hantera identitet i interaktion på ett sätt som tar hänsyn till begreppets komplexitet?

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[7] Svenska termer kommer från Hanell och Blåsjö (2014), som in sin genomgång av *medierad diskursanalys* tar upp både teoretiska och metodologiska aspekter av medierad diskursteori och nexusanalys.

Ett teoretiskt antagande är att identitet är ett komplext diskursivt fenomen som produceras genom sociala handlingar och att fokusera på sociala handlingar är centralt i avhandlingen. Identitet ses generellt ur ett sociolingvistiskt perspektiv och betraktas som en social process som både inbegriper individens självuppfattning och hur man uppfattas av andra (Bucholtz & Hall 2005; Norris 2011; Jones 2016). Ett fokus på social handling och identitet kräver att man använder metodologiska angreppssätt som kan hantera komplexa sociala fenomen. Detta är anledningen till att den metodologiska operationaliseringen av MDT, *nexusanalys* (Scollon & Scollon 2004, 2007), används som metod för etnografisk datakonstruktion och som analytiskt ramverk i två av avhandlingens delstudier (Studie I & III). I delstudie II används en vidareutveckling av nexusanalys vid namn *multimodal (inter)aktionsanalys* (Norris 2011). Nedan följer sammanfattningar av varje delstudie. En mer detaljerad materialbeskrivning för varje studie står att finna i avsnitt 4.1.

Studie I

Avhandlingens första delstudie handlar om hur lärarstudenter som befinner sig tidigt i utbildningen genomför rollskiften från lärarstudent till (fiktiv) lärare i muntliga presentationer under en obligatorisk retorikkurs. I delstudien riktas fokus mot två studenter och hur de i inledningen av sina presentationer genomför ett interaktionellt rollskifte. Rollskiftena konceptualiseras och analyseras som *kommunikativa projekt* (Linell 1998), och fokus riktas mot hur underordnade handlingar sammansätts i överordnade handlingar (Norris 2004), som i sin tur konstituerar rollskiftet.[8] Studie I bidrar med en detaljerad kartläggning av hur dessa rollskiften är interaktionellt uppbyggda, och belyser vilka resurser lärarstudenter utnyttjar för att genomföra dem.

Materialet består av 19 videoinspelade muntliga presentationer utförda av sju studenter under loppet av tre seminarier. Utöver detta används också observationsanteckningar och texter som samlades in under den etnografiskt inspirerade materialinsamlingen. Det huvudsakliga analytiska begreppet som tillämpas i studien är kommunikativt projekt, som inkorporeras i en nexusanalytisk ram.

Studiens resultat lyfter bland annat fram hur rollskiftena tycks vara uppbyggda i tre överordnade handlingar: att ange ramar (setting the scene), att byta perspektiv (changing perspective) och att framföra en ny roll (performing new role). I dessa handlingar används olika resurser till olika syften. När studenterna anger ramar för sina presentationer resemiotiserar de institutionell

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[8] Begreppen underordnad handling och överordnad handling är mina översättningar av Norris (2004) begrepp *lower-level action* och *higher-level action*. Övriga svenska översättningar av Norris (2011) begreppsapparat i detta kapitel kommer från Christensson (2017).

diskurs som kan härledas till instruerande texter som används i retorikkursen. En tolkning av detta är att studenterna på så vis kan påvisa kunskap om vikten av texterna i det institutionella sammanhanget. I den överordnade handlingen att byta perspektiv använder studenterna i stället flera olika förkroppsligade resurser, som exempelvis blick och rörelse. Denna överordnade handling framstår som en brygga mellan att ange ramar och att framföra en ny roll. Resultatet tyder på att en markering av ett slutfört rollskifte kan ske genom en förändring av röst, exempelvis genom ett skriftspråkligt uttal, vilket också blir det första yttrandet i rollen som lärare.

Sammantaget används olika resurser till olika ändamål i rollskiftet från lärarstudent till lärare. När texter används som resurs i interaktionen tycks det aktualisera institutionell kunskap kopplad till kraven på lärarstudenternas muntliga presentationer, medan de förkroppsligade resurserna används interaktionellt till att sammankoppla överordnade handlingar.

Studie II

Avhandlingens andra delstudie är metodologiskt inriktad och fokuserar på lärarstudenter som under utbildningens fjärde termin skriver kandidatuppsatser i historieämnet. En viktig utgångspunkt är spänningen mellan akademi och profession som kan uppstå för studenter inom lärarutbildningar, och studien fokuserar på hur en lärarstudent producerar läraridentitet i tre olika diskurslager: inre diskuslager, mellanliggande diskurslager och yttre diskurslager (Norris 2011). Denna studie bidrar dels med ett metodtest av Norris (2011) modell för att analysera *vertikal identitet*, ett begrepp från multimodal (inter)aktionsanalys, dels med kunskap om hur lärarstudenter kan producera yrkesidentitet i ett sammanhang där reflektion över läraryrket generellt inte uppmuntras.

Materialet består av ljud- och videoinspelningar av seminarieinteraktion i en grupp bestående av tre lärarstudenter, samt en intervju med lärarstudenternas seminarieledare och en uppföljningsintervju med två av gruppdeltagarna. Analysmetoden i denna studie är en modell för vertikal identitetsanalys.

Utvärderingen av Norris (2011) metod visar att den är mycket användbar för att kunna analysera identitet i interaktion genom att möjliggöra analys av både den omedelbara interaktionen och större diskurser på samhällsnivå. Resultatet pekar vidare på hur en lärarstudent använder olika typer av resurser för att producera identitet i de olika diskurslagren. Exempel på detta kan ses i handlingen att motivera syftet i en kandidatuppsats, där en student tycks använda blick för att samproducera läraridentitet i de mellanliggande diskurslagren, samtidigt som han anknyter till läroplanen i historia för att aktualisera läraryrket. Med bakgrund mot att lärarstudenterna skriver sina kandidatuppsatser i historieämnet och kandidatkursens uppläggning, signalerar studiens

resultat bland annat att lärarstudenter kan producera läraridentitet i sammanhang där reflektion över läraryrket i princip inte uppmuntras över huvud taget.

Sammanfattningsvis lyfter Studie II fram läroplanen i historia som en relevant resurs i den interaktionella produktionen av yrkesidentitet, eftersom den aktualiserar kunskap knuten till läraryrket från de yttre diskurslagren. Blick tycks också vara en användbar resurs i interaktionen, huvudsakligen för att samproducera identitet i de mellanliggande diskurslagren.

Studie III

Avhandlingens tredje delstudie fokuserar på en lärarstudent sent i utbildningen (termin nio), som genomför sin avslutande verksamhetsförlagda utbildning (VFU). I denna studie lyfts berättelser fram som en möjlig resurs i interaktion mellan lärarstudent och elever. Ett teoretisk antagande med stöd i sociolingvistisk forskning om narrativ och berättelser är att både tidigare och framtida erfarenheter kan representeras som muntliga berättelser (Labov & Waletzky 1997; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008). I enlighet med avhandlingens MTD-perspektiv förstås personliga berättelser här som diskurs som återuppstår ur den historiska kroppen (Nishida 1958), genom *resemiotisering* (Scollon & Scollon 2004). Studien bidrar med kunskap om hur personliga berättelser kan användas till att producera samhörande identitet (*affinity-identity*, Gee 2001) som används till att både vårda sociala relationer till elever och till att hantera interaktionsordningen i klassrummet. I ett vidare perspektiv är båda dessa aspekter viktiga för läraridentitet.

Materialet består av två videoinspelade undervisningstillfällen där en lärarstudent har ansvar för en gymnasieklass i ämnet historia. Lärarstudentens lokala lärarutbildare är också närvarande i klassrummet. Som material används dessutom tre muntliga presentationer som lärarstudenten tidigare genomfört (överlappar med materialet från Studie I, men är inte i fokus i den studien), samt observationsanteckningar och en intervju med lärarstudenten. Huvudsaklig analysmetod är nexusanalys i kombination med begreppet samhörande identitet (Gee 2001).

Resultaten visar hur berättelser kan användas som resurser i undervisning, där exempelvis vardagliga erfarenheter av att vara fotbollsintresserad kan användas för att skapa samhörighet med elever, samtidigt som det också blir en resurs i processen att hantera interaktionsordningen i klassrummet. Vidare kan berättelser också användas till att markera avstånd från elever. Exempel på detta syns i hur lärarstudenten i denna delstudie hanterar en situation där eleverna skämtar om förintelsen. Med hjälp av en berättelse om sin egen erfarenhet av att ha besökt ett koncentrationsläger påpekar han att personer med sådan erfarenhet inte skämtar om förintelsen. Således hanterar lärarstudenten klass-

rumssituationen genom att dels producera samhörande identitet med vissa elever (de som har besökt ett koncentrationsläger), dels potentiellt exkludera elever som inte delar denna erfarenhet. Genom denna identitetsproduktion hanterar han också en klassrumssituation som lärare förväntas kunna handskas med (möjliga uttryck för rasism i klassrummet), något som kan ses som en diskurs som aktualiseras genom den lokala lärarutbildare som övervakar undervisningen.

Sammanfattningsvis lyfter denna delstudie fram berättelser som en relevant resurs för produktion av yrkesidentitet. Berättelserna resemiotiserar tidigare och framtida erfarenhet och producerar samhörande identiteter som tycks användas till att upprätthålla sociala relationer med elever och att hantera interaktionsordningen i klassrummet.

Slutsatser

Denna avhandling handlar om lärarstudenter som navigerar olika spänningar mellan akademi och yrke i sin lärarutbildning. Resultaten antyder att de ofta hanterar sådana spänningar kreativt. De resurser som avhandlingen pekar på beskrivs som textuella resurser (t.ex. en läroplan), förkroppsligade resurser (t.ex. gester) och narrativa resurser (berättelser). Generellt tycks textuella resurser aktualisera olika institutioner på samhällsnivå, exempelvis universitet och Skolverket. De förkroppsligade resurserna tycks användas i den omedelbara interaktionen och i stor utsträckning handla om samproduktion av identitet. Narrativa resurser aktualiserar personlig erfarenhet och hur den kan utnyttjas i identitetsproduktion.

Avhandlingen visar också på hur lärarstudenterna anpassar olika resurser till det diskursiva sammanhanget och använder dem i sin interaktionella produktion av yrkesidentitet. I ljuset av avhandlingens andra forskningsfråga antyder resultaten således att lärarutbildning kan underlätta och stimulera processen att utveckla lärarstudenters yrkesidentitet genom att erbjuda en lärandemiljö där studenter möter och kan använda resurser som inte enbart kopplas till akademiska diskursdomäner (se Macken-Horarik et al. 2006).

Metodiskt närmar sig denna avhandling identitet i interaktion genom att använda social handling som analysenhet. Ett sådant tillvägagångssätt gör förhållandet mellan språklig interaktion och kontext mindre problematiskt: om en viss resurs används i en social handling är det en resurs som förtjänar analytisk uppmärksamhet – exempelvis texter eller personliga erfarenheter – oavsett om den kan sägas höra till kontexten eller inte. Eftersom identitet är ett komplext begrepp är det viktigt att använda analytiska ramverk med potential att göra denna komplexitet synlig i rimlig omfattning. Detta har adresserats i denna avhandling genom att använda analytiska begrepp med möjligheten att lyfta fram olika dimensioner av identitet, exempelvis kommunikativt projekt

(Linell 1998), vertikal identitet (Norris 2011) och historisk kropp (Scollon 2001a).

Denna avhandling visar hur lärarstudenters produktion av yrkesidentitet i interaktion är en kreativ process, där studenterna använder olika resurser och diskurser i sociala handlingar med relevans för läraryrket. För att studera identitet i interaktion behövs ett etnografiskt förhållningssätt och analytiska perspektiv som lyfter fram identitetsbegreppets komplexitet i tillräcklig utsträckning.

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