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„In Between: Being Taught and Learning to Teach.
Aspects of Citizenship for
Prospective Teachers in Ireland.“

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‘For the mind does not require filling like a bottle, but rather, like wood, it only requires kindling to create in it an impulse to think independently (...).’

(Plutarch 1927)

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List of Abbreviations

ACCS – Association of Community and Comprehensive Schools
ASTI – Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland
CPSMA – Catholic Primary School Management Association
CSPE – Civic, Social and Political Education
DES – Department of Education and Skills
EEC – European Economic Community
ETB – Education and Training Board
ETBI – Education and Training Boards Ireland
EU – European Union
FEMPI – Financial Emergency Measures in the Public Interest
FF – Fianna Fáil (in English: Soldiers of Destiny)
IBEC – Irish Business and Employers’ Confederation
ICTU – Irish Congress of Trade Unions
IFUT – Irish Federation of University Teachers
IMF – International Monetary Fund
INTO – Irish National Teachers’ Organisation
ITE – Initial Teacher Education
JMB – Joint Managerial Body
NABMSE – National Association of Boards of Management in Special Education
NCCA – National Council for Curriculum and Assessment
NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation
NUIM – National University of Ireland Maynooth
OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PDE – Professional Diploma in Education
PE – Physical Education
PME – Professional Master of Education
PO – Participant Observation
PQE – Post-Qualification Employment
RE – Religious Education
SEC – State Examinations Commission
SPHE – Social, Personal and Health Education
TALIS – Teaching and Learning Survey
TCRP – Teacher as Critically Reflective Practitioner
TUI – Teachers’ Union of Ireland
VAT – Value Added Tax
VEC – Vocational Education Committee

1. Introduction

In the present thesis, multiple relations between concepts of citizenship, ‘teacher beliefs’ and teaching practices of prospective teachers in the Republic of Ireland are discussed. The main argument bases on qualitative ethnographic fieldwork that concerns two prospective teachers for second-level schooling and how their ideas of citizenship form part of their pedagogic concepts and work. It is regarded in context of the broader landscape of formal public education in Ireland, the role of the public community and discursive power relations. The meanings of the common terms public education, state, public service and citizenship are discussed and put into relation with each other on basis of a selection of theoretical concepts. The following chapter introduces major ideas of the thesis and the basis of the research, by presenting the research question, the theoretical framework, the methodological approach and the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Research Topic and Research Question

When I was doing fieldwork, I often felt like a student teacher myself: Attending lectures at the university, getting up early to travel to the school of placement, sitting in a staff room, chatting with teachers, observing classrooms, teachers and students and writing protocols. This is what student teachers in Ireland do at the very beginning of their Initial Teacher Education (ITE) to qualify as teacher in public schools in Ireland. However, I was a researcher and there were many experiences I could not make, such as teaching and taking the responsibility to manage a room full of young students, diverse in character, background, learning ability and motivation. Yet, I learned through my researcher’s perspective about challenges and beauties of learning to teach in the specific context of Irish second-level schools. Britzman (2003:6) writes: ‘There is (...) no single road to becoming a teacher (...). Nor is there a single story of learning to teach’. Throughout my research I was becoming aware that for both of my research partners, who were ‘learning to teach’, this process meant non-stop negotiation between conflicting ideas of what is expected from them by schools, the public, the Government guidelines, their own educational concepts and what they expect from themselves as ‘good teachers’ (Devine et al. 2013) (comp. Britzman 2003:2f). The close research contact with these prospective teachers – one student teacher in the first year and one newly qualified teacher – allowed me to grasp patterns of the ‘conflictive’ (ibid.:3) negotiation processes of daily interactions in classrooms that contribute towards forming their teacher identities. Tutors and induction programmes are supposed to soften the blows when

college students face difficulties in the classroom. Yet, as this thesis indicates, those structures are not always provided, not always sufficient or not fitting students' individual needs. However, newly qualified teachers – and to a certain degree student teachers – are supposed 'to assume full professional responsibilities from the first day they enter a classroom' (Killeavy 2006:168).

By means of this thesis, I argue that in this context citizenship can contribute a relevant collection of concepts for anthropological discussion. Citizenship, as open concept, is able to unify and contrast ethical, political, legal as well as neoliberal conceptions (comp. Neveu 2008). In this sense, citizenship can be positioned between political anthropology and anthropology of education, which enables a critical anthropological interrogation of the multiple roles citizenship can play in the teaching and learning context (comp. Levinson 2011). Very specific in this case is the research focus on prospective teachers who find themselves in a transition phase of being a citizen to becoming a public servant for the state and the public; And from being taught to becoming a teacher (comp. Cook-Sather 2006). This allows examining what citizenship implies for the broader relational framework between prospective teachers, public community and what is regarded as the state. In the present case, situated in Ireland, specific historic and recent socio-political and economic developments led to a tense situation with regard to this broader relational framework of prospective teachers. On the one hand, there is the historic development of the formal education sector that represents an enduring process of religious struggles for power as a consequence of colonisation, independence and liberalisation of the Republic of Ireland. On the other hand, at the time of research from September 2015 until May 2016, the Irish State went through a phase of transformation. The exceptional and still lasting period of austerity since 2007, when the Irish banking system crashed, has implied financial cutbacks in Government expenditures and thus has heavily affected the public service including the education sector. The Irish national elections took place in February 2016 and led to a state without government for the on-going time of research. Meanwhile, the Irish education system was in the midst of vast modifications concerning the second-level curriculum and the Initial Teacher Education (ITE) sector. These correlations of factors implied professional and economic insecurities for my research partners. Those insecurities form part of a general neoliberal tendency of the globalised Irish economy. And as my research data indicate, it directly affects the public education and those who participate in this system, including (prospective) teachers. However, the (prospective) teachers' work directly affects the society: Its members consume the public education service and have expectations towards the quality of education,

especially in times of crisis, when education epitomises the possibility of improvement of socio-economic conditions (comp. Britzman 2003). Therefore, teachers who work in public schools in Ireland occupy a contested space in society that is situated between public and private constraints or rather between State and society. Prospective teachers are about to gradually trespass a threshold to step into this contested space. Moreover, in Ireland they encounter an intensified situation subsequent to the financial crisis.

In this thesis, I outline carefully the interwoven socio-political relations in which my two main research partners are situated and situated themselves throughout the time of research. A recurring theme is the enduring state of austerity in Ireland and the so-called ‘casualisation of the teaching profession’. Yet, with focus on my two main research partners, the key question of the thesis interrogates, what aspects of citizenship are of relevance for prospective teachers concerning their situation of transition into becoming a teacher within these socio-political relations. Accordingly, the ethnographic description shows how their understanding of the situations and the roles they take is connected to their ideas of citizenship, primarily with regard to education in the schooling context. Further it describes to what extent their concepts of citizenship are involved with their developing teaching practice and ‘teacher beliefs’ (Razfar 2012; Devine et al. 2013). On a macro-level, the thesis comprises structural characteristics and developments of the Irish education system, how these influence the situation of the prospective teachers, and what role citizenship takes in second-level schools. After all, these interrelations expound the problem of demarcation between citizenship contents and neoliberal ideals in the context of education.

To sum up, this ethnographic work provides profound insights into teaching as a craft that needs to be learned through practice and which is deeply related to personal and professional ‘beliefs’, passions and attitudes towards the state and society. The thesis introduces into prospective teachers’ individual understanding, valuation and embodiment of citizenship as educational practice. It does not mean to judge over good or bad teaching. Instead, it enhances the relevance of ethnographic research in educational settings – for anthropology and for educational sciences. While ethnographic practices in schools such as classroom observations and field-diaries are used and recommended in the teacher education sector and in educational sciences (Arthur et al. 2012; Gordon 2014), the formal education sector, including teacher education, is a rare field for ethnographic research (Stafford 2012; González 2004; Pole and Morrison 2003). Yet, educational scientists and anthropologists agree upon the necessity of qualitative (ethnographic) research in the teaching sector. Devine et al. (2013) argue with regard to research on the quality of teaching and teachers’ effectiveness that ‘more in-depth

research (...) which also includes observation of pedagogical practice in the classroom' (ibid.:86) is needed to grasp teachers' perspectives and practices; and further, that these practices need to be regarded in relation to the broader context such as curriculum, social values, professional development and educational policies as indicated by James and Pollard (2011) (Devine et al. 2013:84, 103, 105). Jewett and Schultz (2011) advise anthropologists to work closely with teachers 'to understand more deeply the educational processes' (ibid.:439) that are interwoven with 'larger sociocultural, economic, political, and historical contexts' (ibid.) and affect teacher practice as well as 'conceptions of teachers and teaching' (ibid.). Accordingly, the qualitative ethnographic approach of this thesis responds to this deficit and provides manifold data for further discussion in the field. This thesis aspires to give significant incentives for further ethnographic research on teacher education and citizenship and strives to contribute to the merging fields of Political Anthropology, Anthropology of Education and Educational Sciences.

1.2 State of the Art: Education, State and Citizenship

Both, the role of public schooling and of teachers as public servants in the 'modern state' (Weber 2008), are controversially discussed by sociologists, political scientists, philosophers and not at least by anthropologists. A recurrent critique – also in anthropology – is the power a state obtains over its citizens through a centralised education system. It implies that from a very early age on children are exposed to the pedagogical influence shaped by state ideology with teachers as the state's pedagogics (Spindler 1997). This reproductionalist argument criticises the state to manipulate its citizens according to its national-economical agendas through schools and teachers that obtain the state's mandate to teach – or indoctrinate – students according to the state curriculum. This approach however universalises the state, public schools and its participants. (Lynch 1989)

In contrast, philosophers like Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault consider a more mutable system, although they share some key arguments of the reproductionalist approach. Given the precondition of mutability, I argue that their approach can serve as a major point of departure to look empirically at practices of teachers and students in public education and the therein-entangled relations between state and citizens. Citizenship as a 'signifier' (Lacan 1977; 1988) in these relations (state-citizen) serves in the present case of my research as a supplementary angle for ethnographic research by analysing and putting into relation the various 'signified' (ibid.) of my research partners in the context of public education and discourses in ITE.

As outlined above, the terms education, state and citizenship as well as their cohesive relations are of main theoretical concern for this thesis. All three terms vary widely in their meanings. The following subchapters delimitate the thesis' theoretical framework. Thus, I introduce the field of Anthropology of Education and specify my use of the terms education and schooling, I outline key ideas on the state, its relation to education – schools in particular – and the role of teachers as public servants. Finally, I clarify correlating concepts of citizenship and discuss their implications with regard to the relation between state and school.

1.2.1 Notes on Education and Schooling

In 'A Companion to the Anthropology of Education', Levinson and Pollock (2011) write: 'Educational processes pervade the everyday conduct of social life' (ibid.:1) because these capture all practices of everyday formal and informal learning and teaching 'anywhere' (ibid.) and 'at any age' (ibid.). Vice versa, Erickson (2004:31) argues 'everything in education relates to culture – to acquisition, its transmission, and its inventions'. It follows that education is crucial for social and cultural practices. So, aspects of education can form part of all anthropological work. Yet, these might not be its main focus or not be referred to explicitly as educational processes, but for instance as forms of 'cultural transmission' (Stafford 2012). (Levinson and Pollock 2011)

With regard to the development of an Anthropology of Education, before the mid-20th century, education in anthropology was mainly described in informal settings because research used to be conducted among social groups without formal education systems (Stafford 2012; Roberts 1976:3). Yet, at the turn of the century, Franz Boas had explicitly dealt with education in anthropology in his work (see Boas 1898; 1928). Later on, his students Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir and Margaret Mead supported his disciplinary focus and even more the related field of Anthropology of Childhood through their 'culture and personality movement' in the 1930s (Levine 2007:249). Mead, in particular, expanded her interest in US-American teaching and schooling and related it to her fieldwork experiences from abroad (see Mead 1942; 1951). From 1950 on, George Spindler practiced ethnographic work in schools 'at home' in the United States of America. So he strengthened the meaning of the field and became known as the 'father, or grandfather, of educational anthropology' (Spindler 1982:21). Now, decades after the first steps had been taken in Anthropology of Education, Levinson and Pollock (2011) define its central interest in the interrogation on 'how people of any age learn and teach others to organize behaviour, in any setting' (ibid.). Although recognising the variability in anthropologists' specific dedications, they outline 'young

people' (ibid.:1), 'enculturation and socialization' (ibid.:1f) processes and 'relationships of power that are taught and challenged in schools as cultural sites' (ibid.:2) as specific subjects of interest in this field. According to that, this research topic is oriented in the field of Anthropology of Education., The thesis focuses on young persons that are dedicated to learn to become professionals in the teaching sector and who find themselves in power relations that are interwoven both on a micro level in the school and university context and on a macro level in local, national and global socio-political and economic practices that affect their teaching and learning practices, Nevertheless, I enhance the crossing points of this thesis' intersection with Political and Economic Anthropology and an the Anthropology of Educational Policies (comp. Miñana Blasco and Arango Vargas 2011).

In this thesis, I refer to education as a variation of on-going, multiple and intertwined formal and informal teaching and learning practices. The educational settings of the research are complex in that they encompass formal – in terms of institutionalised – second- and third-level education as well as informal educational practices of prospective teachers, such as 'learning by doing', 'spontaneous teaching' or 'learning by observation'. The informal educational practices however are also contained within these formal settings. Further, I regard schools not only as places for students' learning but also for prospective teachers' learning. According to my research schedule, I conducted the main part of my research in schools so that the majority of observed practices are located within school settings and schooling practices. In this thesis, the terms schooling or school education refer explicitly to teaching and learning practices that take place in schools and in accordance with the institutionalised state curriculum. The term school includes fee-paying and non-fee-paying schools and recognises their variation according to location, socio-political and economic conditions, the school-type and a school's philosophical, political or religious orientations. It excludes other educational institutions as well as home schooling practices. Further, I refer to schools mentioned in the research context as historically developed institutions within the specific context of the Republic of Ireland (see chapter 2).

1.2.2 State, School and Public Service

As indicated above, schooling as formal educational practice is generally regarded as part of a state's mandate and defined as 'common good' of its citizens (Miñana Blasco and Arango Vargas 2011:370). Yet, educational policies should not be limited to state power, but need to be regarded in the broader context of local and global discourses such as recent global neoliberal trends that replace former ideas of public sector organisation with private sector

rationalities (ibid.: 2011:371ff; comp. Shore and Wright 1999). In the following, I introduce a selection of basic theoretical positions that are concerned with the idea of the state in relation to public service – specifically the role of teachers – and public schooling, in order to clarify the theoretical context of this thesis. It encompasses Max Weber’s classical state theory, Pierre Bourdieu’s constructivist and Michel Foucault’s post-structural constructivist approaches to the state and Antonio Gramsci’s conception of the state in a Marxist tradition.

In 1919, Weber (2008) gave a ‘clear and authoritative’ (Novak 2015:55) definition of the ‘modern state’ in his lecture ‘Politics as a Vocation’. Here, he describes the state as historically developed form of ‘human community’ (Weber 2008:156) and ‘an institutional association of rule’ (ibid.:160) that maintains the ‘*monopoly of legitimate force*’ (ibid.:156) ‘within a defined territory’ (ibid.). No other subject – if not acting under the order of the state ‘leaders’ (ibid.:160) – is allowed to make use of physical force (ibid.:156). He describes the democratic legitimacy of those ‘in positions of executive power’ (ibid.:160) as the one positive development. According to him, public servants are the state’s ‘intellectual workforce’ (ibid.:165) and the ‘modern officialdom’ (ibid.) that administers the bureaucratic realm to uphold a state’s functioning power. Yet, public servants do not possess the ‘resources’ (ibid.:160) they control. Weber refers to this as a form of ‘expropriation’ (ibid.) similar to the ‘development of the capitalist enterprise’ (ibid.), which detaches the worker from property and products (ibid.:159, 160). But as the state depends on its servants as administrators, they need to be loyal to the state and its ‘leaders’ (ibid.:161). This loyalty is guaranteed through their ‘belief in the validity of a legal *statute* and (...) rationally created rules’ (ibid.:157) and through the ‘material reward and social honor’ (ibid.:158) such as ‘salaries for modern civil servants (...) and the honor of the official’ (ibid.:158f), which they receive from the state and distinguishes them from other workers (ibid.).

According to Novak (2015:54), ‘the long and darkening shadow of Weber’ is still affecting today’s academic debate on the state, whereas he points out to Bourdieu and Foucault as probing ‘dissenters’ (ibid.) from Weber’s definition. In this sense, Bourdieu (2014) critically reformulated parts of Weber’s state definition:

‘If I had to give a provisional definition of what is called “the state”, I would say that the sector of the field of power, which may be called “administrative field” or “field of public office”, this sector that we particularly have in mind when we speak of “state” without further precision, is defined by possession of the monopoly of legitimate physical and symbolic violence.’ (Ibid.:3f)

For Bourdieu this ‘symbolic’ aspect of violence is not subsidiary, but a basic principal of ‘physical force’ (ibid.:4): ‘The most brutal relations of force are always simultaneously symbolic relations. And acts of submission and obedience are cognitive acts (...)’ (ibid. 1994:12). Thus, ‘normalization’ (ibid.:2) of state acts – ergo submission and obedience of the citizens to the state – is achieved through ‘symbolic violence’ used by ‘bureaucracies and their representatives’ (ibid.). The ‘symbolic violence’ is executed on two levels (ibid.:3f): First, on the objective level within ‘organizational structures and mechanisms’ (ibid.:4); second, on the subjective level within ‘mental structures and categories of perception and thought’ (ibid.). In summary, the state is able to ‘produce and impose (especially through the school system) categories of thought that we spontaneously apply to all things of the social world – including the state itself’ (ibid.:1) – in ‘an act of doxic submission to the social order’ (ibid. 2014:173). Thus, what we call the state is an ‘illusory reality’ (ibid.:10) that is ‘collectively validated by consensus’ (ibid.) because ‘people believe that it exists’ (ibid.).

Moreover, according to Bourdieu’s theory of capitals, the state emerges as a conglomeration of ‘*different species of capital*’ (Bourdieu 1994:4) and this constitutes the specific ‘power’ (ibid.) of the state. These ‘species’ of capital are the ‘capital of physical force’, the ‘economic capital’, the ‘informational capital’, as well as the ‘symbolic capital’. Their amalgamation gives the state ‘power’ (ibid.) over the various capitals, their ‘reproduction’ (ibid.), their ‘fields’ (ibid.:4) and ‘the rates of conversion between them’ (ibid.). This constitutes the state’s ‘*field of power*’ (ibid.:5) – the ‘*capital étatique*’ (ibid.:4). (Ibid.:4f)

For Bourdieu ‘the school system’ (ibid.:5) holds an important role in these considerations: Schools secure the continuous ‘reproduction’ (ibid. 1998:19) of the ‘cultural capital’ (ibid.) because schools allow the ‘heirs of the old blood-line nobility’ (ibid.:22) to turn ‘noble titles’ (ibid.) into ‘academic titles’ (ibid.) and become ‘state nobility’ (ibid.) (this includes public servants (ibid.:22f)), whereby ‘holders of inherited cultural capital’ (ibid.:20) are favoured over ‘those who lack it’ (ibid.). Thus, the school system reinforces ‘social differences’ (ibid.). Schools as state ‘institutions’ also represent and reinforce state structures and categories (ibid.:23). Bourdieu concludes: The ‘state nobility (...) had indeed to create the state in order to create itself as holder of a legitimate monopoly on state power’ (ibid.:22). In order to better comprehend ‘the symbolic dimension of the effect of the state’ (ibid.:58), Bourdieu appeals ‘to analyse the genesis and structure of this universe of agents of the state’ (ibid.:58):

‘[They] have constituted themselves into a state nobility by instituting the state, and in particular by producing the performative discourse on the state which, under the guise of saying what the state is, caused the state to come into being by stating what it should be – that

is, what should be the position of the producers of this discourse in the division of labor of domination.’ (Ibid.:58; ed. M.S.)

In conclusion, Bourdieu departs from the Weberian physical power of the state and opens up a new perspective: The state and its physical force are an ‘effect’, which is constituted through symbolic violence. For the ‘state nobility’ the state is an end in itself: It reproduces their inherited legitimacy for instance by means of publicly institutionalised schools and titles. This reproductionist argument equals Marxist approaches such as by Antonio Gramsci (as follows). Yet, Bourdieu (2014) differentiates: For him the state exists ‘through its effects’ (ibid.:10) and by way of ‘collective belief’ (ibid.), whereas in Marxist terms the state is ‘subject of actions’ (ibid.) – and so is agent on its own terms.

Indeed, for Gramsci the state – as subject – exercises hegemonic power over its population. Yet, similar to Bourdieu’s approach, this hegemony is not secured by physical force alone, but by consensus of the population. The school is one of the major institutions that generates this consensus and also reproduces socio-economic differences. With regard to my research topic, Gramsci’s work is relevant because of his comprehensive writing on odds and prospects of school organisation, the role of teachers as part of the hegemonic state and the democratic schooling as prospect for political change. Gramsci proposes basic assumptions for his approach, which are relevant in this context: (1) The general intellectuality of all human beings (Gramsci 1992:9); (2) a universal ‘educational relationship’ (ibid.:350) between human beings that permeates society because everyone is teaching and taught and ‘every teacher is always a pupil and every pupil a teacher’ (ibid.); (3) all persons¹ are “‘philosophers’” (ibid.:323), because the common acts of speaking, thinking or religious practice are philosophic acts (ibid.); (4) all persons are “‘political beings’” (ibid.:265) and in this sense “‘legislators’” (ibid.), because everyone ‘contributes to modifying the social environment’ (ibid.). So, for Gramsci, everyone has basic abilities to perform leadership and there is no a-priori classification of social or intellectual groupings within society or domination of one over the other (ibid. 2000:194, 205). Therefore, when it comes to democratic organisation, Gramsci argues that ‘[democracy] must mean, that every “citizen” can “govern” and that society places him, even if only abstractly, in a general condition to achieve this’ (ibid. 1992:40; ed. M.S.). A specific role in achieving this takes the ‘democratic school’ (ibid.). Here, everyone’s possibilities and options are equal, regardless for example of cultural capital (to speak in Bourdieu’s terms) (ibid.). Gramsci argues, the ‘vocational school’

¹ Gramsci writes ‘all men’ (Gramsci 1992:323).

(ibid.) in the early 20th century Italy appeared ‘democratic’ (ibid.) because it allowed ‘diversification’ (ibid.) within different types of labour. Nonetheless, it separated and classified pupils in a way that maintained the social stratifications for the dominating social group’s benefit (ibid.:40f; 2000:305f). (Ibid. 2000:194, 205, 306)

Further, Gramsci (2000) distinguishes between “domination” (ibid.:249) and “intellectual and moral leadership” (ibid.): The “leadership” is a precondition of “domination” and must be upheld throughout a ‘governmental’ regime in order to secure hegemony (ibid.). Hegemony is ‘the combination of force and consent’ (ibid.: 1992:80) in a ‘parliamentary regime’, which means that the use of ‘force’ (ibid.) by the governing is legitimised through ‘the consent of the majority’ (ibid.). The ‘leadership’ principle as basis of ‘governmental power’ bases on Gramsci’s assumption that a ‘relationship of “hegemony” is necessarily an educational relationship’ (ibid.:350): The ‘dominant class’ (ibid. 2000:380) inculcates the ‘subaltern classes’ (ibid.:197) with its ideology by means of the educational relationship through all forms of direct or indirect communicative patterns between the dominant class and subaltern classes that possibly have an impact on the ‘public opinion’ (ibid.:381) such as ‘the press’ (ibid.:380), ‘schools’ (ibid.:381), ‘clubs’ (ibid.) or forms of ‘architecture’ (ibid.) and design (ibid.:380f). It follows, that ideology is an ‘instrument of government of dominant groups in order to gain the consent of and exercise hegemony over subaltern classes’ (ibid.:197). For the implementation of ideology, the dominant requires ‘intellectuals’ (ibid.: 1992:12) as assistants. The intellectuals have a ‘subaltern function’ (ibid.) for the hegemonic government by permeating society on different levels (ibid.:14f). They are diverse in their professions and ‘political influence’ (ibid.:15). The vertically specialised school system – with teachers as intellectuals themselves (ibid.:14) – ‘is the instrument through which intellectuals of various level are elaborated’ (ibid.:10). Further, the intellectuals embody the separation between “civil society” (...) called “private”, and that of “political society” or “the State” (ibid.:12), because in their function they enforce “spontaneous” consent (...) of the population to the general direction imposed (...) by the dominant fundamental group’ (ibid.) as well as ‘discipline on those groups who do not “consent” (ibid.). So for Gramsci, the separation of the public and the private is artificially created by the political intellectual practice that permeates the assumed private life and this separation legitimises the hegemony of the dominant (ibid.:261, 271). He argues: ‘(...) ideologies for the governed are mere illusions, a deception to which they are subject, while for the governing they constitute a willed and a knowing deception’ (ibid.:2000:196). Gramsci, in the Marxist tradition and in the name of ‘political struggle’, calls for a disclosure of these ‘ideologies’ as ‘historical facts’ and

‘instruments of domination’ (ibid.). His aim is ‘transcendence’ (ibid.1992:41) of the hierarchy between governing and governed (ibid.). He suggests a democratic ‘common basic education’ (ibid.:27) to achieve this (ibid.:27, 33). He envisions it to give students autonomy over ‘learning’ (ibid.:33) in their last year in school so that they can develop ‘independent responsibility’ (ibid.:32). The learning is supposed to be a collective interaction between teachers and students without ‘hypocritical and mechanical discipline’ (ibid.:31). Furthermore, education needs to address “‘rights and duties’” (ibid.:30) of citizens and aspects of ‘the State and society’ because these constitute ‘primordial elements of a new conception of the world which challenges the conceptions that are imparted by the various traditional social environments’ (ibid.). Thus, in this Gramscian school model, education functions as a basis for independent thought and action (ibid.:29) instead of learning only subject contents and ‘reading, writing, sum’ (ibid.:30).

In summary, Gramsci’s work not only gives an additional perspective on the hegemonic power relations and the role of public education, but provides a broad theoretical link between public schooling, social equality, citizenship education and school organisation. These interrelations become more groundbreaking with regard to the importance of the concept of citizenship that I will elaborate on in chapter 1.2.3.

The above-presented ideas on the state all vary from one another. But they have in common that the state – or the state ‘effect’ in Bourdieu’s terms – is portrayed as an entity, which at least in theory can be explained in universal terms. For Michel Foucault (2010), in contrast, the state’s static universality is not given. He explains his argument:

‘(...) I must do without a theory of the state (...). The state is not a universal nor in itself an autonomous source of power. The state is nothing else but the effect, the profile, the mobile shape of a perpetual statification (étatisation) or statifications, in the sense of incessant transactions which modify, or move, or drastically change, or insidiously shift sources of finance, modes of investment, decision-making centers, forms and types of control, relationships between local powers, the central authority, and so on.’ (Ibid.:76f)

In the Foucauldian sense, the state stands for continuous interrelated processes and relations of power. Foucault takes various, sometimes conflicting approaches to analyse these in his extensive work. In ‘The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language’ Foucault (1972) focuses specifically on the processes of knowledge formation – the ‘discursive practice’ (ibid.:74). He describes it primarily as linguistic practice. However, he amplifies this because apart from grammar and vocabulary, a ‘statement’ bears meaning that

is only approachable through a ‘system of formation’ (ibid.), which is defined by the linguistic ‘regularity of practice’ (ibid.) that he calls ‘the discourse’ (ibid.:49, 66, 74, 89, 118). The discourse is intrinsically and extrinsically restricted by multiple power relations, which continually (re-)define the accessibility of the discourse (ibid.:223), its ‘principles’ (ibid.:220) and what is recognised as scientific ‘truth’ (ibid.:219). So, it is a ‘complex and unstable process’ (ibid. 1995:94) that might be ‘an instrument and an effect of power’ (ibid.) as well as ‘a hindrance, [...] a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy’ (ibid.). In his genealogical work, Foucault analyses these ‘relations of power’ more concretely. He refers to the ‘dispositif’ (ibid. 1975:21), which is also translated as ‘apparatus’ (ibid. 1995:17). It includes ‘discursive practice’ and forms its ‘strategies’ to operate and employ ‘relations of forces’ (ibid. 1980:196). More precisely a ‘dispositif’ is:

‘(...) a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions - in short, the said as much as the unsaid. (...) The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements. Secondly, what I am trying to identify in this apparatus is precisely the nature of the connection that can exist between these heterogeneous elements. (...) In short, between these elements, whether discursive or non-discursive, there is a sort of interplay of shifts of position and modifications of function which can also vary very widely.’ (Ibid.:194f)

The school as an institution forms part of the elements of the apparatus. In his work ‘Discipline and Punish’, Foucault (1995) conceptualises school particularly as an institution of discipline: ‘prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals’ (ibid.:228), whereas disciplining is the apparatus’s strategic employment of ‘power relations’ (ibid.:190). In these institutions, discipline is enabled by the virtue of the panoptic ‘gaze’ (ibid.:195) embodied in architectural forms and the individual’s awareness or insecurity over the possibility of permanent observation. Following Foucault, teachers equal ‘technicians of behaviour’ (ibid.:294), who are in charge of disciplining subordinates. Thus, students – equal to prisoners or workers – experience enforcing measures in case of misbehaviour (ibid.:178). This ‘*anatomo-politics of the human body*’ (ibid. 1978:139) concentrates on the ‘body as machine’ (ibid.) trained to serve the strategies of the apparatus. The generated knowledge of the population through disciplining measures allows ‘to insert the power to punish more deeply into the social body’ (ibid.:82) than physical ‘punishment and repression’ (ibid.) could, so that it guarantees ‘obedience of the people’ (ibid.:196) to the apparatus. In Foucault’s (1978) later work, the first volume of ‘The History of Sexuality’, he develops the concept of ‘*a biopolitics of the population*’ (ibid.:139) and ‘governmentality’. It adds a more strategic and regulative

moment to these ‘power relations’. The political regulation (governmentality) of the population implies ‘the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes’ (ibid.:141). Concerning these relations, Foucault (2010:77) writes: ‘The state is nothing else but the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentalities.’

From the biopolitical perspective, students in a school are ‘bodies’ within the productive machinery. Yet, the schools’ function is not only to turn the human body into an object of oppression that is shaped by the ‘apparatus’ for efficient economic and political schemes through disciplinary and regulative measures, but to positively integrate the human body in the modes of production, so that the subject turns from the ‘docile body’ (ibid. 1995) into a ‘self’ (ibid. 1986). Furthermore, Foucault includes the possibility of ‘resistance’ (ibid. 1978:95) in his analysis of power as ‘the multiplicity’ of bounded and fragmented ‘force relations’ (ibid.:92). It becomes even a conditional part of strategic force relations and he describes it as diffuse as the ‘power network’ (ibid.:95) itself. Resistance bears a tactical feature and therewith a chance for actual transformation – a ‘revolution’ (ibid.:96).

Concerning the ‘self’, Foucault (1990) argues that the individual can become an ‘ethical subject’ (ibid.:28) constructed through “‘modes of subjectivation”” (ibid.) and “‘practices of the self”” (ibid.). This implies a ‘relationship with self’ (ibid.) and the legal and social ‘reality in which it is carried out’ (ibid.), through ‘a process in which the individual delimits that part of himself [or herself] that will form the object of his moral practice’ (ibid.; ed. M.S.). The ‘ethical subject’ is a precondition for ‘moral practice (ibid.:28). ‘The Care of the Self’ (ibid. 1986) in turn is a ‘mode of behaviour’ (ibid.:45) related to the ‘self-respect’ (ibid.:41) of the ethical self. Subsequently, Foucault’s distinctive argument implies that the individual is subjected (‘assujettissement’ (ibid. 1990:27)) and subjectivated (ibid.:28) by power relations, but moreover is an ‘ethical subject’ and therefore subject to his/her own practices.

What this amounts to, is that the Foucauldian approach describes power relations instead of a universal state concept. These envelop the individual in discursive modes of articulation and thinking, that are diffuse but omnipresent and that discipline and subject the individual in institutions (such as public schools). However, there the individual is also subjectivated as a productive part of the population and is simultaneously an ethical subject, which can care for itself and is able to define and pursue moral goals. This tension between subjection, subjectivation and the self as an ethical subject is the moment in which mutual influences of the diverse elements of the dispositif and its power relations become relevant. Of particular interest here is the role of public schools: In schools as ‘containers and conveyors for culture’

(Levinson and Pollock 2011:4), these tensions are constantly negotiated – not only between students and teachers but also among (prospective) teachers and between (prospective) teachers, state politics and the public (comp. Ball et al. 2012). Although Foucault does not extensively describe the role of public servants, Foucault's conceptions of ethics of the self as well as his refusal of a universal state-theory allow a differentiated and more comprehensive perspective on schooling as part of power relations and the implicated roles and possibilities of individuals, rather than only depicting them as subjected to the state ideology and the dominant class as the before-mentioned reproductionist theories of Bourdieu and Gramsci tend to do. Thus, Foucault's approach to the power-school-citizen relation is particularly relevant for the micro-level perspective, which I take in the ethnographic research.

All in all, Weber's definition of the state as monopoly of physical force and his interpretation of the role of the public servants is clear and still shapes theoretical considerations. The further works I presented by Foucault, Bourdieu and Gramsci however challenge Weber's static picture of the modern state. Their diverse considerations that concern dynamic relations of power (Foucault), state effects and symbolic violence (Bourdieu) as well as relations of hegemonic pedagogy (Gramsci) present diverse vantage points for my research where state mandates and education merge in daily school practice. Bourdieu's and Gramsci's theories both indicate that symbolic power through the pedagogy of an apparently emancipating schooling system actually enforces a one-dimensional reproduction of cultural capital and thus the domination of one social group, which constitutes the state on its behalf. Although Bourdieu in contrast to Gramsci clearly speaks of the effect of the state instead of the state as subject, Gramsci's hegemony offers a more relational and thus a less static approach (through pedagogy) to the issue of public education. Moreover, although Gramsci definitely focuses on social classes, his basic idea of general intellectuality and political activity of human beings – similar to Foucault's approach towards the 'ethical self' – provides the opportunity to consider the individual and its actions as a relevant factor in an analysis of (pedagogic) power relations that are negotiated in schools.

Gramsci's and Bourdieu's contributions enrich the education-state debate in educational as well as anthropological writing. However, Bourdieu and Gramsci tend to be lumped together and reduced to their reproductionist tone. The works of Paul E. Willis (1977:2f, 128, 163, 185) 'Learning to Labour' and of Michael W. Appel (1990:10f) 'Ideology and Curriculum' show how school is taken as a model for the whole society and is then (ab-)used to explain macro-social issues in a universalist (neo-)Marxist argument (comp. Marcus 1986:174f).

Kathleen Lynch (1989), student of Appel, criticises this universalist school-ideology argument. In her work 'The Hidden Curriculum' she examines the relation between Irish state and Irish schools in reference to Bourdieu and Gramsci (amongst others) and argues for a more dynamic and multi-layered comprehension of the reproductionalist argument (ibid.:118). According to her, 'educational systems are not the clones of the capitalist state' (ibid.) and capitalist 'influence' (ibid.) on education differs in each society due to historical implications and negotiations between participating stakeholders. Moreover, schools differ also within 'a particular society' (ibid.): Schools are 'universalistic and particularistic in their reproduction of educational individualism' (ibid.) because of external factors like curriculum and teacher education that are predetermined by the state, and internal features like school ethos and patrons that differ in each school (ibid.:119). Yet, Lynch does neither include a more differentiated view on state power in her argument on social reproduction, nor does she consider Gramsci's 'common school' as a complementary part to his reproductionalist argument and aspect of resistance against hegemonic relations.

Concerning this aspect in particular, Gramsci's approach shows similarities with Foucault's approach to resistance as conditional part of relations of power. Yet, for Gramsci, the state centralises hegemonic power and the resistance is always related to the struggle of classes, whereas Foucault refrains from class struggles and regards the state not as source of relations of domination.

When it comes to school education, Gramsci is the one who is most direct in his propositions about schools, teachers and their ideological function in state organisation and that these correlating aspects can be transformed by means of democratic education to contest the capitalist order. Bourdieu basically analyses schooling in its reproductional function. Similarly to Bourdieu, Foucault analyses the function of schools as disciplining institutions within the apparatus and part of the biopolitical machinery that shapes productive individuals within relations of power. But besides, he refers to education in relation to the ethical self. Although he is rather abstract in this regard, his concept on discursive practices as well as his late and unfinished work on identity and self-determination gives a starting point for considering educational practice (in schools) and particularly teachers not only in their disciplinary function but – as for instance the work of Gail McNicol Jardine (2005) shows – as possible contributors to 'transform our own understandings and power relations' (ibid.:21). Ball et al. (2012) show how relational power in Foucault's terms plays a role in teachers' professional life and what role teachers can take in this regard. Therefore, Ball et al. describe educational policy as 'discursive processes' (ibid.:3) and teachers as 'subject to and objects'

(ibid.) of it. So, teachers hold a key role within ‘creative processes of [policy] interpretation’ (ibid.; ed. M.S.) and the active ‘policy enactments’ in schools.

However, Foucault’s early emphasis on schools as disciplining institutions, repeatedly leads to one-dimensional interpretations of his contribution to educational issues. Dympna Devine (2011) in ‘Immigration and Schooling in the Republic of Ireland’ refers to Foucault in order to substantiate her argument on how institutional classification and disciplining in Irish schools lead to racism in society. Although she includes the concept of resistance within power relations, she interprets it as an effect ‘arising from these disciplinary practices’ (ibid.:19) in schools and does not consider the possibility of resistance as ‘moral’ contribution of the self (ibid.:17ff). Maura Parazzoli (2013) draws a similar argument in her ethnography on ‘School Inequalities’ in Dublin. Instead of referring to Foucault’s remarks on the ‘self’, she applies Foucault’s concept of discourse in terms of the ‘will to truth’ and his disciplinary and biopolitical perspectives on school and subsequently interprets school in reproductionalist terms as ‘an enormous power over the kinds of citizens it will produce’ (ibid.:16) (ibid.:90f). But most problematic, and exemplary for the discussion of Foucault’s work in the school debate, is her confusion of Foucault’s concept of schooling with that of education:

‘Foucault (...) was critical of the idea that education [sic] could in any way produce free subjects and autonomous thinkers. From this point of view, it may be argued that Foucault reaches the same disillusioned conclusions as Bourdieu [referring to social reproduction through school], although via a very different route.’ (Ibid.:91f; ed. M.S.)

Indeed, Foucault’s analysis of ‘school’ is related to ‘disciplining, training and normalisation of the body’ (ibid.:91). Yet, as explained above, in terms of ‘education’, Foucault’s later work offers another perspective on the possibilities of education in relation to the ‘self’.

The conceptions described in this chapter are of relevance for discussing basic relations between state, teachers, schooling and education that are central to this thesis. Whereas Bourdieu’s and Weber’s work are important to discuss and delineate my research results, the Gramscian and the Foucauldian concepts provide also a basis for my research topic with regard to methodological questions and for approaching the issue of citizenship because they both take into consideration the political capabilities of persons and the mutability of relations of (hegemonic) power. This approach allows the look at the tensions between micro- and macro levels of schooling practices in public institutions. It allows me to develop a relational perspective on micro- and macro-level aspects of my ethnographic research in order to prevent a simple projection of micro-level studies on macro-level issues or vice versa.

Further, I want to refer explicitly to the Foucauldian (non-)concept of the state. In the following I understand the state neither as a uniform concept, nor source of power, but as a dynamic and complex effect of relations of power. Yet, I accept the practical relevance of applying the term ‘state’ in the research context as an expression for this effect. Further I will refer to the ‘State’ in reference to the particular case of the Republic of Ireland. I do also recognise that a ‘state’ is not equitable with a ‘nation-state’ and a public community is not equitable with a nation-state community (comp. Appadurai 1996). But according to article two of the Constitution of Ireland (Government of Ireland 2015), all people who are ‘citizens of Ireland’ are ‘part of the Irish Nation’. It follows that from the legal perspective, the Republic of Ireland regards itself as a nation-state and the Irish civic community is put on par with its national community. Since the research concerns parts of the public education system of the Irish nation-state, I will refer to the public community in reference to the nation-state community of Ireland but also include persons that participate in the formal education sector in any form without being a national citizen by law. Furthermore, I refer to the Government as a set of political institutions in charge of the governmental office in the Republic of Ireland and take into account that its political orientation depends on the elected composition of the Irish parliament.

1.2.3 Citizenship in the Making

In the following subchapter I clarify interpretations of citizenship that relate to the analysis of my research data. I examine how the term citizenship, in particular in social and cultural anthropology, can be linked to concepts of the state and forms of education in schools. Riesenbergs (1992) describes a central issue that the term citizenship discloses in general:

‘Although it is one of the oldest institutions in Western political thought and practice, it is not one of the easiest to grasp in a single comprehensive thought. (...) There is no single office in which its essence is defined. It has no central mission, nor is it clearly an office, a theory or a legal contract.’ (Ibid.:XVI)

Although it lacks precise definitions, there are influential interpretations of the term. One of them gave Thomas H. Marshall (1950), who defines it as ‘a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community’ (ibid.:28). Those members are ‘equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed’ (ibid.:28f). The limits of this definition, which is based on a juridical status and social in- and exclusion, are increasingly discussed particularly in anthropology. In this academic field, citizenship tends to be interpreted as an individual or collective open-ended cultural, social or political process rather than a fixed juridical status

(see Clarke et al. 2014; see Ong 2005; see Lazar and Nuijten 2013; see Werbner 1998; see Neveu 2008:200; see Çağlar 2015). However, Marshall's citizenship interpretation has been influential in evoking an intimate correlation between the citizenship 'status' and the nation-state concept (comp. Rose 2007:131). Indeed, Catherine Neveu (2005) even argues that "modern citizenship" was born with the nation-state' (ibid.:199) and Rainer Bauböck (2001) refers to the French revolution as the introductory moment of citizenship as status of political participation based on a constitutional right of 'popular sovereignty' (ibid.:1). Although a nation-state is guarantor for 'most of the rights linked to citizenship' (Neveu 2005:199), Neveu emphasises the danger of blurring the boundaries between these non-interchangeable concepts that vary in their 'legal and political nature' (ibid.). She argues, historically, nationality has not always implied citizenship, for instance French female nationals until the mid-20th century had no citizenship rights (ibid.). Moreover, citizenship is not an exclusive status to nation-states, because states that are not defined as nations define their inhabitants as citizens with citizenship status as well (Levinson 2011:281). Further, ideas of citizenship move more and more into the realm of trans-national spaces and human rights claims (see Ong 2005; see Clarke et al. 2014; see Werbner 1998). Consequently, a differentiated view on the (non-)relation between state, nation-state and citizenship is important to consider when discussing aspects of citizenship.

In Marshall's interpretation of citizenship there is also a root that can be traced back to an ancient idea of citizenship in Greek city-states. As Riesenberg (1992) describes, citizenship initially meant a 'mark of belonging' (ibid.:3) to the 'political community' (ibid.:5) of a Greek city-state (polis). It was reserved for a 'minority' (ibid.) consisting of property-owning free men who were honoured with 'certain rights and privileges' (ibid.:3) and in return gave their 'service' to the small states (ibid.). From 700 BCE onwards, citizenship attained more meaning as a 'central political issue' (ibid.:4) in city-states (ibid.). Adaptable citizenship laws decided upon membership so that citizenship became more and more a means of 'discrimination and distribution' (ibid.). The philosophers Plato (428/427-348/347 BCE) and his student Aristotle (384-322 BCE), both part of Athens' citizenry (ibid.:39), describe in detail what the status of citizenship should ideally imply for the polis. Both agree that (moral and physical) education is indispensable for forming 'good citizens' (ibid.:43) and it needs to take place in the public and not within the family (ibid.:40, 42f). Furthermore, the 'political activity' (ibid.:44) is crucial for being a citizen (zōon politikon) in contrast to being a 'subject' (ibid.). For Aristotle a citizen's 'political activity' is associated with democracy as

‘that form of government [which] depends upon the political activity of many’ (ibid.; ed. M.S.). So, ‘the citizen par excellence is the citizen of a democracy’ (ibid.).

In the twentieth century, Hannah Arendt (1998) refers particularly to Aristotle’s work on citizenry and ‘political activity’ when she describes the categorical division of ‘human activities’ (ibid.:7) and their qualities for ‘the human condition’. She differentiates between ‘labour’, ‘work’ and ‘action’. In contrast to the acts of survival (‘labour’) and creation (‘work’), ‘action’ implies ‘acting and speaking’ (ibid.:179). It obtains value only when it is heard and seen and thus through the public manifestation of the plurality of ‘unique personal identities’ (ibid.) (ibid.:180, 188). It follows that ‘action’ is unconditioned, unpredictable, and irrevocable (ibid.:178, 236). Therefore, it implies a ‘moral code’ (ibid.:238), which is ascribed to the public ‘faculties of forgiving and of making promises’ (ibid.). ‘Action’, in this sense, is politics as practised by the polis’ citizens as indicated by Aristotle (ibid.:194). For Arendt it is the one ‘human condition’ that is necessary for being human (ibid.:176): ‘A life without speech and without action (...) has ceased to be a human life because it is no longer lived among men.’ (ibid.). Moreover, Arendt regards the human political activity as related to being a citizen because it means having ‘the right to have rights’ (ibid. 1979:296) and ‘to belong to some kind of organised community’ (ibid.) in terms of having the possibility ‘to live in a framework where one is judged by one’s actions’ (ibid.).

In her writing on the ‘human condition’, Arendt (1998) formulates also a critique on the ‘modern age’ (ibid.:28) and its political organisation: the ‘nation-state’ (ibid.). She argues, the crucial line between ‘public’ (polis) and ‘private’ (oikos) is no longer clear-cut (ibid.) and hence the epitome of ‘freedom’ (ibid.:31) – the citizens’ ability to leave the oikos and to participate in the polis amongst “equals” (ibid.:32) notwithstanding nationality, religious orientation or alike – is alienated (ibid.:31f). So, the ‘capacity for action’ (ibid.:323) as implied in the ‘human condition’ is diminishing (ibid.:323f).

In my account, Arendt’s critique on the political economy of the modern state and its impossibilities of political freedom in the aftermath of World War II has not lost its relevance. Although we were able to enter the era of ratified human rights on a global level, which Arendt contested (ibid 1979:298), we are still far from complying with them. However, Aihwa Ong (2006) argues that citizenship mutates by means of its re-articulations in globalised spaces, which is linked to a global spread of neoliberal principles and human rights standards (ibid.:499). Therefore, her analysis of ‘mutations in citizenship’ and her perspective on appropriated citizenship claims on local levels are ground-breaking (ibid. 1996; 2006). She criticises Arendt’s scepticism towards globalised citizenship possibilities by emphasising the

importance to resolve the ‘opposition between citizenship and statelessness’ (ibid.:499) instead of staying within a nationalised scope of citizenship. Nevertheless, Ong recognises also endangered ‘citizenship entitlements’ (ibid.:502) caused by neoliberal re-articulations of elements of citizenship (ibid.501f): On the one hand, these neoliberal re-articulations imply inequalities in citizenship meanings due to varying neoliberal interpretations of citizenship, which are conditioned by different ‘political environments’ (ibid.:502); on the other hand, these re-articulations imply inequalities in the access to citizenship. She explains: ‘Especially in hyper-capitalist zones, those who cannot scale the skills ladder or measure up to the norms of self-governing are increasingly marginalised (...)’ (ibid.). This analysis of global re-articulations of citizenship and neoliberal effects is especially relevant in the context of neoliberal Ireland. But, I assume it is inevitable then to incorporate Arendt’s (1998) perspective on the political nature of citizenship and the claim that it should not be interfused with economical logics because this prohibits equality, which is the premise for the political realm (ibid.:32), in Ong’s approach.

Besides, Ong’s work demonstrates the relevance of explorations of qualitative ethnographic approaches to meanings of citizenship. Concerning citizenship studies, Neveu (2008) identifies the strength of anthropology in the observation of the ‘social and political “manufacture” of citizenship’ (ibid.:295) by means of empirical studies (ibid.:295f). According to her, ‘citizenship(s)’ (ibid. 2013:205) need(s) to be regarded in its ‘horizontal or “deep” dimensions’ (ibid.) because citizenship is also negotiated in a social process between individuals and not only on a vertical level between society and state (ibid.).

Another important aspect concerning anthropological research on citizenship, in particular in relation to education, is its correlation with identity and identities. In this subject, I refer to Stuart Hall’s (2011) concept of identity. He regards questions of identity fundamentally linked to ‘agency’ (ibid.:2) and ‘politics’ (ibid.). Second, he refuses to focus on ‘the subject’ as a nodal point for identity (ibid.), but – in reference to Foucault’s work – to the process of ‘identification’ (ibid.) as ‘subjectification’ (ibid.) and related to ‘discursive work’ (ibid.:3). This involves the ‘binding and marking of symbolic boundaries’ and always ‘requires (...) its constitutive outside’ (ibid.). So, identities are ‘never singular’ (ibid.:4) and ‘never unified’ (ibid.) but are in a ceaseless ‘process of change and transformation’ (ibid.):

‘They [identities] arise from the narrativization of the self, but the necessarily fictional nature of this process in no way undermines its discursive, material or political effectivity (...). (...) [I]dentities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, (...) produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific

enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unity (...).’ (Ibid.; ed. M.S.)

With regard to the effect of identity on citizenship and education Neveu (2008), citing Déloye (1994:28), talks about a ‘civil identity’ (Neveu 2008:297) as produced by means of schooling, because school education embodies the state’s ‘pedagogic role’ (ibid.) for its citizens. She argues, public schools create an ‘individual-citizen who agrees to be governed and who is able to discipline his own acts and passions’ (ibid.). In this way, citizenship as linked to identity in reference to Foucauldian governmentality ‘manifests a complex dialectic between subjectification and collective membership’ (ibid.:299) in the state. Levinson (2011) concentrates more on the educational perspective and refers to Hall’s (2011) definition of identities in order to indicate that ‘all education, in and out of school, constructs identities and orients moral conduct for group life’ (Levinson 2011:280) and ‘*much*, if not all, education is still citizenship education’ (ibid.). So, he regards school not as the only place for providing citizenship education; and he questions a clear demarcation between education and citizenship education. Further, he asks to interrogate, how (if at all) citizenship education then determines a relation between identity and state and ‘*membership*’ (ibid.) in a public community. Besides, he asks to differentiate between ‘citizenship education’ and ‘education for democracy’:

‘Indeed, citizenship under democracy often connotes a kind of active participation that is contrasted with the more passive “subjecthood” of authoritarian or monarchical regimes; indeed, the terms “political socialization” or “national identity formation” have often been applied to such authoritarian regimes, whereas “citizenship education” implicitly invokes democracy. [Though] (...) contemporary non-democratic regimes still construct a kind of citizenship, and at times that construction can be quite active as well.’ (Ibid.:281)

Similarly to Neveu’s note on blurred boundaries between nationality and citizenship caused by historical ‘sedimentations’ (Clarke et al. 2014:174) in citizenship terminology, Levinson warns of regarding citizenship education as solely applicable to democratic ideals. According to him, citizenship is not reserved for democracies and citizenship education is mostly equivalent to education. Thus, (citizenship) education always contributes to a process of identification within any (civic) community. In conclusion, I point to the work of Clarke et al. (2014) who underline the above argumentation:

‘Citizenship is one such keyword, having acquired sedimentation and accretions through its mobilisation in political-cultural projects over generations. Each effort to rework it, to attach it to new projects and possibilities, both draws selectively on these historic sedimentations and

attempts to create a new “crystallisation” of meanings. The accumulated accretions of meaning make “citizenship” an object of political-cultural desire for many – both in everyday life and in political projects.’ (Ibid.:174f)

Thus, citizenship is a signified in the making, which is (re-)articulated through discursive practice and determined by it. As a result, I depict citizenship in the context of teacher education and second-level schooling in the Republic of Ireland as a rhetoric container for future projections and sedimentations regarding the socio-political value of education for citizens of a state as well as citizens of the world. In the above compendium I introduced major ‘sedimentations’ of citizenship that indicate the tensions between an ethical-political citizenship definition, global and local citizenship appropriations in the shade of neoliberalism as well as the issue of citizenship in relation to the nation-state and to education and that of citizenship (education) in relation to democracy. In the further chapters of this thesis, I will deepen the discussion on the presented literature in order to determine how and which of these aspects of citizenship, on theoretical as well as practical levels, are (re-)articulated by my research partners in their role as prospective teachers. Therefore, I include in my analysis Levinson’s as well as Neveu’s critical perspective on the threefold relation between identity, citizenship and education and complement it with the concept of ‘teacher beliefs’ as applied by Razfar (2012) and Devine et al. (2013). This discussion implies also an examination of the tension between subjection, subjectification and technologies of the self as outlined by Foucault (see chapter 1.2.2). The works of Neveu and Ong who exemplify the relevance of empirical case studies on citizenship provide a methodological orientation for this approach.

1.3 Research Methodology

As indicated above, the main research question for this thesis concerns aspects of citizenship for prospective teachers with primary focus on my two research partners, Josh and Catriona. These aspects are to be seen in relation to their specific situations: Josh as student teacher and Catriona as newly qualified teacher in Ireland in 2016. In reference to the emphasis on qualitative research methods in the both fields, education and citizenship studies (comp. Devine et al. 2013; comp. Jewett and Schultz 2011; comp. Neveu 2008), I decided to conduct qualitative ethnographic fieldwork by using a variation of ‘primary’ and ‘secondary fieldwork methods’ (Jeffery and Konopinski 2014) to cover the multiple aspects of the research question in the field. These aspects encompass the professional field of my research partners Josh and Catriona in schools as a place of working and learning, the university as a place of studying, political and administrative institutions that regulate their profession and the public discourse

on public education in Ireland. Thus, I did not focus on a particular social group or an institution, but rather examined a situation within professional development of two persons on horizontal and vertical levels: On the one hand, I focused on how they experience and practice their situations as related to the term citizenship; and on the other hand, how this situation is experienced and (mutually) influenced by professional stakeholders and the broader public discourse in the field.

Gupta and Ferguson (1997) explain: “‘The field’ is a clearing whose deceptive transparency obscures the complex processes that go into constructing it’ (ibid.:5). Therefore, I clarify my understanding of the field as basis for my approach, before delineating the research methodology: The power of ethnographic writing and understanding can turn fieldwork into the origin of cultural stereotyping or even racialisation (comp. ibid.:38). With my writing, I refrain from such tendencies. When using the terms ‘fieldwork’ or ‘the field’, I abandon a ‘Malinowskian archetype’ (ibid.:11, 39) of research ideology, which tends to represent the field as opposing the self to ‘the ethnographic “other”’ (Robben and Sluka 2007:9) and depicts cultural entities as homogeneous in itself but separate from others. Still, I apply ethnographic fieldwork as a methodology because of its strength and uniqueness for gathering qualitative data (comp. Amit 2000; comp. DeWalt and DeWalt 2011:110f); and base it on a partnership approach (Robben and Sluka 2007:21f). Moreover, I argue that my field is constructed around ‘epistemological and political issues of location’ (Gupta and Ferguson 1997:39) instead of ‘*bounded fields*’ (ibid.:38). So, I understand the field as dynamic, my ‘experience (...) [as researcher] tied to a specific time and place’ (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011:125; ed. M.S.) and my position in the field as political because I am active in that I take part in and construct the field (comp. Amit 2000).

Before the field stay, I developed a theoretical and empirical concept focusing on public schooling in the Republic of Ireland and its confrontation with an unfamiliar influx of immigrants. At the beginning of my stay in the field, from September 2015 until January 2016, I dedicated my time to preparatory work, for instance getting in contact with possible research partners, obtaining research permissions and gaining more insights into the on-going educational discourse in Ireland by talking to people, reading newspapers and reviewing local academic literature. It was a complex process of empirical and theoretical reflection, which resulted in a shift of focus from the general topic of schools to the specific focus on prospective teachers and from the migration topic to the citizenship topic. These changes allowed me to examine an angle of the topic, which was in the focus of current discussions in the politics and in the media and still lacks academic attention and discussion.

When I started participant observation (PO) in mid-January, I continued this process of re-evaluation of the research outline also by means of a reflective field diary. These evaluative activities are a necessary part of ethnographic research, and PO in particular, because interactions in the field modify the quality of information and contacts to research partners. These developments then determine the details of the research's outcome and might even impede the planned research process. (Breidenstein et al. 2013:46, 49f; Jorgensen 1989:18)

Despite alterations in the details of my research project, I was able to follow my main research focus and its methodological concept. The methodological toolkit for my research encompassed two segments: The 'primary fieldwork methods' (Jeffery and Konopinski 2014) to capture data in direct research contact and the 'secondary fieldwork methods' (ibid.) to put my primary data in the broader public context.

The major elements of my primary fieldwork were qualitative interviews (see Appendix I) and PO (see Appendix II). This was appropriate to collect data for my descriptive and open research approach (comp. DeWalt and DeWalt 2011:124ff). My main research partners were two prospective teachers: Josh as student teacher and Catriona as newly qualified teacher. The initial amount of main research partners was three to five prospective teachers. However, I realised soon that the time in the field was not appropriate to handle more key research partners who would have implied an unbearable logistical and organisational effort. Thus, this research has not the aim to ensure representativeness, but to give deep insights into the understanding of my research partners' 'perspectives and interpretations depending on their individual experiences and places in the social system' (ibid.:129) and thereby to open the discussion on the issue of citizenship in learning and teaching environments.

I learned about Catriona through a personal contact in January 2016 and met her for the first time in early February to discuss the research proceedings. She had studied the one-year programme called Professional Diploma in Education (PDE) at the National University of Ireland Maynooth (NUIM) two years prior, which since then had been replaced by the two-year Professional Master of Education (PME). After graduating, she went abroad to pursue another Master's degree and came back in autumn 2015 to start working as a newly qualified teacher in a second-level school. The term newly qualified teacher describes the status of a teacher after graduation in the first employment as teacher. These teachers are registered on conditions, which they have to meet in order to become a qualified teacher thereafter. The school Catriona found her first employment in, was a recently founded community college in the Dublin region. She graduated to teach Irish and Classical Studies in post-primary education. Yet, she taught her tutor group also in Ethics and Civic, Social and Political

Education (CSPE). She did not work full time in this school. So, during the time of fieldwork, Catriona additionally started teaching a few hours per week in another second-level school nearby. Yet, I conducted PO with her only in her principal school.

The student teacher Josh studied the PME at NUIM in the first year at the time of research. We met after I had presented my research in a first-year PME lecture in early February 2016 to ask for participants. Apart from the PO in his school, I visited various first-year PME lectures at NUIM with Josh. Before this, I met with the Head of the Education Department and with the two PME coordinators. All three of them were a rich source in terms of background information and contacts. Subsequently, I obtained consent to use the data of eight of the lectures I had attended, which cover five of the seven compulsory subjects for first-year students. Both, the first-year students and the lecturers were informed about my research project. I used to sit in, take part, observe and write protocols. During these observations I was not necessarily in contact with Josh as he told me that he was under constant pressure with no time left to spend on research purposes during college time. The school that he was placed in was also a recently founded community college situated in a town in one of the neighbouring counties of the Dublin Region. Josh studied the PME to teach English and History in second-level. In the first year of the PME he was supposed to spend two days a week in this school and the other three days at NUIM in lectures and seminars.

This means that both schools in my research were newly founded with only two year-groups (first- and second-years) at the time of research. In terms of the research, this was coincidental but it is representative of demographic trends in Ireland that require new schools to open particularly in and around Dublin (see chapter 5.1). After having obtained research permissions of the two principals, I visited Josh and Catriona in their schools in March and April 2016. I spent five days with Catriona and four days with Josh. I made visits on different days of the week, so that I was able to experience the variations in their routines and observe them teaching different groups and subjects. Both explained that they, as well as the pupils, were used to having observers sitting in the class, namely inspectors or other teachers. During the visits I spent most of the time with Josh and Catriona in their classrooms, observing their lessons and writing protocols. I spent the breaks in the staff room with the research partners, or without them in case they were busy with other duties, as for instance supervision during breaks or lesson preparation. In the staff room I was introduced or introduced myself as a researcher to the other teachers. I easily got in contact with them by use of small talk, which sometimes implied forms of ‘informal interviewing’ (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011:137ff) over a

tea or coffee. In both cases the staff was very young, with many newly qualified teachers. In Catriona's school there were two student teachers, while Josh was the only one in his school. Concerning interviews with Catriona and Josh, I conducted two formal semi-structured guided interviews with each. This form of interview allows the interviewee to associate and answer questions openly and additionally provides the possibility for the interviewer to react to and incorporate statements made by the interviewee (Schlehe 2003:79). The second interview, as a follow-up, provided the opportunity to delve deeper into topics addressed in the first one and to further interrogate new topics that had (intentionally) not been brought up in the first interview or that had emerged in the on-going research process. Additionally, I included 'informal interviewing' (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011:137ff) methods during PO or meetings with the research partners. With Catriona I conducted the first formal interview, which took seventy minutes, in mid-April in her classroom at the end of a research day in her school. This location was convenient because we could easily relate our conversation to objects and actions in the classroom. With Josh I conducted the first one at the beginning of May. This one took sixty-seven minutes. Although it was planned for the beginning of April, we had to postpone it due to his busy schedule and an accident on my part, which was followed by a hospital stay and temporal immobility. As it was convenient for the two, we met on the NUIM campus for the interview. These two formal interviews allowed me to clarify questions arising from the PO and to anticipate topics relevant for my research, such as their motivations and 'beliefs' as prospective teachers, their issues and achievements as learners and teachers, and their attitudes and perceptions towards the ITE programmes, the state, and the public community. The follow-up interview I conducted with Catriona at the end of May. It took eighty-two minutes and this time we met at NUIM, which brought up memories of Catriona's time as student. With Josh I also met on campus in mid-May for the second interview, which lasted fifty-eight minutes. The follow-up interviews took place right at the end of the fieldwork, so that I had time to pre-analyse the different research threads to focus on specific issues that still requested empirical examination. So, in these interviews we dealt with school life and its relational aspects (student-teacher relations and relations among the staff), their approach to education and reflections on their teaching practice as well as their concepts and ideas about citizenship in general and with regard to education and schooling. Apart from the two main research partners, I interviewed three experts and stakeholders in the second-level schooling sector and conducted a small-scale PO with one of these. Two of those were representatives of the two second-level teacher unions in Ireland: The Education and Research Officer of the Teachers' Union of Ireland (TUI) who had been a practising teacher

before he took office; and the Assistant General Secretary of the Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland (ASTI) who was responsible for the Education and Research sector. She has a professional background in social sciences. The TUI-interview took place in January 2016. It was a semi-structured guided interview and lasted ninety minutes. The semi-structured guided ASTI-interview took place in February 2016 and lasted fifty-five minutes. The third interviewee was Cormac Mahony. He was a stakeholder and expert in the formal citizenship education sector in Ireland. Amongst others, he taught the PME ‘Teaching and Learning Seminar’ for CSPE at NUIM. I conducted PO in two of his seminars at NUIM in April and May 2016. Following the PO, I interviewed him in mid-May. This semi-structured guided interview lasted seventy-five minutes.

The secondary fieldwork captured the broader discourse on the topic through a structured media observation. The media observation dealt with the topic ‘education in Ireland’ and was conducted on a daily basis on four online-published Irish newspapers. At the beginning of the fieldwork, I scanned the two major Irish newspapers Irish Independent and Irish Times for articles on educational issues in order to find out more about the discussions in the issue. Yet, the more I talked to teachers and student teachers, I realised that these articles influence (prospective) teachers’ public image and their self-understanding. Therefore, I included a structured media observation in my fieldwork from December 2015 until April 2016. All in all, I reviewed and analysed 276 articles published on ‘irishtimes.com’, ‘independent.ie’, ‘irishtimes.com’ and ‘thejournal.ie’ (see Appendix III). The Irish Times and the Irish Independent as major national daily newspapers have a separate link for educational topics, which facilitated the selection of relevant articles. The Irish Examiner is a small national daily newspaper and The Journal is an online-based newspaper for Ireland. In both cases I reviewed all published articles each day and selected those that were concerned with the topic ‘education in Ireland’. I decided to include these two newspapers besides the two biggest in order to be able to capture a broader range of different perspectives and arguments.

The analysis of the fieldwork data implied a multi-step process: I constantly pre-analysed the collected data by use of a field diary. After ending the fieldwork, I applied two different forms of analysis: On the one hand, I qualitatively analysed the newspaper articles, by use of an open code system through inductively developed coding categories (comp. Mayring 2002:115–117) (see Appendix IV). This allowed me to create a structured overview over the quality and quantity of content and the comparative perspective on the newspapers’ differing positions. On the other hand, I qualitatively analysed all the other fieldwork data – namely the transcribed formal interviews and the PO protocols at NUIM and the two schools. I defined a

system of categories and codes following Mayring's (2002) approach to 'Konstruktion deskriptiver Systeme' (see Appendix V). This systematic process enables coding of qualitative data by balancing theoretical considerations and empirical material. It also allows a comprehensive interpretation of the material by structuring the qualitative content according to predetermined and yet flexible categories (comp. *ibid.* 2010:98).

The Social Research Ethics Sub-Committee of Maynooth University approved this empirical research project. Therefore, I successfully underwent the Garda Vetting procedure in order to be permitted research contact with children as vulnerable persons. I did not obtain additional consent from parents because I did not focus on the children in school, but on my research partners Josh and Catriona. Thus, the principals' permission and research partner's written consent for the research project was appropriate. In order to protect my research partners and (vulnerable) persons related to them, I anonymise my research partners in this writing and do not name schools' names and their exact geographical positions in this thesis.

1.4 Organisation of Thesis

Departing from this setting of theoretical and methodological considerations, the following chapters respond to the research question to elaborate a comprehensive ethnography.

Chapters two and three introduce background information concerning second-level schooling and ITE in Ireland to provide an overview and to indicate principal issues relevant for the further argument. In chapter two, the focus lays on second-level schools in Ireland from a historical angle as part of the developing formal public education system. This was elaborated under colonial and post-colonial conditions and so it relates to the Irish nation-state project. Further, I present the construction of second-level school forms, the complex setting of stakeholders in the second-level sector and its implications for the economic development of Ireland from the 1960s onwards. In chapter three I delve into the details of Catriona's and Josh's situations as prospective teachers. I therefore introduce the organisation of their ITE programmes and outline the challenges they face as student teacher and newly qualified teacher who teach and are taught at the same time – on the one hand within the formal ITE apparatus and on the other hand in the specific situation in Ireland under austerity.

The following chapters four, five and six then discuss aspects of citizenship in relation to this. In chapter four, the official institutional basis of citizenship in second-level schooling as part of the subject CSPE and originating from this on a whole-school level is introduced. In chapter five, the more immediate aspects of citizenship are addressed. I relate these directly to Josh's and Catriona's teaching practices as part of the specific characters of their schools.

Here, I describe three aspects in relation to citizenship: The teaching and learning approaches, the form and depth of professional cooperation among teachers and the issue of hierarchies in schools through the ideas of authoritative or democratic teaching. Based on the correlations between aspects of citizenship in their schools and Josh's and Catriona's understanding of citizenship, in chapter 5.4, I introduce the concept of 'teacher beliefs'. I analyse its significance with regard to Josh's and Catriona's concepts of citizenship and the challenges they are confronted with to put their 'citizenship related teacher beliefs' into practice. In the sixth chapter, I deepen this approach by including external factors that hinder them to implement these 'teacher beliefs' in their teaching. I analyse tensions between the roles of the teacher as a person and as a public servant with specific regard to the effects of the neoliberal austerity measures taken by the Government. In the final chapter seven, I resume the research proceedings, pull the different threads of the argument together and discuss its findings.

2. Second-level Schooling in Ireland

Before going into the details of the second-level sector in Ireland in this chapter, I shortly introduce the basic structure of the formal education sector in Ireland (excluding further and higher education): Formal education is compulsory from six to 16 years of age (DES 2017a). Before the age of six, children can be enrolled in pre-primary programmes. Then they attend primary school for six years (ibid. 2017b; 2017c), which is usually followed by five or six years in second-level school² (six years with the optional Transition Year in year five). Second-level is divided up in three years of Junior Cycle and two or three years of Senior Cycle. At the end of each Cycle students take the State Examinations. In the other years they take school-based summer exams. This simple structure conceals a broad net of stakeholders and school forms particularly in the second-level sector. Following the literature and my research partners' explanations, the historical process of the construction of public education in Ireland needs to be taken into account to grasp its complexity and its relevance for present structures and practices in the sector. Thus, in this chapter, I shed light on the historical formation of Ireland's formal public education structure with focus on the second-level sector.

² The term 'second-level' instead of 'secondary' is used because 'secondary school' applies to a specific form of second-level schools in the Republic of Ireland (see chapter 2.3.1).

2.1 Creation of a Public System – Between Colonialism and Independence

Schooling in Ireland has been a field of disputes for centuries. The Catholic Church has assumed a notable role in this matter. Disputes in Irish formal education go along with centuries under colonial rule, the struggle for Irish independence and nationhood, followed by recent globalising effects on Irish economy and society. The British rule in Ireland implied politics of cultural and religious assimilation and resulted in long-lasting conflicts between Catholic Church and Anglican Church. The involvement of the Catholic Church in formal education in Ireland can be traced back to the sixth century (Raftery 2014:11). From the 16th century onwards, increasing Tudor dominance impeded this by imposition of the Penal Laws³. The Penal Laws prohibited all Catholic influence on formal education in order ‘to harness schooling in the support of Protestantism and loyalty to the crown’ (ibid.). Yet, the Catholic Church kept its influence through the famous illegal ‘hedge schools’ (ibid.:12). Even when the Penal Laws were increasingly attenuated over the centuries (Catholic Encyclopedia 2012), these schools persisted and became a regular form of schooling (Raftery 2014:15). In 1831, the first state-funded system was established to provide ‘multi-denominational’⁴ (Alvey 1991:107) primary-level schooling for all under the British rule (Raftery 2014:12, 18). According to John Coolahan (1981), the aim was to endorse the Irish economy and to achieve ‘political loyalty and cultural assimilation’ towards the Colonial rule (ibid.:4). Besides, David Alvey (1991) indicates that the establishment of free primary schools was meant to promote a national ‘identity’ (ibid.:107) to replace the church-oriented ‘sense of social identity’ (ibid.):

‘Britain’s object in fostering a sense of nationality in Ireland was not, of course, to make Ireland separatist, but to make it governable as a democracy. (...) [A]nd therefore they acted in Ireland to displace the religious feuds by fostering national democracy.’ (Ibid.:108; M.S.)

Yet, the reform fostered ‘Irish nationalism’ (ibid.) other than expected: On the one hand, a Catholic movement opposed the school system as such (ibid.); and on the other hand, the ‘Young Ireland movement’ (ibid.) supported it – yet, to foster a nationalist sentiment to oppose the British unionist ideas (ibid.). Consequently, the ‘National Education’ (ibid.) project implied an enduring conflict that led again to a denominational system by the mid-19th

³The British rule enforced the Penal Laws in Ireland (as in Great Britain and its other colonies) in varying degrees from the 16th to the 19th/20th century. The Penal Laws imposed punishment, including death, ‘for participation in Catholic worship’ (Encyclopædia Britannica 2017).

⁴In other literature it is referred to as ‘non-denominational’ (Coolahan 1981:5; Raftery 2014:18). But I use the term ‘multi-denominational’ (Alvey 1991:107) as the intention was to provide religious education, however according to the children’s denominations in separate groups (Coolahan 1981:5).

century (Coolahan 1981:14). The denominations insisted on separate schools to uphold their 'pastoral care' (ibid.:5) and claimed financial support from the Government (ibid.:5, 14,16f). Still, the Parliament had 'final authority' (ibid.:13) over the public school system and it was administered by an unpaid 'board of commissioners' as 'local' (ibid.) representatives to generate 'public confidence' (ibid.). In 1868, Ireland's first teacher union, the Irish National Teachers' Association (now: Irish National Teachers' Organisation (INTO), representing primary school teachers only), was founded (ibid.:31). It played a major role with regard to teacher contracts, pensions and abolition of the 'payment-by-result' scheme (ibid.:32).

Two years after the independence of the Irish Free State in 1922, the Government established a Department of Education, which took over the commissioners' tasks. The Government did not invest in major reforms for the following decades. Although this shows the Government's laissez-faire attitude and its 'subsidiary role' (Coolahan 1981:46) in school provision (ibid.), the new Government used the schools to promote one major interest: The 'revival and extension of the Irish language and the Gaelic culture' (ibid.:39). British 'assimilation policies' (ibid.:21) had inhibited Irish traditions and the use of the 'Irish language' (ibid.). Now, these were regarded as the 'hallmarks of nationhood and the basis for independent statehood' (ibid.:38). The new 'native Irish government' (ibid.) – motivated 'by the ideology of cultural nationalism' (ibid.) – turned schools into 'prime agents' (ibid.) of the 'cultural revolution' (ibid.:39): Irish language was compulsory for one class each day and was meant to be the language of instruction (ibid.:40). The First National Programme of Primary Instruction exemplifies the role subjects, such as history, took for the new formation of the nation:

'One of the chief aims of the teaching of history should be to develop the best traits of the national character and to inculcate national pride and self-respect. This will not be attained by the cramming of dates and details but rather by showing that the Irish race has fulfilled a great mission in the advancement of civilization (...)' (Department of Education 1992a:94)

This means that the subject's content implied a clear nationalist agenda (Coolahan 1981:40). The focus on Irish culture and language caused problems for teachers since only a minority was able to teach Irish or provide instruction in Irish. Although the INTO soon expressed concerns (ibid.:41), the Government's emphasis to raise a basis for Irish national identity through public schooling was accomplished for the following five decades (ibid.). To be able to comply with the demands, teachers sought for private partners such as the Gaelic League to learn the alienated Irish language and traditions (ibid.:36, 41).

To conclude, I assess the following theoretical aspects towards the construction of the Irish public school system between colonialism and independence: First of all, the denominational influence on formal education in Ireland and its dependency on the governmental power (under the British rule Protestant schools benefited and Catholic schools were to large degrees forbidden, whereas under the Irish Government the Catholic schools benefited) indicates that formal education is of relevance for the elites of a country (in this case the conjoint political and religious elites). This reflects Bourdieu's and Gramsci's concepts of cultural reproduction and legitimisation of power by means of schooling. Furthermore, the change of British colonial politics from Penal Laws to a multi-denominational public school system in order to gain the Irish population's loyalty and to facilitate economic prosperity goes along with Foucault's (1995) analysis of rising governmentality in Europe, which implies the shift from executive power over death towards a biopolitical power over life through disciplining (amongst others through schools) instead of torture. Moreover, the implementation of the school system in Ireland as an agent of nationalism – first for British and then for Irish nationalism – relates to Benedict Anderson's (2006) analogy of nations as 'Imagined Communities'. He argues that a nation, which is constituted as 'inherently limited' (ibid.:6) and 'sovereign' (ibid.) is always 'imagined' (ibid.). Following Anderson, this sense of nationalism is created by means of nation-wide media and educative programmes. Whereas the British educational assimilation politics did not achieve to create the intended nationalism, the subsequent Irish Government, which was supported by the Catholic Church, did succeed. As Anderson indicates, 'nationalism' not only evolves from 'large cultural systems', but also to oppose such (ibid.:12). In the Irish post-colonial context, nationalism was created explicitly against preceding British colonial power and the formerly imposed Protestant religion. Thus according to Anderson, the imagination of the Irish Nation was not only helped by the national school system but by having its adversary embodied in the former British rule. Although Anthony Gellner (1994) similarly approaches nationalism by enhancing its relation to national education and the 'created' or 'invented' nature of nationalism, his concept is only partially applicable to the Irish case. For Gellner, nationalism through public education is created to achieve industrial prosperity. Industrialism was based on an organically working population and therefore needed a common national education with specialised training opportunities. This was a relevant aspect for the colonial government when it created a national primary school system in Ireland. But it did not succeed in fostering nationalism, nor industrialism. Then the independent Irish Government used the school system on purpose of creating a national identity, but it did not enhance its function as an accelerator for industrial

growth during the first decades of its rule. Ireland de facto never passed an era of great industrialism as other European nation-states did. Instead, from the 1960s onwards the Irish Government enforced an immediate shift from an agriculture-based economy towards becoming a prospering market for globalised economies. Although this shift is linked to the Government's educational politics from the 1960s onwards, as I outline in the following subchapter and chapter 3.2, it is not part of the nationalist agenda that the Government pursued in the early years of independence.

2.2 Education Economies in the 1960s

The British Government abstained from establishing a public system for the second-level sector (Coolahan 1981:52, 57). Yet it introduced a result-based financial support scheme in 1878 for the church-led second-level schools (ibid.:53). At this time, this sector focused primarily an academic formation. Coolahan (1981) explains this tendency and its effects:

‘The churches (...) concentrated on the humane disciplines as being the formative experiences in pupil development, a tradition which continued well into the twentieth century. Such a tradition had a big influence on the shaping of public attitudes and the much greater valuation of academic education rather than applied education (...).’ (Ibid.:84)

After independence, the newly founded Department of Education officially administrated the second-level sector and the financial support for the schools was now provided according to student numbers (ibid.:74). The Department also directed the vocational sector and established the Vocational Education Committees (VECs) consisting of local representatives to form and manage ‘non-denominational’ (ibid.:97) vocational schools (ibid.:92, 96f).

Although under severe restrictions imposed by the Catholic Church (ibid.:97f), these developments indicate a change of attitude towards public education. It was from the 1960s onwards, 40 years after independence, that these slow developments turned into an enormous process of restructuring second-level education as part of overall social transformations (ibid.:131). These went along with a change in the political attitude in Ireland. I refer to these transformations in a Foucauldian sense as the movement from ‘*anatomo-politics of the human body*’ (Foucault 1978:139) towards ‘*a biopolitics of the population*’ (ibid.). According to Foucault, this development implies ‘the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes’ (ibid.:141). This process describes precisely the substance of change in Irish political economy of the 1960s: The concept for Ireland’s ‘economic and industrial development’ (Coolahan 1981:131) was published in the 1958 ‘White Paper on Economic Expansion’. It

regarded the educated population as economic resource on which the ‘prosperity of a modern technological society depended’ (ibid.). Thus, education became part of the focus for State ‘investment’ (ibid.). This change of perception towards educational provision by the State is to be seen with regard to the Government’s prospering relations to supranational organisations (ibid.:132) such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the European Economic Community (EEC). In 1962, the then Minister of Education Patrick Hillery followed an OECD recommendation to conduct a survey on Ireland’s ‘long-term educational needs’ (Department of Education 1992b:30), acknowledging:

‘Such a survey seemed particularly opportune at a time when the Government is preparing its second programme for economic expansion and when the prospects of Ireland’s association with the European Economic Community are becoming more immediate. (...) Education is now accepted as an investment of national resources. (...) A country that allows its “human capital” to lie fallow will, if I may mix my metaphors, be left behind culturally as well as economically.’ (Department of Education 1992b:30f)

Thus, the Government’s initiative to invest in education was motivated by the options to expand Ireland’s economic activities and to join the EEC, which succeeded in 1973 (Coolahan 1981:131f, 138). The conducted survey as well as other research projects that had been undertaken on behalf of the provision of education in Ireland from the 1960s onwards, correspond with governmentality strategies that implement biopolitical forms of observation and regulation. These concern ‘the relationship between resources and inhabitants’ (Foucault 1978:140) to shape a population according to political and economic prospects. The key findings of the survey, presented in the report ‘Investment in Education: Ireland’ (Department of Education 1966), indicate a lack of central management in the second-level sector, high numbers of school-leavers after primary school and subsequent a low degree of participation in second-level. Further, it exposes that the demographic setting as well as separate school provision according to sex and religious ethos caused an uneconomic set up of educational facilities. Besides, these small schools provided only a basic set of courses with almost fifty per cent of classes spent on English and Irish language. Concluding, the report analyses upcoming deficiencies in competent workforce for the expected Irish economic development and recommended immediate measures to be implemented. (Coolahan 1981:165-168)

The measures taken by the Government on grounds of these results led to enormous changes from primary to higher-level education in Ireland with long-lasting influences on the present form of public education in Ireland (ibid.:138). But with regard to the thesis’ purpose, I only go into the details of the second-level sector: The Government immediately established a new

and fully publically funded second-level school form in 1966 called ‘comprehensive school’ (Colley 1992:262). It offered ‘academic and vocational disciplines’ (ibid.) to all students in the surrounding area of such a school (ibid.). This new form of school aligned the curricular content of Catholic secondary and vocational schools. Because according to the then Minister for Education George Colley (1992), the ‘separate systems’ (ibid.:260) could not provide adequate education for the varying abilities of students. This implied a loss of student potential and subsequently a waste of economic potential (ibid.:261). He argued that ‘our national survival demands the full use of all the talents of our citizens’ (ibid.). To further enforce a unification of the system, the ‘Intermediate Certificate Examination’ (ibid.) for completion of the first three years in second-level became mandatory for all school forms and included a synchronisation of their syllabi (ibid.). In 1967, the ‘Free Education’ scheme for second-level education along with the ‘school transport scheme’ (Coolahan 1981:139) was introduced to generate a higher participation rate. In 1972, the mandatory age for school attendance was raised to 15 years (Department of Education 1992c:48) and an additional second-level school form, called ‘community schools’ (Coolahan 1981:218), was founded as a further step towards ‘a unified post-primary system of education’ (Department of Education 1992d:270). It aimed also the ‘equality of educational opportunity’ (ibid.) and efficient use of resources (ibid.), ergo the use of school facilities for community activities (ibid.:271f). This focus on mutual benefits between community and schools was further manifested through private companies’ engagement in schools (Coolahan 1981:195f).

Apart from these consequences within the system, another major shift promoted by the report was the actual reference to the ‘Irish educational system’ (Department of Education 1966). This means, the Irish State recognised the economic potential of formal education and pursued its unified regulation and centralisation. The measures taken by the Government led to a significantly higher second-level participation rate on a national level from the late 1960s onwards (see Appendix VI). This describes the process of institutionalisation of schools by the state to supplement the technologies of biopower for economic prosperity. It turned the population into a subject of production by means biopolitical measures. Concerning school education, those measures, such as the survey, included the organised and broad studies of the population and the school facilities. It identified the deficiencies in a non-regulated system and its measures provided the path to its regulation by the State, as outlined above. Furthermore, upcoming mass media from the 1960s onwards spread ideas of the socio-economic meaning of education and the possibility of accessible education for all among the population (Coolahan 1981:132). Subsequently, schools became recognised as mechanism for

the people to attain economic productivity with the prospects of fruitful national economic growth (comp. Britzman 2003). These proceedings appear as though the new economist oriented Irish Government would have overcome ‘Catholic hierarchy’ (ibid.:134) in schooling. However, the formation of the new school forms in this era did not lead to a centralisation of the system through the adoption of school management structures by Government institutions; instead it led to a controversial system that up until today consists of a confusing variety of school forms and a obscure setup of stakeholders in the school sector in Ireland. The developments in the second half of the 20th century, might formally indicate a centralised system, but it implied the reinforcement of intertwined power relations nourished by eroding discrepancies between stakeholders’ interests, as I substantiate in chapter 2.3.

2.3 Stakeholders

According to the above writing, the complexities of formal second-level schooling in Ireland are deeply related to the roles Irish Governments have given schools in correlation with Irish independence and nation-state formation, denominational dependencies, and prospects for a globalised national economy. These processes resulted in a multiplicity of stakeholders in this sector and the manifestation of the biased role the Irish State has taken in public education – between supporting denominational interests and unifying and centralising the system. At the momentary stage, the Government is the main financier of public education, it mandates school legislation as well as the curriculum and yet it is neither administrator of schools, nor employer of teachers. In 2016, the Minister for Education and Skills positively commented the situation: ‘Education is delivered in a spirit of partnership with other key stakeholders’ (DES 2016b:6). Academics interpret this partnership situation rather as ‘competing’ (Devine 2011:23) market between stakeholders, as ‘trade-off’ (Lynch 1989:130) relationship between Catholic Church and Irish State and as ‘lack of transparency’ (Darmody and Smyth 2013:156) that complicates school provision for principals and managements (ibid.:151). The controversial situation includes impediments for the teaching practice and is even aggravated by the neoliberal educational politics in Ireland under austerity – which affects in particular prospective teachers. Yet, before amplifying these details in the following chapters, I outline the role of selected stakeholders (according to the research focus) to demonstrate the issues of interdependencies and their effects on teachers and the running system in the next subchapters. The selection of stakeholders includes the owners and management structures in chapter 2.3.1; the different statutory bodies and teacher unions in chapter 2.3.2 and the role private industry takes in the school sector in chapter 2.3.3.

2.3.1 School Forms, Owners and Management Structures

Five school forms for regular second-level schooling exist in Ireland. Four of these I introduced in the prior chapters: Voluntary secondary schools, vocational schools, comprehensive schools and community schools. The fifth school form is the ‘community college’ (DES 2016b:18). In its form it is similar to the community school, but by means of the patronage model it belongs to the VECs (Coolahan 1981:196).

These school forms can be categorised in three groups according to their type of patronage: (1) Voluntary secondary schools; (2) vocational schools and community colleges; (3) community schools and comprehensive schools. On behalf of the Department of Education and Skills (DES), all have an identical ‘management structure’ (DES 2016b:18): All have ‘a patron, board of management and a Principal teacher’ (ibid.). Yet, the definitions of these structures leave significant space for variations. According to the Education Act (Oireachtas 1998), patrons of second-level schools can be ‘trustees’, a ‘board of governors’ or ‘the owner’ of a school (ibid.:8.(1)(b)). The patron names a board of management and its members are representatives of the following stakeholders: ‘patrons of schools, national associations of parents, recognised school management organisations, recognised trade unions and staff associations’ (ibid.:14.(1)). But the concrete ‘composition of a board’ (Darmody and Smyth 2013:51) is not defined. Instead it is an ‘arrangement between the relevant stakeholders’ (ibid.) that varies according to the school form. The agreement of a board’s members is supposed to guarantee a ‘spirit of partnership’ (Oireachtas 1998:14.(1)), which defines a school’s ethos and through which any school shall be managed ‘for the benefit of the students and their parents’ (ibid.:15.(1)) and in compliance with the Government (ibid.:15.(2)). In the daily school management it is the Principal’s duty to manifest a school’s ethos (ibid.:23.(2)(a)) to ‘uphold (...) the characteristic spirit of the school as determined by the cultural, educational, moral, religious, social, linguistic and spiritual values and traditions’ (ibid.:15. (2)(b)). The board of management functions as employer of all staff in school (23.(5); 24.(3),(7)). But the main financier of school employees is the State. Furthermore, the Minister defines, how many financial resources a school is provided with (24.(2)). This implies financial imbalances because of the different patron models.

For the voluntary secondary schools exists no joint patron body. A patron of secondary schools can be a ‘Bishop, religious order(s), Boards of Governors or Education Trust Companies’ (Darmody and Smyth 2013:48). In 2015/2016 out of the 375 secondary schools, 344 are of Catholic denomination (DES 2015a). Boards of management are ‘represented’ (ibid.) by the Joint Managerial Body (JMB). The ‘buildings and land’ (ibid.:115) are usually

private property (ibid.). Although a board of management is mandatory for schools, some ‘mainly lay/family owned’ (ibid.:52) secondary schools are managed by a sole person (ibid.). The Government does not financially support the patrons’ work of secondary schools (ibid.:114). 52 of the secondary schools run as fee-paying institutions (in 2015/2016) (DES 2015b). The Government does not support school ‘running costs’ (Darmody and Smyth 2013:112) for these and provides teachers’ salary only for a pupil-teacher ratio of 23 (under the ‘free education scheme’ (ibid.) the pupil-teacher ratio is 19). So fee-paying secondary schools pay some teachers (who then are not public servants) on their own behalf (ibid.).

The 265 vocational schools and community colleges (out of which three are of Catholic denomination (DES 2015a)) are owned by local Education and Training Boards (ETBs) (former VECs) (ibid.; Darmody and Smyth 2013:115). The patron work of ETBs is financed by the Government (ibid.:114) and they are represented by the Education and Training Boards Ireland (ETBI) on a national level (Oireachtas 2013:2.). These receive a Government budget and disburse it to the schools’ boards of management and to the schools’ staff (ETBI 2015a:section c, 2.(4); Oireachtas 1998:12.(4)).

In contrast to the other school forms, the 95 comprehensive schools and community schools are owned by the State (DES 2015a; Darmody and Smyth 2013:115). All schools in this sector are nationally represented by the Association of Community and Comprehensive Schools (ACCS) (ACCS 2014:4). The State allots a yearly budget for schools’ cost of running to the boards, but remunerates teacher pay directly (Darmody and Smyth 2013:113; DES 2016a:85). The patronage for these schools is divided: For community schools it is transferred to a ‘Joint Trusteeship’ (ACCS 2014:6) that may consist of religious patron bodies and/or local ETBs and/or (since 2014) the organisation Educate Together (Educate Together n.d.). For the 14 comprehensive schools, which are no longer built, only religious patrons (two thirds Catholic) are in charge (ACCS 2014:12). Patrons in this sector do not receive public funding (Darmody and Smyth 2013:114).

Concluding, the management and ownership models of Irish second-level schools allow a variety of private partners such as religious and non-governmental organisations to be important stakeholders in the sector and to distinctly shape teaching practice by enhancing a particular school ethos. The main share in patronage has the Catholic Church and this implies that 47 per cent of second-level schools uphold the Catholic denomination (DES 2015a).

The school forms’ peculiar structures show that no general management structure to all of the five school forms applies, contrasting the statement of the Minister for Education and Skills. Between the three school sectors show a high variability and flexibility in how the actual

ownership and management is interpreted and how the ethos is practiced. Throughout the research, I noted that most of the people I asked about school forms were confused about the structures or were not even aware of the differences although they once were students or now worked as teachers. My interview partner from the teacher union ASTI for instance explained the school forms, but got confused (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q43, Q44). She dismissed the details and said, it was mainly a historical dimension with no actual effects on teaching:

‘But all the teachers in each of those three types of schools are teaching the same curriculum, preparing students for the same exams, follow the same rules from the state and the Department. And the teachers have the same qualifications.’ (Ibid.:Q42)

Her perspective, however, ignores that school provision and teaching practice is to a certain degree shaped by financial resources as well as by a school’s ethos, which both is intimately related to the school form and its patronage model. Further, there are other dividing forces, such as teacher unions themselves, that enforce differences for teaching practice in relation to school forms as I describe in the following.

2.3.2 Statutory Bodies

In this subchapter I introduce two major statutory bodies that act on behalf of the DES and have major influence on second-level politics and one of them also on ITE programmes. But first of all, I describe the role of the two teacher unions that are applicable for the second-level sector and have a major representation in these statutory bodies.

The two teacher unions are the ASTI, founded in 1909, and the TUI, founded in 1955 as Vocational Teachers Association (Coolahan 1981:243). Both represent teachers of four out of the five school forms: ASTI is the only one representing teachers in voluntary secondary schools and TUI is the only one representing teachers in vocational schools (as well as employees in the higher education sector). So, the historical division in second-level schooling between academically oriented secondary schools and vocational schools is still represented in the organisation of the teacher unions. According to them, at least 90 per cent of Irish teachers are teacher union members (TUI, interview, 2016:Q26; ASTI, interview, 2016:Q40). In most schools, teachers are either ASTI or TUI members (particularly in secondary and vocational schools). Yet, there are also schools with mixed staff memberships. In their function as trade unions for post-primary teachers and as members in statutory bodies, ASTI and TUI can advocate their positions on educational policies such as rights, duties and salaries for their members. They do not always share the same positions. So conflicts arise and can lead to issues between teachers in schools with mixed memberships. This happened

during the research concerning the introduction of the new Junior Cycle curriculum: The ASTI prohibited its members to teach under the new curriculum (ASTI 2016), whereas TUI finally decided to cooperate with the Government (TUI 2015). In such a case of disagreement between the teacher unions, they can act as a dividing force between school forms and within a school and cause inequalities for students and teachers. Therefore, I disagree with the ASTI representative who argued: It is ‘kind of a sideshow which union they [the teachers] join’ (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q42; ed. M.S.).

Furthermore, union politics influence the teaching profession because they are represented in two major statutory bodies for educational policy-making, the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) and the Teaching Council.

The Teaching Council began its statutory work in 2006 (Teaching Council 2017:8). It consists of 37 members (see Appendix VII) including representatives of the Government, school management bodies, the business sector and a majority of 22 teachers of which six are nominated by teacher unions (ibid.:39). It has to ‘promote and regulate the teaching profession’ (ibid.:8) through forms of teacher education, insertion of standards and measures of accountability (ibid.). It is also in charge of keeping records of the teachers. Therefore, the teacher registration process was enforced in 2014 (ibid.:8, 12).

The NCCA was founded in 1987 and became statutory body in 2001 (NCCA 2008:5f). It comprises 25 members (see Appendix VIII). These represent a variety of stakeholders including seven nominees of the teacher unions (ibid.:7; ibid. 2016a). As statutory body it is mandated to counsel the Minister on processes concerning curriculum and assessment and aims to ‘support innovation in schools and other educational settings’ (ibid. 2016b).

The ASTI representative referred to ‘the teaching profession in Ireland’ (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q7) as ‘self-regulating’ (ibid.), because of the teachers’ direct say in political decisions on their profession through their representation in these statutory bodies – in case they are union members. She also positively enhanced that educational policy-making in Ireland was ‘shaped by consensus’ (ibid.:Q4) and ‘engagement with each other’ (ibid.) through the union politics. Furthermore, student teachers and newly qualified teachers can become union members (ibid.:Q38) and so have an impact on their ITE through the self-regulation mechanisms (ibid.:Q34, 45; TUI, interview, 2016:Q65).

However, the ITE structure and the above-mentioned issue of conflicting union politics impede students to join a union: Both unions argue, teachers would ‘join whichever union is largest in the school they’re based in’ (ibid.:Q31; ASTI, interview, 2016: Q40). But students in the two-year PME programme are in two different schools on placement so they would

have to change their membership to avoid issues. Furthermore, newly qualified teachers have trouble getting jobs since the economic breakdown (see chapter 3.2). If they get employment at all, they are usually on short-term and part-time contracts (TUI, interview, 2016:Q40; Josh, interview 2016a:Q47). So, they have to teach in various schools at once and/or have to take another short-term contract in another schools after a year. Catriona described how she and her young colleagues deal with this situation:

‘I think two people out of the entire staff are in a union. (...) Which most other schools you go to, everyone will be in a union, except maybe one or two people. But most of us are newly qualified. So none of us joined the union, because they [the teacher unions] were the ones (...) who signed up the terrible pay deals. (...) And to be honest, it’s hard enough to get a job. And it’s hard enough to keep a job without the school finding out that you’re not going to be taking part in the new Junior Cert. So, I think a lot of people are holding off on joining unions (...). Cause no one wants to be the one person in the staff room who’s going on strike.’ (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q32; ed. M.S.)

This statement reflects the insecurity new teachers face since the austerity and how critical the teacher unions’ conflicts are for prospective teachers in these times. Also Josh described me that he was critical towards the role of the unions and that he was not sure about joining one:

‘I went thinking, like, okay, their stand-up for teachers is really important, you know. Then, I went thinking, okay, (...) they don’t really care about students [in the schools]. (...) So rather than reform, you know in the case of the Junior Cycle, they just want whatever is the less work. (...) So I thought they could be bad. But now I’m thinking of like the more practical aspects, you know, you probably will join one anyway, because you know, they do stand up for you as far as contract disputes are with the school, or (...) if anything should occur. And, without it you’d be lost (...) but it’s kind of a balance between, you know, too much of an interest group where they’re not really interested in education or the society as whole. It’s just, what’s best for teachers. So like pre-, you know, 2010, and 2008 they were all for these (laugh) salaries and now we can’t pay.’ (Josh, interview, 2016a:Q55; ed. M.S.)

In contrast to Catriona, he as student teacher did not worry about the actual impossibilities of joining a union. He was more critical towards their educational ideals and politics, including their contribution towards unsustainable pay deals before the crisis, which also Catriona mentioned as critical point. But Josh also considered the advantages of a union membership in terms of having a certain protection and representation as employee.

Apart from their reluctance towards teacher unions, Josh and Catriona also expressed a sense of discontent towards the two statutory bodies Teaching Council and NCCA. Catriona explained me her critical opinion on the NCCA in relation to the new Junior Cycle:

‘I think [the new Junior Cycle] it’s a step. It’s a well-intentioned, poorly executed (...). It’s this idea of people who don’t teach, trying to come up with an idea like a teaching system and then not listening to the people who are saying, this will not work (...). Uhm, I think, it’s going to be a massive failure.’ (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q96; ed. M.S.)

So she took the position of a teacher, who has to deal with the practical issues of reforms and sees issues coming up for her teaching practice. Josh (interview, 2016a:Q69) contrasted her view by positively recognising the new Junior Cycle as promising step for second-level. But he regarded it as ‘compromised’ (ibid.) between stakeholders: ‘It’s kind of half one half the other’ (ibid.) and this would imply issues for the practice in schools.

Concerning the work of the Teaching Council, both Josh and Catriona were very frustrated and argued they were working unprofessionally (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q61, Q62, Q73). Especially Catriona disagreed with the PDE and PME contents and argued, there was too much focus on theory lessons that were not relevant for the teaching job (ibid.:Q69, 70).

So, both critiqued the statutory bodies and the teacher unions. They were not satisfied with the work of the statutory bodies that regulate their ITE programmes, their profession and the content of their teaching. Furthermore, in contrast to the ASTI perspective, neither Catriona nor Josh were convinced of joining a union in the near future and sceptically regarded their controversial politics although a membership would have implied the possibility to have a say in these politics. But for Catriona a union membership even appeared to make matters worse for her employment possibilities. Concluding, the teacher union politics in correlation with their representation in the statutory bodies implies controversies for its members as well as non-unionised teachers. According to my interviews with the union representatives, the unions do not even recognize that their politics on the Junior Cycle causes troubles for these new teachers’ membership and employment prospects. Apart from that, the implementation of both statutory bodies, the Teaching Council and the NCCA, correlate with the biopolitical idea that enhances the need for a central regulation and standardisations so that the regulative body can employ its knowledge to form the productive citizens for a neoliberal economy – in this case teachers.

2.3.3 Corporate Ireland

In the Irish ‘education community’ (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q1), there are also business partners that influence education politics for instance through their representation in the statutory bodies. The ASTI representative names the so-called ‘Corporate Ireland’ (ibid.), which stands for the Irish business sector, as ‘one of the biggest influences in education policy’ (ibid.). Since ‘Corporate Ireland’ includes many ‘multi-national companies’

(ibid.:Q2), its voice in public education means not only negotiation of private and public, but also of national and global interests concerning the role of education for economic growth in Ireland (see chapter 3.2). According to my research data, neither the reviewed newspaper nor my research partners question the apparent role of business interests in Irish public education. So, the ASTI representative described the relationship between business and education as complex field with ‘quite a lot of influences you have to mediate and to be aware of’ (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q2). Though, she called the business sector’s ‘engagement with education’ (ibid.) as ‘very professional’ and ‘sophisticated’ (ibid.). The TUI representative did not directly refer to the involvements of private companies in formal education. But he argued for more financial investment in education to be able to provide quality in education. The quality was demanded also by business partners and expected from the Government to secure the job opportunities through the investments of international companies in Ireland. Therefore, the TUI representative claimed, the Government had to raise the cooperation tax in Ireland in order to have more financial resources. However, this supposedly would impede the international companies to invest in Ireland.

The media analysis, which I will expound further in the following chapter 2.4, indicates that the cooperation between business sector and formal education is not regarded negatively. In contrast, I found two main threads in this relation that favour the interest of business partners in education: One is the role major international companies such as Intel, Google or Lego play in providing resources for schools and teacher trainings (for example in coding). The other one emphasises the necessity to adapt public education to the needs of global business partners in order to maintain their interests and thus their foreign direct investment in Ireland. In this case, the engagement of business partners in teacher training and resource provision offered is seen as adequate pay-off for both sides. (see Appendix IV, codes: ‘funding by industry’, ‘foreign direct investment’, ‘education partners’, ‘google’, ‘private industry’).

The direct and open relation between the school sector and economic interests endorses again the Foucauldian biopolitical argument. Moreover, with reference to Arendt, the fusion of private economic forces and the public political realm is a constraint for the political freedom and delimitates the implied ‘moral code’ and equality among citizens in the public political sphere. Foucault’s analysis of neoliberal practices and Arendt’s analysis of the ‘human condition’ reinforce the need for critical interrogation on the interdependency of the Irish state and private stakeholders (including the religious partners) in Irish education as demonstrated by Devine (2011) as well as Lynch (1989) and as I will do in this thesis concerning its underlying effects on prospective teachers in relation to the idea of citizenship.

2.4 Media Analysis

After having introduced historical as well as current political implications to the second-level school sector in Ireland, I now give an overview of the results of the media analysis and so into current topics that have been discussed in the media during the time of the research. These discussions and public reactions on it affected my research partners' understanding of their job and their role in society and in these relations also the meaning of citizenship in their teaching as I will describe in chapter six. The following results of the media analysis concern the articles of four newspapers that I reviewed from December 2015 until April 2016. First of all I provide an overview of the most popular topics according to my coding list (see Appendix IV). Then, I go into the details of the differences between the four newspapers' contents. The details of analysis concerning relevant topics will be given in the further argument of the thesis.

The recurring themes in all four newspapers were 'issues' in education in 'Ireland' and the 'developments' that were either required or in process. The major political stakeholders that were discussed were the 'Government', the 'DES' and its Minister and the two teacher unions 'ASTI' and 'TUI'. Of central interest were the 'primary', the 'second-level' and also the 'higher education' sectors. The 'issues' too large degrees were related to the 'post-financial crisis' situation that led to constant underfunding of the public education sector and put 'teachers' under 'pressure' concerning their 'salary' and 'employment' conditions; and moreover, it affected the 'quality' of education. This situation led to teacher union discussions on 'industrial action' also with regard to the special situation of 'newly qualified teachers'. But 'industrial action' was also present in relation to the conflictive 'junior cycle reform', which led to discussions about 'equality' because 'teachers' and 'students' were victimised by the difficult situation between the 'unions' and between 'ASTI' and the 'Government'. However, 'equality' was also a topic in the 'primary schools' debates, because of the 'discrimination' that non-denominational 'students' experienced due to the denominational 'admission policy' many 'primary schools' practiced in Ireland and which was supported by the 'Government' policies. Therefore, shortly before the general 'elections' in February 2016 the issue became of major importance in the newspapers, when the then Minister of Education and Skills discussed and then abolished a symbolic rule dating back to 1965 ('Rule 68') that was holding up religion as an essential part of primary school education. Nevertheless, this was more a symbolic act in the course of the election campaign and did not solve the 'issue' of 'discrimination'. After the 'elections', the annual 'teacher conferences' took place in March. Since this was during a time of political vacuum, without a new 'Government' formed

yet ('lack of Government'), the newspapers used this time to claim the lack of attention to education during the 'elections'. They also reviewed again, just as they did towards the end of 2015, the shortcomings of the previous 'Government' and what needed to be done ('need for action') in the future to improve the 'quality' of education and the situation for 'students', 'teachers' and 'newly qualified teachers'. They reported from the 'teacher conferences' and stressed on the one hand the precarious situation of 'newly qualified teachers', the issues caused by the 'junior cycle reform' implementation and the overall situation of crisis in formal education.

In this context, it is relevant to mention the quantity of articles that these newspapers published on topics related to Irish education during December 2015 and April 2016: The articles published increased continually and peaked in March and April, which was exactly this post-election time without Government when the teacher conferences brought up many issues. In general, the two biggest newspapers Irish Times (91 articles) and Irish Independent (112 articles) published far more articles than Irish Examiner (52 articles) and The Journal (21 articles). Along with the number of articles, I recognised a difference in the quality of the articles. The two bigger newspapers published longer and better-informed articles by showing various perspectives on issues. However, The Journal published some articles on topics like gender issues or food and health issues related to public education, which the other newspapers did not. The Journal and the Irish Times were both less critical towards the Government than the other two newspapers. However, the Irish Independent was much more critical than the Examiner. So, the Independent was the most provocative with regard to the Government and called for action to improve the issues. Whereas the Times was more loyal to the Government and more critical towards the ASTI, which at this time fiercely rejected the Government policies (the new Junior Cycle). Furthermore, mostly the Irish Independent, but also the Irish Times, repeatedly reported about the involvement of industry in education as shareholder and partner that contributes to implementing new subjects, to the improvement of resources and also teacher education (see chapter 2.3.3).

This overview shows, apart from the issues that I will contest throughout this thesis concerning second-level, first of all, that the topics I dealt with in my research, with regard to the second-level sector and prospective teachers, were of major relevance in the public discourse about education in Ireland (whereas the topic of citizenship had no major public significance); second, other issues in formal education surrounded these topics; and third, the discussion on education in Ireland was encompassed by a bigger discourse (elections, discrimination, economy etc.). These layers mutually influence each other; and as the further

work shows, these entanglements influence and affect my research partners' roles as prospective teachers and how they embody it – also in relation to their concept of citizenship.

3. Prospective Teachers: Being Taught and Learning to Teach

Prospective teachers have to find an individual make-up of theoretical 'reifications' of their professional and practical aspects of teaching to construct their teacher identity (Conway et al. 2012). This unstable process of 'meaning making' (ibid.:104) is supported 'through experience and interpretation of experience' (Sachs 2003:15, as cited in Conway et al. 2012:105). This is an act of 'authoring of a self' (Conway et al. 2012:104). Prospective teachers are also 'constrained actors' due to external structures and mechanisms of regulations, which set limits to their self-authoring (ibid.:105). In the following, I refer to these mechanisms as their ITE programmes and other forms of teacher education that involve acts of accountability such as assignments, inspection procedures and registration requirements to guarantee the standards set by the Teaching Council. With regard to these, I introduce the details of Josh's and Catriona's particular situation and organisational constraints in the following four subchapters: In chapter 3.1, I present their programmes of study and examine its neoliberal undertone. This becomes also relevant for chapter 3.2, which concerns the socio-economic and political difficulties of Irish austerity for their role as prospective teachers. Chapter 3.3 and 3.4 are dedicated to a detailed description of their phases in ITE each of them was going through at the time of research. Hence, this chapter is an amalgamation of immediate, yet external factors that shape my research partners' developing teacher identities, which I will further explore in the chapters five and six.

3.1 PME Structure and Content in Practice

In Ireland, students can chose between bachelor and master programmes to qualify for second-level teaching in public schools. Both degrees combine the academic focus on education with subject specialisations and a practical teaching focus including school placement. (Teaching Council 2015a; Postgraduate Applications Centre CLG 2017a)

According to Josh, the undergraduate programme allows more time for teacher training over the stretch of four years, whereas he regarded the master's degree as more theoretical with less focus on teacher training and practical aspects. In 2014 the two-year PME had replaced the former one-year PDE to follow cross-national recommendations (Conway et al. 2009:xxi; Teaching Council 2015a). The PME is primarily taught at the four National Universities of Ireland in Cork, Dublin, Galway and Maynooth (Postgraduate Applications Centre CLG

2017a; DES 2017d). Although PME programmes need Teaching Council accreditation (Teaching Council 2015a; *ibid.* 2015b), the programmes do vary in content and structures across the different institutions (comp. Cormac, interview, 2016:Q5).

The entrants to a programme are selected through a ‘scoring system’ (Postgraduate Applications Centre CLG 2017b) that values ‘academic performance’ over ‘professional experience’ (*ibid.*). Throughout the past decade, the numbers of younger students and of male students as well as that of students from higher socio-economic family background has been increasing (Clarke 2009:172). The increase of male students is to be seen in relation to Ireland’s economic depression, which led to a rise of unemployment in male dominated sectors such as construction; The shift in socio-economic family background can be related to both the economic depression and the extension of the programme to two years, which implies a greater burden for students concerning time and money⁵. Furthermore, the student cohort is not representative for the Irish citizenry, which legally consists of 88.4 per cent Irish citizens (Central Statistics Office 2017:50). Contrasting this, the PME entrants in 2014 consisted legally of 99.7 per cent Irish citizens. (Keane and Heinz 2015:289f, 292, 294f)

After graduation, the PME absolvents register with the Teaching Council and then are eligible for employment in a publicly funded post-primary institution. When they find such an employment, they are regarded as newly qualified teachers. In this final part of their ITE, they have to meet the Teaching Council’s conditions to finally become qualified teachers. This period usually implies the first year of employment (see chapter 3.4).

Both of my research partners studied their bachelor’s degree as well as their master’s at NUIM. Catriona had graduated in the (former) PDE in 2014 to teach Irish and Classical Studies. At the time of research, Josh was studying the PME in the first year to teach English and History. Formally they studied two different programmes. Yet, according to the research data, the PME closely resembles the PDE at NUIM in structure as well as content so that my research partners in the end had mostly attended the same lectures. Though, a major difference is the increase of time that allows both, deeper involvement with contents and placement in two different schools (instead of only one). However, the research showed, that the PME at NUIM is continuously developing in a process of experience. At the time of research, the first year of the PME was divided into two days on school placement and three days on campus. It also included a three-weeks period of continuous placement. The students

⁵ In 2013-14, EU students paid around 6800 € fees for the PDE one-year programme (UCD 2014). For the two-year PME, EU students pay 10800 € in total (applicable for 2016-17) (Maynooth University 2016).

had seven hours of lectures, two hours of Teaching and Learning Seminar (subject specific methods) and two hours of tutorials per week. The lectures concern ‘Curriculum Studies’, ‘Special Educational Needs’, ‘History of the Irish Education System’, ‘Psychology’, ‘Philosophy of Education’, ‘Sociology of Education’ and ‘Managing the Classroom’. According to my observations, these lectures cover a broad range of foundational studies in educational sciences. They provide a rough overview, but – at least in year one – no critical depth. According to Josh and Catriona, practical links throughout the PME were of major relevance for their improvements as teachers. Yet, only a few of their lecturers (mostly those who had a teaching background) brought in these practical aspects occasionally (comp. Managing the Classroom, PO, 2016a; 2016b).

Due to the focus on my research partners and the limited time in the field, I did not observe the PME year two. Its formal structure includes three days on placement and two days on campus. In contrast to year one, it is more project-oriented: One afternoon per month is spent on ‘Zoom Events’ on topics like ‘Social Justice’, ‘Development Education’ or ‘Arts Education’. Besides the regular methods seminars, theoretical inputs are given on topics such as ‘Quality in Teaching and Learning’, ‘Perspectives on Inclusive Education’ and ‘Key Skills’. The final thesis is organised as group work. It is timetabled as ‘Teacher as Critically Reflective Practitioner’ (TCRP). This provides time for input, research and group work.

One of the coordinators of the programme introduced the upcoming year two in one of his first-year lectures. He enhanced that the design of the second year was to put them ‘in a practitioner and professional space’ (History of Education, PO, 2016:Q2). He particularly explained the TCRP project and the ‘Discretionary Element’ (ibid.:Q8). For the latter, the students engage in a community project to allow them to ‘choose what experience you’re about to build’ (ibid.). He argued, this was important because the students needed to create their own potentials to get a job (ibid.:Q8, Q9, Q10), as the following quote indicates:

‘I’m sitting on a lot of interview boards and it’s a very competitive market. There are only few people standing out. Think about the next line in your CV. (...) It’s completely up to you, (...) but really think about this next line in your CV. It’s about doing something that’s beyond your so far experiences.’ (Ibid.:Q8)

When the coordinator was about to present the TCRP project, the students in the lecture hall started mourning and expressing their disapproval for this group task (ibid.:Q11). But he enthusiastically convinced them to take the upcoming challenge:

‘Working with others! It’s one of the principles of this two-year programme. More and more schools and teachers are asked to work in a team. You might say, it’s much easier to be just in control of myself. It’s for you to offer something different. I won’t lie to you, some have really struggled this year. We recognize the challenge of this! That’s life!’ (Ibid.:Q17)

To sum up, he presented their education as ‘competitive field’ (Devine 2011:48), where they had to take any possibilities to qualify better than others if they want to become a working subject in economy. So, his attitude corresponds to Lolic’s (2011) description of higher education in Ireland. She argues, students were appealed to act as ‘moral subject’ responsible for the self and able to ‘calculate the risks’ as well as to ‘invest in themselves at critical points of their life cycle’ (ibid.:272). This turns education into a form of investment and produces ‘valuable human capital’ (ibid.:276) for the Irish globalised ‘knowledge-based economy’ (ibid.). Thus, education not only becomes intimately related to neoliberal approaches to economic success, but also to the implied ‘ethical dimension’ (ibid.:283) of the self.

Concerning ideals and relations to the economy of higher education and in particular the PME, Josh and Catriona were both sceptical: Josh described the University as moneymaking machine and assumed this to be the cause for the programme extension in 2014 rather than quality assurance. Catriona mentioned a paradox imbalance between ITE places and actual job opportunities for teachers. For her and for Josh, this was a further proof for the University’s economist attitude and lack of interest in students. Especially with regard to the fees that they paid for their education, both were disappointed with the quality of lectures and the lecturers’ lack of ability to educate them to be able to confront the teachers’ challenges.

3.2 In the Aftermath of the Tiger

‘We hear about precarity in the news everyday. People lose their jobs or get angry because they never had them. (...) But most of the time we imagine such precarity to be an exception to how the world works. It’s what “drops out” from the system. What if, as I’m suggesting, precarity *is* the condition of our time – or, to put it another way, what if our time is ripe for sensing precarity? What if precarity, indeterminacy, and what we imagine as trivial are the center of the systemacy we seek?’ (Lowenhaupt Tsing 2015:20)

In her recent ethnographic work, Lowenhaupt Tsing (2015) describes the controversial role of a mushroom in the capitalist world. Her narrative captures the tensions between human destruction and survival practices in the globalised world. Following the above quote, she indicates the stage of precarity not to be an exemption, but the norm in these times. In my research in Ireland, I dealt with prospective teachers, who, according to the reviewed newspapers (see chapter 2.4; see Appendix IV), find themselves in a situation of economic

precarity. This is first and foremost ascribed to Irish austerity, which is taken as limited period. In reference to Tsing (2015), I argue that this precarity is not a temporal exception, but an effect of enduring neoliberal governmentality practices that use insecurities to its advantages to enforce accountability and therewith prevent the assertion of teachers' own 'beliefs' because they might contradict the hegemonic discourse (see chapter 6). In this subchapter, I describe the causes of economic precarity in Ireland and the consequences it implies for my research partners in their situation as prospective teachers.

To recapitulate, I take another step back in Irish history from 19th century onwards: The decades before and after independence, in particular since the Great Famine in the mid-1840s, the Irish population was decreasing due to high death rates and waves of emigration (Kirby and Murphy 2011:15). In the early 20th century, the Government intended to stimulate the Irish agriculture-based economy through industrial developments (ibid.:15f). Yet, Irish neutrality in World War II brought another economic downfall until the 1960s (ibid.:17). Not before the ground-breaking 'Economic Development' paper in 1958 had been published, the Government started liberating trade policies to attract foreign direct investment and applied for EEC membership in 1961 (Rees et al. 2009:4). The Government started implementing recommendations made by international organisations (ibid.:4), which included changes in the school system (see Chapter 2.2), and became EEC member in 1973 (ibid.:5). Because of political instability and external debts in response to the international oil crisis, it was not until 1994 that the liberal politics succeeded and turned Irish economy into the rising Celtic Tiger⁶ (Kirby and Murphy 2011:18f, 71). A stabilised political and financial situation as well as a well-trained technical workforce in Ireland attracted predominantly global players from the United States (ibid.:18f). They benefitted from the low corporation tax (12.5 per cent) in Ireland to establish their local trade centres within the territory of European Union (EU) (ibid.:19; Coen and Maguire 2012:9f). During the following boom times from 1994 to 2007, the Government's involvement in Celtic Tiger processes (capital acquisition, supporting the industry, mediating politics, initiation of 'social partnership' policy) caught international attention because it 'seemed to contradict key tenets of the dominant neoliberal development prescriptions actively promoted by the World Bank at the time' (Kirby and Murphy 2011:74). However, the close look on the issue shows that when in 1987 the Fianna Fáil (FF)

⁶ The use of this term in the Irish context was shaped by Morgan Stanley in 1994 (Kirby et al. 2002:2). The term is adopted from the 'Asian Tigers', which had experienced a similar economic expansion in the previous decade (and a subsequent downfall in 1997) (Bello 2013).

Government introduced the above-mentioned social partnership to resolve the continuing lack of employment possibilities, it invited representatives from different business sectors and let them have major influence on policies resulting in: 'low corporation taxes, low capital taxes, low social insurance contributions and a virtually unregulated labour market' (Begg 2005, as cited in Kirby and Murphy 2011:36). After first period of economic growth the partnership expanded for the 'community and voluntary sector' (Kirby and Murphy 2011:36) from 1996 on (ibid.). It promised the participants a democratic participation in terms of 'active citizenship' (ibid.:38) on the local level (ibid.:36, 38). Kirby and Murphy (2011) argue that this approach misled 'civil society' (ibid.:37), because the new position included giving up the sector's independent role as 'critical voice' (ibid.). So, the partnership enabled the 'effective silencing of alternatives to the dominant (...) paradigm' (ibid.:38) and created a 'stultifying narrow consensus' (ibid.). Yet, as Gramsci puts it (see chapter 1.2.2), not by using force, but through pedagogical relations, which permeate society and allow the creation of consensus in favour of the hegemonic ideology.

In neoliberal terms, the social partnership model was a milestone in Irish history. Since the start of the partnership from the 1990s onwards, Irish economy was shaped by a drastic rise in foreign direct investment until 2001. This was followed by the expansion of property and construction businesses until its peak in a share of more than 20 per cent of the gross domestic product in 2007 (ibid.:80). Possible deficiencies of the partnership or the State such as social inequalities or underinvestment in social sectors started trickling down only in 2007 when the international property speculation bubble crashed and hardly hit on the Tiger economy and its labourers (ibid.:75f, 78). Internal mismanagement and lack of stabilising politics made Irish economy extremely vulnerable leading towards massive recession and increasing socio-economic precarity (ibid.:78f). Thus, a negative spiral of internal and foreign causes turned the Irish economy into one of those hit most by the international financial crisis in 2007/2008. After the FF-led coalition failed to guarantee for the eroded banks with public money, it agreed to the 'European Financial Stability Act' (EFSF 2010) in July 2010. Subsequently, international organisations (including the EU and the International Monetary Fund (IMF)) intervened with the national financial politics (Kirby and Murphy 2011:84f). In late 2010 the Government of Ireland (2010a) presented the 'National Recovery Plan' to regain international economic trust (Kirby and Murphy 2011:87). Instead of rising for instance the cooperation tax (Government of Ireland 2010a:100), the austerity measures affected mostly those on the lower and middle income-scale (Kirby and Murphy 2011:87). The measures implied rising the Value Added Tax (VAT) up to 23 per cent, lowering the level of income that determines the

benchmark for income tax and cutbacks in the social sector (Government of Ireland 2010a:61, 97, 102). Public servants as one of the main employees in social and welfare services were in the focus of the Government's (n.d.) first cuts in public expenditure through the 'Financial Emergency Measures in the Public Interest' (FEMPI) from 2009 until 2013. Those were supplemented by the 'Croke Park Agreement 2010-2014' (ibid. 2010b) and the 'Haddington Road Agreement 2013-2016'⁷ (Labour Relations Commission 2013). The FEMPI included pay cuts of an average 14 per cent (Government of Ireland 2010b:4), 'pay freeze' (ibid.), pension cuts, 'recruitment and promotion' (ibid.:2) restrictions as well as additional cuts in specific sectors. For teachers as public servants, these implied two different pay scales (DES 2011) as well as supplementary hours to be spend on duties such as 'supervision and substitution' and 'school planning' (Government of Ireland 2010b:23). In addition to the general pay cut for teachers, the two pay scales since 2011 were created when the entry salary for all newcomers to the teaching profession was further reduced by ten per cent compared to those entering before 2011 (DES 2011). The new recruitment restrictions additionally affect newcomers due to the now limited job offers to one-year and / or part time posts. (comp. ASTI, interview, 2016:Q24; comp. TUI, interview, 2016:Q40, Q41).

The newspaper analysis indicates that the issues in Irish education, which are related to the austerity restrictions and which implies a difficult situation for newcomers to the profession, has caught public attention. Yet this issue was almost exclusively discussed in March 2016, when the annual teacher conferences took place and brought many issues in formal education on the table although – or maybe because of – hitting a political vacuum when there was no government formed just after the elections in February.

My interview partners from the teacher unions also noted the difficulties and described the situation for newcomers as 'insecure employment' (TUI, interview, 2016:Q41) and 'casualisation of the teaching profession' (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q24). Furthermore, the ASTI representative noted that even the registration process became an issue, when the newly qualified teachers, who only got part-time and temporary jobs, were not able to meet the conditions of the Teaching Council (ibid.:Q23).

With regard to my two research partners Catriona and Josh, who both found themselves in this situation as prospective teachers under austerity restrictions, I noted differences: Whereas Josh worried about future employment issues, Catriona as newly qualified teacher found

⁷ At the time of research, the Lansdowne Road Agreement as follow-up to the Haddington Road was heavily contested and negotiated between Government and trade unions.

herself already in the middle of the undesired focus of an eroded financial system. During research in her school, I found out about her moments of exhaustion. Those were caused by the usual challenges she faced in her first year of teaching with a room full of students, but were intensified by hours and hours of substitution and supervision duties, the double mental and physical stress of having two teaching jobs and the insecurities concerning her future employment after the summer (Catriona, PO, 2016a:Q22; 2016b:Q12, Q30; 2016c:Q5, Q8; 2016d:Q1, Q58, Q73). Still, she was not angry but pleased to have got the jobs at all (ibid., interview, 2016a:Q12), saying half ironically, half jokingly: ‘I earn enough to get by, so I don’t really mind.’ (ibid.:Q29). She explained her situation and attitude as follows:

‘(...) I can’t afford to move out of my parents’ home. (...) I drive an awful car (laughing). And that’s cause I can’t afford anything else. (...) I don’t really care about the money. I like my job. I like getting up in the morning. (...) I don’t think, oh god, no, not another day. I think, oh, I wish I could have five more minutes but I don’t dread coming to work.’ (Ibid.:Q91)

So, besides being lucky to have a job, she was satisfied with her work and rather complained about the ‘fuzz’ (ibid.:Q30) around pay issues. She would regard other issues as more relevant to her daily work and for the children, such as the new Junior Cycle (ibid.:Q30, Q31).

In the staff rooms of both schools I encountered narratives that reflected both, Catriona’s ironic attitude and her resignation: The young teachers joked about re-applying for jobs each year and at the same time wondered, if they would see their students and colleagues next year or not (ibid., PO, 2016e:Q53; Josh, PO, 2016b:Q9). However, Josh was disillusioned about the uncertain future he was facing:

‘That’s like, you didn’t think about when you wanted to be a teacher, (...) all I wanted to do, like, was teach in the school here in Ireland. (...) then you read these articles that say, (...) it’s a one-way path to emigration and stuff, you know (laugh)? My virtue of just want to teach here in the small town and make this really small contribution, on a really small level, like having very small ambitions.’ (Josh, interview, 2016a:Q44)

This statement affirms Catriona’s worries about the unawareness of student teachers, who associate the idea of teaching still with ‘a stable job’ (ibid.:Q53) as Josh called it. She said: ‘Like people are like, oh, ya, I know it’s tough. And you’re like, no, in some subjects it’s not just tough, it’s just not possible. Like, you’re not getting a job’ (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q66). In particular, she refers to Josh’s subjects History and English, where she found that there was a ‘huge oversupply’ (ibid.:Q63) of teachers. Yet according to her and the ASTI representative, this is not only the students’ fault, but is caused by the unregulated student intake (ibid.; ASTI, interview, 2016:Q23). As outlined in the previous subchapter, the PME

coordinator addressed this issue by raising the students' awareness for the competitive market and concedes them chances if they only tried hard enough and invested in their CVs. But schools are not allowed to employ teachers on permanent contracts. So, only because one is doing a very unique TCRP project, one cannot increase job numbers. Thus, it is rather an increased mechanism of selection under neoliberal conditions (comp. Lolich 2011): On the one hand it gives responsibility to the students to think about their future and take ownership of their future; but on the other hand, it provokes an apparent option of choice, which they do not have on second thoughts. Once they graduate, they experience the pressures of an insecure job market and employment conditions. This restricts them as teacher in terms of following their 'teacher beliefs' (see chapter 6). Under these pressures, they always have to give their best and have to accept any situation or workload and cannot or do not want to position themselves politically. The latter applies on the one hand to Catríona who would not join a teacher union because of her fear to losing employment opportunities (see chapter 2.3.2). On the other hand it applies to Josh, because he feels restricted in his school preferences:

'So schools vary so much, that it'd be great to have a type of school where you fit in, you know? So, I (...) apply for a school a type of school called Educate Together, which is you know, non, non-denominational, no admission policies other than area rather than brother, sister class. So what we should have. (...) But then you don't have the luxury of choice, you know (laugh)? If I got offered, you know, some school that is completely the opposite, you'd still work there, too. Because there's no jobs (...).' (Josh, interview, 2016a:Q57)

He was also bothered because of the following years on short-term contracts, which meant that he would not be able to settle down and become 'part of the school' (ibid.:Q47). He regarded this as barrier to deploy his teaching creativity and motivations: 'you can't really, you know, do controversial things and things that go against what's normally taught. Because the incentive for you to do that is really not there' (ibid.). So he imagined it in a negative sense to be 'like being a student teacher continually' (ibid.) (see chapter 3.3).

Thus, the Celtic Tiger story leaves its marks in Irish economic policy and therewith in personal life stories and teacher narratives and practices. The neoliberal trend in Ireland more and more pervades the teaching sector since the establishment of standardisation bodies, such as the Teaching Council. This process intensifies with the strict regulative measures under austerity. The 'precarity (...) of our time' (Lowenhaupt Tsing 2015:20) affects the ITE programme and directly influences prospective teachers' job perspectives and economic situations, which however is not regarded as the worst effect. More important for my research

partners appeared to be the hope to be able to become a teacher after all and then to teach the way they believed it to be good teaching (see chapters 5 and 6).

3.3 ‘Half In and Half Out’

‘It’s strange I guess being like half in and half out. So you know, you are the teacher, but then you’re also a student and you don’t really have that place in the school even though you’re there. So it is unusual in that sense and in the same being like half a student but not really. It’s kind of weird as well.’ (Josh, interview, 2016a:Q26)

This phrase exemplifies how Josh communicated to me the in-between sensation caused by his contested position as student teacher: Trying to find a balance between the strict schedules of being taught and learning to teach and trying to handle the oppositions between modes of how he is taught, how he is supposed to teach and to manage a class meanwhile being subject of inspections. In this subchapter I explicitly describe these aspects of Josh’s life as student teacher and how he perceives these with regard to his ideas of teaching and being taught.

Josh coped with the stressful student teacher time by preparing things in advance. So, he was able to prepare lessons, attend lectures and seminars and hand in assignments in time. Living at his parents place not far from campus allowed him, apart from some sport activities, to fully concentrate on his studies. On Mondays and Fridays he travelled to his school by public transport via Dublin. It took him about two hours one-way so he had to get up early and arrived home late. Notwithstanding, he sometimes wished he could teach in school the whole week instead of attending lectures the other days. Attending lectures for him felt like ‘being taken away from the school (laugh) unnecessarily’ (ibid.:Q23). This attitude coincided with his discontentment over the lack of quality in the PME (see chapter 3.1) (ibid.:Q20, Q21). Although he was enthusiastic about some lecturers whose he described as helpful because they gave practice-related inputs (Josh, interview, 2016a:Q23), he noticed a huge gap between how he learned and how he was supposed to teach: ‘(...) not in all lectures, but some you have you’re talking about active learning (...), games and activities. But you’re just talking about, you’re not doing them’ (ibid.:Q20). This lack of authenticity gave him a difficult standing in professional life:

‘(...) if you’re gonna be a teacher and you’re gonna do all these active learning methods and there are some people who gonna come and say, but this is all wishy-washy stuff. Like how can you justify this? (...) [I]f they set the example of doing it rather than tell us about it, we could be more confident in putting you’re neck out there (laugh) (...).’ (Ibid.:Q21; ed. M.S.)

Yet, Josh was passionate to become a teacher, was positive about learning on placement and was even happy to do hours on substitution (ibid., PO, 2016b). This passion included his claim to be considered an actual part of the school, to have a say and in this sense being remunerated for taking responsibilities and engaging with the school (ibid., interview, 2016a:Q27). He felt welcomed and treated as colleague by the other teachers (ibid.:Q26). But regarding management, he experienced schools as ‘very hierarchical places’ (ibid.:Q27) with student teachers being on the lowest level. Further, he perceived a lack of financial recognition for his work: ‘you’re doing a job but you’re not really doing the job, not getting paid for it’ (ibid.:Q43). He felt treated unjust compared to others who did apprenticeships and learned and worked just like him but got paid (ibid.). In contrast, he had to take two student loans for his degree. He felt not respected for his work in school. Nevertheless, the school was the place he wanted to be in, instead of sitting in lectures. So, he had the persistent feeling of not belonging in one place and not being accredited to belong in the other place.

This uncomfortable in-between feeling was reinforced by constant pressures and acts of surveillance on placement. Throughout the research with Josh, I encountered and discussed various levels of surveillance mechanisms he was confronted with: The occasional inspections by inspectors and his university tutor on the one hand; and on the other hand tutors on placement who observe him in his school during the entire placement experience.

The constant possibility of an inspection made Josh apparently nervous (ibid.:Q8). When I visited him in his school the first time in early March, he immediately came to the door to pick me up. Later on, I realised that he had seen me coming because he had constantly been observing the path to the school from the staffroom window – just as he was doing subsequently until the first lesson started. Afterwards, he told me that even the possibility to have an inspection put him under ‘pressure’ (ibid.:Q10) to perform well and made him be ‘scared all the time’ (ibid) (ibid.:Q9, Q10). But he also regarded the pressure as positive ‘extrinsic’ (ibid.:Q4) driving force to keep his levels high, because it made him reassesses his performance: ‘It’s like you have an inspector in your head almost’ (ibid.). So, for Josh the everyday possibility of inspections internalised ‘that mindset’ (ibid.:Q9). Accordingly, like in Foucault’s (1995) interpretation of Bentham’s panopticon, the ‘internal mechanism’ (ibid.:202) through the sheer prospect of surveillance and not the physical act of surveillance, provoked Josh to prepare and teach the way it was expected from him (with methods that are ‘really innovative and creative’ (Josh, interview, 2016a:Q10)). Apart from this disciplining side of inspections, Josh recognised a learning outcome: He valued for instance the different perspectives that inspectors brought in to improve his teaching (ibid.:Q12, Q14). He also

regarded the mental drill as positive to keep his levels high even after the last inspection (ibid.:Q4), because his 'intrinsic motivation' (ibid.) was to 'have a good lesson (...) for the kids' (ibid.). Though he admitted: '(...) after he's [the inspector] gone, you kinda have some lessons where like literally you just need to cover this (...). And it's not gonna be bells and whistles and innovative' (ibid.:Q10; ed. M.S.). Besides, he said he was 'more willing to experiment and try different things' (ibid.) without inspections coming up.

On school level, the surveillance was more immediate and routine. Josh had two tutors who were responsible to guide him on placement. He looked up to them, impressed by their professional performance as teachers since they were in their first years of teaching themselves. In case Josh had a free hour, he observed their classes. When I was there, Josh was teaching most classes alone. Only occasionally one of his tutors stayed in supervising, giving advises or assisting. In these cases, I noticed that it would not make him specifically nervous. But interruptions by the tutor that interfered with Josh's instructions for the class provoked a sense of insecurity (ibid., PO, 2016b); Josh explained that when 'the other teacher steps in' (ibid., interview, 2016b:Q7) overruling the student teacher in front of the class, 'it kinda takes away from your authority' (ibid.) and 'it can take away from you having your own relationship with the class and your own identity' (ibid.:Q8). Then, students might look at the student teacher only 'as the other teacher light' (ibid.) and address issues and questions to the 'real teacher' (ibid.). In contrast, if he was alone with the class, he as student had to take teacher responsibilities for the class. These times alone had helped him to figure out how to deal with difficult groups (ibid.). He also regarded it as opportunity, when the students found out that he was not a 'real teacher' (ibid.) but 'just learning' (ibid.). It gave him a sense of freedom to experiment and test things (ibid.:Q7). So Josh needed a space to learn and find ways to build up his teacher identity. But at the same time, he needed a teacher space to build up a relationship with his pupils.

Thus, placement for him meant living in a 'strange dynamic' (ibid.:Q8) not only in the sense of being 'half in and half out' of school and university, but also not having one proper role. Josh's learning and teaching situations and experiences were biased: He appreciated the support of his tutors, inspectors and colleagues. He was willing to learn, eagerly wanted to practice his teaching skills and coped with PME requirements as well as with the mental drill of inspections. Yet, at the same time, he depreciated the PME structure, the hierarchies in school and his non-satisfying role in it. He critiqued the quality of lectures and felt pressured by inspections and interventions by his tutors. The latter restricted him figuring out relations with his students and his role as teacher. It functioned as external disciplining and gradually

turned into intrinsic disciplining. But he acknowledged and accepted its positive aspects for his advancements as teacher.

3.4 A ‘Trial by Fire’

After graduation, before being able to fully register with the Teaching Council and to teach in a ‘publicly funded institution’ (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q20) in Ireland, newly qualified teachers have to meet certain requirements (Teaching Council 2015c). During this time, they are pre-registered with the Council and have to prove 300 hours of ‘Post-Qualification Employment’ (PQE) and to complete 20 hours of so-called ‘induction workshops’ to finally qualify as teachers (ibid.; 2015d; 2015e). According to the Teaching Council, the aim of the workshops are ‘to offer systematic professional and personal support to the newly qualified teacher’ (ibid.:2015d). This is undergoing recent changes: A new induction programme called ‘Droichead’ (the Irish term for bridge) is running as pilot since 2013 until its implementation in 2018 (Smyth et al. 2016; Teaching Council 2015f). Its multi-level approach promises to concern newly qualified teachers’ individual school situations by integrating parts of ‘induction’ into schools through school-internal mentors. At the same time PQE hours will be reduced to 200 hours (ibid. 2016). Nevertheless, Catriona doubted the effectiveness of the programme due to the momentary precarious situations of schools and teachers:

‘I think it’s worth while but at the same time a lot of schools (...), they’re just signing off to say they did the eight hours without them actually doing the eight hours. So (laugh) which is fair, I suppose, most schools don’t have eight hours to give.’ (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q84)

Thus, Catriona shows what she repeatedly disclosed throughout the research process: A deeply anchored distrust in Teaching Council procedures and competencies, on which she had to rely on as newly qualified teacher. She was totally disillusioned about the induction workshops, because they were inadequate to her concerns: ‘just sitting there, watching someone flick through a powerpoint for two hours’ (ibid.:Q77) about things she just learned at university, meant an unnecessary waste of time (ibid.:Q77, Q80). When I asked her about what she thought was of value from her PDE now for her as newly qualified teacher, she said:

‘I think anything valuable I learned, I learned on the job (...) when I was on placement in college with other teachers helping me (...). Like the theory lessons were, they were just that they were theory, it’s all very well (...), but unless you can show someone a practical example of how that fits in their teaching, it’s very hard to conceptualize.’ (Ibid.:Q59)

She was more appreciative towards the courses she took out of interest on Information Technology or Development Education (ibid., 2016b:Q48, Q67) because she needed these now in her school (see chapter 5.1). In this sense, her negative evaluation of the time spent in lectures as well as the more positive attitude towards the practical parts of the ITE resembles that of Josh. Contrasting Josh, however, she was furious about inspections:

‘Like my inspector, the last time he was in a classroom, corporal punishment was still legal. (...) And he was, he was supposed to be inspecting my teaching. And I was like, why are you here? Surely the people inspecting your teaching should be the people who are relevant in a classroom now.’ (Ibid., 2016a:60)

Because of this overall lack of preparation in ITE due to shortcomings in the system, she referred to her year as newly qualified teacher as ‘trial by fire’ (ibid.:Q11). She ascribed this particularly to the ‘[s]mall things’ (ibid.:Q42; ed. M.S.) of teaching that made her first year as teacher extremely difficult. These small things included not to know when she was meant to go home in the afternoon (ibid.:Q42), if she was allowed to ask for refunds in case of expenses for her classes (ibid.:Q41), or how to handle ‘paper work’ (ibid.:Q43). It made her insecure and caused ‘a lot of unnecessary stress’ (ibid.:Q39). Apart from these formalities, the main difficulty for her was the disciplining part of teaching. It was hard for her to judge misbehaviour, so she constantly asked herself: ‘Do I deal with this? Do I send this to the year head? Is this bad enough to write a note about?’ (ibid.:Q38). She explained, she did not learn these things in the PDE nor did anyone in her school explain it (ibid.:Q43, Q44). At the very beginning, she did not want to make a fool of herself in the new working place (ibid.:Q41, Q42). Then she paid attention to what her colleagues were doing and observed their lessons and talked to them and so absorbed many things. She said, she ‘had no other option’ (ibid.:13) but to get better if she wanted to keep going as teacher (ibid.). Therefore, she was critical to herself and continuously tried to learn from her mistakes (ibid.:Q39). Although she admitted in an interview that she succeeded ‘just because you have to’ (ibid.:Q59), she acknowledged that she had become more self-assured since the start of the year and that she had ‘definitely improved’ (ibid.:Q11) because of her colleagues help (see chapter 5.1.2).

4. Official Aspects of Citizenship in Schools

In the preceding chapter I roughly described one rather disguised link between ITE and citizenship. It is a relation constructed through neoliberal orientations in higher education in Ireland that also affects the postgraduate ITE programme: The individual’s best performance

in education is regarded as serving the national economy's and the citizens' own best. This turns the quest for education into a 'moral issue' (Lolich 2011:283) of the citizen who has to appeal to him- or herself to comply with these objectives. Therefore Lolich (2011:283) argues that citizenship in the light of Irish neoliberal knowledge economy acquires always more meaning (comp. Ong 2006). The more direct link to citizenship in the ITE programme is the Teaching and Learning Seminar for the Junior Cycle subject Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE). This seminar provides future teachers with a methodological toolkit to successfully handle the CSPE curriculum. For me as researcher, the CSPE methods seminar and the CSPE curriculum meant the only official relation between citizenship, PME and second-level schooling. Although neither Josh nor Catriona attended this seminar, CSPE still becomes relevant for them (and other prospective teachers) because of the role the subject contents can take for teachers as I outline in chapter 4.1; and because of its relation to the whole school context as I outline in chapter 4.2.

4.1 Subject Level: Civic, Social and Political Education

CSPE is a mandatory examination subject in Junior Cycle with an allocated time of one hour per week (DES n.d.:4). It became institutionalised in 1997 and replaced 'Civics' that had been taught since 1967 (Gleeson and Munnely 2004:3, 5). The former Civics was meant to teach Irish citizens in 'civic responsibility, moral virtue, patriotism, and law abidingness' (ibid.:3). Yet, most schools did not give much attention to it, because it was a non-examination subject and because the Catholic Church was not in favour of it (ibid.:3f). CSPE contrasts Civics in its more active approach towards the 'exploration and study of citizenship' (ibid.:7). It means to foster 'skills and attitudes/values' (DES n.d.:8) and to raise 'knowledge and understanding' (ibid.:7) of CSPE topics. Those topics are arranged in four units from micro to macro level over the three years of Junior Cycle: (Unit 1) the individual's citizenship, (Unit 2) 'The Community', (Unit 3) 'The State – Ireland', (Unit 4) 'Ireland and the World' (ibid.:4). The aim 'to prepare students for active participatory citizenship' (NCCA 2005:2) is supported by its examination structure that consists of an unusual minor share of only 40 per cent for the 'terminal examination paper' (ibid.:71) and 60 per cent for a 'Report of an Action Project' (ibid.). Although the subject's core is citizenship, there is no explicit definition of it within the CSPE syllabus. Instead, to support the students' development of a citizenship concept and citizenship activities, its definition is approximated through seven key concepts: 'democracy' (ibid.:10), 'rights and responsibilities' (ibid.), 'human dignity' (ibid.:11), 'interdependence' (ibid.), 'development' (ibid.), 'law' (ibid.:12), 'stewardship' (ibid.); and three key values:

‘human rights’ (ibid.:14), ‘individual social responsibilities’ (ibid.), ‘democracy’ (ibid.) (ibid.:10-14). These directives open a broad range of citizenship dimensions and cover many of the theoretical aspects, which I brought up in chapter 1.3.3: The dimension of Marshall’s juridical citizenship that defines rights and responsibilities of a citizen. It enhances the democratic aspect, which for Aristotle is the best basis for citizenship, yet not the only one as Levinson indicates. It supports the approach towards global citizenship with concepts underlying development, human rights / dignity and stewardship (see Ong 2006). Many of these aspects – stewardship, individual social responsibility, development, interdependence – also cover a neoliberal citizenship understanding (see Lolich 2011). It is noticeable that these dimensions do not include a direct link to nationality or patriotism as in the former Civics.

These principles on the one hand leave space for individual definitions and yet, on the other hand, prescribe the direction of citizenship in its scope, values and contents.

With the gradual introduction of the new Junior Cycle, the subject CSPE is undergoing changes. A new subject called ‘Wellbeing’ will be implemented in summer 2017. This merges CSPE with ‘Physical Education’ (PE), ‘Social, Personal and Health Education’ (SPHE) and a new curricular approach to ‘guidance related learning’ (NCCA n.d.:44, 48, 50). The CSPE representation in Junior Cycle further will be supplemented by a so-called ‘short course’. Short courses are not exam-based and allow schools to further emphasise an individual school profile⁸ (DES 2015c:21). The CSPE short course is organised around three ‘strands’ as specification of the present CSPE unit-approach. The strands are: ‘Rights and responsibilities’, ‘Global citizenship’ and ‘Exploring democracy’ (NCCA 2016c:9). CSPE expert and interviewee Cormac Mahony looked critically at these developments. He feared a loss of relevance for the subject in schools, because the short course lacks the highly valued external assessment through the state exam (Cormac, interview, 2016:Q20, Q25). The ASTI interviewee in contrast expounded present problems of CSPE indicating that CSPE already had ‘no status’ (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q55) although it was exam-based.

Another curricular development crossed the prospects for CSPE. So far, no formal continuation of CSPE in Senior Cycle existed. Only since autumn 2016 a new subject has been introduced called ‘Politics and Society’. However, the ASTI representative told me, this course was ‘not a follow-on programme’ (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q54) for CSPE because it

⁸ At the time of writing (February 2017), four out of ten short courses are eligible for schools: ‘CSPE’, ‘Coding, Digital Media Literacy’, ‘Philosophy’, ‘SPHE’, ‘A Personal Project: Caring for Animals’, ‘Chinese Language and Culture’, ‘Physical Education’, ‘Exploring Forensic Science’, ‘Artistic Performance’. Schools might additionally elaborate own short courses. (NCCA 2017)

was ‘not really citizenship’ (ibid.) but ‘a sociology of ideas and political philosophies’ (ibid.). Nevertheless, Cormac commented the introduction of Politics and Society as ‘one of the most important developments in terms of citizenship’ (Cormac, interview, 2016:Q44) for Irish schools. He regarded it as the first time in Irish education that students were ‘exposed to the social sciences or the political sciences’ (ibid.) in upper second-level and this had to ‘be positive for citizenship education into the future’ (ibid.).

These differences in their opinions signal two traits: First, the ASTI representative and Cormac have to distinct definitions of citizenship; and second, the lack of clarification of the term ‘citizenship’ in the CSPE curriculum problematises its use in the CSPE context and its relation to other subjects (see chapter 4.2). From an organisational perspective, Cormac substantiated his argument that CSPE was located in the proximity to political and social sciences: One has to have a degree in one of these disciplines together with the CSPE Teaching and Learning Seminar to officially be able to register as CSPE teacher with the Teaching Council (ibid.:Q7). However, CSPE as one-hour subject had not provided enough incentive for graduates in social and political sciences to go for a teaching career – which might change now with Politics and Society (ibid.). So until now, teachers usually had no technical qualification to teach CSPE (ibid.:Q8, Q9). Still, some attended the CSPE seminar to have it in their teacher’s profile (ibid.:Q8). To sum up, the Teaching Council regulations do not improve the quality of CSPE, but prevent adequate qualification for teaching the course.

Therefore, according to Cormac, CSPE quality in schools depended heavily on how school managements valued the subject. For him, CSPE, SPHE and Religious Education (RE) were the ‘three dumping rounds’. Only when subjects like Maths or English were already timetabled, teachers with hours left were ‘dumped into’ teaching these. But there are other managements that give CSPE a prior status and selected teachers got to teach it. (Ibid.:Q17)

Catriona was one of those who taught these ‘dumping rounds’ subjects for which she was not technically qualified: SPHE, CSPE and Ethics (instead of RE because her school was non-denominational). When I asked her about her CSPE experiences, she laughed and told me: ‘This year was tough’ (Catriona, interview, 2016b:Q49). She explained: ‘It’s the first year I’ve ever had to teach it. And you know what? I still have no notion what it’s about’ (ibid.:Q50). Sarcastically she added that it was ‘like a joke subject’ (ibid.) to everyone (ibid.). She was mostly struggling with the deep gap between ideas and practicability of the subject: On the one hand, the students were about to learn to reason and to give opinions, but on the other hand, they had to write an exam where grades were given on their opinions, which means the students’ opinions were either right or wrong (ibid.:50f). So Catriona argued:

‘(...) I think there’s too much about prescribed thought that goes into CSPE. (...) I don’t like telling them what is to think. (...) It [CSPE] likes telling them that they have to buy fair-trade and this is why. (...) I don’t like that. Because it’s like telling some kids and you have to write down something you don’t agree with, because you want the marks.’ (Ibid.:Q51; ed. M.S.)

Instead, she preferred to explore topics with students without the pressure of an exam or rather with an exam that tolerated a plurality of opinions with grades basing on quality of reasoning and arguing (ibid.:Q50f). Observing her in CSPE classes, I clearly noticed how hard it was for her to find a clear line in teaching the subject. She fostered discussions in her classes and her students gave opinions, drew associations between personal experiences and theoretical concepts and discovered controversies. Yet, Catriona clearly gave opinions herself and this shaped the outcomes of discussions and directed opinions in a way she said she actually did not want to do (see chapters 5 and 6). (Ibid., PO, 2016a: CSPE; 2016e: CSPE)

Throughout my fieldwork with both – Catriona in school and Cormac at NUIM – I noticed an apparent difference in their notion about CSPE: Cormac valued learning and knowing facts by heard, such as names of politicians, institutions, states, etcetera (Cormac, PO, 2016a:Q3; 2016b:Q7, Q9f). Although he said it should not dominate the subject, it was basic knowledge for him and formed the basis for any discussion on CSPE issues (ibid., 2016a:Q3). For Catriona, as I describe above, the learning of facts had nothing to do with what CSPE should be about (Catriona, interview, 2016b:Q51). Notwithstanding, both had a similar understanding concerning the students’ role in CSPE. They were both convinced that in CSPE a space should be given to students’ opinions. Cormac saw it clearly as the teachers’ own responsibility to formulate questions and exercises in a way that provided this space (Cormac, PO, 2016a:Q8f, Q14ff, Q18, Q21). Catriona as teacher, however, saw herself restricted in doing so through the syllabus and the form of assessment. She regarded even the action project as an illusion, because students would be passive in these projects. So, in order to be able to comply as teacher with aims set by the CSPE syllabus to support active and participatory citizenship, she expected a more emancipatory Gramscian approach towards CSPE and schooling in general (see chapter 5). Contrasting this, Cormac enhanced the possibilities the CSPE syllabus and its assessment structure already provided in this sense with regard to the unique action project and the exam that for him was mostly about reasoning and giving opinions (Cormac, PO, 2016a:Q3, Q9). After years of experience in the sector, Cormac was satisfied with having the subject in Junior Cycle. For him, the subjects CSPE, SPHE, PE and RE were ‘more important than any History, Geography, or English and Maths’

(ibid., interview, 2016:Q20) because these were subjects that gave children an understanding of ‘how do I function as person’ (ibid.). So, CSPE meant an education for identity formation to him. Devine (2002), who conducts ethnographic research in Irish schools, similarly recognises the value of subjects such as CSPE and SPHE. However, she accredits their introduction to ‘a moral panic inspired by the increasing globalisation and the perceived breakdown of traditional affiliation to the one “nation-state”’ (ibid.:317). Supporting Catriona’s argument, she claims that still ‘children’s capacities as active agents are underutilized’ (ibid.:316) in schools. She indicates that this negatively affects ‘children’s construction of an identity as citizens’ (ibid.). In order to enable children the access to citizenship, she calls for a whole-school approach that includes students’ opinions in decision-making processes in schools and asks for transformation that starts with and depends on teachers, their training and support structures through managements, the DES and other stakeholders (ibid.:318) (see chapter 5).

4.2 Perspectives on Citizenship in Second-Level Schools

With regard to educational guidelines, Devine’s claim for a whole school approach to citizenship is already part of the CSPE syllabus. Yet, as I show in this subchapter, it is conflicting and imprecise and thus leads to ambiguous perspectives on the topic.

Apart from the subject organisation and content, the syllabus refers to CSPE as contributing significantly to a school’s aims on two levels: First, the relation of CSPE to other subjects: CSPE encourages ‘cross-curricular work’ (DES n.d.:3) because its contents and issues are relevant to other subjects. Second, the whole school operation: A school’s “‘hidden curriculum”’ (ibid.) is reflected in its ‘ethos, organisation, extra-curricular activities and operational structures’ (ibid.). The interpretation of these practices influences and determines students’ understanding of CSPE values and concepts (ibid.).

But these recommendations are no clear guidelines. Instead, schools are even encouraged to individually expand CSPE concepts and values in accordance to their own school ‘ethos and denomination’ (ibid.:15). Thus, although CSPE as part of whole school organisation is given importance, the responsibility over interpretation and realisation is given to school managements. This freedom and flexibility can definitely lead to positive engagement. Yet, as I indicate in chapter two, Irish second-level school structures are pervaded by individualism through the diverted responsibilities that mainly religious or private organisations maintain. Consequently, peculiar and contrasting schooling ideologies can lead to contradictory

practices also when it comes to citizenship in schools and thus to inequalities in the educational provision of students and conditions for teachers.

Throughout my research, I was facing differing reactions towards the question of the position and definition of citizenship in second-level schools. Unsurprisingly, no one mentioned to me the broader levels in schools on which CSPE is supposed to take place according to the syllabus. But the relevance of citizenship in schools was not negated either. When I introduced myself to research partners or in schools presenting my research topic, some accepted it without questions; others started asking further questions or assuming relations to CSPE. I allowed this definitional breath to pervade my research process to be able to hear opinions on the issue instead of imposing my understanding of citizenship in relation to education in public schools. The result is a range of ambiguous voices about the role of citizenship and whose responsibility it was to enact it. Catriona for example, when we met the first time discussing the research procedure, told me she taught Ethics and CSPE and assumed this would be very interesting for my research. Josh in contrast, did not catch up on the CSPE relation at all at the start, but linked it to the relation between schools in Ireland and children with non-Irish background and so to the legal citizenship definition and what it implied in terms of advantages and disadvantages in the schooling context (comp. Banks 2008; comp. Devine 2011). Others asked for my specific understanding of citizenship and some teachers in the staff rooms were confused when I explained my topic and they realised I was not insisting on doing research with CSPE teachers. For example, when I shortly explained my research about student teachers and newly qualified teachers in relation to citizenship to one of the teachers in Catriona's school and then asked him what subjects he taught, he contested: 'Maths and Science. I don't know how much citizenship is in there?' (Catriona, PO, 2016a:Q95). I replied, it depended on what is defined as citizenship and so asked him, what he regarded as citizenship. After thinking about it, he replied: 'Well, respect' (ibid.). Thereupon we agreed that in this case it would also affect his teaching and he even invited me to come in to observe classes with him and the student teacher he tutored (ibid.). When I interviewed the ASTI representative, she was very passionate and unsatisfied that CSPE was not given enough attention in the educational discussion in Ireland (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q46, Q52f). She explained her perspective on the issue of citizenship in schools:

'And citizenship, you may not call it citizenship, but being a citizen of the world is implicit in the lives of our young people. And (...) it will become more so, without having to mention the global challenges of climate change, the migration crisis. Ah, I mean all of the other issues (...) even the recession that we've suffered as Irish people. Where did this really start? Global

capitalism. Okay, we had our own bunch of capitalists who, you know, played a very big part in bringing the economy to its knees. (...) So, citizenship is no longer an option for teachers. I really do think that teacher education and on-going professional development and whatever other forces that shape teachers' identities has to really start to kind of make that connection between (...) community of the school and what's happening out there.' (Ibid.:Q49)

So she defined citizenship in relation to global human rights discourses and regarded citizenship as a sort of salvation from the precarious global capitalist ideologies and practices. Furthermore, she referred to schools as institution through which society could learn about citizenship. Therefore teachers had to engage with citizenship and needed to be trained for it. She acknowledged that teachers might 'intuitively' (ibid.) include ideas of citizenship and globalised society in their teaching. But she complained about teachers' lack of conscious commitment to it, telling me: 'But if it comes down to (...) teachers' idea of citizenship, you know what they'd say to you? Oh CSPE. (...) that's not my problem, CSPE. I don't do citizenship.' (ibid.:Q50). In line with Devine (2002), she demanded to give citizenship a clear role in schools and asked the DES to take responsibility for it. According to her, one issue in this regard was that the DES considered citizenship not as part of its scope but as part of the non-governmental 'development education community' (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q51).

When I interviewed Cormac, I asked him as expert on CSPE for his concrete citizenship definition. He was surprised, telling me: 'that's a really hard one (...) I've never defined it, I've never written it down' (Cormac, interview, 2016:Q27). His spontaneous definition was:

'I think citizenship is about being an active, responsible, engaged citizen, member of society. (...) Ah, the secondary part of that is being Irish or European or whatever that happens to be. So, ah, I can understand that for those people who don't have an affiliation with a place, they need to be a citizen of somewhere. (...) I'm more interested in that active engagement. (...) For me citizenship is about that, it's about that interaction, it's about, uhm, being respectful, it's about people's rights, it's about minding people's rights it's about being responsible. It's about sense of equality.' (Ibid.)

Thus, he recognised two aspects: Citizenship as legal status (comp. Marshall); and citizenship as related to a subject's action (comp. Arendt) in a social community and its subjection to moralities (comp. Neveu). He regarded the former as not as important as the latter without implying a relation between the two. Concerning the latter, he added that 'citizenship education is about enabling young people to experience all of that' (Cormac, interview, 2016:Q27). For citizenship in the school context, he argued:

'I think, where citizenship education really thrives in schools, you'll find there is a culture of student voice. So students are involved in decision-making. Ah you probably have a vibrant

student council. And you probably have lots of, uhm, kind of celebratory events happening in the school. You probably have a very visual rich culture in the school, where you walk in and you see posters and celebrations of student work and you'll see tradition of school on the walls. Uhm, I think you see it in how teachers interact with each other. How the teacher interact with students, how students interact with students.' (Ibid.:Q31)

Accordingly, Cormac described an 'emotional climate' (ibid.:Q32) that is 'welcoming' (ibid.), 'rich in respect' (ibid.) and 'people focused' (ibid.) and which is supplemented and expressed through 'extra curricular activities' (ibid.). Yet, he clearly distinguished these schools from democratically organised schools. Following him, a 'school can never really be democratic' (ibid.:Q33) due to its structure (ibid.). He insisted: 'They're not even democratic places for teachers' (ibid.). So, Conor's argument goes along with Levinson (2011) who argues that 'active citizenship' mistakenly tends to be confused with citizenship for democracy.

These diverse perspectives on what role citizenship takes in Irish second-level schools show that there is no consensus on the topic. Furthermore, the blurred promotion of the role of citizenship and contents in the CSPE syllabus leads to diverse practices and impedes a clear analysis of its official role and implementation on the school level. The research results indicate that the topic on school level is relevant for teachers – even if on second thoughts – yet there is no existing definition that facilitates a coherent argument on the term, nor a stable enactment of citizenship by teachers or school managements, so that claims for better-structured approaches in this regard such as expressed by Devine (2002) are manifested.

5. Citizenship for Prospective Teachers: School-Related and Personal Aspects

After the above description of citizenship aspects in relation to the PME context, the CSPE subject and school contexts and perspectives on citizenship, in the following, I focus on the research data that is specifically concerned with Josh's and Catriona's teaching practice in relation to the specific two schools they were teaching in during research. As mentioned above, in case of Irish second-level schools no central authority clearly defines citizenship or enforces strict citizenship guidelines for schools. It is incumbent on school managements to give citizenship an official or unofficial role in school life. In the two schools I conducted research in, to my knowledge, there were no guidelines or codes of practice that formally dealt explicitly with citizenship. Thus, in this chapter I describe on the one hand the basis for citizenship I encountered in the two research schools through observations and in correlation with theoretical concepts and opinions in the field; and on the other hand, how my research

partners individually implemented their citizenship concepts in their teaching – which need to be seen in relation to the basis their schools provide them with. Concretely, I analyse in chapter 5.1 to what extent citizenship aspects can be identified in relation to the two schools' characters. I develop these school-specific citizenship aspects on three different levels: Approaches to teaching and learning (5.1.1), forms of teacher cooperation (5.1.2) and negotiations of hierarchies in schools concerning the student-teacher and staff relations, which oscillate between authoritative and democratic approaches (5.1.3). Those aspects in the schools, I relate to Josh's and Catriona's interactions, experiences and statements as prospective teachers. Ensuing from these research data, I elaborate on basis of theoretical discussion, what aspects of school characters and organisation contribute to forms of citizenship in these schools and thus influence my research partners' (citizenship) practice there. In a second step, in chapter 5.2, I examine how my research partners' citizenship concepts, which are related to their schools' implementations of citizenship approaches as I show in chapter 5.1, are linked to their developing 'teacher beliefs'. Furthermore, I describe how Josh and Catriona try to apply their 'teacher beliefs' in practice and what issues they encounter hereby as prospective teachers on a more personal level (whereas in chapter 6, I will deepen this aspect concerning the professional and socio-political aspects of teaching).

5.1 Citizenship in Schools and for Prospective Teachers

Josh and Catriona repeatedly made me aware of the special forward attitudes of their schools compared to other schools in Ireland (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q47; 2016:Q4). While outlining distinctive approaches of the two schools in the following subchapters, I emphasise that the two schools cannot be taken as exemplary cases for all second-level schools in Ireland. But neither do I want to oppose them to all other schools. I argue, that schools are in the making, formed by internal and external influences. They are never the same, although they might resemble another. Particularly in Ireland schools are formed in relation to their form of school, their patronage and management because these aspects determine to a large degree a school's educational, religious or ethical orientations (see chapter 2.3) (compare Devine 2011:68f; comp. Lynch 1989). Additional factors that contribute towards shaping schools' characters in Ireland are the school area and the size of a school (comp. Devine 2011:49f). Therefore, before describing particular aspects of these two schools, which I identify as citizenship-related aspects, I briefly describe the two schools' settings.

Both schools were located in the outskirts of Dublin within the Dublin commuter belt. These suburban areas around Dublin have been rapidly growing since the late nineties when

immigrants allured by the Celtic Tiger for the first time outnumbered Irish emigrants by large (until 2009) and found rent options primarily in these newly developed housing communities around the Irish capital. (Gilmartin 2013; Byrne et al. 2010; Coen and Maguire 2012; Central Statistics Office 2017:9)

Additionally, the relatively high birth rate (on EU-level) in Ireland contributes to persistent demographic growth since the mid-1990s (Central Statistics Office 2017:8f) and demands urgent expansion of school facilities particularly around Dublin (see Appendix IV, codes: ‘demographic growth’, ‘prefabs’). The areas of the two schools were a vivid example of this socio-demographic development with young population and comparatively high level of immigrants (Central Statistics Office 2017:22).

Both schools were newly founded second-level ETB schools in their second year of operation. Therefore only first- and second-year students attended these schools. Both schools were located at the outskirts of their towns. According to ETBI aims, the schools operated through ‘inclusive enrolment policies’ (ETBI 2015b) and admitted students on basis of the local area (ETBI 2015a). Because of the small student number, the schools employed only a few teachers, who were mostly young. Catriona’s school had moved to a newly constructed building a few months ago. It was still too big for the few students and teachers. Josh’s school was accommodated in prefabrications, meanwhile a huge building was constructed nearby. In the provisional building the rooms and floors were narrow. In these new schools, I sensed progress and innovation, which was visually reflected in posters on the walls telling about specific school characters. In Catriona’s school fun posters on healthy diet decorated the walls and in her classroom big posters of the new Junior Certificate and the Ethical Educational Year Planner hung besides colourful student works (Catriona, PO, 2016d:Q70; 2016e:Q71). In Josh’s school one wall was dedicated to student awards with categories such as ‘the happiest student’. In all rooms, posters informed about the school’s specific active learning focus. But mostly, I noted these schools’ individual approaches to education and school organisation in their daily practices, in the relationships and in the atmosphere in the school, which I describe as follows and in relation to the meaning of citizenship in these schools.

5.1.1 Approaches To Teaching and Learning

With regard to literature on Irish schools, the two schools’ approaches to teaching and learning set them apart from the vast majority of second-level schools in Ireland (comp. Gleeson 2012; comp. Mac Mahon 2014; comp. Devine et al. 2013). One approach both schools followed was the integration of digital technology into everyday teaching and

learning. All teachers and students had to have an iPad. All had Wi-Fi access and projectors replaced boards, e-books replaced printed books and exercises, research and homework were mostly done online. The two research schools promoted their digital approaches as crucial to let their students acquire skills for modern citizens in a digital and globalised society. According to these schools, this approach improved communication skills and creativity in a way the Irish global economy demanded it.⁹ Although there was no course set for digital teaching on the regular PME schedule at NUIM, Catriona and Josh were able to integrate digital learning methods in their teaching. Josh always prepared presentations to facilitate the content of his lesson, whereas his students used their iPads mostly for homework, research and creative group tasks (Josh, PO, 2016a:Q22). Catriona used the technology mostly for vocabulary and grammar quizzes with her students. This positively affected the atmosphere: Students used to hum along cheerily with the quiz music, the students became competitive and even weak students achieved great results (Catriona, PO, 2016c:Q13; 2016d:Q13, Q36, Q42; 2016e:Q17). Catriona happily discussed these effects with her colleagues who reported similar observations (ibid., 2016b:Q44; 2016d:Q3). I also observed that these digital activities supported students to acquire technological skills such as download procedures, application usage, photography and video editing. Moreover, students learned to support their own learning progress for example by using online dictionaries (ibid., 2016a:Q27; 2016b:Q25) or by conducting structured online research. Cormac Mahony (interview, 2016:Q16) ascribed the positive aspects of the digital learning to the technology's ability to capture students' intrinsic motivation to strive for their best (ibid.). Notwithstanding, most Irish schools still 'banned' technology and thus negated its capacities.

The two schools' approaches towards active training of students' digital skills went along with the schools' general focuses on active learning. Yet, their active learning approaches differed slightly: Josh's school implemented a specific model, which aimed to strengthen students' learning capabilities by actively and systematically fostering key learning skills. These key skills were reflectiveness, reciprocity, resourcefulness and resilience. Catriona's school advocated two specific approaches: 'assessment for learning' (ibid., interview, 2016a:Q50) and the 'ethical curriculum' (ibid., 2016b:Q46). The 'assessment for learning' was similar to the active learning approach in Josh's school, but was not as specific. It describes a general concept of enabling students' active engagement in the learning process.

⁹ Due to reasons of data protection, I cannot indicate the sources in this case.

The ‘ethical curriculum’ affected the broader teacher’s ‘planning process’ (ibid.) on a content level and was supposed to be implemented continually and in all subjects.

In Josh’s school, the first-year students trained their learning skills during weekly ‘Enrichment’-hours. Besides, teachers fostered these skills in the normal lessons. So, Josh used to make recaps with his students at the end of a lesson, asking what they had learnt or which of their learning skills they had used. Similarly, he made them reflect on their test results with tasks such as the following: ‘Have a look at the notes on your test and write in your test paper: 2 things I did a good job at, 1 thing I want to get even better at. Take a picture of your comment on your I-pad’ (Josh, PO, 2016a:Q25; 2016b:Q58). Josh explained to me that this approach was ‘trying to give them [the students] more and more power’ (ibid., 2016b:Q31; ed. M.S.) concerning their learning and within school activities. According to him, this turned students into ‘independent, responsible learners’ (ibid.:Q36), which was ‘a big step towards being independent and responsible people’ (ibid.). For Josh this was the direct and overall link between his school and citizenship, although this was not made explicit in the school’s policies. (Ibid., 2016a:Q41, Q58; 2016b:Q1,Q34-Q37)

Catriona’s implementation of the ‘assessment for learning’ was unobtrusive, because it was her usual practice to teach through active learning methods like group work and research exercises instead of lecture-style teaching. She also used methods to encourage students’ reflection on their learning progress and to evaluate group developments (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q48). The ethical curriculum was about ‘ethical links’ the teachers had to bring in in all their classes (ibid., 2016b:Q46). When I asked Catriona if citizenship was part of her school’s ethos, she directly related citizenship to the ethical curriculum: ‘We have to make those things to citizenship in our classes. We would call it (...) ethical links’ (ibid.). Catriona approached the ethical links mostly through topics related to ‘development education’ (ibid.:Q38). This was one of her personal interests that she had focused on in her PDE and concerned issues such as global interdependencies or climate change (ibid.:Q48f). She explained that she varied the ‘links’ according to the subject and the students’ capabilities:

‘Like you’re not going to be able to be like, now we’re going to talk about homelessness in the middle of your language class. (...) But maybe when they’re older and they have a bit more grasp on language, (...) you can bring in these citizenship issues. And you can deal with them through your target language.’ (Ibid.:Q39)

Catriona told me that from the day of her interview the school management pointed out, how it expected her to teach. It was a huge challenge for her because the conditions in her school

of placement had been different. Yet, she was enthusiastic and liked the school's attitude: 'this is a school that knows (...) what it wants from its teachers and it's going to demand the best from them. And I think that's the best way forward' (ibid., 2016a:Q50).

For Josh, the placement was his first teaching experience and the school's approaches shaped his very first personal identification with teaching and learning. He appreciated this unique opportunity as student teacher in such an outstanding school:

'It's definitely like, it's kind of like an investment, like you get up at five in the morning. But it's so, so worth it (...) like all the things that we talk about that schools should do, you know in some vague theoretical place, we actually do it, like we actually have active learning and (...) focus on students getting involved throughout the whole school. And like it's such a small, you know, staff that everyone's involved (...). It's kinda like, I'm gonna remember in the future, okay, this is what a school should be like (...). You know, cause there's so many schools that aren't like that. They're so resistant to change and resistant to trying things out in a new way, really resistant to giving students power to do stuff themselves. Whereas in our school students are really given an awful lot of responsibility (...). And you know, these are only in their first and second years of school (...).' (Josh, interview, 2016a:Q25)

Whilst pursuing their distinct approaches towards teaching and learning, these two schools not only set themselves apart from other schools in Ireland, but went ahead of the curriculum policies: They already had implemented the focus on key skills, which the new Junior Cycle curriculum was aiming at. On a national level, the curriculum implementation was confronted with issues due to the teacher union disputes. In the case of the two schools of research, both committed themselves to teach through the new curriculum as they were supposed to as ETB schools. In the phase of implementation, the change affected the subjects gradually. Catriona's subjects were not yet affected. Josh had to teach through the old curriculum in History, but through the new one in English. Though, in both subjects he had to incorporate the school's focus on active learning. He reported that it was easier to find the 'balance' (ibid., 2016b:Q18) in English with the new curriculum. Whereas in History the curriculum was still '95 per cent content' (ibid.) with a strict focus on the summer exam and did not provide space for, nor encourage active learning methods as required by his school (ibid.).

To sum up, in both cases, the schools mandated the (prospective) teachers to commit themselves to their distinct focus on teaching and learning. So, I argue that both schools contributed to forming my research partners' teaching skills and shaping their understanding of these concepts. Moreover, the 'ethical curriculum' in Catriona's case and the specific focus on active learning in Josh's case are those features that the two directly linked to citizenship in the context of their schools. For Josh the approach provides a basis to learn how to become

engaged and responsible citizens. For Catriona, the ethical links enable students to capture a comprehensive view on global issues related to their lives and responsibilities as citizens in Ireland. Although they did not refer to the digital learning approach as part of it, I include it as outstanding characteristic of their schools that features the active learning and enhances the schools' focuses on enabling modern and economically valued forms of educating citizens by means of modern skills. However, this focus on skills that are primarily of economic value for the students as Irish citizens indicates an issue of demarcation between educating citizens to allow economic participation in society and educating citizens to allow their ethico-political participation in society. This issue arises because, as Arendt claims, in national economies political and economical aspects are necessarily related to each other.

5.1.2 Formal and Informal Teacher Cooperation

Cooperation among teacher colleagues can be assessed in two dimensions: The 'collaboration for teaching' (Gleeson 2012:7) and the 'professional collaboration' (ibid.). The first describes cooperative practices concerning information and material exchange, whereas the second means profound 'team' collaboration including mutual classroom observations and 'team teaching' practices (ibid.). The OECD Teaching and Learning Survey (TALIS) for Ireland 2008 reports a general lack of 'professional collaboration' among Irish teachers (Gilleece et al. 2009:170f). Research by Kiely (2003, as cited in Gleeson 2012) identifies this lack as caused by prevalent forms of operation and organisation of schools and teachers' preferences for independent forms of planning. Killeavy and Moloney (2009) indicate that lack of professional cooperation is especially problematic for newcomers to the profession because they needed 'in-school support and mentoring' (ibid.:206), which in Ireland used not to be provided for in PQE and induction programmes (comp. chapter 3.4).

Josh and Catriona both felt welcome in their schools. Yet, the process of learning to teach was mentally and emotionally exhausting for them. As I describe in chapter 3.4, Catriona had a difficult start in her school with many insecurities but full responsibilities as newly qualified teacher and missed support through her teacher education programme. Josh as student teacher was taken care of by tutors who supported him but also challenged his newly developing forms of teaching (see chapter 3.3). Both, Catriona and Josh, had colleagues who were open to let them observe their classes. So, whenever Josh had a free hour, he learned from the other teachers in their classes. They also gave him support and extra attention, sharing his excitements while remembering their own recent student teacher moments (Josh, PO, 2016c:Q16). Also in Catriona's school the observation practices were usual – but not only for

student teachers. For Catriona as newcomer, it was an especially helpful: ‘(...) I’ve definitely made a point of sitting in on other people’s lessons and picking up as much as I can from them and talking to other people and seeing what works for them’ (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q13). She adopted their methods for classroom management and used to consult them for issues concerning student behaviour, group dynamics and assessment (ibid.:16f, Q18).

Apart from observation practices that I categorise as informal ‘professional cooperation’, I encountered institutionalised forms of ‘professional cooperation’ in both schools. In Josh’s school, the weekly ‘Enrichment’ classes for the first-years were a team teaching event. Most teachers were present and three or four of them were responsible to lead a session. Josh told me that initially he had not expected teaching to be such ‘a team thing’ (Josh, interview, 2016a:Q24). He was surprised by his colleagues ‘collaborative’ (ibid.) spirit, and appreciated this new experience (ibid., 2016b:Q32). In Catriona’s school there was no official team teaching, but she told me: ‘we’re big into our sharing’ (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q54). It was formally facilitated by a structure for ‘collaboration for teaching’ – an ‘online sharing folder’ (ibid.:Q51) that provided teachers with access to their colleagues’ digital materials.

Although such a high degree of professional collaboration is unusual for Irish post-primary school teachers, in case of these two schools it was made possible because of two accruing levels: First of all, on an informal level, there was a general open and helpful attitude among colleagues. They were not afraid to teach in front of colleagues and formed a supportive and knowledge-sharing community that was especially convenient for my research partners as newcomers. Second, on a formal level, professional collaboration was established through school structures, as in Josh’s school through team teaching events and in Catriona’s school through an online sharing space. My two research partners ascribed their positive learning outcomes as prospective teachers to a high degree to these opportunities for professional cooperation, which their schools and colleagues provided. So, despite the many insecurities and challenging new situations, both improved their teaching abilities to their satisfaction. Again, this result indicates that these two schools were ahead of other schools and the educational policies in Ireland because they already applied to a certain degree what was about to be implemented with the upcoming induction and PQE programme Droichead (see chapter 3.4). This is meant to provide newly qualified teachers with the ‘opportunity to observe and be observed by other teachers, and receive feedback on their teaching’ (Smyth et al. 2016:1) in order to ‘progress (...) professional learning and practice’ (ibid.).

With regard to the meaning of ‘professional collaboration’ for citizenship in schools, I argue, that in both of the schools, teachers and management reinforce education to take place openly

and to great parts based on communication, support and feedback. The teachers do not lock themselves behind classroom doors, but allow teaching to become a political virtue. Because, by teaching publically – not only in front of student, but in front of equals in terms of professional qualifications – their teaching becomes a site for criticism and discussion. Yet, at the same time, it opens the opportunity for improving their teaching through mutual learning among colleagues and the willingness to take responsibility for their (younger) colleagues by allowing them to learn through their support and criticism. Hence, referring to Aristotle's and Arendt's citizenship term, I argue that the teachers in these schools enact a political citizenship attitude through collegiality and 'professional collaboration'.

5.1.3 Between Authority and Democracy

Cormac Mahony argued that schools cannot be democratic places neither for students, nor for teachers (see chapter 4.2). Yet, to his concerns, schools might still facilitate students' awareness and skills for active citizenry by giving them more scope for participation, which the two research schools did through their focus on active learning (see chapter 5.1.1). Devine (2002) on the one hand enforces his argument, stating that schools indeed 'continue to be organized and run in hierarchical terms' (ibid.:317) because of the fear that students' 'empowerment' (ibid.) through democratic participation undermined 'teacher authority and control' (ibid.). Yet, on the other hand, Devine argues that these hierarchical structures negatively affected the quality of children's citizenship (ibid.:318) even though a school regarded 'moral and social aspects' (ibid.:317) of 'education for citizenship' (ibid.) in its teaching and learning. She argues, following Print et al. (2002), that if citizenship is taught in school in order to create an educative space for 'active citizens for the future' (ibid.:208), this educative space needed to incorporate democratic structures and practices. This implies that Devine (2002) as well as Print et al. (2002) associate education for citizenship with education for democracy. According to Levinson (2011:281) this cannot be a universal link, because citizenship not necessarily entails democratic values. Though, in reference to Aristotle, democracy bases on its citizens' political activity and implies a direct link to the democratic understanding of citizenship. Thus, if public schools in a democratically organized state are mandated to teach citizenship, it suggests a democratic understanding of citizenship, which is best practiced through democratic structures as Devine (2002) argues.

In the previous subchapters, I portray the two schools as mostly showing similar characteristics. In this subchapter, I outline that they show significant differences in how they shape student-teacher relations and relations among the staff in terms of balancing

authoritative and democratic approaches towards school organisation. I examine Josh's and Catriona's positions in this regard and their embodiment of their schools' approaches. Further, I interpret, how the schools and the two prospective teachers in reference to these authoritative versus democratic characteristics are positioned in terms of the above-mentioned approach to citizenship in schools.

In Josh's school, the staff openly deployed adult authority over children and disciplinary mechanisms were routine: Every morning all students had to assemble in the hall and stand in lines. In the front, the principal or deputy principal made announcements. The other teachers strategically positioned themselves in the hall, encircling the students. If the students were very slow in lining up or if a uniform was in disorder, they were reprovved (Josh, PO, 2016c:Q5). Admonishing students because of inadequate behaviour was part of the normal tone. Students addressed teachers formally and were urged to be nice to adults for example by holding doors for them. So, clear hierarchies shaped the student-teacher relation. Hierarchies also pervaded relations among the staff. The decision-making was clearly executed by the principal and the deputy principal (*ibid.*, interview, 2016a:Q27). Moreover, there were visible tensions between the teachers and the principal and the deputy principal (*ibid.*, PO, 2016c:Q5): In the staff room, teachers would be cautious if the principal was in, before they acted or talked unconstrained (*ibid.*:Q3). Josh was not happy about his minor role as student teacher that resulted from these structures. However, as teacher in front of the students, he used to employ the same kind of hierarchy through enhancing his authority. Josh described himself not to be a 'natural (...) authority figure' (*ibid.*, interview, 2016b:Q5). But there were various reasons why he wanted to be seen as such: He feared to loose control over the students and not to be taken serious because of his young looks and his minor role as student teacher (*ibid.*:Q6). So, he wanted to 'set boundaries' (*ibid.*:Q5) between him and the students by acting authoritatively. He explained, this was a 'role' (*ibid.*:Q6) that he 'put on' (*ibid.*) to obtain their 'credibility' (*ibid.*). It implied that he gave authoritative instructions, immediately reprovved students in case they were misbehaving (see Appendix IX: Figure I) and he tried to stay always serious and not to share funny moments with the students (*ibid.*, PO, 2016c:Q35). However, he wanted to avoid a 'you-versus-them-dynamic' (*ibid.*, interview, 2016b:Q9). So, he explained, he was not 'talking down to them' (*ibid.*:Q33), but informed them on what terms and why they were reprovved (*ibid.*). He said, he had to learn this over the past months:

'(...) the first day I was comin in and like some of them was doing something, I was like, ah, ah, ah, don't do that. Like you know, almost like a child and they would just laugh at you like, whereas now you are trying to be more, if you're like giving out to them for something, you're

aware of why you're giving out to them. You want to be better the next time (...). Like there's not just scolding them, like you are trying to show them they have to be responsible.' (Ibid.)

This attitude of taking students seriously implied that he asked them to pay respect to each other by not 'talking over' (ibid., PO, 2016a:Q23; 2016d:Q36) and reminded them to their collective active learning responsibilities in this school, such as: 'From now on, we need more effort' (ibid., 2016b:Q20). Although he did not treat them like 'little kids' (ibid., interview, 2016b:Q33) anymore, he found that they needed his 'guidance' (ibid.) still. Therefore, he wanted to keep his 'strict and unfun' (ibid.) attitude and reacted on misbehaviour to show that he cared. It also gave students the opportunity to actually improve their behaviour. Giving guidance for Josh also meant to be 'accountable' (ibid.:Q9) in terms of structured teaching and consistency in rules. Therefore, his lessons had a general structure: He used to enter the room before the students and let them wait outside until he had prepared everything (ibid., PO, 2016a:Q1). After he let the students in, he started with the roll call, checked the homework and then presented the today's learning aims. The usual lesson followed. During the final few minutes, he used to make a recap in the style of the school's active learning approach. For the classroom management, he used ritualised methods: At the start of a lesson or after a group task he either shushed them, or he counted backwards from three to one. The latter was the most effective method, which his colleagues applied, too. Applying these structures, Josh had no major troubles to manage the classes. But he said, a great difficulty for him was to take into account individual needs of students and to still 'appear consistent' in front of the rest of the class (ibid., interview, 2016b:Q9).

All in all, Josh identified with and adopted to his school's values concerning authoritative and hierarchical relations between teachers and students and its balance with active learning, which gives students a certain responsibility over their learning. He regarded the school's overall approach, including the teacher collaboration practices, as ideal but challenging model to accredit students' abilities and to let them take responsibility over their learning according to their levels of maturity. I conclude, that this school corresponds to what Cormac described as citizenship-rich but undemocratic school for teachers and students. The students and teachers were actively involved in school activities and students took responsibility over their learning processes (see chapter 5.1.1). But it did not imply democratic forms of schooling or a participative approach for management and policy structures. As Devine (2002) argues, in this school, authoritative and disciplinary regime from teachers' side was upheld as necessary mechanism to guarantee control over the students. But therefore, the school was only able to

implement the citizenship approach to education on content and participative learning levels and not on an organisational level and so hinders a further development of citizenship (ibid.). In contrast to Josh's and his school's attitude towards teachers' authority and hierarchies, neither Catriona's school, nor Catriona enhanced hierarchies or authority. There were no hierarchical tensions in the staffroom or between principal and teachers. No hierarchical disciplinary school routines were employed. Students would address teachers informally by their first names or call them Miss or Mister. Catriona explained:

'I think that's a primary school thing, like the Miss. But, uhm, we, we ask them to call us by our first names, which doesn't bother me. Uhm, I call them by their first names, so why wouldn't they (...).' (Catriona, interview, 2016b:Q25)

The same kind of sense for equality between student and teachers was realized by having installed a huge window in the staff room. This window enabled a direct view between staff room and the big hall, where the kids gathered during breaks (ibid., PO, 2016d:Q69). When I curiously asked Catriona about it, she told me:

I: '(...) we're hugely open, the whole [staff] room is class (...). You can see straight in, so there's no hiding. You know exactly what's happening in there. (...) I think that's really good.

MS: So you feel comfortable with that?

I: Ya, I, I, it's never bothered me. I think it's good. I don't like this idea that the, oh, look at the staff room, it's some kind of secret place, where they go and hide. (...) A student should be able to know you're in there. And if they need to find you, they're like, och, she's just up there. (ibid., interview, 2016a:Q56; ed. M.S.)

In general, there was no emphasis on artificial distance between students and teachers so that they interacted also on a personal level. Catriona interpreted this as beneficial:

'So in my school it's very open. Uhm, teachers are very (...) friendly with the kids. (...) Like they'll [the students] come in and be like, what d'you do at the weekend, or they're telling me what they did with their friends (...) and I definitely think it's (...) really important that that is there, cause you're a person. Like last week I was ehm, my mum had called me on Monday to say that my granddad was passing away. So I left school. I was very upset. But when I came back in (...) [t]hey were all, oh, what happened, we saw you, are you okay? (...) I explained what happened. And my mum was actually, why would you have told them? (...) I was like, they're gonna go through this at some point in their life, (...) it's important for them to understand that we're human (...). And if they're going through something, chances are someone on the staff has probably gone through it as well. And I think, if you use those opportunities to show, look we're people too, we have stuff to deal with, they understand then,

it's actually easier for them to come to us and say something has happened to them. Cause if they don't see us as people, they're never gonna do that.' (Ibid., 2016b:Q27; ed. M.S.)

Thus, Catriona regarded this relation between teachers and students without necessary promotion of hierarchies and authoritative distance in her school as positive. But she noted that students 'do need some boundaries though' (ibid., 2016a:Q57). She admitted that there was 'a lack of discipline with some of them' (ibid.:Q20) as well as a 'definite lack of respect for (...) other people in general' (ibid.). According to her, the teachers made a joint effort reminding them, not to behave 'disrespectful' (ibid.:Q22). Yet, a specific 'challenge' (ibid.:Q37) for teachers in this regard was the school's open policy-making strategy:

'(...) we started with no policies. So we're writing the policies as we go. So when I'm in the other school it's much clearer what's happening. (...) some student does x you do y. (...) There is a booklet, you just look it up. Whereas here it's like, ah, such or such a thing happened, what do I do? Oh I don't know. What can we do?' (Ibid.)

These issues then were discussed in 'staff meetings' (ibid.:Q103) and specific 'committees' (ibid.) were formed to elaborate policies. Then, all voted democratically about the committees' policy proposals (ibid.). This approach involved teachers in policy-making and required and enabled discussion on issues in the school. It also allowed teachers to take responsibility for and identify easily with school policies. Yet, it demanded effort and capabilities from teachers. For Catriona, the democratic and participative school organisation first of all meant a massive insecurity: '(...) when you're new, you're like, I have no idea what to do, because this's never happened before and I don't know how to deal with it. (...) that caused me a lot of stress' (ibid.:Q38). Therefore, she felt not comfortable to join policy committees in her first year (ibid.:Q103). The first priority for her as newly qualified teacher was to be able to effectively manage the students in terms of 'getting the control' (ibid.:Q10). The issues she had in this regard, she related to her (non-)authoritative personality:

'(...) there's some people who could walk in and through fear alone, they'll [the students] sit up straight and they'll do whatever they're ask for like, I don't know why. I just don't have that personality, apparently it doesn't work for me.' (Ibid.; ed. M.S.)

However, throughout the classroom observation, I experienced Catriona as the one person in the classroom who set the rules and who reinforced them with authority. She told the students in the imperative to be quiet, to stop talking, to do the tasks, to sit down, to give an answer, not to do this and not to do that. But her teaching style and her embodiment of authority based on an attitude of mutual respect: She did not want the students' respect because of her role as

teacher, but because she was a person and in the same way she used to pay them respect (ibid.:Q28). I noted that she used two, sometimes combined, strategies to ‘control’ her students: One was the personal approach: She was patient, paying them respect and made them reflect on their behaviour (see Appendix IX: Figure II). The other one was the methodological approach: She applied the methods that she had adopted from her colleagues. But I observed that she had difficulties to apply them in her heterogeneous classroom. In one substitution lesson some students repeatedly showed disruptive behaviour (see Appendix IX: Figure III). After a while, she started writing the names of these students on the board. Yet, they had always the chance to improve their behaviour in order to get the name wiped off and to not get a note home. Most prominent was Baako, a student with special educational needs. She did not set the same standards for him and repeatedly explained to him, what he was supposed to do and what the issues and consequences of not following the rules would be. Though, loosening the rules for him, implied that he repeatedly involved the others in disruptive behaviour again. So, not until the end of the lesson, there were students who were disruptive and subsequently, Baako got a note home. Catriona explained that she was not resentful towards students who did not or could not cope with rules (ibid.:Q2, Q8). But she insisted, that it was important that ‘they’ll had to deal with the consequences of their action’ (ibid.:Q2). Following Print et al. (2002) in their description of the teacher personality in a democratic classroom, Catriona embodied a guiding teacher that recognised student opinions (see chapter 5.2). In her classroom, the students were also able to contest her and to discuss her position. So, she constantly negotiated her role as teacher, instead of relying on an authoritatively established hierarchy between teacher and student.

It follows that in Catriona’s school the ethical curriculum as school approach towards citizenship was reflected in the whole school practice, including the management level. Respect was the basis for social behaviour in the school and was more important than an authoritative teacher positions. It included that teachers did not enjoy amenities of an authoritarian status like secrecy in the staff room or forms of address and had to bring up lots of energy to enforce and make rules. Although Catriona described herself as too insecure to participate more actively in the democratic policy-making, Catriona identified with the school’s ethical-democratic attitude and applied it through her teacher attitude and practice.

This democratically oriented attitude is crucial for a successful democratic citizenship school practice (Print et al. 2002), because it ‘acknowledges children’s position as actual citizen rather than as potential citizens in the making’ (Devine 2002:317). In case of this school, it also recognises teachers as capable to take part in decision-making processes. So, citizenship

in this school can take place on an organisational level and therefore on very practical levels instead of through artificially created participative structures or only on a content level.

Devine (2002) claims that teachers are in need of education and support if they were to foster children's citizenship through democratic school structures (ibid.:318). I agree with her in these terms and claim that this need is not even addressed in the observed ITE programme. However, I argue on basis of this research, that (prospective) teachers do not only need training for democratic citizenship schooling, but practical experiences in democratic structures, where they can realise their own citizenship as it happened in Catriona's school. It shows to parents, students and the teachers themselves that democratic citizenship skills can be actually of practical relevance. Moreover, it provides a practical basis for teachers, which is needed because a 'democratic approach to teaching-learning' (Print et al. 2002:207) opens lots of insecurities for teachers: Apart from contesting the fear to lose 'authority' (ibid.:205) in front of students, the teachers need to clarify the role of their 'personal values' (ibid.:207) and their responsibilities towards 'guidance' (ibid.) and 'care' (ibid.) and learn to employ adequate 'classroom strategies' (ibid.:205), which I discuss more in the following subchapter. Therefore, (prospective) teachers not only need professional training, but the actual practice in democratic structures, such as in their schools, to apply it with their students.

In conclusion, the above subchapters demonstrate that in both schools, citizenship is enacted through specific teaching and learning approaches and through different levels of teacher collaboration. Yet, the schools' and also the research partners' citizenship attitude differentiates when it comes to the basis of student-teacher and staff interactions: In Catriona's case it is a democratic basis, whereas in Josh's case it is a hierarchical basis. Both, Josh and Catriona, rejected the idea of being naturally authoritative figures and yet acted authoritatively in front of students. According to Britzman (2003) the student teacher's negotiation over this 'contradiction' (ibid.:4) of taking 'the role of a cruel authority figure' (ibid.) although it is not necessarily wanted, leads towards forming 'a teacher's identity' (ibid.). So in Josh's and Catriona's cases, this process of identification led, along with the school's approaches towards the issue, to two distinct strategies with regard to employing authority. Thereby, they also laid differing bases for citizenship opportunities in schools, which affect the teachers' and the students' possibility for citizenship (comp. Devine 2002).

5.2 Citizenship, 'Teacher Beliefs' and Practices in the Classroom

As the above subchapters show, Catriona's and Josh's ideas about teaching and learning, professional collaboration and hierarchies in schools are deeply interrelated with their

schools' specific characteristics. I specify this interrelation in the following as part of their developing 'teacher beliefs' (Devine et al. 2013; Razfar 2012). Devine et al. (2013) define these 'beliefs' in the teacher context (including ITE) as 'a set of complex beliefs about a wide range of professional practices and the people, structures, systems and theoretical paradigms that underpin them' (ibid.:84). Circumstantial factors, such as 'school culture/climate' or the social and ethnic context the school is located in, influence and shape these 'beliefs', as I indicate in chapter 5.1 (ibid.:85). Therefore, 'teacher beliefs' are to be analysed always as 'situated, critical, and ideological' (Razfar 2012:64) 'narratives' (ibid.). Furthermore, these 'beliefs' need to be regarded in direct relation to the development of the 'professional and personal teacher identities' (Devine et al. 2013:85). The 'professional-biographic approach' (comp. Kanitz et al. 2014) affirms that 'professional socialisation of the teaching person' (ibid.:734; translated by M.S.) is an enduring and 'complex process' (ibid.), 'developing throughout the career' (ibid.). It implies the long-time and mutual 'entanglement between private vita and professional career' (Terhart 2013:70; translated by M.S.) of teachers. This argument shows the importance of regarding the development of 'teacher beliefs' as an on-going process that is intimately related to internal (personal 'narratives' and ideologies) and external factors (ITE, teaching standards, system, paradigms) concerning the teacher person (see chapter 6 for external factors). I further argue that this process of contestation and negotiation between professional and personal identities of a teacher is more intense, if the teacher is not yet fully qualified. Prospective teachers find themselves in a situation that can be referred to a phase of 'liminality' (Cook-Sather 2006; comp. Turner 1969) in the sense of the 'transition' and a severe 'process of identity formation' (Cook-Sather 2006). It is particular for persons in this liminal state in ITE in Ireland that they are neither full teachers, nor are they only students (see chapters 3.3 and 3.4). Yet, in this 'in-between' status, they are required to take the position of a teacher (ibid.). So, on the one hand they have to transfer the theoretical content from university into teaching practice and on the other hand they have to react to situations they have not yet or never learned about in ITE. Both situations can imply moments of exasperation and 'unnecessary stress' (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q39) for the prospective teachers (see chapters 3.3 and 3.4). In these moments, they have to assess and manage situations intuitively. Apart from learned professional standards, their personal norms and values become of practical relevance and these then cannot always correspond with their hitherto developed 'teacher beliefs'. Because of this incoherence they might not be satisfied with their teacher performance (Devine et al. 2013:85). Nonetheless, these teaching practices influence their 'teacher beliefs' in an on-going negotiation of 'teacher beliefs' and practices.

All factors that contribute to the formation of ‘teacher beliefs’, such as institutional settings, practical experience, theoretical expectations, personal motivations and interactions on various levels are heavily negotiated in this transitional phase. In this subchapter, I analyse the relation between my research partners’ ‘teacher beliefs’ and their understandings of citizenship in relation to their immediate teaching practices. I refer to chapter 5.1 that describes contributing factors towards the formation of their ‘teacher beliefs’ in the specific context of their schools. Further, I scrutinise, how internal factors contribute to ‘teacher beliefs’ and towards the (non-)implementation of these in the ITE context, whereas in chapter 6, I concentrate particularly on external factors.

According to Catriona, her job was determined by two mandates: On the one hand, the official one, which defined her job in subject specifications and required her ‘to deliver curriculum that gets them [the students] through’ (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q85; ed. M.S.); on the other hand, her own job definition – which she ascribed to all teachers – was the ‘responsibility’ (ibid.) ‘to turn out someone who after six years of school can competently cope with the world’ (ibid.). Instead of subjects, this meant teaching ‘key skills’ (ibid.) to students because these enabled them ‘to manage yourself (...), information (...) [and] to basically navigate the world around you’ (ibid.; ed. M.S.) (ibid.:Q85, 87). Her approach to accomplish her personal job definition was to let students participate, reason and discuss in her lessons on basis of mutual respect and responsible behaviour. This approach on the one hand goes along with the school’s approaches I outlined in chapter 5.1 in reference to active learning, the ethical curriculum and the more democratic instead of hierarchic student-teacher relations. On the other hand, it is interrelated deeply with her personal ideals and values. This becomes clear by the way she communicated with her students and how she expressed her ideals in front of me. To show, how she interpreted the schools ideals through her teaching and thereby demonstrated her personal values, I resume some of the points from chapter 5.1 in more detail: Catriona continuously worked on establishing a setting for respectful and responsible behaviour in her classroom. This was a condition for her ideal classroom with students that discuss, reason and participate. Therefore, she reproved her students whenever they were ‘disrespectful’ (ibid., PO, 2016e:Q38) (ibid., 2016a:Q1; 2016e:Q39) and substantiated it with phrases such as: ‘Just because you don’t like them you can’t treat them differently. You still have to be nice to them, treat them with respect’ (ibid., 2016a:Q64). She also taught respect through showing them respect and not treating them as minor children:

‘You need to teach \ you need to show them the respect they deserve as people. And they’ll show it back. Now they won’t always show it back. But they’re more likely to show it back if you make the point of always being respectful to them, cause it’s the right thing to do.’ (Ibid., interview, 2016b:Q28)

This argument indicates her very personal values behind her teaching practice, since she held, that being respectful was in general the ‘right thing’. But she also respected them because she sincerely appreciated their characters:

‘I just love their personalities (...) I would happily spend my days just sitting in a classroom full of kids, like they’re, they’re hilarious. Uhm, and the stuff they come out with and getting to know them is, like that’s the best part of the job.’ (Ibid., 2016a:Q14)

Furthermore, she asked her students to take responsibility for their actions, such as dealing with the consequences when they did not comply with the rules (ibid., PO, 2016a:Q55; 2016d:Q74). For instance, when a girl stopped partaking in class after she got a note home because she had not done her homework, Catriona had a word with her after the lesson: ‘It starts with you, take responsibility for your action. Do homework, don’t get homework notes’ (ibid., 2016d:Q74). Thereafter, the girl admitted that she had been offended by the homework note and therefore had stopped partaking in the lesson (ibid.).

Proceeding from this student-teacher relation, Catriona wanted to let the students develop their opinions instead of dictating opinions to them and being the authoritative figure in the room (ibid., interview, 2016b:Q42). She held the view that ‘the only way they learn anything’ (ibid.:Q40) was ‘through discussion’ (ibid.). She described, how she wanted to achieve this:

‘I try to get them give me the opinions. (...) I don’t want to colour their minds on issues, especially things that are controversial. (...) I’d like present them with all the facts and then let them decide (...) what they think the right thing is.’ (Ibid.:Q40, Q42).

So, she identified herself as the neutral mediator in the classroom. Another reason why Catriona refused the idea of influencing her students’ values and morals was the conflicting role she identified between teachers and parents. According to her, it was the parents’ job to teach their children morals and values, not hers. But she found, there was a general loss of values in society that she noted in her students’ behaviour. She recognised that her students had their own ‘values and morals’ (ibid.:Q30), which they probably adopted from their parents. However, these were not the values she expected and wanted them to have (ibid.).

The analysis of her teaching practice in this regard reveals various aspects that underline and also contradict her ‘teacher belief’ in her role as neutral mediator. First of all, the extent of

discussion in the classroom varied according to the subject she taught. Whereas in CSPE, SPHE and Ethics, she indeed enabled many whole-group discussions, she did less so in Irish and Classical Studies. Still, she often involved all students through group work or learning activities instead of talking in the front. Second, Catriona enacted the mediating role she wanted to have through her physical presence in the room. She was either walking, teaching from the middle of the room, or helping students, bending down to speak on one level with them while they were doing group work (see Appendix IX: Figure IV). Sometimes she just sat on one of the free tables in the room working on her iPad. So, instead of manifesting authoritative distance through teacher-centred teaching in the front, her positioning in the room communicated a student-centred attitude. Third, when they discussed about topics in Ethics, CSPE or Ethics, this brought up a diverse range of opinions and stories. I observed that not only the students gave their opinions, but also Catriona. This contrasts the role she had outlined to take in the classroom according to her ‘teacher beliefs’. So, in one of the CSPE lessons on human dignity with her tutor group, they discussed terms, such as discrimination, stereotyping, refugee. Most of the 24 students in the room contributed to the discussion by sharing their experiences with the topic. When it led to misunderstandings and conflicts between students for talking over another, Catriona usually reminded them to be polite and insisted on fair behaviour. But suddenly, when they discussed stereotyping, one of the students gave an example and asked if this was a stereotype. Catriona responded: ‘That’s not stereotyping, that’s a purely racist statement’ (ibid., PO, 2016e:Q31). Another student did not hear the example and asked him to say it again. But Catriona intervened strictly: ‘Do not repeat it’ (ibid.), without giving an explanation about why she found it a racist statement. Later on, while discussing the term refugee, a student reported that she had helped in a refugee camp. Catriona commented: ‘Very good. I bet these people won’t forget the kindness that you showed’ (ibid.:Q37). Another day, they discussed bullying and a student gave an account of a violent incident. Catriona commented his statement: ‘Violence doesn’t solve anything. You don’t have the right to hit them. Nobody has the right to physically harm someone else’ (ibid., 2016a:Q64).

These examples from classroom discussions show that apart from guiding discussions and giving everyone a space to talk, Catriona intervened and contested the conflictive statements that accrued from the discussions. Moreover, she used to give her own positive or negative comment on such statements. Thereby she clearly set limits in discussions according to her personal basic values for social behaviour, which are: ‘don’t insult people, violence is wrong

and (...) being nice to people' (ibid., interview, 2016b:Q32). She was aware that she influenced her students and was unhappy about it, because it contradicted her aims as teacher:

'I try not to. I do, I do try not to. But (...) it's very hard not to. Cause obviously you have a certain belief. It's very hard not to be biased in a certain direction. I do try to abstain. But when I do hear some of the opinions going in a direction maybe that they shouldn't, I try to play devil's advocate, trying get them to think about what they're saying (...) more so than anything else. (...) And (...)you're kinda like, maybe they wanna change their mind, but not always. But I, it is bad, like I know shouldn't do it. But sometimes you're like, oh no, I have to, I have to say something.' (Ibid.:Q41)

Thus, she struggled with the role she gave her personal values in her teaching practice, because it contradicted her 'beliefs' in a democratic classroom. In reference to Print et al. (2002), the issue is that she thought she had to exclude herself from the democratic space she created and not that she expressed her opinions. Print et al. (2002) write on the issue:

'In a classroom where democratic behaviour and organisation are the tradition this will not be a problem because students are familiar with the teacher who may express personal opinions with which the students do not have to agree. But in a classroom where the more authoritarian teacher's role is the tradition it can create problems by constraining discussion.' (Ibid.:206)

This means, Catriona could overcome the undesired authoritative teacher role by communicating to her students that she was just another voice in the discussions instead of withdrawing herself and then still interfering in discussions through the moral tone of the teacher who has the authority over right and wrong. But at the moment of research, Catriona was not able to balance her personal values and the role they took in her teaching in contrast to her 'teacher beliefs'.

Resuming Catriona's 'teacher beliefs' in relation to citizenship, her citizenship definition gives first insights into this matter:

'Ah, citizenship, for me would be sort of looking at the different strands of what being a citizen would be. So there is like your rights, responsibilities, so looking at what role people have to play in the environment around them, looking after their environment, things like that, ah, law would come into it, democracy comes into it, uhm, discrimination. All that would come under rights and responsibilities. So that you have certain human rights. But you also have responsibility to oppose other ones. And then human dignity (...), how to treat other people. Basically how you interact with society as a whole. Ah, interdependability, it's like how different parts of the society and the community depend on each other for different things whether it's locally or internationally (...). So you kinda have to be wary of all these things at once (laugh).' (Catriona, interview, 2016b:Q37)

This definition resembled the citizenship specification in the CSPE curriculum (comp. chapter 4.1). But besides, her understanding of citizenship reflected major threads of the above outline of her ‘teacher beliefs’ concerning the respectful behaviour and the responsibilities you have as person (also in relation to her school’s approaches (see chapter 5.1)). Furthermore, Catriona argued that people usually discussed citizenship without calling it citizenship and if they used it, they would ‘confuse it with nationalism’ (ibid.:Q43). But she made a clear difference: ‘citizenship means what country you’re allowed to live in’ (ibid.:Q45) from a legal point of view, whereas ‘national identity’ was a self-attribution you could chose freely (ibid.). Thus, she denied a nation-related citizenship meaning (ibid), but asserted that citizenship was a legal political status that incorporated the above mentioned ‘different strands’ (ibid.:Q37) of citizenship. According to her, those strands are comprised under certain ‘rights and responsibilities’ in relation to human rights and a democratically oriented citizenship understanding (ibid.). In daily school routines, she noted that she had become aware, how one’s individual citizenship background ‘colours a lot of opinions about different things (...) [and] understanding of certain topics’ (ibid.:Q36; ed. M.S.). She explained that in her heterogeneous classroom setting with children with migrant background she had to take this into account when explaining or approaching topics, because she could not expect everyone to have the same point of departure. Apart from these daily routines, she tried to bring in these multiple strands she related to citizenship ‘everywhere, as much as humanly possible’ (ibid.:Q38) in her classes. This was a major part of teaching students the ‘key skills’ that she personally defined as her job because it implied her ‘teacher beliefs’ in reference to respective behaviour on basis of human dignity, taking responsibilities and practicing democracy – although these enactments of her citizenship conception sometimes were constrained by the discrepancies between her ‘teacher beliefs’ and her personal ‘moral and values’. Moreover, she brought in her citizenship attitude through specific topics that corresponded with the school’s ethical curriculum such as ‘racism’, ‘national elections’, or global ‘environmental issues’ (ibid.:Q38). By means of these enactments of her citizenship definition in the classroom, her students then would learn to comprehend complex issues that affected them as citizens in the Republic of Ireland and as citizens in an interdependent globalised world (ibid.) and thus to cope with their environment. She defined this as the overall aim of her teaching practice. I conclude that what she has defined as her role as teacher and formulated as her ‘teacher beliefs’ was deeply related to her comprehension of citizenship as political status that included rights and responsibilities in Ireland and the world.

In contrast to Catriona's rather practical 'teacher beliefs' and citizenship understandings, Josh expressed these notions on a more philosophical level. His 'teacher beliefs' were based on his ideal imagination about the school's role for society in general and this ideal was epitomised by his placement school:

'What it should be is, I guess, to prepare them more for life outside of school, where there it's not just exams, but you know, overall kinda developing them and helping them, like step by step, take more and more control of what they're doing themselves. So not teaching them. But helping them to learn, helping them to become more independent step by step. So they can actually affect changes or at least approach things in their own way. You're giving them the tools, rather than giving them the content to go out and then repeat (...). You're giving them tools in both in academic sense to do well independently. But also in a social sense, to, to, (laugh) be nice people (laugh).' (Josh, interview, 2016a:Q59)

For teachers, this would imply the commitment 'to not act how society is, but (...) to try and push it step by step to what you imagine it should be, even if it doesn't exist' (ibid.:Q58), because he believed that classrooms and schools in general provided an in-between space in society. Here, the 'political reality of what we have' could be transcended with ideas of 'what we want to be' (ibid.) and what 'should be' (ibid.). Josh regarded it as a teacher's responsibility to make this difference even if it was only 'for one hour on one day' (ibid.). To comply with his aim to let students become independent thinkers, Josh found that teachers had to differentiate between the students' levels of ability according to their age:

'(...) as they get older, you're trying to kinda get them to think critically and think for themselves, look at a situation that they may not have heard of before and be able for themselves to work out what do they think is right in the situation, what do they think is wrong. (...) So you are trying to build them up from first of all, okay, don't do this, to eventually, okay what should we think about, why should we do this, have that reasoning behind them. Cause they'll be seeing situations that you can't prepare them for, that you have no idea. So I try just to give them that kind of independent sense of it.' (Ibid., 2016b:Q29)

According to him, this ideal imagination of enabling students' independent thought as teacher positively contributed to society, although 'on a really small level' (ibid., 2016a:Q44). This was his strong motivation to become a teacher. However, he regarded it as difficult task (ibid., 2016b:Q29) concerning the high variety of abilities in a classroom and the need for consistency in front of the students (see chapter 5.1.3). Besides, he argued, these ideals were endangered through the political system that put more and more inconveniences and pressures on teachers and schools (ibid., 2016a:Q58) (see chapter 6). In the classroom, Josh as a student teacher could not always comply with his 'teacher belief' to help learners to become

independent instead of teaching only contents. As I observed, his teaching practice was constrained by many factors: He was in school only for two days a week, he was a guest in his school and object of external and internal supervision (see chapter 3.3). He could not fully focus on the students. His time as a student teacher on placement was his first teaching experience and he was totally absorbed by finding a balance between external demands such as assignments, inspections, school regulations, curricula and his personal expectations towards teaching, using methods and transmitting contents. It follows that he was rarely relaxed in school. During the lessons, he was usually walking or standing in the front part of the room, or walking up to the middle. When the students were doing group work, he would sometimes walk around to help them or answer questions, but most of the time he was busy with his iPad preparing, reviewing or organising. Josh argued that he needed to build up a relation with his students to be able to manage them. But there were impeding factors that complicated this intention: One factor was his status as a student teacher, so there was a lack of time with his students and the alienating situation when another teacher was there to control his tasks. (see chapter 3.3). The other factor was his ‘belief’ in the authoritative, distanced and accountable teacher who controls the students and who keeps a very formal relation with them. Josh put the latter into practice through strict structures (see chapter 5.1.3) and a teacher-centred teaching style. He conveyed this teacher-centred teaching style through the dominant role he took in his lessons and communicated to the students. This implies that he had no open discussions in the class or let students give their opinions. When he talked about a topic, he used to ask his students concrete questions. In case a student gave an answer that was not the way Josh had expected it to be, Josh either gave the answer himself or gave very clear hints so that the student would give the expected answer. In case the answer was correct, Josh often added more explanations, or rephrased the answer. Sometimes he simply commented it positively (ibid., PO, 2016a:Q18). Furthermore, it attracted my attention that Josh sometimes used his authority intentionally to exemplify subject contents: At the beginning of one of the English lessons, he commanded a student to open a window because he wanted ‘some fresh air, some draft in the room’. The students protested because it was cold outside. After someone had opened the window, Josh said: ‘Do you feel the draft? What is a draft? What is a draft in writing? I want you to think about it’ (ibid., 2016b:Q43). Another day in a History lesson in late April (Josh, 2016c:Q23), he presented his students a ‘new’ timetable. He argued, because of the summer exams they had to get up at five and work and learn until seven in the evening. The students were shocked and started protesting. Some of them actually started taking out their journals to write down the new schedule. Finally Josh

told them, it was just to show them how the life in church had been in medieval times. So, during these occasions Josh used his full authority to let them vividly experience theoretical concepts. Although these moments substantiated his role of authority, these were the only moments when the classroom was really filled with laughter.

In spite of this teacher-centred style, Josh still found ways to let the students engage actively and creatively in their learning through participative exercises (ibid., 2016d:Q8; 2016a:Q21; 2016d:Q33) as his school's approach demanded (see chapter 5.1.1). Through tasks within the table groups, he provided a space for research and small-scale discussions. Then the students were allowed to be louder than usual, could be self-responsible learners and found creative ways to present their results (ibid. 2016a:Q18, Q31; 2016c:Q28; 2016d:Q9). Notwithstanding, I argue in reference to my observations that his usual authoritative and teacher-centred style created a space where students tried to find the answers, which Josh wanted to hear from them. There was no motivation for them to 'think critically and think for themselves' (ibid., interview, 2016b:Q29) in contrast to what Josh had described as his 'belief' in the ideal result of a teacher's work (ibid., 2016a:Q59). So, his practice was conflicting with his 'teacher beliefs' in these aspects.

Taking into account Josh's concept of citizenship in relation to his 'teacher beliefs' and his teaching practice, it is relevant to know that although he was interested in CSPE (ibid., 2016b:Q35), he was not as familiar with the curriculum as Catriona. He applied two meanings to citizenship, which show no clear relation to the CSPE curriculum. The first meaning he described was a participative citizenship coloured by political engagement:

'(...) I kinda have the view that like, you know, you're not very interested in politics but like politics is very interested in you. (...) the decisions still effect your life (laugh) nonetheless, (...) it has real relevance to you. (...) I do believe in like that, in getting involved in things, which is kinda like citizenship even it's not official voting and stuff like that, but just participating in society, getting involved in things. (...) basically you are (...) just a person who's living in a place. Like you really have to take part in it to get the most out of it for so many things (...).' (Ibid., 2016b:Q22)

This idea of citizenship implies to participate in the social environment in order to be able to change things for the better. He related this idea of engagement also to the neoliberal attitude, which the PME coordinator reflected by motivating them to 'get involved in things, make the most of what's around you' (ibid.) in order to succeed as teacher in Ireland (comp. chapter 3.1). To his second meaning of citizenship, Josh referred to as a 'narrowly defined' (ibid.:Q37), 'legal citizenship' (ibid.) or 'government citizenship' (ibid.) in terms of being a

citizen of a country. He argued: ‘that kind of citizenship could be kind of exclusive there. Like if your parents are from somewhere else then you can’t vote if you’re not an Irish citizen’ (ibid.), whereas the participative citizenship allowed one to partake in society although one might not be a legal citizen there (ibid.). So, following Josh, ‘by becoming a responsible being [and] taking part in society’ (ibid.; M.S.), one could ‘still [be] showing citizenship’ (ibid.; ed. M.S.).

He considered that both of these meanings of citizenship affected his teaching. He wanted to bring in topics and exercises, which he related to citizenship like voting or questions about discrimination in his classes because it meant giving ‘responsibility’ (ibid.:Q24) to his students. Through such topics, he meant to be ‘building up (...) [students] as a responsible, (...) independent kind of enthusiastic person’ (ibid.; ed. M.S.). They can ‘be a part of society’ because they can actually engage and participate responsibly and independently in society (ibid.). Yet, he noted that the ‘legal citizenship’ definition complicated these ‘teacher beliefs’. For instance, when he was doing a voting exercise in class during the time of the elections, he realized that not even all of these students might actually be able to vote one day in Ireland because they were not Irish citizens (ibid.:Q37). Though because of his participative citizenship definition, he found citizenship ‘should apply to everything’ (ibid.:Q35) in school and in teaching (ibid.:Q34). But he admitted that it was difficult in History, which he had to teach according to the old curriculum. In reference to his English lessons, which he taught through the new curriculum, he was able to get these topics in: ‘what’s discrimination, how should we treat people from stories (...) and say like, (...) what lessons can we have from this’ (ibid.:Q35). (Comp. ibid., PO, 2016b:Q96; 2016c:Q11; 2016d:Q23)

Thus, also in Josh’s case, his attitude towards citizenship was part of his ‘teacher beliefs’. Because one of his major aims he formulated in his ‘teacher beliefs’ was to give students ‘control of what they’re doing’, ‘get them to think critically’ and ‘helping them to learn’ to become independent learners and persons. Particularly through citizenship topics, he found ways to achieve his aims in practice. However, external and internal constraints as student teacher along with his ‘teacher belief’ in the teacher-centred authoritative teaching style and the old curriculum hindered him to practice these citizenship-oriented ‘teacher beliefs’ on an everyday pedagogical interactional level.

6. Public Community, State and Prospective Teachers:

Implications for Citizenship

Departing from this analysis of the correlation between school characters, ‘teacher beliefs’, citizenship understandings and teaching practice, I resume that the ‘teacher beliefs’ of my research partners are shaped by the schools they teach in, by their teaching practice and experiences they make as well as by their personal values. There are aspects of citizenship in the characters of the schools and in the personal values of Josh and Catriona, which are reflected in their ‘teacher beliefs’ and which they intent to implement in their teaching practice. These ‘teacher beliefs’ that are entangled with their understanding of citizenship, I will call ‘citizenship related teacher beliefs’ in the following. There are factors that impede this relation. As I show in chapter 5.2, this can be caused by personal values that contradict their ‘teacher beliefs’ (Catriona), by other ‘teacher beliefs’ that contradict the ‘citizenship related teacher beliefs’ (Josh) and by more external factors such as curriculum structures. In this chapter, I will deepen the focus on the aspects related to the latter, namely external factors that influence the practice of their ‘citizenship related teacher beliefs’. Thus, I illustrate the social, political and economical background in which Josh and Catriona are situated in their role as prospective teachers in Ireland. For this purpose, I examine different levels that concern (1) the diverse perspectives on the term public service as discussed by Josh and Catriona and other research partners particularly in relation to the threefold relationship between public community, teachers and State; (2) Josh’s and Catriona’s ‘teacher beliefs’ in relation to their understanding of citizenship with focus on their interpretation of the curriculum as means of reproduction of State ideology – including nationalism.

Josh and Catriona are both about to become qualified teachers for second-level schools. In Ireland, this implies to become a public servant in the majority of the cases. As I write in chapter 1.3.2, various philosophers examined public service – including the case of teachers – in relation to their state theories: For Weber, public servants are the ‘modern officialdom’. They keep the state functioning by administering state affairs. They are not proprietors. Still, their loyalty is guaranteed through material reward, social honour and the legality of their democratic mandate. Bourdieu defines public servants as part of the ‘state nobility’ who organise the system in a way that favours the reproduction of their inherited status and guarantees their social domination. In Gramsci’s terms, public servants are intellectuals, who assist the dominant class to uphold the pedagogical relation between state and citizens and thereby guarantee the citizens’ consensus for the hegemony of the dominant state. I deduce

from these theoretical considerations that public servants hold a specific status as professionals, which approximates them, to the political space of state organisation. This provokes claims concerning their loyalty, interests and influences in this political space as opposed to other parts of the public community. In Ireland, teachers who are paid for their work by the Government are public servants. As such they have to follow regulations, curricula as well as pay scales as mandated by the Government through the DES and its statutory bodies, which are composed of a variety of stakeholders. But the Government is not the employer of these public servants because the school management bodies exercise this function (see chapter 2.3). My research partners Josh and Catriona were at the turning point to become public servants in Ireland. This future role positions them between the State and the public community and thus, turns them into objects of the above discussion and claims. Apart from this contested status, they will still be Irish citizens, employees of a school and teachers with certain ‘teacher beliefs’. When I talked with them about their opinions on the meanings and effects of public service, I became aware of certain tensions emanating from this status particularly in relation to the strained economic situation in Ireland. Although Britzman (2003) does not directly refer to public service, he describes reasons for why public resentments arise around schooling as a public good and around teachers as stakeholders in it:

‘(...) the screen of education invites public and private projections of dreams for knowledge to make life good (...). Indeed, there is a terrific social pressure on education to matter – to do its work well (...). But when education is perceived of as not working (...) the efforts of teachers and their education is suspected as contributing to the breakdown of meaning and so to the authority in education. (...) Yet it is also difficult to figure out what public incredulity toward the profession can mean, particularly because the public was also subject to the very education it now criticizes. Perhaps the best we can say is that what makes the field of education so contentious and unique, compared to other professions, is that everyone can feel like an expert.’ (Ibid.:6)

Britzman’s (2003) argument indicates that there is a societal awareness of the relevance of formal education for social and economical change and related expectations and scepticisms among the population. He enhances the supposed know-how, which people accredit themselves as former students. Resuming the historical aspects of Irish public education, Britzman’s argument concerning the significance of public schooling for society is partly applicable (see chapter 2.2): Investment in nation-wide public schools turned out to be a key element for economic growth and international trade relations for Ireland. This brought rapidly increasing monetary wealth to the former emigration-ridden society. However, at the time of research, the big growth and wealth had passed and austerity measures, unemployment and housing crisis were restricting society. The media analysis (see chapter

2.4) indicates that all four newspapers discussed the current issues of the teaching profession including the problematic situation of prospective teachers due to the austerity measures in public service. All four newspapers jointly backed the position of (prospective) teachers and schools and outlined the problems they were confronted with. This topic, which was referred to as ‘casualisation of teachers’ or ‘the teaching profession’, was dominant in February, the month of the national elections. In March it gained even more attention, when the annual teacher conferences took place and coincided with a critical period, when no formal Government was established yet. The two bigger newspapers Irish Independent and Irish Times used this political vacuum to fiercely analyse and criticise former Governments’ shortcomings in formal education. Their language on the issues became more intense. Both introduced the terms ‘crisis’ and ‘unsustainable’ to describe the situation of the education sector. The Irish Times referred to the analysed issues also as ‘time bombs’ and both started talking about ‘war’ at the end of March. But they used the term in different contexts: The Irish Independent used ‘war’ specifically to describe the tense situation between ASTI and the Government because of the Junior Cycle discussions, whereas the Irish Times used it to describe the situation between the teachers and the Government. Subsequently, the newspapers represented a strong public voice in favour of the teaching profession. This contradicted my research partners’ points of view, who believed that the public opinion on teachers and their public service status was low and unappreciative. Yet, not the above-mentioned articles as such generated this opinion, but the negative (online) discussions and commentaries on these newspaper articles. Catriona explained her perspective on the issue:

‘(...) people feel they have a right to comment on public service jobs. (...) You know, och just suck the lot of them, they get paid enough. Like overpaid, underworked. All they do is sitting (...) the whole day and they don’t do anything. They get to go into work at nine and they swan out the door at four.’ (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q89)

According to Catriona, these people’s personal experiences and their ‘concept of education’ (ibid., 2016b:Q34) were totally out-dated and inadequate to judge today’s conditions. She took major issues with their conviction ‘that they fully understand and they’re fully entitled to have an opinion on what you do’ (ibid., 2016a:Q89) (comp. Britzman). She also took issue with their reluctance to arguments such as outlined in the newspapers (ibid., 2016a:Q92) and found that their ‘un-informed’ (ibid.) opinions were no basis to critique her job. Nevertheless, she argued that this negative attitude towards teachers was also perceptible in her classroom:

‘If kids are hearing that at home, like why wouldn’t they come in and disrespect you? (...) And it is this growing trend of you send a note home, (...) they’re like, oh, don’t listen to her, sure she’s only a wagon, or she’s only out to get you. And it’s this genuine idea that teachers are picking on kids. And you’re like, it’s just not true.’ (Ibid, 2016b:Q34)

This depreciation against herself as a teacher made her anxious (ibid., 2016a:Q90, 92) because she cared about the kids and not about things she felt criticised for, such as big pay deals, which was not even applicable in her case. The TUI representative even used more drastic terms to describe the outlined tension between public community and teachers. To his concern, Irish society was ‘beating up public servants’ (TUI, interview, 2016:Q87) because the status of public servants including teachers in Irish society was that of a ‘parasite’ (ibid.): Teachers got ‘criticised for having a job and wanting to help society’ (ibid.:Q79) and no one realised that ‘the system is at breaking point’ (ibid.:Q93). The ASTI representative regarded the issue from a long-term perspective: She stressed that ‘teachers are highly valued’ (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q9) in Ireland, because ‘education is highly valued’ (ibid.). Yet, she noted momentary ‘challenges’ (ibid.) for teachers due to the ‘anti-public sector hysteria’ (ibid.:Q16). Josh as student teacher also had a binary perception on the issue: On the one hand he told me that teaching was socially ‘accepted’ (Josh, interview, 2016a:Q35) as a ‘real job’ (ibid.). Yet, on the other hand he was aware and worried about the negative public ‘narrative’ (ibid.:Q64) on lazy public servants and their easy jobs (ibid.).

It follows that at the moment of research, Irish teachers faced a period of scepticism from parts of the population. Applying Britzman’s (2003) analysis to the research case, I argue, the meanings and importance for society, which used to be ascribed to public education, such as economical growth, could not apply anymore at times of economical breakdown. Instead, these critical voices held teachers and public education responsible for the economic loss (comp. Britzman 2003). Another aspect that comes into play regarding the relationship between the public and teachers as public servants is the role of the State and its relation to teachers. My interview partners had differing opinions on the issue, but there was a tendency towards identifying a lack of understanding from parts of the State (and the Government) and lack of practicability of proceedings in the public education sector.

The ASTI representative’s argument was directly linked to the relation discussed above between the public and the teachers. According to her, the Government had intentionally constructed a sentiment among the population against public sector workers to be able to justify ‘huge wage cuts’ after the Celtic Tiger had crashed. So politicians ‘portrayed the public sector as having great pensions, long holidays, (...) allowances, time-off, family-

friendly working conditions’ (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q16). Paradoxically, she described the relation between the teachers and the State still as ‘subject to the normal fault lines of we want better employment prospects, we want our pay back up (...)’ (ibid.:Q12). She argued that the teacher unions were important stakeholders for creating a ‘sense of a mutual (...) respect’ (ibid.:Q11) in this relation, because the teachers had a certain power as opposed to the State through the unions (ibid.). However, she ignored the on-going ‘war’ between the ASTI and the Government on the new Junior Cycle, which resulted in fractioned and thus weakened union politics and led to an alienation of (prospective) teachers from the State and from the unions (see chapters 2.3.2, 3.2, 3.4.). Further, she did not problematise the ‘private ownership and state funding’ (ASTI, interview, 2016:Q28) system that exemplifies that there is no existent employer-employee relationship between State and teachers that could be negotiated. Cormac Mahony, in contrast, clearly expressed that the relation between State and teachers was based on ‘mutual disrespect’ (Cormac, interview, 2016:Q41) and was characterised by a ‘sense of a disconnect’ (ibid.:Q40): Due to the structural division between employment and payment in the Irish public service system (ibid.), the relation was a ‘grey area’ (ibid.:Q38) (see chapter 2.3.1). He interpreted the relational value of the state’s ‘paycheck’ (ibid.:Q37) to the teacher as insignificant, whereas he regarded the teacher’s relation to the school as employer a dominant factor for teacher identification (ibid.) (comp. chapter 5). The TUI representative laid out the doubtful legal role of the Government for teachers in what he called ‘an unusual’ (TUI, interview, 2016:Q76) and ‘odd system’ (ibid.):

‘I am paid by the government, I am told what to do by the government, I’m inspected by the government and I am trained under government guidelines. (...) yes, we are public servants and we are considered to be effectively government employees. But an actual fact, we’re not government employees. We’re employees of the school.’ (Ibid.)

For him this indicated a lack of recognition of the State towards the work of teachers and a negation of its responsibilities towards schools and teachers as public servants. He referred to a prominent case in the media¹⁰ to exemplify the State’s avoidance to meet its responsibilities in the schooling context (ibid.:Q77).

¹⁰ In reference to the O’Keeffe case: In civil proceedings, the Irish State was not made responsible for child abuse by a teacher in a school because the State was not school manager and thus not in charge of immediate educational provision. The European Court of Human Rights in a further court case decided the Irish State was responsible to ‘protect children from abuse under Article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights’ (Kilkelly 2014). (Ibid. 2014; O’Brian 2016; European Court of Human Rights 2014)

According to Cormac, the above-mentioned ‘mutual disrespect’ originated because of the State’s misconception of the role schools could take in society (ibid.:Q82, 84, 86, 92, 94; Cormac, interview, 2016:Q41) (comp. Britzman):

‘(...) very often the state sees schools as the kind of panacea to all ills. So, okay we’ve a problem with obesity, or we’ve a problem with suicide and we’ve a problem with I don’t know, litter. Let’s lob a programme into schools and everything will be fine.’ (Cormac, interview, 2016:Q41)

So, for him, schools and particularly teachers were made responsible for whatever problem arose in society. This led to excessive reforms, which the teachers and schools could not handle (ibid.). The TUI (interview, 2016:Q80, 82, 86, 87, 92, 94) representative argued, they could not handle it because neither the State nor the public community were willing to invest in resources required for the expected level of reform and because the school as ‘system’ could only bear a small number of ‘major changes’ to be implemented at once (ibid.:Q94):

‘We have schools (...) trying to implement this because they’re mandated to do it. (...) But you can’t overload a system like that and expect a good outcome. We’ve got into the stage now where teachers are looking at even what might be a good idea and saying, ah for heaven’s sake, we can’t take anymore. (...) Schools are changed out. (...) And every time society starts talking, d’you know what schools should do? Teachers roll their eyes and go, what the hell is the next thing coming at us?’ (Ibid.:Q92)

Catriona supported this argument towards the impracticability of school reforms from her teacher perspective: Regarding the new Junior Cycle, she was positive about the idea, but insisted that the way it was implemented was wrong. Similarly, she considered the new Droichead programme (see chapters 3.4 and 5.2) and another newly introduced ‘professional development’ course for qualified teachers. She commented on the latter:

‘I don’t mind attending courses (...) if it’s worth my time. And that is the big if. I’m not going to twenty hours a year to sit there and have someone flick through a powerpoint and tell me something I already know. (...) A lot of people are saying, like, och, teachers are just lazy, they don’t want to do professional development. Like no, I just, like, I don’t wanna waste my time, cause wasting my time (...) wastes time making resources. It wastes the kids’ time. So, well, either make it worth my while or don’t do it.’ (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q80)

For her as teacher, her first priority was the wellbeing of her students and she sincerely doubted the quality and the positive effect of these massive changes. Besides, Catriona argued, teachers and schools had limited possibilities in what they could do for society regardless of reforms in the sector. According to her, parents had the primary responsibility

over educating their children. So, schools and teachers could not take all the responsibility of the parents and even if they could, the parents would not be willing to authorise them, because they disrespected the teachers' and schools' work.

According to the research analysis, these issues that pervaded and questioned the State-teacher relationship on legal and practical levels, effected the teachers' identification with the public service status and mutually their relation to the public. Cormac Mahony who had been a public servant in his function as teacher, argued: 'I think a lot of teachers almost buck at the idea that they might be public servants' (Cormac, interview, 2016:Q38). To describe his impression, he referred to the 'disconnect' between teachers and State and the therein-related teachers' unwillingness to be regarded as 'being the system' (ibid.:Q39) or even 'part of the system' (ibid.). Catriona's reaction on the topic further substantiates his argument. She was already regarded as public servant at this time of research. Though – or maybe because of that – she reacted very hesitant when I asked her: 'Are you a public servant?' She answered with a question: 'Technically?', I responded: 'I don't know if there is a difference'. Then she amplified: 'No, no, tech\ yeah, I'm paid by the government, I'm a public servant' (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q88). When I asked her: 'But does the money that comes from the public through the Government to you, does this establish any kind of relation?' (ibid.:Q89), she did not commit herself to the relation between State and her, but between the public and her, saying: 'I think it gives people, people feel they have a right to comment on public service jobs' (ibid.) because 'in their mind they pay for it' (ibid.) with their taxes. This again relates to Britzman's argument concerning public opinion on teachers work. Yet, it becomes even more eminent when taking into account that not only through their experience in the system they become stakeholders in public education discussions as Britzman argues, but moreover through their tax-money that contributes to paying school expenditures as well as teacher salaries (in case they are public servants). Josh, who had no public service experience so far, similarly referred to this point, calling the meaning of being a public servant 'that extra level of accountability because you're getting paid by your neighbours, basically' (Josh, interview, 2016a:Q65). Further, public service in general meant for him to work for the public and that you are 'stakeholder' (ibid.:Q67) 'of the system' (ibid.). So, 'politics really affect you' and you need to take 'responsibility' (ibid.:Q63), although 'you may not be very interested in the government' (ibid.:Q67). But for him, who was explicitly interested in politics, it also meant being able to 'contributing towards society in a valuable way' (ibid.:Q63).

Thus, the public service status for my two research partners Josh and Catriona first of all establishes a one-sided relation to the public community because it gives them a share in their

work. Further, public service gives teachers a share ‘in the system’ – the State, which Josh regards as positive effect. Yet as Catriona illustrated and Cormac manifested, this is not necessarily wanted. Moreover, my research partners’ statements, concerning the insignificant and blurred State-teacher relations, show that this share is neither relevant in teacher life nor in political decisions on teaching. In contrast, the general tone represents the resentment among teachers concerning the State mandate on the teaching profession. The union politics that were supposed to give teachers a strong voice in education politics and the basis for a self-regulated teaching profession apparently could not achieve this aim either, although the ASTI representative stressed its success.

These aspects concern the publically discussed and rather formal aspects of the State-teacher-public community relationship. A major aspect of the research, however, was to interrogate aspects of this complex relation related to practice. Hence, I further elaborate on Josh’s and Catriona’s ‘teacher beliefs’ concerning the effects of the State on their teaching practice through the curriculum and their authorship as (prospective) teachers.

Appel (1990) and Lynch (1989) discuss in the reproductionalist tone the curriculum in school as a major influence of a state on its citizens. Teachers in schools are supposed to transmit this curriculum and consequently mediate the state’s norms and values (also concerning economic production) to its citizens through the curriculum in order to uphold the hegemony (comp. Gramsci). Therefore, I asked Josh and Catriona, if they regarded the curriculum as any sort of State imposition on their teaching practice. Both, Josh and Catriona, admitted that the State had the mandate over curriculum content. But they agreed, it was on behalf of the teachers, how content was taught and this gave authorship to the teacher in how these contents were mediated (Josh, interview, 2016a:Q68; Catriona, interview, 2016b:Q65). Catriona reported that this led to a breadth in how content was transmitted in schools: Whereas in her main school teachers taught through participative methods, in her other school the teachers resorted to lecture style and rote learning. Notwithstanding the freedom of choosing how to communicate curriculum content, Catriona emphasised that she could not ‘deviate’ from the content because of the State Examinations at the end of Junior and Senior Cycle (Catriona, interview, 2016b:Q65). For her, this was especially critical concerning CSPE where she more than in other subjects rejected to dictate opinions (see chapter 5.2). Josh similarly stressed that although he could choose his methods, the momentary (old Junior Cycle) curriculum focused on rote learning for exams and thus prevented him to implement active learning as well as citizenship topics the way he would like to: ‘it’s all about the exam paper and the text paper and the person is kind of lost somewhere in between there’ (Josh, interview, 2016b:Q25) (see

chapter 5.2). Furthermore, he expected not to be able to put these educational ideals into practice as future teacher, because of the precarious situation he would be finding himself in post-crisis Ireland. He called this ‘operating in a system, where you might be less than stable (laugh) in your job’ (ibid., 2016a:Q58). On ‘temporary contracts’ (ibid.:Q48) or ‘maternity covers’ (ibid.), he said, ‘you’re not committed to a place and the place isn’t committed to you’ (ibid.:Q49), which is ‘like being a student teacher continually’ (ibid.:Q48). These ‘pressures’ of an insecure employment situation would then prevent him ‘to do your best’ (ibid.: Q49) to ‘try to change things’ (ibid.) and ‘act out how you want to do things’ (ibid.:Q58). So, he felt that as teacher nowadays in Ireland he had to stick to what was asked from him in the curriculum by the State. Although he argued it might be good for teachers’ ‘accountability’ (ibid.:Q50) not to be able to ‘lie back’ (ibid.), he insisted it still stopped teachers’ ‘ability to kinda express a different view’ (ibid.) than given in the curriculum. Catriona supported this argument, noting: ‘if you’re on a temporary contract, and it’s precarious, you’re going to do whatever it is (...). You’re not gonna give them a reason to get let, rid of you’ (Catriona, interview, 2016a:Q34). Thus, through impositions on employment conditions and State Exams the State provided conditions that according to Josh and Catriona made teachers stick more to the curriculum and State regulations than without. This more and more impeded them to use their authorship in teaching. However, as I elaborate in the chapters 4 and 5, the role of school patrons and management bodies have to be taken into account as relevant influences for determining the content, its relevance and teachers’ methodological approaches to the content mediation (ibid.; Josh, interview, 2016a:Q48-Q51, Q54).

Subsequently, I asked Josh and Catriona, how they assessed the State curriculum with regard to reproduction of nationalist ideals. Both refused this provocative approach. Catriona as Irish teacher even denied that Irish as mandatory prioritised subject in Irish schools had nationalist implications. For her, it was a matter of ‘saving’ (Catriona, interview, 2016b:Q56) an ‘official language’ (ibid.:Q58) in Ireland (ibid.:Q56, 58). Josh took issue with the term ‘nationalist’ because of Irish history regarding the separation from Northern Ireland in the period of independence. He wanted to refer to my idea rather as ‘state values’ (Josh, interview, 2016b:Q38) in education. He recognised these ‘state values’ in the curriculum with regard to the priority subjects got and how contents are chosen. He described an ‘European centric’ (ibid.:Q39) focus instead of that nationalist ‘patriotic view’ (ibid.:Q38) that the curriculum used to portray after Irish Independence (see chapter 2.1) (ibid.:Q38, 39). He claimed the lack of global examples to contest the needs of his students who had diverse migratory backgrounds and were interested in other parts of the world (ibid.:Q38). He made up for the

lack by providing additional resources for his students (ibid.). He also identified the focus on qualifying students for ‘STEM [Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths] jobs’ (ibid.:Q40; MS) as indicator for ‘state values’ in the curriculum (ibid.). Moreover, he related the economic situation in Ireland to the current exam-centred form of teaching and learning:

‘If they [the students] just got their exams, they might be very book smart, very intelligent. (...) I’m pretty sure all these people who run Anglo Irish Bank (laugh) and (...) basically brought society to its knees, were very intelligent and did very well in their Leaving Cert. But it’s not how they applied it, so you know, it’s all about, okay, getting this information but no focus on what kind of person you should be, how should you use your smarts. (...) if we just get them through, then we’re setting a status up for every odd problem, cause we have all these smart people but they may not be making the most of their strength, you know? (...) So if you kinda neglect the other parts of a person that aren’t just the academic, (...) they’ll be in society. But they may not be playing the part that they want to play, because they don’t \ they never really thought about what they want to do.’ (Ibid.:Q28; ed. M.S.)

So, Josh missed the focus on the students as persons who can set their own aims, follow them and play a role in society, instead of only following pre-given structures set by the State. He took this assumption as basis to foster again his idea of implementing citizenship in all parts of teaching in schools as outlined in chapter 5.2 to encounter this lack (ibid.).

To sum up, I assert that public constraints towards teachers as public servants and State measures, such as reforms and financial cutbacks that particularly disadvantage not yet qualified teachers, indeed affect Josh’s and Catriona’s evolving professional relation to the Irish State and their attitude towards their status as servants to the public. According to Weber’s (2008) writing, public servants are supposed to obtain special rewards and prestige in society, so that their loyalty to the State will be guaranteed. Yet, in neoliberal Ireland the opposite can be observed: They are not recognised as State employees, because the State does not claim this role and left it to school management bodies. Yet due to their public service status, which teachers in publically funded schools receive, they have to work under the conditions mandated by the State. Josh and Catriona feel not loyal to the State but accountable to the public because of this formal share they have through public service. Furthermore, they are made accountable through the mechanisms of accountability implemented by Government stakeholders who administrate the public system and which are claimed by the Public (and these claims are legitimised through their share in public expenditure) (comp. Shore and Wright 1999). Thus, I claim that Weber’s consideration upon public servants’ status in society and in front of the State needs to be reconsidered, in particular in neoliberal state organisations. Yet, my research partners do not per se feel negative about the public

accountability. They are willing to engage with professional development and reforms to improve the students' education. Josh even points out positive aspects of being made accountable for his actions, because he aims to give his best for the students. However, Catriona, who already was in position of a teacher, felt pressurised and misunderstood through derogatory public commentaries. According to my research partners, the Government's expectations and the public critique on teachers' work was inadequate with regard to teaching conditions and the lack of expertise. Yet, as Britzman writes, all feel like experts because of their own experiences in the system without noticing, as Catriona argued, that formal education and conditions for teachers are changing continually. As the research shows, this critique gains particular intensity in times of economic crisis, because education still represents the possibility to (re-)build economic growth (or instead to be the cause for the economic breakdown) (comp. Britzman).

Further, I assert that reproduction of state ideology, or rather the ideology of the dominant group, through teachers in schools, as argued by Bourdieu and Gramsci, is only partially applicable to this research case. Formal education in Ireland was and is a disputed field for ideological reproduction. As the past and present history of Irish education demonstrates, the interests cannot exclusively be ascribed to the State, but mostly to denominational institutions (Devine 2011) (see chapter 2). Through the important position that (denominational) school management bodies take in the formal education system, the Irish State never had such a centralising and authoritative position in formal education as known from other European countries. Thus, in Irish education one cannot only refer to the State as the hegemon. Instead, one has to consider the plurality of dominant groups that position themselves as ideological stakeholders in education and not in all cases correspond to Government ideology (see chapters 2.2 and 2.3). Though, the State centrally regulates the teaching profession through the Teaching Council and had successfully employed a central curriculum in all regular primary and second-level schools, which the State enforces and regulates through the NCCA and by means of the mandatory and centralised State Exams at the end of Junior and Senior Cycle (see chapter 2). Through these measures, the State overrides other stakeholders and guarantees itself a meaningful central share in the ideological influence on the population and teachers' work. Nevertheless, as I argue in chapters two and four and substantiate in chapter five, schools in Ireland are given authorship in shaping teaching and learning environments for teachers and students through the differentiated ownership models. According to my research results, a further differentiated look is necessary concerning the role of teachers in authoring their own ideological influence in teaching and learning apart from State curricula

and school managements. Therefore, I cannot agree with Bourdieu that teachers in general are part of the state nobility, who want to reproduce the hierarchical social order. Both, Catriona and Josh, wanted to go beyond curriculum content. Particularly Josh expressed his desire to use his future position as teacher to approximate what society should be, not what it was. However, I agree with Gramsci who calls teachers the assistants of the State to inculcate the population in order to obtain their consensus for keeping the system going in favour of the dominant group(s). Because, as Josh argued, state values are mediated through a specific selection of curriculum content and how subjects are classified in terms of hours and resources. Moreover, teachers are not only mandated to teach curriculum content according to the State's and school guidelines, but also have to in order to provide their students with the best opportunities to pass the State Exams. Apart from that, I enhance that they are not necessarily voluntary assistants of the State. As (prospective) teachers, Josh and especially Catriona feel no loyalty to the State as their employer. As Cormac argued, the relation to the State through the public service office is rather a necessary evil that makes their job more difficult in front of students, parents and the public community. Josh and Catriona also argue that curriculum is only content and the methods you use as teacher define how you mediate these contents and your relation to the students. Making a difference here, can allow students to partake and learn skills like reasoning and thinking critically, which according to Josh and Catriona is how they want to teach and what goes along with their definition of citizenship in education. Both express their desire to deviate from the State's curriculum and abandon the State Examination system because it hinders the implementation of their 'teacher beliefs' in good teaching and learning. However, as I show in chapter 5.2, both encounter internal difficulties to put these 'citizenship related teacher beliefs' into teaching practice. Moreover, as I outline in this chapter, both encounter external challenges to comply with their aims because of their situation of employment as newcomers to the teaching profession under public service restrictions. Due to their precarious situation on short-term contracts and a lack of job supply, they are not able to stand up for their political convictions: Fearing to give their (future) employers a reason to get rid of them and not to find another job, Catriona argues she cannot become a member in a teacher union and thus, she cannot have her teacher voice represented in educational politics; whereas Josh argues, he will not be able to teach according to his own ideology and motivations as long as there is no stability in the employment situation.

Thus, although teachers have possibilities to counteract state ideology through authorship in implementation of the curriculum and through the (only) technical option to be represented by

a teacher union, my research partners can and will not avail themselves to these opportunities because of the relations of power, which the State (and the Public) exercise on them through neoliberal employment conditions in the public sector: Short term contracts, restricted job opportunities and low salary scales for entrants function as ‘political technology’ to guarantee teachers’ accountability to State guidelines in neoliberal Ireland (comp. Shore and Wright 1999; comp. Lolich 2011:273). In this regard and referring to chapter 5.2, I assert that my research partners’ ideas about citizenship (that go along with their schools’ characters and their ‘teacher beliefs’ to educate responsible persons that partake actively in society) contradict the Irish State curriculum and educational politics that aim towards educating its citizens through rote learning and exams to make them fit into the system. According to Josh, the momentary system that ignored students’ personal abilities and desires and did not provide a space for active and critical thinking in Irish schools was one reason that caused precarious situations, such as the recent economical breakdown. The new Junior Cycle that was about to be implemented at the time of research, however, focuses more on skill formation and provides more space for active learning as desired by my research partners. Yet, from my research perspective, I cannot assert that the new curriculum provided a clear affirmation of education for citizenship in schools. I observe here a correlation of citizenship and neoliberal values: The skills to be achieved through the new Junior Cycle curriculum¹¹ basically go along with what my research partners defined as relevant for citizenship in education (TUI, ASTI, and DES 2015:2). But along with other programmes and incentives in the formal education sector (comp. chapters 2.3.3 and 2.4), the new Junior Cycle curriculum shows also an orientation towards creating economical subjects that are capable to respond to the demands of modern global and digital economy in order to renew the growth of Irish economy and respond to the claims of the stakeholders in Irish economy. In contrast, for my research partners the economic aspect of their focus on skills had no priority. The major aim of all their efforts was the well-being of their students in school and as persons after leaving school. In particular the time as adults is when they needed to be able to act responsible as citizens in (global) society, which then, for Josh and Catriona, included the ability also to confront the challenges of global and national economies.

Bearing in mind the momentary implementation of the new Junior Cycle curriculum in Irish second-level schools, I enhance that state ideology in reproductional theories tends to be taken

¹¹ The Junior Cycle’s key skills are: ‘Being Literate, Managing Myself, Staying Well, Managing Information and Thinking, Being Numerate, Being Creative, Working With Others, Communicating’ (NCCA 2014).

as static construction. Yet, in reference to Foucault, what is regarded as state ideology can better be looked at as a set of dynamic power relations that are in a process of adaption and contestation (see chapter 1.2.2). I argue that, according to my research, prospective teachers develop ‘teacher beliefs’ that are recently evolving and contain strong motivations to put them into practice. Prospective teachers are in a transition to become part of these power relations including the discourses on public education. Thus, with their transition to teachers, they also take a role through which they can influence outcomes and developments in education according to their own standards as part of their ‘teacher beliefs’. Yet, at the same time, as the research results indicate, their ‘teacher beliefs’ are influenced by power relations and discourses mediated in their ITE, but principally those mediated in their working places and those communicated by the State and through public narratives. These factors can hinder them to pursue their ‘citizenship related teacher beliefs’ and still as their cases show, they are to certain degrees able to insert these in their teaching practice with their students.

7. Conclusion

The goal of this thesis is the description and discussion of aspects of citizenship – as an open concept in the making – that attain relevance for my two research partners Catriona and Josh in their role as prospective second-level teachers in Ireland. It encompasses on the one hand the close examination of their conceptual formation of citizenship in relation to their teaching practices and ‘teacher beliefs’ and on the other hand the contextualisation of these citizenship implications. This contextualisation captures their situation of transition from students to teachers and public servants, which inducts them into a contested space in a public system.

The qualitative approach to the open research question, through PO in the formal education context, informal non-structured and formal semi-structured guided interviews including follow-up interviews and a media analysis, provides a profound and broad set of data. These data contribute to examine the topics citizenship and teacher education, which is based in the intersecting fields of Political Anthropology, Anthropology of Education and Educational Sciences and is so far not sufficiently researched and discussed in these fields. The substantial fieldwork data and its precise analysis through qualitative coding methods allowed me to grasp a multiplicity of perspectives on the topic and in-depth information on contextual implications. I did not include all data in the thesis in order to maintain the focus on the research question. In particular, I refrained from integrating most data compiled in PME

lectures and seminars. I took this decision because of the insufficient amount of data in this context for a comprehensive analysis.

The presented arguments in the thesis encompass case studies of two prospective teachers and their meaning-making of citizenship in the second-level school sector in the context of historical aspects and present socio-political and economic factors that affect formal education in Ireland. Thereby, different approaches to implications of citizenship in the teaching and learning situation are examined. The discussion of citizenship bases on the interrogation of the triangular relation between education, citizenship and relations of power. The concept of ‘teacher beliefs’ plays a significant role to approach these interrelations on the practical level of my research data. The thesis includes an analysis of how these ‘teacher beliefs’ become constituted, how their relation to citizenship is substantiated and how they are contested through diverse factors, such as the effects of governmental power relations within a non-transparent organisation of public schooling. A recurrent point of discussion is the reproductionalist argument that I scrutinise with regard to the possibilities and motivations, which my research partners Josh and Catriona have to encounter through schooling and what role their ‘citizenship related teacher beliefs’ play in this regard. The essential features presented throughout the discussion can be encapsulated in the following research results:

First of all, I point out that the Irish public school system is closely linked to Ireland’s socio-political and economic development from a British colony to an independent Irish State. According to the tensions of political powers in Ireland, either the Protestant or the Catholic denomination dominated the formal education sector. The introduction of public primary schooling under British rule was an attempt to create a unified national society in favour of the colonial Government by means of annulling the separated denominational provision of formal education. Whereas the British did not succeed in unifying the population through public education, the Irish Government, in the course of independence, was able to revive national unification through enforcing Gaelic language and traditions on a national level by help of the public school system (comp. Anderson 2006). Subsidised by the Government, the denominations adhered to their influential position in formal education since they kept providing school buildings and managements. Up until today, Irish public schooling represents a net of stakeholders that includes the denominations as main stakeholders. Yet, public schooling is centralised through the Government. This means, it is regulated by the National Parliament, with regard to legislation, the DES and by statutory bodies, which elaborate curriculum specifications (NCCA) and regulation of teacher education and the teaching profession (Teaching Council). However, the involvement of many stakeholders in

these statutory bodies and also in the management of schools implies a decentralisation of public schooling. Whereas denominational partners have a historic relevance in the system, their influence particularly in the second-level sector is diminishing through the involvement of ETBs as state-financed patrons and through various private partners and non-governmental and non-denominational organisations. This process of diversification implies an opening of the system, which commenced with the opening of Irish economy for global industry and international organisations from the 1960s onwards, when the Government started ascribing sudden relevance to public education for national economic expansion. In the wake of this era, public second-level schooling and new school forms became institutionalised to create a more unified system. It included the alignment of the objects of formal education to international standards and in accordance with the multiple stakeholders.

According to these socio-political and economic correlations that affect both, the organisation of the public education sector and the management of schools, the argument of reproduction of power and class through public schools (comp. Bourdieu 1994, 1998, 2014; comp. Gramsci 1992, 2000; comp. Appel 1990), cannot be simply imprinted on the Irish case because the ideological dominance through schools is not only exercised by the Government, but by multiple interest groups (comp. Lynch 1989). This diversity could be regarded as aspect to encounter the reproductionist argument. Yet, the diversity of stakeholders in public education represents also the hegemonic neoliberal mandate. The State's 'laissez faire' attitude towards formal education, allows non-state actors to influence public schooling according to their (economic) interests. It leads to competition between schools and school types and to inequalities namely in school provision for students and working conditions for teachers as consequence of disputes between stakeholders of different school forms (for example caused by teacher union disputes). It also implies inequalities based on school ethos because it effects the valorisation of subjects and results in discriminatory practices against students who might not fit the ethos for instance because of his/her denomination (see chapter 2.4) (comp. Devine 2011). Because of this organisational condition that has grown out of historical contexts, the state as unified and central force of ideological imposition on schools and teachers as formulated by Gramsci and partly by Bourdieu is not applicable to Ireland. Instead, it asks for a Foucauldian rejection of the state as static and universal concept. To approach the issue of reproduction through schooling in Ireland, it needs to be conceived as an effect of diverse, interwoven and dynamic power relations in a Foucauldian sense. On this basis, I argue that power relations exercised through and within the Irish public school system incorporate a hegemonic neoliberal ideology in the configuration of the system (including

ITE). This is part of diverse and mutually influencing relations of power between local and global discourses and political and economic interests in Irish education.

Apart from the major changes undertaken from the 1960s until 1990s in Irish education, which turned into an accelerator of the Irish globalising economy, the effect of the hegemonic neoliberal tendency is observable in the recent changes of the second-level curriculum from subject orientation towards more skill orientation, which global economic players demand from the workers in today's Ireland. This new curriculum is still based on a focus on exams and results, which becomes a factor for population management (comp. Foucault 1978). This is relevant because it provides a basis for national competition between schools as well as international competition for business sites and educated workforce. Neoliberal tendencies also permeate the ITE sector. This means that teacher education is presented as a 'competitive field' in which student teachers are incentivised to take responsibility for their success on the labour market notwithstanding the difficulties, which austerity implies for new public service jobs or the persistent oversupply of teachers in some subjects.

To sum up, I present the argument of reproduction through schooling in Ireland not based on state power but based on a 'dispositif', a 'system of relations', that by its means employs relations of force on the configuration of public education. This 'dispositif' is also constituted through discourses and affects discourses. However, as Foucault (1980) writes, both in discourses employed by the 'dispositif' and in governmental power relations, the precondition for resistance and alteration is implied. The research data, focused on prospective teachers, indicates that (prospective) teachers can embody this factor of resistance and alteration. This assumption bases on the idea of 'teacher beliefs' in relation to citizenship because it epitomises the possible link between a (prospective) teacher's citizenship ideals and how these can be put into teaching practice in order to effect social change on micro-levels (comp. Ball et al. 2012). Therefore, not teachers, nor prospective teachers can be regarded as simple mediators of curriculum ideologies as common in classic reproductional theories (comp. Appel 1990). On basis of qualitative ethnographic research data, as in the present case, it is possible to find out about how (prospective) teachers embody their role in the discourse. Therefore, the examination to the development of a teacher's 'beliefs' and practices, which is particularly significant in the period of initial teacher education, reveals a fruitful approach: On a practical level it constitutes the negotiation of the late-Foucauldian concepts subjection, subjectification and the role of the 'ethical self'.

The development of my research partners' 'teacher beliefs' correlate significantly with the characters and specific values of the schools they were teaching in. Contrasting this, the effect

of the ITE on these ‘teacher beliefs’ was mostly insignificant. In Catriona’s case I could not identify intersections with her ITE experiences and her ‘teacher beliefs’ at all. In contrast, her ITE experiences caused a rejection of the system including the statutory bodies and the ITE programme. In Josh’s case, his ITE experience was not as negative because he identified positive aspects of the PME structure concerning the measures for accountability and the support structures. Although it was related to his expressed ‘teacher beliefs’, the impact was insignificant compared to the influence of his experiences in school. Another influential factor for the development of their ‘teacher beliefs’ was their personal values and norms. These determined to a large degree on the one hand their social and moral expectation towards their students’ attitude and behaviour and on the other hand their expectations concerning their own teaching practice. In the on-going process of formation of their ‘teacher beliefs’, the mutual influence between personal values and professional ‘teacher beliefs’ is negotiated. In the case of Josh and Catriona, neither their ‘teacher beliefs’, nor their teaching practices are identical. Although both value active learning and the encouragement of responsible students, their conceptions and practices vary. However, in both cases, their individual ‘teacher beliefs’ correlated with their individual conceptualisations of citizenship. And although Josh’s and Catriona’s understandings of citizenship differentiated, both formulated the same aims when referring to the idea of citizenship in context of their teaching, which is: Go (as teacher) beyond the scope of rote learning and teaching knowledge that curricula and exam structures dictate, by providing students with the opportunity through teaching skills to help persons to grow as global citizens and as citizens in a democratically organised society, so they can responsibly participate in society. Thus, I argue that citizenship concepts play a relevant role for forming teachers’ ideals, approaches, motivations and determining their educational practices. Josh and Catriona wanted to achieve their citizenship-related teaching goal through addressing what they would call ‘citizenship issues’ such as discrimination, climate change, voting etcetera in their class; and teaching according to their citizenship concepts that identify students as capable and responsible persons so that they want to involve them in active learning, reflective practices, which gives students the opportunity to apply and train their personal abilities and responsibilities as citizens. In Catriona’s case this also includes the democratic classroom and non-hierarchic teacher-student relations, whereas in Josh’s case it implies guidance and clear rules enabled through hierarchies. This result indicates that the ‘ethical self’ of Josh and Catriona influence their construction of their ‘teacher beliefs’ and thus their process that forms their teacher identities. This implication entails a process of subjectification, because they become and make themselves into participants of the formal

education discourse(s). Thus, they are not only subjected by ITE contents, structures or their schools, but become focus also of their own subjection through their ‘ethical self’. The role their ‘ethical self’ takes, bears for them the opportunity to counteract the other, above-named, factors of subjection and thus becomes an aspect of ‘resistance’.

However, the research results point towards certain constraints that influence this process through discursive practice and function as factor of subjection because they hinder them in applying their ‘citizenship related teacher beliefs’. I identify these constraints as caused by (1) their vulnerability as not-yet qualified teachers, (2) the above-described neoliberal hegemonic ideology that affects Irish formal education and (3) the diversified relations of power in public education in Ireland. I resume the correlation of these factors in the following:

A major issue for Josh’s and Catriona’s future as teachers was the restraint, which the discrepancies between the teacher unions and the Government had put on them in terms of not being able to join a teacher union. The right to join a union and its advantages were practically suspended because it would have had negative impacts on their future employment possibilities. This actually only became relevant, because the austerity restriction on public service prevented them to have the same stable and permanent conditions of employment that teachers used to have before 2012 (so back than a union membership (either ASTI or TUI) did usually not impede with teachers’ job opportunities in the unionised schools). It follows that in an already constraint employment situation the new entrants in public service had to refrain from any benefits of a union membership, namely support and representation of their interests in front of the Government and school managements. Under these conditions, Josh expected not to be able to comply with his ‘citizenship related teacher beliefs’. Because under these circumstances, as Catriona reported as well, in order not to risk his job (if one was able to get one at all) he had to stick to the rules mandated by Government and school managements, which he thought would only in very rare cases imply active learning as he wished. And even if he was able to get a job in a school that supported his ‘citizenship related teacher beliefs’, he expected not to be able to imply these the way he wanted, because of the detrimental conditions and stress, which temporal and mostly part-time teaching jobs meant for a teacher. Therefore, these conditions for beginning teachers, which induce accountability and less job security, can constrain the practice of ‘citizenship related teacher beliefs’. This means that the governmental power exercised on prospective teachers favours the reproduction of hegemonic ideals as embedded in the mandatory school curricula because (prospective) teachers cannot entirely realise their ‘teacher beliefs’ that might counteract the hegemonic ideals.

But as the example of Catriona's and Josh's schools show, schools actively use the scope, which the Government provides them with through an autonomous management structure on the organisational level, in order to counteract ideologies transmitted through the curriculum and the exam structure. In both schools their distinctiveness supported the prospective teachers' 'beliefs' concerning their idea of citizenship in educational practice in class and in schools. Notwithstanding, even under these advantageous conditions in their schools, the two prospective teachers, Josh and Catriona, faced a gap between their 'teacher beliefs' and their teaching practices. I ascribe these partly to their early state in their professional career, which implies an intense negotiation of their 'teacher beliefs' and harmonisation with their teaching practice. Thus the question arises, if with growing teaching experience they will be able to comply more with these momentary 'citizenship related teacher beliefs', or will they adapt their 'teacher beliefs' to the sporadic incapacity to comply with their momentary 'citizenship related teacher beliefs' and thus not aim to imply citizenship aspects in their teaching anymore. In order to study these long-time effects between 'teacher beliefs', citizenship and school environment, I recommend a more extensive study.

To sum up the results of the thesis on a more abstract level, I engross the thoughts on two more aspects concerning citizenship as addressed in chapter 1.2.3: (1) The relation between citizenship, ethics and neoliberalism; (2) the implications of citizenship education on the relation between identity and state and public community.

Concerning (1) the relation between citizenship, ethics and neoliberalism, I depict citizenship in the context of ITE and second-level schooling in the Republic of Ireland as signifier that encompasses future projections as well as past sedimentations of citizenship meanings that in relation to the present case study correlate between ethical-political, legal, and neoliberal-economic implications (comp. Clarke et al. 2014). The differing and multiple citizenship interpretations of my research partners Josh and Catriona emphasise the possibilities of meaning-making of citizenship in relation to their developing 'teacher beliefs' by constituting a basis and source for their teaching practice. Yet, the overall ambiguities and intersections of meanings of citizenship in the educational context, as expressed by my research and interview partners, demonstrate also a dangerously fine line between ethical-political and neoliberal-economical constructions within the multiplicity of meanings of citizenship. The application of one or another setting then decides (in Foucauldian terms) upon a biopolitical application of citizenship in public schooling or the fostering of the ethical self through citizenship as part of teaching contents and practices based on mutual respect and equality between all

participants. The major issues, which I identify here, are: On the one hand, the ambiguous meaning of citizenship in the schooling context that blurs the actual aim of citizenship in schools and its role in schools. For instance I was not able to clearly identify the kind of citizenship background in the active learning and digital learning approaches of the two schools, whose managements are cooperating for example with hard- and software companies to enable their digital learning approach. On the other hand, the manipulation of the ethical-political approach through its incorporation in the biopolitical approach when appealing to one's ethical responsibilities as citizen to give his/her best in order to succeed personally and thereby being able to contribute to the community's wellbeing (economically) (comp. Lolic 2011) as I observed in the PME. This moral claim in the neoliberal appropriation of citizenship bases on inequalities and leads to inequalities (although the 're-articulations' of citizenship in the human rights discourse bear also opportunities), as Ong (2006) indicates in her analysis of 'mutations in citizenship'. As the research shows, it is the case that public schoolin in Ireland bases not on equality.

Concerning aspect (2), the implications of citizenship education for the relation between identity and state and public community, I refer to Levinson's (2011) interrogation on how (if at all) citizenship education determines a relation between identity and state and '*membership*' (ibid.:280) in a public community (ibid.). In this regard, the research data provides clear answers. But first of all it shows, that one needs to clarify the term citizenship education and in what context (formal or informal educational context) it is used. Further, one needs to differentiate whose citizenship is addressed. For the students in second-level schools who would be the addressees of citizenship education the effect would be different than to teachers and prospective teachers who would be the addressors in the first place (but can be also addresses in terms of ITE and teachers' professional development). Since the research did not interrogate students' citizenship, here further research is necessary. From my observations, however, I can argue, that for a general statement on formal citizenship education in public second-level schools in Ireland, first of all the role and the contents of citizenship education including its status in the ITE sector, needed to be clarified (see chapter 4). In terms of the role of citizenship education for prospective teachers, I deduce from the research data the following conclusions: Josh's and Catriona's concepts of citizenship reflect that they recognise citizenship (regardless of citizenship education) as legal status (Catriona and Josh) and as political status (Josh), which affects their identity in the democratic society and thus the public community within the state one lives in. Moreover, they recognise global aspects in citizenship, which would require alterations in Levinson's argument. In their

(future) role as teachers in society, they want to comply with their conceptions of citizenship, because they want to contribute to the wellbeing of the society they live in (which is not necessarily bound to nation-state borders). And they want to achieve this through applying their 'citizenship related teacher beliefs' by means of methodological approaches and contents in order to educate responsible and independent members of society. Yet, in terms of the relation between their identities and the state, this form of citizenship education removes them from what Levinson calls the state. Their educational citizenship ideals contradict the state and its educational policies. Through the constraints the relations of power have on their profession, they cannot comply unconditioned with their idea of citizenship in their teaching. Furthermore, the relation to the public community is also constrained because of the exceptional role they obtain as public servants in relation to the state and the public community. Thereby, their ideals of educational practice and of what they see as contribution to the community becomes questioned and the implementation of citizenship in teaching becomes a daily challenge against the governmental power relations and related to this the mistrust and depreciation by the public community towards their profession.

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Appendix

I. List of Formal Interviews

- ASTI
2016 Personal qualitative interview, Mareike Scherer. Dublin, February 5, 2016.
- Catriona
2016a Personal qualitative interview, Mareike Scherer. Dublin, April 19, 2016.
2016b Personal qualitative follow-up interview, Mareike Scherer. Maynooth, May 26, 2016.
- Cormac
2016 Personal qualitative interview, Mareike Scherer. Maynooth, May 17, 2016.
- Josh
2016a Personal qualitative interview, Mareike Scherer. Maynooth, May 5, 2016.
2016b Personal qualitative follow-up interview, Mareike Scherer. Maynooth, May 18, 2016.
- TUI
2016 Personal qualitative interview, Mareike Scherer. Dublin, January 25, 2016.

II. List of Formal POs

- Josh
2016a Participant observation, school, Mareike Scherer. N.p., March 7, 2016.
2016b Participant observation, school, Mareike Scherer. N.p., April 8, 2016.
2016c Participant observation, school, Mareike Scherer. N.p., April 22, 2016.
2016d Participant observation, school, Mareike Scherer. N.p., April 25, 2016.
- Catriona
2016a Participant observation, school, Mareike Scherer. N.p., March 10, 2016.
2016b Participant observation, school, Mareike Scherer. N.p., March 11, 2016.
2016c Participant observation, school, Mareike Scherer. N.p., April 15, 2016.
2016d Participant observation, school, Mareike Scherer. N.p., April 19, 2016.
2016e Participant observation, school, Mareike Scherer. N.p., April 28, 2016.
- Cormac
2016a Participant observation, NUIM CSPE seminar, Mareike Scherer. Maynooth, April 21, 2016.
2016b Participant observation, NUIM CSPE seminar, Mareike Scherer. Maynooth, May 5, 2016.
- History of Education
2016 Participant observation, NUIM lecture, Mareike Scherer. Maynooth, April 5, 2016.
- Philosophy
2016a Participant observation, NUIM lecture, Mareike Scherer. Maynooth, March 2, 2016.
2016b Participant observation, NUIM lecture, Mareike Scherer. Maynooth, March 9, 2016.
- Psychology
2016a Participant observation, NUIM lecture, Mareike Scherer. Maynooth, April 14, 2016.
2016b Participant observation, NUIM lecture, Mareike Scherer. Maynooth, April 21, 2016.
- Special Educational Needs
2016 Participant observation, NUIM lecture, Mareike Scherer. Maynooth, April 5, 2016.

III. List of Media Review by Newspaper and Month

December 2015			
Irish Times	Irish Independent	Irish Examiner	The Journal
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 20151215_Education in 2015- Good year, bad year.pdf 20151215_Education in 2015- the year in quotes.pdf 20151215_A dozen issues to dominate Irish education in 2016.pdf 20151228_Analysis- Demand for school equality is growing.pdf 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 20151214_The Weekly Read- Why do we need the new Leaving Cert subject 'Politics and Society'? - Independent.ie.pdf 20151230_Labour to promise 100 non-faith schools - Independent.ie.pdf 20151231_Pluralism must replace church's grip on schools, says McAleese - Independent.ie.pdf 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 20151209_Minister to repeal rule about religion in primary education Irish Examiner.pdf 20151229_Education Minister Jan O'Sullivan refuses to commit on teacher pay scales Irish Examiner.pdf 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 20151210_Almost half of parents would not choose a Christian school for their child if they had the option.pdf

January 2016			
Irish Times	Irish Independent	Irish Examiner	The Journal
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 20160106_Staff at teacher union complain about alleged cyberbullying.pdf 20160112_Ask Brian- Do I have to make a 'voluntary contribution' to my school?.pdf 20160115_Religious discrimination by schools may face referendum.pdf 20160119_Is this the answer to the school patronage debate?.pdf 20160125_Just six of 350 cases of alleged school abuse settled under State scheme.pdf 20160126_The plan to haul apprenticeships into the 21st century.pdf 20160127_Survey of principals shows support for less religious teaching.pdf 20160128_Rule prioritising religion classes in primary schools abolished.pdf 20160129_Guidelines aim to help special needs children adjust to school.pdf 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 20160106_Irish is vital for a lot of institutions - but there are exceptions - Independent.ie.pdf 20160106 RTE and Abbey Theatre to help train teachers - Independent.ie.pdf 20160106_Two-tier Junior Cert looms as ASTI deals with internal dispute - Independent.ie.pdf 20160112 Teachers to ballot on strike action over ban on promotions - Independent.ie.pdf 20160113_Lego is building skills among Irish teachers - Independent.ie.pdf 20160113 Teacher shortage hits our schools in overseas jobs boom - Independent.ie.pdf 20160113 Why we are going to make school admissions an election issue - Independent.ie.pdf 20160114 Labour promises childcare for €2 an hour - Independent.ie.pdf 20160115 School admissions under Fianna Fáil will be based on locality, not religion - Independent.ie.pdf 20160115 Teachers' strike action could close second-level schools and third-level colleges for a day - Independent.ie.pdf 20160118 Labour vows to reduce class size to just 20 - Independent.ie.pdf 20160120_I am a religious believer and I support removing Rule 68 from schools - 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 20160114 Fianna Fáil wants schools to abandon the need for pupils to be baptised Irish Examiner.pdf 20160115_Secondary school teachers to hold one-day strike Irish Examiner.pdf 20160119_Delays to plans for fitness to teach hearings for school teachers Irish Examiner.pdf 20160128_Government plans to increase school leaver age to prevent dropping out after Junior Cert Irish Examiner.pdf 20160129 'Archaic' religion school rule axed Irish Examiner.pdf 20160129_Junior infants children 'displaying significant symptoms of depression' Irish Examiner.pdf 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 20160115 Teachers set to strike before general election - TheJournal.ie.pdf 20160122_The New York Times has put the spotlight on having to baptise a child to get them into school.pdf 20160128_The school-leaving age is set to be increased. Is it a good idea?.pdf 20160129_Schools advised to have gender neutral toilets and uniforms to support transgender pupils.pdf

	<p>Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>13. 20160122_School facing loss of teacher linked to rising rents - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>14. 20160125_Department hardens line with ASTI over Junior Cert reform - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>15. 20160125_Funding dilemma for next government as student loans proposed - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>16. 20160128_School-leaving age to rise in drive to boost skills - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>17. 20160128_Why we need to do more care for our students' emotional well-being - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>18. 20160129_Minister scraps 51-year-old religion rule for primary schools - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>19. 20160129_Schools get guidelines on uniforms and toilets for transgender pupils - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>20. 20160131_Tables pressure on schools to steer students to third level - Independent.ie.pdf</p>		
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February 2016			
Irish Times	Irish Independent	Irish Examiner	The Journal
<p>1. 20160203_Fine Gael plans to introduce third-level student loan scheme.pdf</p> <p>2. 20160205_TUI plans one-day February strike without 'meaningful' talks.pdf</p> <p>3. 20160225_ASTI motions may spark fresh industrial unrest in schools.pdf</p> <p>4. 20160202_Eight technologies that are changing education.pdf</p> <p>5. 20160202_Politics and Society subject to come in from September.pdf</p> <p>6. 20160202_Primary concern- the underfunded start to school life.pdf</p> <p>7. 20160202_TUI president- Why I'm striking tomorrow.pdf</p> <p>8. 20160203_Classes at institutes of technology stop as lecturers strike.pdf</p> <p>9. 20160203_TUI warns of more lecturer strikes at institutes of technology.pdf</p>	<p>1. 20160201_Children from non-religious homes 'discriminated against in Irish schools' - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>2. 20160202_Politics and Society to be a new subject on the Leaving Cert - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>3. 20160203_Catholic schools are as inclusive as any other type' - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>4. 20160203 'Lecturers living on poverty line' as Institute of Technology colleges go on strike - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>5. 20160203_Strike threat for half of country's secondary schools this month - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>6. 20160204_Teachers' strike could shut down 350 schools - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>7. 20160204_UN body calls on Government to end discrimination against children on religious grounds - Independent.ie.pdf</p>	<p>1. 20160202_Leaving Cert pupils to study politics and society Irish Examiner.pdf</p> <p>2. 20160202_Limerick school re-enacts 1916 walk Irish Examiner.pdf</p> <p>3. 20160204_Colleges' 'economic value cut' say striking lecturers and researchers Irish Examiner.pdf</p> <p>4. 20160205_UN- End religious criteria in schools Irish Examiner.pdf</p> <p>5. 20160208_Schools to close as union approves teachers' strike Irish Examiner.pdf</p> <p>6. 20160217_Jan O'Sullivan refuses to rule out introducing third-level fees Irish Examiner.pdf</p>	<p>1. 20160204_The UN has called Ireland out on religious schools' 'discriminatory admissions policies'.pdf</p>

10. 20160208_No skirting the school uniform debate.pdf	8. 20160208_Teachers get to grips with new coding course - Independent.ie.pdf	7. 20160220_Fianna Fáil promises to freeze third-level fees despite surging costs Irish Examiner.pdf	
11. 20160208_Student loan scheme 'urgently required' at third level, says experts body.pdf	9. 20160212_TUI calls off strike threatened in second-level schools on February 24 - Independent.ie.pdf	8. 20160223_Children living in hotels due to housing crisis struggle to attend school Irish Examiner.pdf	
12. 20160208_Third-level system in danger of being 'stressed to the point of breaking'.pdf	10. 20160216_Students who get 20pc in new junior cycle will pass exams - Independent.ie.pdf	9. 20160226_School principal takes leave to join humanitarian effort in Med Irish Examiner.pdf	
13. 20160216_ASTI opposition means only some benefit from junior cycle reform.pdf	11. 20160217_Labour won't reveal position on college fees until after election - Independent.ie.pdf	10. 20160227_EU warns against cutting taxes as infrastructure suffers Irish Examiner.pdf	
14. 20160216_Reforms to see students who get 20% in Junior Cert exams pass.pdf	12. 20160225_Going to college- Fewer choices without European language - Independent.ie.pdf	11. 20160229_Church to base school admissions on location regardless of religious affiliation Irish Examiner.pdf	
15. 20160216_Student loans- Imagine a degree for less than the cost of a Ford Fiesta.pdf	13. 20160225_Principals must deliver on extra guidance counselling hours - Independent.ie.pdf		
16. 20160217_Labour declines to rule out rising fees for third-level students.pdf	14. 20160226_Education sector lost 27,600 days to strikes - Independent.ie.pdf		
17. 20160222_Where now for junior cycle reform?.pdf			
18. 20160223_We don't need no free-market education.pdf			
19. 20160226_Parents campaign over 'chronic shortage' of school places.pdf			
20. 20160226_School admissions- 'The least you expect in a civilised society is a place for your child'.pdf			

March 2016			
Irish Times	Irish Independent	Irish Examiner	The Journal
1. 20160301_The Stem obsession does a disservice to arts and humanities.pdf	1. 20160302_Art of teaching and learning- when 1916 is more than a history lesson - Independent.ie.pdf	1. 20160301_Primary teachers to be balloted Irish Examiner.pdf	1. 20160308_Primary school teachers haven't had promotions for eight years.pdf
2. 20160301_No country for young teachers- the two-tier pay problem.pdf	2. 20160302_Choosing the right Leaving Cert subjects for you - Independent.ie.pdf	2. 20160307_Schools not dealing with 'cyber bullying' Irish Examiner.pdf	2. 20160314_Mandatory gender quotas recommended for NUI Galway · The Journal.ie.pdf
3. 20160302_Irish students well behind world's best in maths results.pdf	3. 20160302_Overloaded second-level school principals need support teams - Independent.ie.pdf	3. 20160309_Gaeilge to become a full working language of the European Union Irish Examiner.pdf	3. 20160314_Secular Schools Ireland to apply to run three new primary schools in Dublin.pdf
4. 20160303_New teachers in mentoring scheme showing reduced stress levels.pdf	4. 20160303_Schools to close for 3 days for JC reform - Independent.ie.pdf	4. 20160314_Pressure of school is teenagers' big worry Irish Examiner.pdf	
5. 20160310_Brian Mooney- Who's going to pay for extra college places?.pdf	5. 20160304_'No applications' for some second-level teaching vacancies - Independent.ie.pdf	5. 20160323_Student mental health impacted by staff cuts Irish Examiner.pdf	4. 20160315_ 'We need to educate children about food that doesn't come from a packet'.pdf
6. 20160310_Higher education sector under pressure as never before.pdf	6. 20160308_Government will ignore college		
7. 20160310_INTU backs industrial action			

<p>over promotions, workload.pdf</p> <p>8. 20160310_Uncertain election means third-level reforms may be delayed.pdf</p> <p>9. 20160312_Jan O'Sullivan will not attend teachers' conferences.pdf</p> <p>10. 20160314_TUI motions may spark fresh industrial unrest in schools.pdf</p> <p>11. 20160315_Technological universities- are they really such a good idea ?.pdf</p> <p>12. 20160315_Third-level colleges face penalties over 'poor performance'.pdf</p> <p>13. 20160315_Tom Bolland- We finally know for sure how our colleges are faring.pdf</p> <p>14. 20160316_Secondary school teachers threaten autumn strikes.pdf</p> <p>15. 20160322_Five time bombs facing a new minister for education.pdf</p> <p>16. 20160323_Teachers say cuts making it harder to help vulnerable pupils.pdf</p> <p>17. 20160328_ASTI leadership faces crisis over disengaged majority.pdf</p> <p>18. 20160328_Flight of the teachers could leave Irish schools short.pdf</p> <p>19. 20160329_Analysis- Teachers' conferences to set scene for autumn campaign.pdf</p> <p>20. 20160329_Ask Brian- I'm 18 but I am treated like a child by my school.pdf</p> <p>21. 20160329_ASTI conference- teachers back vote over 'heinous' pay gaps.pdf</p> <p>22. 20160329_ASTI says teachers' pay scales must be top of agenda for next minister.pdf</p> <p>23. 20160329_New teachers to lose €300,000 over pay cuts, TUI warns.pdf</p> <p>24. 20160329_Why we need more T-shaped graduates.pdf</p> <p>25. 20160330_'It's hard when you see others doing the same job paid more'.pdf</p> <p>26. 20160330_ASTI members back motion to cease working extra hours.pdf</p> <p>27. 20160330_Teachers criticise different pay rates.pdf</p>	<p>funding at its peril - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>7. 20160308_Student loans scheme would cost graduates up to €40 a week - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>8. 20160309_Katherine Donnelly- It's hard to ignore impact of cuts in guidance - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>9. 20160309_New plan for government must prioritise plan for funding third-level education - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>10. 20160309_On a teacher's wage, I may never be able to afford a mortgage - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>11. 20160309_Writing their own history lessons - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>12. 20160314_Schools scramble to be first to offer pupils coding course - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>13. 20160316_ASTI planning wave of one-day strikes in secondary schools in opposition to Junior Cert reform - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>14. 20160317_Teachers in one-day strike threat over new-style Junior Cert exams - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>15. 20160317_Teachers to go on strike over Junior Cert - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>16. 20160323_Staff cuts hurting mental health aid to students - 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28. 20160331_Teachers go to war over pay, productivity and the junior cycle.pdf	<p>homelessness in classrooms - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>25. 20160329_Two-tier salary scales in public sector must go, says Ictu boss - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>26. 20160329_Young teacher's maximum mortgage allowed her to buy 'ruin in Co Leitrim' - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>27. 20160330_'We won't allow you to turn our schools into businesses' - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>28. 20160330_€65,000 mortgage would be most I could get - but I work in Dublin - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>29. 20160330_ASTI backs vote for industrial action over 'appalling' pay inequalities - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>30. 20160330_Baptism barrier 'a dark stain on national conscience' - Ferriter - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>31. 20160330_Plea for 'common sense' over hugely unproductive Croke Park Agreement hours - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>32. 20160330_Secondary teachers plunge junior cycle reform into fresh chaos - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>33. 20160330_TUI chief claims young teachers are being treated as 'galley slaves' - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>34. 20160331_'Women do not progress beyond entry level' - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>35. 20160331_ASTI plan to stop working extra 33 hours - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>36. 20160331_ASTI refusing to write new school reports - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>37. 20160331_Industrial action to begin at IT's next week - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>38. 20160331_Teachers 'tired of baking rice krispie buns' just to pay school bills - Independent.ie.pdf</p>	Examiner.pdf	
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Irish Times	Irish Independent	Irish Examiner	The Journal
1. 20160414_Mandatory gender quotas proposed for NUI Galway.pdf	1. 20160406_Plan well ahead if a child has speech and language difficulties - Independent.ie.pdf	1. 20160401_Calls for a national audit to ensure school fire safety Irish	1. 20160403_Only way to pay young public servants equally

2. 20160404_Eight ways to get the most out of your mocks.pdf 3. 20160405_Epilepsy and the Leaving Cert- 'If it strikes, that exam is over for me'.pdf 4. 20160405_Teachers must remain open to learning.pdf 5. 20160405_Trinity students take 'privilege walk' to highlight access issues.pdf 6. 20160411_ 'Unless Junior Cert dispute is resolved, I face being unemployed'.pdf 7. 20160412_Mind the gap- the stark class divide in access to third level.pdf 8. 20160412_Shrewd move- board games that prepare students for life.pdf 9. 20160412_The psychological effects of hardship are a barrier to higher educa5on.pdf 10. 20160412_Third-level courses at 'crisis point' due to cuts, report says.pdf 11. 20160414_College students should be treated as partners not consumers – HEA.pdf 12. 20160414_Educa5on-focused crèche inspections get underway.pdf 13. 20160414_Student loan scheme unlikely within life5me of next government.pdf 14. 20160416_Former academic welcomes gender quota proposal for NUI Galway.pdf 15. 20160419_ASTI issues warning over junior cycle training.pdf 16. 20160419_Concern over requirement to study Koran as part of Leaving Cert Arabic exam.pdf 17. 20160419_Trinity College Dublin eyes up 'silicon docks' expansion.pdf 18. 20160421_ASTI rejects talks with Department over pay and working hours.pdf 19. 20160422_ASTI directs teachers not to provide cover for colleagues.pdf 20. 20160425_Ins5tutes play key role in	2. 20160406_Supporting transgender students in schools - Independent.ie.pdf 3. 20160406_SUSI is now open for grant applications - Independent.ie.pdf 4. 20160408_Deirdre Conroy- It's time to re-examine the tired old Leaving Certificate - Independent.ie.pdf 5. 20160408_I've a Masters, but I'm struggling by on just seven hours a week - Independent.ie.pdf 6. 20160408_Promotions ban denies young teachers chance of career progression - Independent.ie.pdf 7. 20160410_More Irish children now taught by parents at home - Independent.ie.pdf 8. 20160412_Junior Cycle students to write part of own reports - Independent.ie.pdf 9. 20160412_Third-level departments at 'crisis point' - Independent.ie.pdf 10. 20160414_Answers to some common SUSI questions - Independent.ie.pdf 11. 20160414_Leaving Cert higher level maths needs double the class time - Independent.ie.pdf 12. 20160414_Pre-school inspectors to visit crèches in review of standards - Independent.ie.pdf 13. 20160414_Teens get a handle on everyday social issues - Independent.ie.pdf 14. 20160415_Colleges told they must involve students in decision-making - Independent.ie.pdf 15. 20160415_NUI Galway told to bring in gender quotas - Independent.ie.pdf 16. 20160415_Reform to make it easier for students to get bigger grants - Independent.ie.pdf 17. 20160418_Movie magic- course teaches students how to bring fantasy to life - Independent.ie.pdf 18. 20160418_One third of Asti teachers defy union ban - Independent.ie.pdf 19. 20160420_'Earn and learn' options for school-leavers - Independent.ie.pdf 20. 20160420_'If a student comes to me with 36pc after the mocks I would say you are doing okay, there is time' - Independent.ie.pdf 21. 20160420_Google takes pupils on virtual tour -	2. 20160401_Jobs 'risk' as junior cycle row intensifies Irish Examiner.pdf 3. 20160401_Private school 'elitism' masks staff's poor pay Irish Examiner.pdf 4. 20160401_Women suffering miscarriage forced back to work in schools Irish Examiner.pdf 5. 20160404_Teachers warned they must deliver hours Irish Examiner.pdf 6. 20160406_Renegotiation of public sector pay deals ruled out Irish Examiner.pdf 7. 20160409_Creches- Shortage of places for extra free year Irish Examiner.pdf 8. 20160411_1916 letters give students different slant on history Irish Examiner.pdf 9. 20160414_Unicef- Third of Irish children live in materially deprived households Irish Examiner.pdf 10. 20160420_Industrial Unrest- What the key groups want Irish Examiner.pdf 11. 20160422_New civil servants earning €7,000 less than colleagues Irish Examiner.pdf 12. 20160426_Exams body 'cannot probe' claims of Leaving Cert leaks Irish Examiner.pdf 13. 20160429_Concern at basic skills at Leaving Cert higher level maths Irish Examiner.pdf	is to end generous pension regime.pdf 2. 20160414_One-third of Irish children miss out on housing, heating and good meals.pdf 3. 20160417_Creche owner starts campaign to make Irish schools 'sweets free zones'.pdf 4. 20160422_Donegal school to install CCTV after 'human excrement left in classroom'.pdf 5. 20160425_Irish is considered among the hardest and least interesting subjects in school.pdf 6. 20160428_566 new resource teachers are on their way for children with special needs.pdf 7. 20160428_Male students are getting better grades in higher level maths.pdf 8. 20160429_Ireland and the EU are backing a massive €230 million expansion at DCU.pdf
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<p>aYrac5ng local students to third level.pdf</p> <p>21. 20160425_Proximity to college raises chances of disadvantaged going.pdf</p> <p>22. 20160425_Rising number of students exempt from studying Irish.pdf</p> <p>23. 20160427_Schools receive na5onal recogni5on for work in promo5ng diversity.pdf</p> <p>24. 20160429_Concern at 'basic skills' of many Leaving Cert maths pupils.pdf</p> <p>25. 20160429_Department of Educa5on warns teachers about rejec5ng extra hours.pdf</p> <p>26. 20160429_Dismantling Catholic ethos of schools would leave 'moral vacuum'.pdf</p> <p>27. 20160430_DCU plans €230m expansion across four Dublin campuses.pdf</p> <p>28. 20160430_Educate Together rejects Catholic 'self-harm' warning.pdf</p>	<p>Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>22. 20160420_Should you stick with honours maths? - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>23. 20160422_Principal 'baffled' after 'excrement and graveyard kerbstones' attack on school - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>24. 20160425_How do you get around to listening to 34 pupils reading?' - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>25. 20160425_130,000 primary pupils are being squeezed into 'supersized' classes - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>26. 20160426_Applications rise for college disability route - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>27. 20160427_Centre will focus on better ways to assess students - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>28. 20160427_It is time to end junior cycle uncertainty for pupils and parents - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>29. 20160427_Parents are key in deciding who runs nine new schools - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>30. 20160427_Sky's the limit when it comes to career programme - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>31. 20160427_Tips for making the most of pre-exam study - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>32. 20160428_Katherine Donnelly- Not every Leaving Cert student needs higher-level maths - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>33. 20160428_Students chasing honours maths bonus risk being out of their depth - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>34. 20160429_Development plan to transform DCU will cost €230m - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>35. 20160429_Extra 620 resource teachers planned next year - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>36. 20160429_O'Sullivan to appeal directly to teachers in exam reform row - Independent.ie.pdf</p> <p>37. 20160429_Schools to share €30m for essential repairs - Independent.ie.pdf</p>	
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IV. List of Codes and Quotations: Media Review

List of Codes	Irish Times	Irish Independent	Irish Examiner	The Journal	sum of quotations per code
issue	81	28	20	6	135
ASTI	45	26	16	1	88
post-financial crisis/austerity	34	21	16	4	75
TUI	32	22	16	3	73
developments	39	26	4	3	72
higher education	37	28	4	3	72
DES	28	28	11	4	71
Government	31	23	10	4	68
election	22	26	14	3	65
industrial action	24	22	11	3	60
newly qualified teachers	24	18	13	3	58
Ireland	21	20	5	7	53
teacher salary	21	15	14	3	53
teachers	21	15	13	4	53
second-level schools	19	25	4		48
DES/JS	16	19	8	3	46
cutbacks	17	17	9	1	44
finances	25	13	4	2	44
junior cycle reform	19	21	4		44
primary schools	21	15	5	3	44
society	12	23	6	2	43
equality	13	16	6	7	42
quality	17	15	6	2	40
teacher conferences	12	14	12	1	39
learning	16	19	3		38
Leaving Certificate	12	18	6	2	38
assessment	20	13	3		36
INTO	9	17	9	1	36
parents	11	17	2	6	36
schools	3	21	7	5	36
students	8	19	8	1	36
religion	14	12	4	5	35
employment	5	7	18	3	33
government finances	18	7	5	1	31
Institutes of Technology	18	9	3	1	31
discrimination	12	9	4	5	30
subjects	9	14		3	26
teacher casualisation	16	6	3	1	26
need for action	1	15	5	4	25
school system	14	8	2	1	25
workload	12	7	5	1	25
higher education finances	16	6	2		24
teacher training	8	14	2		24
legislation	14	2	5	2	23
principals	4	13	4	2	23
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post-financial crisis/austerity	34	21	16	4	75
TUI	32	22	16	3	73
developments	39	26	4	3	72
higher education	37	28	4	3	72
DES	28	28	11	4	71
Government	31	23	10	4	68
election	22	26	14	3	65
industrial action	24	22	11	3	60
newly qualified teachers	24	18	13	3	58
Ireland	21	20	5	7	53
teacher salary	21	15	14	3	53
teachers	21	15	13	4	53
second-level schools	19	25	4		48
DES/JS	16	19	8	3	46
cutbacks	17	17	9	1	44
finances	25	13	4	2	44
junior cycle reform	19	21	4		44
primary schools	21	15	5	3	44
society	12	23	6	2	43
equality	13	16	6	7	42
quality	17	15	6	2	40
teacher conferences	12	14	12	1	39
learning	16	19	3		38
Leaving Certificate	12	18	6	2	38
assessment	20	13	3		36
INTO	9	17	9	1	36
parents	11	17	2	6	36
schools	3	21	7	5	36
students	8	19	8	1	36
religion	14	12	4	5	35
employment	5	7			

1916		6	3	1	10	
accountability	7	2	1		10	
back junior cycle reform	3	7			10	
class sizes	5	1	2	2	10	
crisis	3	5	2		10	
EU comparison	3	3	3	1	10	
Flanna Fáil	4	3	3		10	
name	7	2	1		10	
student performance	8	1	1		10	
supervision and substitution	6	1	3		10	
two-tier system	3	6	1		10	
amendment	1	4	2	2	9	
community and comprehensive school with mixed staff control	4	3	2		9	
emotional well-being	1	6		2	9	
Fine Gael	2	2	3	2	9	
internal issue	5	4			9	
internal issue	4	4	1		9	
management	1	5	2	1	9	
morale	5	2	2		9	
NCCA	4	4	1		9	
new technologies	1	7	1		9	
penalties	7		2		9	
soft skills	2	6	1		9	
student support	4	3	1	1	9	
allowances		4	4		8	
criticism	1	5	2		8	
future	1	3	2	2	8	
historical developments	2	4	2		8	
illness	2	3	1	2	8	
increments	4	2	2		8	
middle management	3	3	1	1	8	
multidenominational education	2	3	2		8	
public health	1	3	2	2	8	
global	2	3	2		7	
Irish	1	3	1	2	7	
migrant population	2	3	1	1	7	
performance	5	2			7	
school places	4	2	1		7	
school uniform	4	2		1	7	
stem subjects	4	2	1		7	
student pastoral care structure	1	3	1	2	7	
support service		3	3	1	7	
Teaching Council	3	1	3		7	
transition year	1	5	1		7	
accommodation	1	3	1	1	6	
engagement	2	3	1		6	
infrastructure	1	2	2	1	6	
job satisfaction	1	3	1	1	6	
Junior Certificate	1	3	1	1	6	
lack of Government	4	2			6	
national comparison		5	1		6	

3

new Junior Cycle Profile of Achievement	1	3	2		6	
non-denominational schools		4	1	1		6
pluralist society	5	1				6
politics	1	3	2			6
practical skills	3	3				6
rental crisis		3	2	1		6
teaching practice	2	1	3			6
anger	2	1	2			5
boards of management	2	1	2			5
children rights		2	2	1		5
citizenship	2	3				5
community national school as pilot	5					5
competition	3	2				5
EU	1		3	1		5
freedom	3	2				5
help young people	2		2			5
modern		4	1			5
National Skills Strategy report		3	1	1		5
new religion, belief and ethics' classes	2		3			5
Politics and Society	2	2	1			5
second-level teacher unions	4		1			5
democracy	2	2				4
Educate Together	2	1		1		4
education partners	1	3				4
fitness-to-teach hearings	1		3			4
guidelines		2		2		4
leadership	1	3				4
lecturer casualisation		1	3			4
minorities			3	1		4
OECD report	4					4
preschool education	1	1	1	1		4
projects		1	1	2		4
public perception	2	1	1			4
special educational needs	3			1		4
state	1	1		2		4
structure	2	2				4
student grant	1	3				4
teaching methods	1	3				4
transgender	1	2		1		4
UN HCR	3	1				4
values	1	2		1		4
community and diversity	3					3
FEMPI legislation		1	2			3
foreign direct investment	1	2				3
free education	2		1			3
income	2		1			3
INTO power	3					3
Irish Congress of Trade Unions		1	2			3
Irish constitution		2		1		3
Joint Managerial Body	1	2				3
locality	2			1		3
more teachers		2	1			3

4

over and undersupply of teachers	1	2			3
pension schemes		2		1	3
PMIE		1	1	1	3
private school	2		1		3
public schools	2		1		3
resource teachers		1	1	1	3
school		2	1	1	3
school leaving age		1	1	1	3
symbolic		2	1		3
tradition	1	1		1	3
Traveller	1		1	1	3
UN CRC		1	1	1	3
voluntary contributions	1	2			3
abortion			1	1	2
abuse	1		1		2
anti-educational			1	1	2
Association of Management of Secondary Schools	1		1		2
ASTI unattractive for newly qualified teachers			2		2
attacks on school		1		1	2
autonomy		2			2
back Lansdowne Road	2				2
critical thinking		1	1		2
critique against government institutions	1		1		2
CSPE		2			2
DES transfer accountability and responsibility onto schools		1		1	2
Education Act		1	1		2
efficiency	2				2
ethical and moral education	1		1		2
exploitation		2			2
feedback		2			2
food education				2	2
funding by industry	2				2
gaeliscoilleana				2	2
Garda			1	1	2
Garda Vetting			2		2
good citizen	1	1			2
internet		1	1		2
Irish Rail			1	1	2
job amenities	2				2
language requirements		2			2
Leaving Certificate Applied		1	1		2
literacy and numeracy	2				2
Luas			1	1	2
mentoring and education	2				2
National Council for Special Education		1		1	2
new schools		1		1	2
overweight				2	2
political participation		2			2
power	1			1	2
prefabs		1	1		2

preschool education finances	1	1			2
qualification		2			2
Quality and Qualifications Ireland report	1	1			2
refugee	1			1	2
schools suppressing identity of students	1	1			2
Sinn Féin			2		2
social transfer			1	1	2
teacher-education programme change	1	1			2
time bombs	2				2
Unicef			1	1	2
war	1	1			2
Ward Report	2				2
"abuse" of sacrament				1	1
"flexible leadership team structure"		1			1
adult students	1				1
Amnesty International				1	1
apartheid				1	1
Arabic	1				1
arts	1				1
ASTI membership unattractive			1		1
battle		1			1
betrayal			1		1
career		1			1
Centre for Assessment Research and Policy in Education		1			1
children				1	1
civic education		1			1
Civil and Public and Services Union			1		1
civil rights		1			1
civil society		1			1
confidence		1			1
corporate tax			1		1
Cosán	1				1
data	1				1
David Duffy	1				1
De Lacy College Ashbourne		1			1
DES frustrated		1			1
DES no trust in teachers	1				1
differences between private and public schools in state funding for teachers			1		1
Dublin commuter belt					1
ECHR	1				1
Educational Society of Ireland				1	1
empowerment	1				1
English as second language			1		1
english speaking	1				1
environment				1	1
ESRI report	1				1
EU annual report			1		1
euphemism					1
European standards	1				1
failure	1				1

free market	1						1	
google		1					1	
home schooling		1					1	
human rights					1			
humanities	1						1	
innovation		1					1	
International Human Rights Day					1		1	
internet use in school	1						1	
intrinsic benefits	1						1	
Koran	1						1	
Labour Court				1			1	
learning support for teachers		1					1	
Leaving Certificate Vocational Programme				1			1	
legal responsibility	1						1	
localism		1					1	
low-income students	1						1	
management bodies		1					1	
media	1						1	
memebribs cannot leave union during dispute				1			1	
miscarriage				1			1	
Moirá Leydon	1						1	
National Access Plan for Higher Education	1						1	
national agreement				1			1	
New York Times					1		1	
no lack of public servants				1			1	
nurses				1			1	
O'Keefe case	1						1	
online petition						1	1	
peace					1		1	
personality				1			1	
prevention	1						1	
privilege	1						1	
progressive	1						1	
racism	1						1	
referendum						1	1	
reject	1						1	
safety				1			1	
sanctions				1			1	
school management	1						1	
second-class citizens				1			1	
Secular Schools Ireland					1		1	
sibling rule				1			1	
social welfare				1			1	
special needs assistants				1			1	
standards				1			1	
strategy games	1						1	
students as consumers	1						1	
students as partners	1						1	
studying				1			1	
teacher conference 2015					1		1	
teacher for Travellers				1			1	
teacher protection	1						1	

7

trustee									1
union membership restricts employment possibilities						1			1
United Nations conference								1	1
Universal Declaration of Human Rights								1	1
who is guilty?					1				1
work force					1				1
work-life balance					1				1
working class					1				1
young members not allowed to participate in conference						1			1
young teachers afraid to speak					1				1
youth employment					1				1
Sum of Quotations per newspaper					1505		1377	673	255
Number of Articles per newspapers					91		112	52	21
									3810

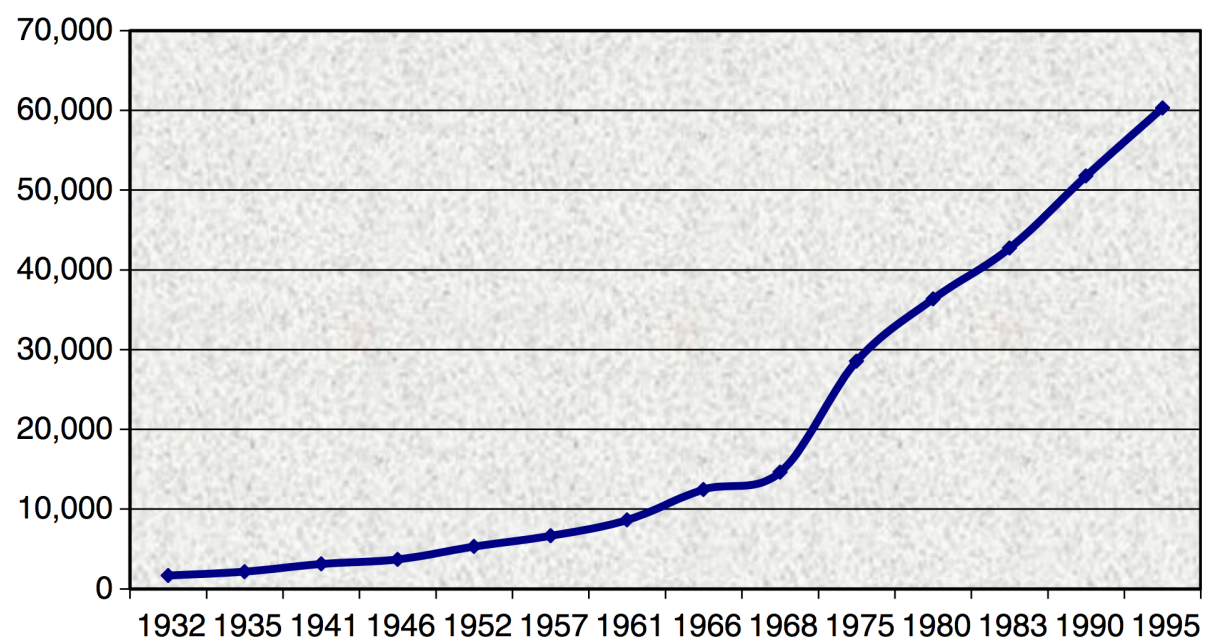
8

V. List of Codes and Quotations: Interviews and Field Protocols

Group	Code	quotations per code
2. Irish school system	Celtic Tiger -> effects on school system	3
	Celtic Tiger -> effects on teachers	4
	Death of the Celtic Tiger -> effects on teachers	18
	Death of the Celtic Tiger / financial crisis -> effects on school system	20
	Demarcation UK school system	6
	Free second-level schooling	2
	History of the Irish school system	16
	Influences on the Church on Irish school system	4
	Schools and economy (historically)	0
	Stakeholders in school education / education community	93
3. Citizenship in school	CSPE and citizenship	14
	CSPE and new Junior Cert	8
	CSPE and teacher education	47
	CSPE in teaching practice / schools	39
	What is citizenship?	12
	Citizenship and 'Politics and Society'	4
	Citizenship and citizenship education	2
	Citizenship and schools	7
	Citizenship and teacher education	13
	Citizenship and teachers	25
	Citizenship education and education	10
	Citizenship stakeholders	2
4. ITE	Death of the Celtic Tiger -> effects on newly qualified teachers / student teachers	48
	Half in en half out - student or teacher or what?	11
	Induction / Probation	37
	Initial Teacher Education (ITE)	7
	Inspections and teacher education	19
	PME content	46
	PME placement	31
	PME structure	23
	Stakeholders in ITE	22
5. Citizenship as educational practice	Citizenship as educational practice	55
	Curriculum as a nationalist agenda?	12
	The power of teachers (society, community, role)	18
	The new Junior Cert	31
	The role of the school - young learners, young teachers, young schools	120
	Address controversial topics in class	26
	Classroom management	284
	Democracy in the classroom / in schools - prescribe opinions or let opinionate	106
	Democracy in the staff room	7
	Learning activities, school project, engagement	70
	Racism in schools / misbehaviour	85
	Teacher personality: allow questions / making mistakes / learning	44
	Teacher personality: being the sovereign	176
	Teaching transparency (team teaching, observing, make students understand what's going on etc.)	33

	The gap between learning to teach and teaching	25
6. Austerity and teaching	(Austerity-) teachers (public service) - media / public perception	33
	Austerity against teaching ideologies	6
	Global Capitalism, knowledge economy, international education comparisons	28
	Neoliberalism in education	0
	Investment in education, paoff	4
	Relation: state - public service - teachers (employer/funding controversy)	23
	Tuition fees / they want my money / they make money	5
	Workload	12
7. Reflection	Role as researcher	38

VI. Leaving Certificate numbers in twentieth-century Ireland



Source: (O'Connor 2014, Figure 1)

VII. Teaching Council Members

Total	Constituency Elected	Nominating Body
2	Nominated teachers (INTO)	Teacher unions
2	Nominated teachers (ASTI)	
2	Nominated teachers (TUI)	
2	Colleges of education	Colleges of education
2	Universities & third level colleges	Third-level bodies
2	School management – post-primary	School Management
2	School management – primary	
1	National Parents Council (primary)	Parents' associations
1	National Parents Council (post-primary)	
1	Irish Trade Unions (ICTU)	Minister for Education and Skills
1	Irish business (IBEC)	
3	Ministerial appointment	
2	Elected teacher, Dublin, primary	Teachers
2	Elected teacher, Connacht/Ulster, primary	
2	Elected teacher, Leinster, primary	
3	Elected teacher, Munster, primary	
1	Elected teacher, Ireland, post-primary, community & comprehensive	
1	Elected teacher, Leinster, post-primary, VEC	
1	Elected teacher, Connacht/Munster/Ulster, post-primary, VEC	
2	Elected teacher, Leinster, post-primary, voluntary	
2	Elected teacher, Connacht/Munster/Ulster, post-primary, voluntary	
37		

Source: (Teaching Council 2015g; Teaching Council 2015h)

VIII. NCCA Members

Total	Constituency Elected	Nominating Body
1	Chairperson	
2	Ministerial appointment	Minister for Education and Skills
1	Ministerial appointment	Minister for Children and Youth Affairs
2	School management – post-primary, voluntary	JMB
1	School management – ETBI	ETBI
1	School management – community and comprehensive schools	ACCS
1	School management – primary, Catholic	CPSMA
1	School management – Special Education	NABMSE
1	School management – Church of Ireland	Church of Ireland
1	University teachers	IFUT
1	Irish business sector	IBEC
1	Irish trade unions	ICTU
1	Irish language	Foras na Gaeilge
1	State examinations	SEC
1	National Parents Council (primary)	Parents' associations
1	National Parents Council (post-Primary)	
2	Teacher representatives, post primary, ASTI	Teacher unions
2	Teacher representatives, post primary, TUI	
3	Teacher representatives, primary, INTO	
25		

Source: (NCCA 2016a)

IX. PO Protocol Extracts

Figure I:

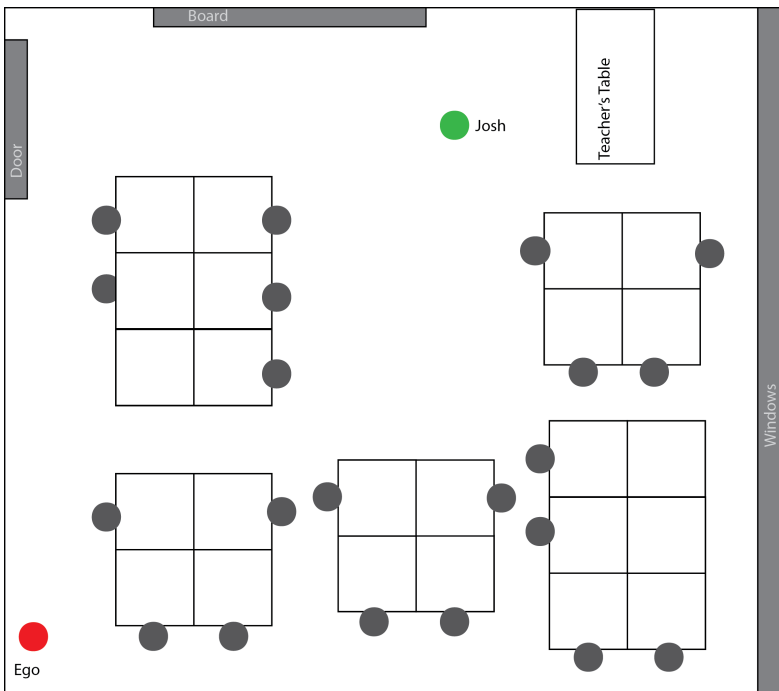
Protocol (extracts): Josh, PO, Monday, 25 th of April 2016	
9-10am, English, 1 st years	
<p><i>Josh prepares the computer etc. Students are still waiting outside. After a while he goes calling them in.</i></p> <p>J: Shush. I wish you'd be quiet like this every morning. <i>They come in and take their seats.</i></p> <p>J: Okay. Shush. Whose 400th anniversary are we celebrating these days? <i>Talking.</i></p> <p>J: Can we listen to John? If one person is talking we don't talk over him. The same in history. So don't forget when you come in here.</p> <p>J: Who was W. Shakespeare? <i>They start talking again.</i></p> <p>J: Hands up now. <i>He calls one of the students.</i></p> <p>Student: A writer.</p> <p>J: What did he write?</p> <p>Student: Macbeth</p> <p><i>Some more questions and answers on the topic. Then Josh does the roll call and leads over to the film they had watched the other day.</i></p> <p>---</p>	
	

Figure II:

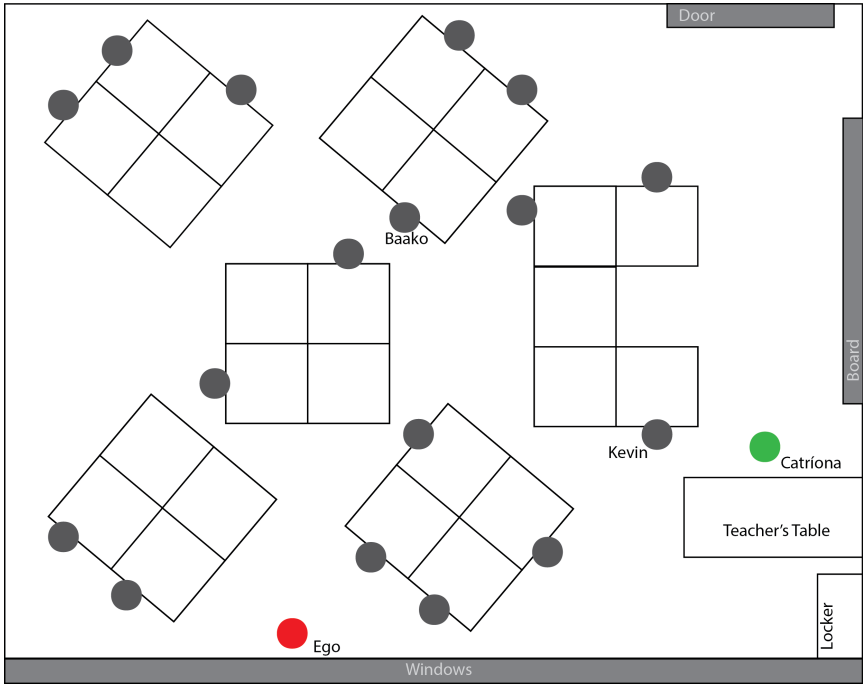
Protocol (extracts): Catriona, PO, Tuesday, 19 th of April 2016	
12:15-1:15pm, Ethics, 1 st years	
<p><i>Students come into the classroom. They are very noisy.</i></p> <p>C: Sit, ... sit, ... sit.</p> <p>C: Alright, ... shush.</p> <p><i>They are still noisy.</i></p> <p>C: Alright, shush, shush.</p> <p>C: Alright, shush, shush.</p> <p><i>Students calm down a bit.</i></p> <p>C: Alright.</p> <p><i>Catriona starts the roll call. She interrupts:</i></p> <p>C: Kevin, sit!</p> <p>C: Baako, sit!</p> <p>C: Kevin stop talking!</p> <p>C: Guys excuse me. It's not even five minutes since we're here!</p> <p><i>She asks why nobody reacted when she called the name of one student, not telling her if he was not in or if he was somewhere else. She repeats the name of the absent student.</i></p> <p>One student answers: Not in.</p> <p>C: Thank you.</p> <p>---</p>	

Figure III:

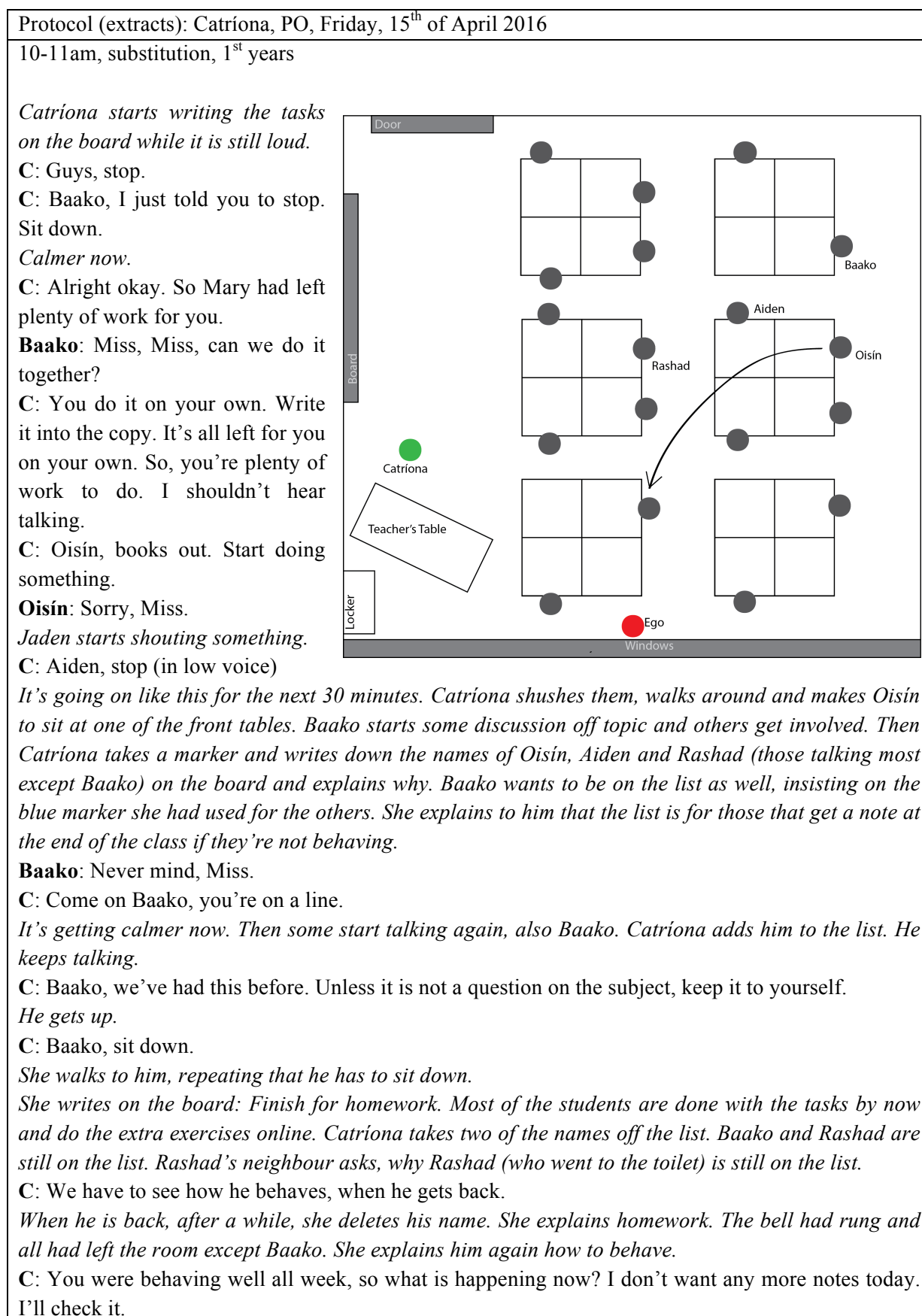
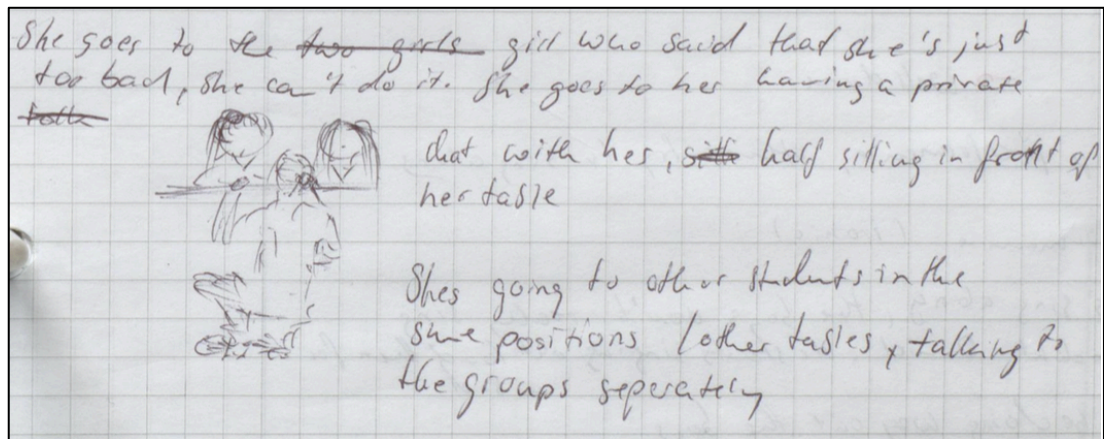


Figure IV:

Protocol (extract, original): Catriona, PO, 10th March 2016, 9-10am, Irish



XI. Abstract

The Celtic Tiger was a period of economic prosperity in the Republic of Ireland in the 1990s and 2000s. Its sudden end came with the economic crash in 2007 and had far reaching impacts also for the public sector. In early 2016 public servants still find themselves in a situation of restrictions and financial cutbacks. This thesis shifts the focus now on those who are about to become public servants in the teaching sector. The prospective teachers face a tight labour market and hostile public voices against their future profession. The main argument of this work bases on qualitative ethnographic fieldwork that concerns two prospective teachers for second-level schooling. Carefully, the thesis sheds lights on the aspects of citizenship, which permeate the relations between these prospective teachers, the state, their schools and the public. It is asked, how these aspects affect their learning experience and practice as teachers. Citizenship is presented as an open concept in the making, so that the thesis is able to capture the various relations of power that encompass the in-between situation of the prospective teachers – learning to teach and at the same time teaching as a student. Thereby, the prospective teachers’ ‘beliefs’ and their schools take a crucial role in forming their understanding and practice of citizenship. Yet, their ideas of citizenship become challenged in various ways throughout their experiences as prospective teachers.

Während des sogenannten Celtic Tigers in den 1990er und 2000ern erfuhr die Republik Irland eine Periode des wirtschaftlichen Aufschwungs. Diese Periode kam mit der Finanzkrise ab 2007 zu einem plötzlichen Ende und führte auch zu weitreichenden Einschnitten im öffentlichen Dienst. Auch zu Beginn des Jahres 2016 befinden sich die Beschäftigten des öffentlichen Dienstes immer noch in einer Situation, die von Einschränkungen und finanziellen Kürzungen geprägt ist. Diese Arbeit lenkt den Fokus nun auf jene, die künftig Teil des öffentlichen Diensts im Schulsektor werden möchten. Die zukünftigen Lehrkräfte sehen sich den Schwierigkeiten eines angespannten Arbeitsmarktes und einer öffentlichen Stimmung gegenüber, die sich entgegen ihres künftigen Berufsstands ausspricht. Das Hauptargument der vorliegenden Arbeit basiert auf qualitativer ethnographischer Feldforschung mit zwei angehenden Lehrkräften der Sekundarstufe. Sorgsam beleuchtet die Arbeit citizenship-Aspekte, welche die Beziehungen zwischen diesen angehenden Lehrkräften, dem Staat, ihren Schulen und der Öffentlichkeit durchziehen, und fragt, wie sich diese Aspekte auf ihre Lern- und Lehrerfahrungen auswirken. Citizenship wird als offenes, sich im Prozess des Machens, befindliches Konzept verstanden, sodass die verschiedenen Machtbeziehungen, welche die Situation der angehenden Lehrkräfte beeinflussen, hier erfasst werden können. Die besondere Situation der angehenden Lehrkräfte zeichnet sich dabei durch ein Zwischenstadium aus, welches zwischen lernen zu lehren und lehren als lernende Person liegt. Die ‘teacher beliefs’ und die Schulen der angehenden Lehrkräfte nehmen eine Schlüsselrolle dabei ein ihr Verständnis von und Umgang mit citizenship zu prägen. Jedoch werden ihre Annahmen über citizenship während der Lehrer_innenausbildung immer wieder auf die Probe gestellt.

XII. Curriculum Vitae

EDUCATION

2014 – today

University of Vienna, Austria: European Joint Master Programme CREOLE - Cultural Differences and Transnational Processes.

2015 – 2016

National University of Ireland Maynooth, Ireland: European Joint Master Programme CREOLE - Cultural Differences and Transnational Processes.

2010 – 2014

Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Germany: B.A. Ethnology and Economics.

CONFERENCES ATTENDED

2015

Migration Movements in Ireland: A Field for Anthropology of Education and Anthropology of Childhood? Intensive Programme, Alternatives: Anthropological Knowledge in a Changing World. University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

2015

Zwischen Sensationslust und Presseverbot – Die Kamera als Akteurin im ethnographischen Feld Wiener Demonstrationen. 12. Ethnologisches Symposium der Studierenden, Lebenswelten. Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Germany.

SCHOLARSHIPS

2016 – 2017

Studentship: PRO SCIENTIA, Österreichisches Studienförderwerk.

2012

Studentship: German Academic Exchange Service.

TEACHING

2015

University of Vienna, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Austria: Teaching Assistant for Visual Methods.

2015

University of Vienna, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Austria: Tutor, Lecture: Einführung in die Formen sozialer Organisation, Prof. Dr. Thelen.

2014

University of Vienna, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Austria: Tutor,
Lecture: Einführung in die Formen sozialer Organisation, Prof. Dr. Thelen.

2011 - 2012

Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Germany, Tutor, Working Group: Anthropology
and Development.

PUBLICATIONS

Hahn, Frauke (ed.), Mareike Scherer 2017. Schulentwicklung Globales Lernen. Bielefeld:
Welthaus Bielefeld e.V.

Insberg, Manuel, Mareike Scherer 2016. Grenzen und ihre Bedeutungen im Kontext
heutiger "internationaler" und "interkultureller" Freiwilligendienste. *In*
Gender_Sexualität_Beghehen in der machtkritischen und entwicklungspolitischen,
Bildungsarbeit. Manuel Insberg et al., eds. Pp. 84–86. Vienna: quix – kollektiv für
kritische Bildungsarbeit.

Hahn, Frauke (ed.), und Mareike Scherer 2014. Globales Lernen in der Schule.
Gelingensbedingungen für eine erfolgreiche Implementierung. Bielefeld: Welthaus
Bielefeld e.V.

Scherer, Mareike (dir.), Marlit Rosolowsky (dir.), und Elena Zondler (dir.) 2012.
Konfettikinder. Integrativer Zirkus in Heidelberg. Ethnographic film.