

Minna Uitto

STORIED RELATIONSHIPS

STUDENTS RECALL THEIR TEACHERS

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MINNA UITTO

STORIED RELATIONSHIPS

Students recall their teachers

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Supervised by
Professor Leena Syrjälä

Reviewed by
Professor Freema Elbaz-Luwisch
Docent Ulla-Maija Salo

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University of Oulu, Faculty of Education, P.O. Box 2000, FI-90014 University of Oulu, Finland
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Abstract

This research focuses on studying teacher-student relationships based on memories of teachers. It asks what and how those memories tell about teacher-student relationships. The work of teachers is understood as relational, and at its core are relationships to students. Body, gender, caring, emotions and power evolved as important concepts in studying the teacher-student relationships. Personal and professional aspects were intertwined in the relationships.

In this study, student memories are approached via narrative research and thematic, holistic and narrative ways of analysis are applied. The memories are understood as related to the past, but above all as a result of storytelling. They are interpreted in the present context and through expectations of the future. Memories of teachers were written by 49 students of education. A group of seven female teachers recalled their own teachers together. In addition, 141 people of varying ages and educational backgrounds wrote about their teachers via a request published in *Yhteishyvä* magazine.

The research revealed that from students' perspectives, there can be different sides to a relationship with a particular teacher. Relationships can also change and some even continued after a student's school years. Teacher-student relationships were seen evolve in the institutional context of school, but also outside of it. Participants recalled how particular moments became significant in their relationship with a teacher. Those moments could define their whole memory of it. It was found that teachers are constantly being observed by students, through their bodies, emotions and personal lives. It was also found that aspects of caring and power are intertwined in teacher-student relationships. Teachers can influence their students' lives in many ways, both personally and professionally.

Relationships need time, space and small enough groups of students. It must be assured that the structures of school institutions and the increasing demands on teachers' work promote the development of teacher-student relationships. Relationships and challenges related to them need to be central in the content and curriculum of teacher education. Teachers also need to be aware of their own pasts. Dealing with one's own memories from school and teachers is one part of the personal, professional and collective identity-work.

Keywords: memories, narrative research, narratives, teacher memories, teacher-student relationships, teachers

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Oulun yliopisto, Kasvatustieteiden tiedekunta, PL 2000, 90014 Oulun yliopisto

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Tiivistelmä

Tämä tutkimus keskittyy tarkastelemaan opettaja-oppilassuhteita opettajia koskevien muistojen pohjalta. Tutkimuksessa kysytään mitä ja miten nuo muistot kertovat opettaja-oppilassuhteista. Opettajan työ ymmärretään suhteissa olemisena, jonka ytimessä ovat suhteet oppilaisiin. Keskeiseksi käsitteiksi opettaja-oppilassuhteen tarkasteluun muotoutuivat ruumiillisuus, sukupuoli, välittäminen, tunteet ja valta. Suhteet tulee nähdä niin henkilökohtaisina kuin ammatillisina.

Tutkimuksen lähestymistapa on narratiivinen ja tutkimuksessa sovelletaan temaattisia, holistisia ja narratiivisia analyysitapoja. Muistot ymmärretään menneeseen kytkeytyvinä, mutta kertomisen kautta muotoutuvina. Muistoja tulkitaan tämänhetkisen kontekstin ja tulevaisuuden odotusten valossa. Muistojaan opettajista kirjoittivat 49 kasvatusalan opiskelijaa. Seitsemän naisopettajan ryhmä muisteli yhdessä opettajiaan. Lisäksi 141 eri-ikäistä ja erilaisen koulutustaustan omaavaa ihmistä kirjoitti opettajistaan *Yhteishyvä*-lehdessä julkaistun kirjoituspyynnön pohjalta.

Tutkimuksen perusteella opettajan ja oppilaan suhteeseen voi liittyä eri puolia oppilaiden näkökulmasta. Suhteet voivat myös muuttua ja jatkua oppilaan kouluvuosien jälkeenkin. Suhteet muotoutuvat koulun institutionaalisessa kontekstissa, mutta myös sen ulkopuolella. Tutkimukseen osallistuneet muistelivat, kuinka tietyt hetket voivat muodostua merkityksellisiksi opettaja-oppilassuhteissa. Nuo hetket saattoivat määritellä koko heidän muistoaan suhteesta. Opettajat ovat oppilaiden katseen alla ruumiillisuutensa, tunteidensa ja henkilökohtaisen elämänsä kautta. Välittäminen ja valta kietoutuvat opettaja-oppilassuhteisiin. Opettajat voivat vaikuttaa monin tavoin oppilaidensa elämään niin henkilökohtaisella kuin ammatillisella tasolla.

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Asiasanat: muistot, narratiivinen tutkimus, narratiivisuus, opettaja-oppilassuhde, opettajamuistot, opettajat

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While writing this thesis, I kept having dreams where I would be climbing up ladders with missing steps, or struggling past obstacles in a dark house, or searching for a place without knowing exactly where to go. Unlike nightmares, however, these dreams were not terrifying, and I always had the feeling that I would get where I was going eventually. I connect these dreams to the process of writing this thesis with its many challenges, but while I was usually alone in my dreams, in real life there were many important people who, with their support, smoothed the process, making it more enjoyable and worthwhile.

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facilities, the opportunity to work with future teachers, and hence, the possibility to develop professionally as a teacher educator through the tasks related to teaching.

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List of original publications

- I Uitto M & Syrjälä L (2008) Body, caring and power in teacher-pupil relationships: encounters in former pupils' memories. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 52(4): 355–371.
- II Uitto M & Estola E (2009) Gender and emotions in relationships: teachers recalling their own teachers. *Gender and Education* 21(5): 517–530.
- III Uitto M (2011) Humiliation, unfairness and laughter: students recall power relations with teachers. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society* 19(2): 273–290.
- IV Uitto M (in press) “Behind every profession is a person”: students' written memories of their own teacher-student relationships. *Teaching and Teacher education*.

The articles are referred to in the text by the Roman numbers.

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1 Introduction

This research focuses on studying teacher-student relationships based on memories that former students told about their teachers. The essentiality of those relationships in making teaching possible in the first place is well-established (Kelchtermans 2009, van Manen 1991) and teachers' stories of their work illustrate the significance of those relationships (Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Estola 2003). Also, relationships between teachers and students are recognised as important for students' learning, for teachers' and students' well-being at school and for how teachers see their own abilities as teachers (Kelchtermans 2005, Nias 1989, Soini *et al.* 2010).

But how are teacher-student relationships viewed by students? As former students recall their teachers, what and how do those memories tell about teacher-student relationships? This research attends to that question. Student memories of teachers are approached through narrative research. Personal stories make it possible to attend to the richness of how teacher-student relationships are remembered and what students considered significant in these relationships (Carter 1993). While teachers' personal stories about their work have been previously explored by narrative research (Clandinin & Connelly 2000, Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, 2007, Estola 2003, Estola & Syrjälä 2002a, Kelchtermans 2009), this research adds the perspective of students to the narrative research field concerning teachers' work.

Prior studies conducted on teachers' perspectives have focused on the prerequisites of teacher-student relationships and how they are constructed and maintained by teachers (e.g. Aultman *et al.* 2009, Newberry 2010, O'Connor 2008). It is not often, however, that teacher-student relationships are studied based on memories of teachers (as exception Paul & Smith 2000). In general, student memories of teachers have only rarely been given the full attention of a study as herein (as exceptions Paul & Smith 2000, Salo 2005), although there is more research on school memories (Kosonen 1998, Lahelma 2002, Rothenberg 1994, Southgate 2003). However, in order to fully understand teacher-student relationships, students' recollections regarding their experiences and relationships should be valued (van Manen 1994, van Manen 2003, van Manen & Li 2002).

The teacher-student relationship is a basic concept in educational research, with a long history of theoretical research especially related to the concept of the pedagogical relationship (e.g. van Manen 1991, 1994, 2002b). Teacher-student relationships are human relationships, but are also special by nature: they are

intentional and are shaped in the time and culture of educational institutions (Goldstein 1997). Although they are person-to-person relationships, they develop in the context of school and in the middle of groups of students (Lynch & Lodge 2002). Body, gender, caring, emotions and power evolved as important concepts in studying the teacher-student relationships in this research. Also, personal and professional aspects were found to be intertwined in teacher-student relationships.

Narrativity is an ontological, epistemological and methodological starting point in this research (Spector-Mersel 2010). It is understood that memories are related to the past, but interpreted and reconstructed in light of one's current context (Crawford *et al.* 1992, Kerby 1991). The moments of people recalling their teachers are seen as storytelling situations, during which people make sense of their past experiences (see Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Riessman 2008). In remembering their teachers, the former students reconstruct their relationships to them. Three different memory materials, both written and orally told, are used in the research. Participants in this study include 49 students of education, who wrote about their teachers as part of their course essays during their educational studies (Article I); a group of seven female teachers, who voluntarily joined a peer group aimed at supporting teachers' coping at work (Article II); and 141 writers, who recalled their teachers as responding to my writing request, which was published in a magazine called *Yhteishyvä* (The Common Good) (Article III, IV).

This research offers new understanding for teachers and for teacher education about teachers' work and teacher-student relationships from students' perspectives. This study echoes the findings of other research (e.g. van Manen 1994), which indicates that the kinds of relationships formed between teachers and students is significant for students. However, based on the memories revealed in this research, those relationships can vary. Memories revealed that teachers are constantly observed by their students, not just by what they say, but also through their bodies, emotions and personal lives. Recollections also revealed that teachers can influence their students' lives in many ways, and that aspects of power and caring were present in these relationships. From student perspectives, there can be different sides to a relationship with a particular teacher, and relationships with teachers can change and even continue after school years. Particular moments can become significant in the relationship and define the memory of the relationship.

The research emphasises the meaning of teacher memories for teacher education. There are not many other occupations that are as connective as that of

teachers, since the majority of people have encountered teachers (Viskari & Vuorikoski 2003). Whether we have worked as teachers, teacher educators or in other areas of education, we have all been students (Walls *et al.* 2001: 125). Therefore, both future and practicing teachers should have opportunities to share and deal with personal experiences related to teaching, which includes memories of school and teachers (Calderhead & Robson 1991, Mitchell & Weber 1999, Paul *et al.* 2000, Salo 2005). Teachers may have deeply-rooted images of what it is to be a teacher or a student. Working with memories offers a way to deal with those images (Mitchell & Weber 1999). Also, memories of school and teachers can be used as prompts to discuss the themes important in teacher-student relationships, such as power or the intertwining of personal and professional lives. For those who participated in the research, this research was an opportunity to review one's memories related to teachers and to consider their current meaning. For the readers, results of this research can evoke memories and work as a starting-point in terms of the process of remembering.

1.1 Research questions and aims

This thesis consists of four research articles published (or in press) in international peer-reviewed journals and a summary. Each article had its own precise research questions that are introduced in the articles and in the overview of the articles in this summary (Chapter 4). As it is typical for narrative research (and for qualitative research in general), the research questions in this study evolved during the research process (e.g. Craig & Huber 2007). The research question of the thesis was formed on the basis of the articles.

Based on different memory materials about teachers and by approaching the memories through different viewpoints, this research focuses on students' retrospective perspective on teacher-student relationships. My interest concerns what and how those relationships are told and also, how people make sense of those memories in the current context of their lives and as a search for meanings in their memories. Hence, the research question of the thesis is:

As former students recall their teachers, what and how do those memories tell about teacher-student relationships?

The research participates in the theoretical discussions about student memories of teachers and particularly of teacher-student relationships. Further, this research emphasises the possibilities of sharing memories in both pre-service and in-

service teacher education: teachers ought to deal with their memories of school and teachers. Practical aims of this research are:

To appreciate students' memories about teachers and value student perspectives regarding teachers and their work with students.

To increase understanding that teachers and teacher educators can learn about teacher-student relationships based on students' memories. Those relationships need to be viewed as significant and their meaning should be understood when planning the structures of education in different levels of school institutions.

To emphasise that there should be situations in pre-service and in-service teacher education for teachers to share and deal with their own memories of school years.

1.2 The story of the researcher (and the research)

Heavy involvement of a researcher is recognised in the process of narrative research (Clandinin & Rosiek 2007, Pinnegar & Daynes 2007). The particular background, persona and emotions of the researcher are viewed as important in regards to influencing the different phases and choices of the research process (Latvala *et al.* 2004, Uusitalo 2006). Etherington (2006: 81) discusses researchers' values and beliefs as inevitably influencing research and its outcomes. Conle (2006) emphasises the importance of the researcher's own story for the research process and the intimate and intensive position researchers have in research, in the end, every researcher is studying her/himself. These thoughts provoke consideration of the story of one's research.

What is remembered of teachers after school years? What meaning can teachers have for their students? Why are some teachers remembered and others forgotten? Indeed, this research originated from such questions. As stated by Conle (2005: 6), researchers are personally connected to their research topics. I became personally interested in recollections of teachers as I was finishing my own teacher studies. I had noticed that teachers were often recalled in very informal and daily discussions and I began to wonder about the reminiscences of teachers and the significance of teachers for students. I completed my master's thesis, which dealt with encounters of teachers and students based on teacher

memories (Uitto 2003b). Upon completion of my thesis, I continued to do PhD-research on that same topic.

Positioning myself merely as a researcher is not enough, but other overlapping positions that arise from my background and history must be acknowledged. My own story shows that while doing the research, researchers are simultaneously in the middle of their own lives and stories (Craig & Huber 2007, see also Clandinin & Connelly 2000). In many ways school and teachers intertwine as part of my life (Coffey 2005: 213, Salo 2005: 23). What I have in common with all of the participants in this research is that I too am a former student who has her own memories of teachers and school. In this sense, there are traces in all of us from our time in school (Laine 2000). Looking back I recognise in me a schoolgirl, who succeeded well in school and who liked going to school (apparently so much that wanted to become a teacher herself). After nine years of comprehensive school (grades 1-6 in primary school and grades 7-9 in lower secondary school), I went to upper secondary school.

Along with some of the participants of this research, I am also educated as a teacher at the primary school level (a class teacher). After my matriculation examination (in the upper secondary school), I applied to study in the teacher education program, was accepted and began my studies at the University of Oulu in 1997. After graduation in 2003, I also qualified as an English subject teacher. I have worked in the Faculty of Education, currently as an assistant in teacher education, but earlier in a project (2004-2005) that organised in-service education for practicing teachers. I have done this research as part of a research group,¹ focusing among other things to the study of teachers' stories.

Hence, there has not actually been a time in which school and teaching has not been a part of my life. Much like Ylitapio-Mäntylä (2007) felt like going back with the teachers to day care centres, I felt like going with the memories of the students back to their school years. Ylitapio-Mäntylä (2007: 160–162), who studied memories of day care centre teachers using a memory work-method, writes about being both close and distant to her topic. She shared with the teachers a similar teaching background, and describes feelings of longing to go back to her old work while doing her research. I recognise too that the memories different people shared with me in this research evoked memories and emotions in me as well (see Uusitalo 2006). The recollections of participants made me

¹ Living Story-research group is led by Professor Leena Syrjälä and Docent Eila Estola (<http://www.edu.uulu.fi/livingstory>).

think about my own ideas regarding what it is to be a teacher and my own ideals of what kind of teacher I am and would want to be. The teacher in me tried to understand the teachers as recalled and the way they acted, whereas the former student in me was sensitive to the students' viewpoint.

As researchers are related to a research topic through their own stories and backgrounds, the questions of familiarity and unfamiliarity become significant. This is considered by Coffey (2005), who sees that researchers of education navigate in the borders of familiar and unfamiliar. Coffey talks about these issues in the context of ethnography, anthropology and observation studies particularly, but yet acknowledges these issues as valid for other approaches as well. According to Coffey, although unfamiliarity is understood to make it possible for a researcher to keep a certain distance from the topic, familiarity and an insider's view are important for understanding the topic culturally. For Coffey, it is problematic to state that researchers' own experiences would help them understand the participants' experiences better – researchers need to pay attention to what is familiar and similar to them and to what seems unfamiliar, different and distant to them. Coffey seems to be saying that a researcher is both an outsider and an insider in the research.

Although I see myself as an insider in this research, both through my student and teacher background, the different contexts of the memories also raise the issue of unfamiliarity. Compared to the memories of some participants, I did not, for example, attend school at a time when there was a parallel educational system in Finland (see Chapter 1.3). Also, I have not gone to vocational school nor have I been in a day care centre as a child.

1.3 Teachers and students in the Finnish school system: the context of their memories

When collecting students' memories of teachers, the gaze of the storytellers was not directed towards recalling their teachers from a particular perspective, nor were they asked to recall teachers of a particular level of school, for example. Rather, they could decide themselves which teacher(s) they wanted to discuss and from which angle. Thus, there were various kinds of teachers recalled: older and younger, female and male, qualified teachers or not qualified, teachers working in the different levels of schooling in the Finnish educational system (from day care centres to adult education), class teachers who taught many subjects or particular

subject teachers.² The oldest storytellers in this research were in their late 80's (the eldest was 87 years old) whereas the youngest were in their early 20's (the youngest was 16 years old). This means that the memories of the teachers spanned a wide range of time periods – the oldest of the storytellers had gone to school in the 1920's and 30's, whereas the youngest storytellers were still in upper secondary school in the beginning of the 21st century.

Since the memories span a long period of time, there have certainly been many changes in the Finnish school system, in general society and in people's way of life (Salo 2005: 10). Tuomaala (2002: 81) adds that, due to these changes in the Finnish school system, there are also changes in teacher-student relationships, in methods of discipline, pedagogy and techniques of teaching and learning. Although it is probable that those changes are reflected in the memories studied herein, my focus is not on those aspect of changes, but rather on the memories of students as placed in the framework of teacher-student relationships. Iisalo (1987), Nurmi (1989), Antikainen (1998) and Antikainen and Kauppila (2002), to mention a few, write in more detail about the changes in the school system. This chapter discusses the most central changes that affected the schooling routes of those people who participated in this research.

The system of public compulsory education was established in Finland in 1921. The arrival of elementary school [kansakoulu]³ (consisted of lower and upper levels of school), which was usually begun at the age of 7, was attended by pupils from different backgrounds. However, for a long time there was a parallel school system, which meant that usually at the age of 11 the educational routes for pupils became differentiated. Some of the pupils went to grammar school [oppikoulu] after entrance exams and other pupils continued in the elementary school. Grammar school also included the route to upper secondary school. A pupil's attendance at grammar school demanded funds from her/his parents. (Tuomaala 2004: 99–116).

² The memories were usually situated in the institutional education. Most of the memories were related to the phases of primary school, lower secondary school and upper secondary school. Hence, at the time when the storytellers were 7-18 years of age. In addition, there were memories situated to day care centres (Article II), vocational education, universities and universities of applied sciences. Also, there were few memories about instrumental teachers in music. One writer, who sent her memories via the writing request in the magazine, recalled her mother, which was a unique viewpoint among all of the stories (email 62). Also, one participant in the group of teachers told about her godfather, who was a teacher (Article II: 522–523).

³ For economical reasons especially in the rural areas, it was usual at first that such schools were established, in which school was attended by younger pupils six weeks at autumn and six weeks at spring (Nurmi 1989: 13, Tuomaala 2004: 112–113).

The timeframe when the comprehensive school was established in the 1970's has been described as the biggest reform in the Finnish educational system (Estola & Syrjälä 2002b: 178–179). The reform meant that the former parallel school system, which consisted of 8 years of mandatory elementary school and grammar school, changed into the new system of comprehensive school (e.g. Simola *et al.* 1998: 71). In the new system, all children attend 9 years of comprehensive school (grades 1-6 in primary school and grades 7-9 in lower secondary school). After that time, the schooling routes become different as students usually apply to vocational education or to upper secondary school.⁴ Finnish children go to school at the age of 7. Before beginning school, many children are in day care centres or they are taken care of in homes or in private day cares. Since 2001, Finnish municipalities have been obliged to organise and offer the opportunity for six-year-olds to attend pre-school. (see also Jakku-Sihvonen & Niemi 2006). In addition to the comprehensive school reform, there was a teacher education reform in the 1970's, during which the training of primary and secondary school teachers was relocated to universities and their studies became master's level (Jakku-Sihvonen & Niemi 2006, Simola *et al.* 1998: 71).

According to Simola (1998: 92), prior to the comprehensive school reform, education played quite a small part for most of the Finns before they entered working life. Simola states that changes happened in the 1960's: more and more people went to grammar school and continued their studies in vocational school. Antikainen and Kauppila (2002) identify three Finnish educational generations based on people's educational life stories. Firstly, there is the "war generation with scant education" (born in 1935 or before that). Hard work, struggles to provide income for the family, war time and reconstruction time were informative for their experiences. As the parallel school system existed, education was a classifying factor in people's lives. For this generation, education illustrated an ideal. Secondly, they distinguish the "generation of structural change with growing educational opportunities" (born in 1936–1955). This generation experienced structural changes in Finland, for example many people were forced to move from the countryside to towns. The parallel school system still existed, but there were more educational opportunities for this generation. For them,

⁴ The terms lower and upper secondary school are used in this summary and in Articles III and IV. However, these same levels of school are referred to as junior and senior secondary school in Article I. This change was made since it began to seem that the former translations were more widely used (for example by Ministry of Education and Culture, URL: <http://www.minedu.fi/OPM/Koulutus/?lang=en> Cited 2011/9/6).

education began to appear as a way to progress in one's work career. Thirdly, there is the "welfare generation with many educational choices" (born in 1956 or later). Their experiences are characterised by the arrival of the comprehensive school system in the 1970s. From their viewpoint, education became a commodity and taken-for-granted issue.

The participants of this research widely represent Finnish society and all three generations distinguished by Antikainen and Kauppila (2002) (see Table 1, page 53). Therefore, their educational routes and also possibilities for those routes were different at different times. Kauppila *et al.* (2007: 237) refer to Goodson (1992) for example, as they state that in order to understand people's private experiences, it is essential to understand the choices or opportunities that were possible for individuals at diverse times. Whereas there are some common characteristics in the educational routes of the storytellers who were students of education or who are currently teachers (they had all studied education), the people who wrote via the writing request had different educational routes. Among the oldest writers there were people who had gone to elementary school only. However, there were also highly educated people, for example doctors, who wrote as well.

As the Finnish school system has faced changes, teachers have also found that their work has changed. After interviewing teachers biographically, Kauppila *et al.* (2007) distinguished three teacher generations. There was the "generation of wartime" (teachers born before 1940): these teachers described practicality and discipline as the basis of teaching. They were active in taking part in cultural and political activities in their local communities. The fact that they were teachers reached also into their private lives. In the interviews of the "generation of structural change" (teachers born 1940-1955) themes of self-development, hobbies, union activities, voluntary work as club leaders, changes and transitions were prevalent in their accounts of teaching. For the "generation of individual teachers" (teachers born in 1955 or after), being a teacher was described as uncertain, relations with pupils were described as more equal and hobbies and varied educational possibilities came up often. Whereas the previous generations of teachers had viewed it as natural to participate in the activities of their local communities, the youngest teachers situated a teacher's work only in the context of school, not outside of it. The idea of teachers as model citizens has been prevalent in teachers' work and the claim for teachers to be models both externally and internally has long been present in the official educational texts, as Simola *et al.* (1998: 74-75) illustrate. In the study of teacher generations, the

model citizenship was present in the ideas of the oldest teachers, whereas younger generations criticised the idea (Kauppila *et al.* 2007, see Hakala 2007).

Changes have also occurred in the ideals and practices of school culture and in the position and respect of teachers. The study by Kauppila *et al.* (2007) illustrates that the teachers of all the different generations talked about the diminishing of their authority and respect. Current discussions, also international, often emphasise the overall change in the relationships between adults and children/young people, and that teacher-student relationships have become more equal, whereas teachers' authority has eroded (Cothran & Ennis 1997). Based on a study of Finnish educational texts, such as committee and curricular texts, Simola *et al.* (1998: 81)⁵ discuss that, whereas in the new comprehensive school taking into account the individuality of all students is emphasised, in the old elementary school it was only those students who caused discipline problems that were to be perceived individually. Simola *et al.* also say that in the old school system, use of power meant order and coercion, whereas in the new school system, inviting and productive use of power is the aim. It seems that people miss authority for teachers: for example, in a study by Metso (2004), the parents of pupils saw it as good that teachers are not primary authority figures anymore, yet they also hoped that teachers nowadays would have more authority.

The memories of this research are coloured by changes that have happened in the Finnish school system, such as the position of teachers in the meaning of studying and school. Although those aspects are part of the context of the memories, those changes are not explicitly studied based on the memories. Finally, an observation by Gudmundsdóttir (2001: 227), that is related to the changes in school practices, is that if one is comparing school practices from two centuries ago and nowadays, the changes in terms of educational aims, teachers' roles, ideas of learning and how teachers see their work with students are obvious. Yet, there are also things that have not profoundly changed over time. Namely, the number of students in one classroom with one teacher and how the classroom is organised as a space are quite the same. Gudmundsdóttir concludes that the traditions of practices are interpreted in the prevailing cultural context by every new generation of teachers. Therefore, it must be kept in mind that in terms of the

⁵ In their discussion Simola *et al.* (1998) lean on the study by Simola H (1995). Paljon vartijat: suomalainen kansanopettaja valtiollisessa kouludiskurssissa 1860-luvulta 1990-luvulle. Helsinki, Helsingin yliopisto.

memories of teachers, certain aspects of school and its practices also remain the same.

2 Theoretical and methodological framework of the research

In this chapter, I situate my research in the field of educational research and discuss the theoretical and methodological starting-points and main concepts of this research. Firstly, this research belongs with research about students' memories of school, and especially about teachers⁶ (Chapter 2.1). Secondly, this research is attached to the discussion of teacher-student relationships (Chapter 2.2). Thirdly, this research is connected to the narrative research on/with teachers, which focuses on the work of teachers, as revealed through their stories⁷ (e.g. Carter 1993, Clandinin & Connelly 2000, Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Erkkilä 2005, Estola 2003, Estola & Syrjälä 2002a, 2002b, Hyry 2007⁸). Yet, this research focuses on a student perspective to teachers' work. After describing the concept of a narrative and how this research uses it (Chapter 2.3), I move on to discuss the concept of memories (Chapter 2.4). Main concepts of the research are introduced in the Figure 1.

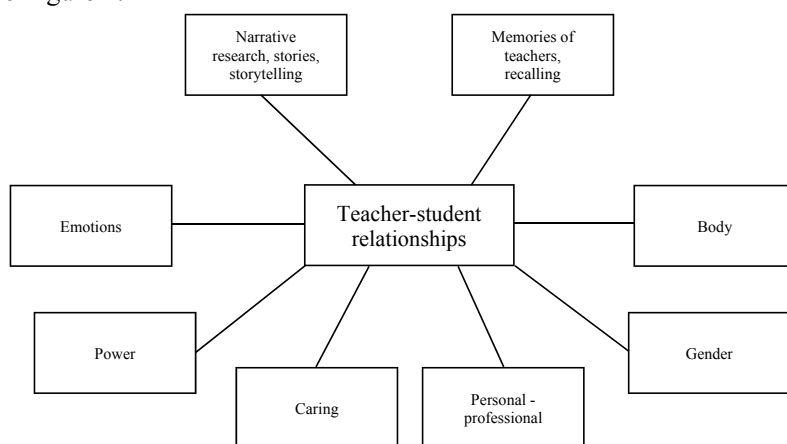


Fig. 1. Theoretical and methodological framework: key concepts.

⁶ Thiessen (2007) provides a review of research concerning student experiences of school by children and young people that are currently students. Among other themes, teacher-student relationships have been studied. Yet, not so often has the focus been on analysing teacher-student relationships in detail from a retrospective viewpoint of students, as in this research (as exception Paul & Smith 2000).

⁷ Elbaz-Luwisch (2007) goes through the roots of narrative inquiry in the study of teaching and teachers' personal and professional lives.

⁸ Hyry (2007) takes into account both a teacher's and his students' viewpoints as she studies the teaching of a Finnish music pedagogue Matti Raekallio.

2.1 School and teachers in students' memories

School and teachers are a popular topic of storytelling and reminiscences. We carry memories of school with us for a long time: according to Henriksson (2004: 112), “There are but few experiences so commonly and easily recollected as experiences of school.” The willingness of people to recall their school years is visible in the Internet forums that discuss school and teachers. Koulukaverit.com is a popular Finnish Internet community, which makes it possible keep in touch with one’s former classmates and friends. This community also offers several opportunities for recollections related to school. In a community called Positiivarit (www.positiivarit.fi), people can thank individuals who have been important in their lives. It is worth mentioning that there is a special part in the community where teachers can be thanked, by name, and people can explain why they want to thank a particular teacher. In August 2011 (29.8.) there were 65 pages that included thank you-messages for teachers. Autobiographical and biographical texts have been published based on memories about schooling. For example, a book called *Elämäni opettaja* [The teacher of my life] edited by Hernberg (2001) consists of accounts by 17 people who write about a teacher that has been meaningful for their lives. A book called *Koulutieni* [My way to school] edited by Piela (1989), focuses on people’s memories about going to school, teachers, homework and peers. Further, teachers have inspired makers of movies and films (Kujala 2008). Such movies as *Dead Poets Society* (1989), *The Chorus* (2004) or *Näkymätön Elina* (2002)⁹ are examples of films in which the teacher plays an important role in the lives of students. Movies such as those illustrate cultural images of what it is to be a teacher (Mitchell & Weber 1999).

Researchers have also been interested in students’ memories related to school and teachers. For some researchers, their own memories have opened up views to education and teaching. Hargreaves (2002: 3–4) recalls his own teachers and the emotional impact those teachers had on him. Pryer (2001: 76) describes her love for ballet as a child and for her teacher, who embodied the world of ballet. Noddings (1992: 106) recalls some of her teachers and how she “cannot imagine what my life would have been like without these people.” Niemi (2007) recalls one of her teachers as she ponders the dialogue of good and evil in a teacher’s work. However, teacher memories have not often been the main focus of research,

⁹ *Dead Poets Society* [in Finnish Kuolleiden runoilijoiden seura] (1989).

The Chorus [originally in French Les Choristes, in Finnish Kuoropojat] (2004).

Näkymätön Elina [in English Elina: As If I Wasn't There] (2002).

as in this research. Past studies on teacher memories have dealt with perspectives of caring and cruelty in teacher-student relationships (Paul & Smith 2000), emotions in those relationships (Tuomaala 2002), cultural images of teachers (Salo 2005) and portraits of good and bad teachers (Uusikylä 2006). Barone (2001) interviewed both the teacher and his students about the years they spent together and largely focused on the impact that they had on each other.

There is somewhat more research on school memories: students have recalled their school years and experiences of school in general.¹⁰ However, in those studies, recollections of teachers were not a specific focus, and yet teachers were often remembered. Students' memories could touch, for example, on the greatness of teachers, fairness, encouragement, dedication and the impact that school and teachers had on them (Barone 2001, Mitchell & Weber 1999, Southgate 2003).

My study attends to memories of varied groups of people, but memories of school have sometimes been collected among particular groups. Researchers have been interested in memories of women (Kosonen 1998, Palmu 2007), of students in special education (Jahnukainen 1997, 2001, Kivirauma 1995) or of students' parents (Metso 1999, 2004, Rätty 2003). However, among the people who participated in this study were practicing teachers and students of education (Article I, II). It seems that special attention has been paid to those memories that practicing and future teachers have about school (DePalma *et al.* 2011, Kaasila 2000, Mitchell & Weber 1999, Paul & Smith 2000, Uusikylä 2006, Vuorikoski 2003b).

Memories by (future) teachers have been studied in the context of what they state about teachers' work. However, they also illustrate that future teachers have a lot of knowledge about teacher's work through their own experiences as students, and that one's own teachers can be important models for one's own career as a teacher (Flores & Day 2006, Nias 1989: 136–137). Lortie (1975: 64–65) talks about the “apprenticeship of observation,” which refers to how future teachers have, as pupils, observed teachers in their work. He points out the rarity of that situation compared to most occupations and states that “it is likely that many [teachers] are influenced by their own teachers in ways they do not even perceive.” Hence, the significance of those memories for the professional growth of (future) teachers is emphasised (Calderhead & Robson 1991). Also, different

¹⁰ It is often school and its different levels, to which memories are situated. Yet, Ylitapio-Mäntylä (2007, 2009) analyses memories situated to day care centres (see Article II, in which such memories are dealt with).

ways of using memories in teacher education have been introduced. Ways of working with memories both independently and in groups have been developed and memories, along with movies, books, photos and drawings about teachers, have been used as prompts for discussions (Mitchell & Weber 1999, see also Kelchtermans 2005). In addition, students studying to be teachers have written autobiographical portfolios that include memories of one's school times and teachers, (Heikkinen 2002a) or they have written letters to their former teachers about the things they would wish to say them in the current context of their lives (Paul & Smith 2000).

Sometimes, a specific theme is approached through people's memories of school. Students' memories of school have opened up discussions about lived experiences of school failure (Henriksson 2004), about issues of body and gender (Connor *et al.* 2004, Kosonen 1998, Vuorikoski 2003b), about beginning school (Erkkilä 2002), about being a pupil (Pérez 1998), about learning experiences (Sunnari 1999), about "key educational experiences" in higher education (Yair 2008), about the best and worst memories of school (Rothenberg 1994), the importance of peers in school (Lahelma 2002), and about the meeting of school and pupils (Tuomaala 2004). Also, sometimes the focus of reminiscences has been on a particular school subject, such as physical education (Kosonen 1998, Zacheus & Järvinen 2007), mathematics (Kaasila 2000) or handicrafts (Kokko 2007).

My research discusses power as an important aspect of recollections of teacher-student relationships. Also prior research on school memories has raised up the aspect of power. The learning and struggles to become a proper schoolgirl is discussed (Davies *et al.* 2001, see also Blumberg & Blumberg 1994), as well as how memories reflect the role of the student versus the order and discipline of the school (Palmu 2007). Power relations between teachers and students, and between peers, are also discussed: Southgate (2003) illustrates the presence of power and emotions in memories about school and the continuum of those themes being dealt with by people of different generations. Jackson (1968: 41–44) sketches an image of the classroom through pleasures or pains. It is inequality, domination, punishment, favour, humiliation, subordination and misuse of authority that students often seem to deal with in their memories (e.g. DePalma *et al.* 2011, Luttrell 1993, Mitchell & Weber 1999, Salo 2005, Southgate 2003, Vuorikoski 2003b, Zacheus & Järvinen 2007). Such memories were also recalled by the participants of this research (see especially Article III).

2.2 Teachers' work as being in relationships

About the concept of teacher-student relationship

This research understands teachers' work as relational, with the central focus on the relationship between teachers and students (Aultman *et al.* 2009, Bingham & Sidorkin 2004, Hansen 1998, Hargreaves 2000, Kelchtermans 2009, Noddings 1992, van Manen 1991, 1994, 2002a, 2002b). Instead of talking about the interaction between teacher and students (e.g. Hansen 2001), I use the terms teacher-student relationships or relationships between teachers and students.¹¹ Sometimes the terms of teacher and student or pupil have been criticised for pushing people into abstract categories (Hakala 2007: 89). Yet, it was the institutional schooling to which memories were often situated and although those terms of teacher and student are used, the memories do show them as people with bodies, gender and emotions (Article I, II, III, IV). In the articles, also terms such as schoolgirls, children or young people are used when referring to their school years.

Teacher-student relationship is a basic concept in educational research. Those relationships have been studied theoretically especially through the concept of pedagogical relationship (van Manen 1991, 1994, 2002b).¹² Van Manen (1991: 30–32) defines pedagogy as the action between adults and younger people, hence, between teachers and students, however, pedagogy refers to, for example, parent-child relationships as well. Yet, relationships between teachers and students are special since they include a certain distance. Pedagogy is an orientation towards students: it is practical action in the everyday for the benefit of them. Besides talk, pedagogical engagement with students includes body language, as teachers communicate with their gestures and expressions. (see also van Manen 2002b). For van Manen (1991) pedagogical relationship is intentional on two levels: what

¹¹ Interestingly, Henriksson (2004) talks about student-teacher relationships. The concept teacher-student relationship is used herein instead of teacher-pupil relationship. The former term seems to be more settled in the field (e.g. Aultman *et al.* 2009, Hargreaves 2000). Also, the term of student is in that sense wider than the storytellers discussed not only their early years of school, but also memories situated to upper secondary school for example. However, in Article I that studied memories by students of education, we use the concept of teacher-pupil relationships for clarity.

¹² In his theoretical discussion about relationships, van Manen (e.g. 1991, 1994) leans on Nohl for example and hence to the continental tradition. In one of his articles, van Manen (1994) goes through how pedagogy and pedagogical relationship are understood in the continental tradition. He, for example, brings up the differences regarding how the term of pedagogy is used in European and in North American discussions.

makes the relationship pedagogical is that teachers care for their students as they are now and as they may become (van Manen 1991: 74–75). The teacher’s part in this relationship is emphasised: van Manen (1991) points out “the pedagogical moments,” during which teachers are demanded to actively encounter and work for the benefit of the student by taking into account the students and the situation. Thus, “pedagogical tact” is required of the teacher.

The didactic triangle illustrates the distinguishing of pedagogical and didactic relationships in teaching: whereas the first refers to the relationship between teachers and students, the second is seen as a teacher’s focus on the relationship between the student and the subject matter under study (Kansanen & Meri 1999). In this research, the emphasis is on the relationship between that of teachers and students – therefore on the pedagogical relationship. However, this research shows that from a student perspective, not all relationships, as recalled, form as pedagogical in the sense that they would be only positive and beneficial for students (see van Manen 1991: 31, van Manen 1994), but rather that relationships to teachers can vary (see Pryer 2001: 80). For example, relationships to teachers that are remembered through hurt, humiliation or as degrading are examples of relationships that are hardly pedagogical¹³ (e.g. Article III). Yet, although relationships can be different, “teachers always stand in certain relations to the students they teach” (van Manen 1994). Therefore, it is significant to study exactly how those relationships are recalled by students.

When discussing memories of teachers, it has often been stated that the contents of teaching seem not so important for students to remember. Rather memories focus on what the teachers were like, how they taught and how they related to students. Hence, what kinds of relationships they could establish with their students. (Hargreaves 2002, Henriksson 2004: 124, Kelchtermans 2005, Salo 2005, van Manen 1994). Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that relationships between teachers and students are constructed and take shape in educational and institutional settings and cultures. Expectations and regulations are directed towards teachers and their relationships with students through law, curriculum, surrounding society, parents and educational administration (Kelchtermans 2009, Vuorikoski 2003a). Moreover, the concept of subject matter is connected to the teacher-student relationships (van Manen 1991). Teacher-student relationships are

¹³ Van Manen (1994) brings up criticism towards the concept of pedagogical relationship: the concept has been criticised for not taking into account, for example, the domination and oppression that can colour the relationships between teachers and students (and parents and children).

human relationships, but what makes them special is that they are temporal and intentional, as different obligations and goals are involved (Goldstein 1997, van Manen 1991). The aspect of intentionality is often emphasised in teacher-student relationships. Yet, as Kelchtermans (2009) states, the elements of surprise, passivity and spontaneity in education are also to be kept in mind. Teacher-student relationships are shaped in the institutional context of teaching, but in light of this research, they also should be understood to develop outside of school in private contexts (Article II, IV, see also Hargreaves 2000, van Manen & Li 2002).

It is often emphasised that teacher-student relationships are personal relationships, in which the individuality of each student is to be taken into account (Goldstein 1997, Noddings 1992, van Manen 2002a, van Manen & Li 2002). Yet, it must also be kept in mind that relationships between a teacher and an individual student form in the midst of other relationships – a teacher is similarly in relations not just with one student, but with a group of students (Lynch & Lodge 2002, van Manen 1991: 78, van Manen 1994). Research on teachers and also teachers' stories about their work have illuminated that teachers' work is personal by nature: teachers work with their own personas and life-histories, and their personal and professional lives cannot be distinguished from each other (Clandinin & Huber 2005, Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Kelchtermans 2009, Nias 1989, Sikes 1999). That personal and professional aspects are intertwined in teacher-student relationships is discussed in the results of this research. Previous research has reminded us the need for teachers to create boundaries in their relationships with students: how close or personally involved teachers can be with their students and how to balance the personal and professional nature of these relationships (e.g. Aultman *et al.* 2009, Kelchtermans 2005, O'Connor 2008).

Key aspects to teacher-student relationships

The body and its meaning in teachers' work and teacher-student relationships became evident in the memories revealed in this research. Teachers and students are present through their bodies and gender (Article I, II, Estola 2003, Freedman & Stoddard-Holmes 2003). Thus, a teacher's body, including voice, can also have pedagogical meaning (Michalko 2003, Southgate 2003, van Manen 1991). Gender is performed with bodies – it is not just a cultural or social construction (Paechter 2006a, 2006b). Several researchers (Estola & Elbaz-Luwisch 2003, Paechter 2006b) have pointed out how silenced the body has been in education: bodies

have rather been viewed as problematic and troublesome. As the focus has been on the development of minds, students' bodies have been controlled and disciplined in order for them not to disturb the focus (Article II, III, Paechter 2006b). Studies show how that control of bodies, not just by teachers but also by fellow students, extends to bodies of female students especially (Kosonen 1998, Lesko 1988). However, regulation of the body in the classroom extends to teachers as well. Teachers' (especially female teachers') bodies and sexuality have been directed to be hidden (Vuorikoski 2005). Also, some aspects of the body seem to be taboo subjects in education. Andrzejewski and Davis (2008) discuss the restrictions related to touching students in American education. The teachers in their study pointed out that touching is risky, although they saw it as important in creating contact with students and even necessary in particular subjects.

Based on the memories, an aspect of caring (including the experience of not being cared for) is related to teacher-student relationships. I use the concept of caring (Noddings 1984, 1992, 2001) instead of love (Estola & Syrjälä 2002a, Goldstein 1997) or pedagogical love (Haavio 1954, Viskari 2003). Caring is defined by Noddings (1992, 2001) as a relationship, as an encounter between the person caring and the person cared for. According to Noddings (2001), caring should be seen as relational that involves both the carer and the cared one. Caring is not an ability, a feeling or an attitude. To be a caring teacher does not mean a possession of certain characteristics or personal qualities, but that the teacher is able to construct caring relationships with different students in diverse situations. (Noddings 2001: 99–101). Noddings (1984) makes a distinction between caring for and caring about. Caring for refers to close relationships and caring for those other people, whereas caring about is a wider concept reaching to ideas and to the world around us.

It is often argued that teacher-student relationships are to be seen as asymmetrical power relations. Teachers' and students' relationships with each others are different in that one is an adult, the other a younger person, and they each have different obligations in the school system (Buzzelli & Johnston 2001, Tirri & Puolimatka 2000, van Manen 1991). Also, from the viewpoint of caring, teacher-student relationships are asymmetric because it is often the teacher who is the carer in the relationship and the student who is cared for (Noddings 1992: 91, 107). The power of teachers is a topic of recent active research. Attention has been especially paid to the formation of teacher authority (Harjunen 2009), to the use of power in everyday practices with children (Gore 1998, Leavitt 1994) and to how students see teachers' power (Tirri & Puolimatka 2000). It is teachers' power

that is raised in this research, and it is argued that power takes different forms and can be exercised differently towards students (Article I, II, III). A teacher's power can be power over students related to domination and oppression, which is how Alberti (1999) defines "power over" as exercised in power relations (see especially Article III). Yet, teachers also use power for serving other people. This idea by Noblit (1993) illustrates the interconnection of caring and power in teachers' work (Article I, see also Weinstein 1998). The possibility to influence is also related to teachers' power (van Manen 1991). As teacher-student relationships are power relations, students are to be seen as active parties, who also react to teachers' use of power and can also challenge it (Article III, Cothran & Ennis 1997, Lynch & Lodge 2002, Southgate 2003). Also, students learn how to act in power relations as they learn how they are expected to be in school, and often, knowing they are being watched, they learn to control themselves (Boler 1999, Davies *et al.* 2001).

Memories portray teacher-student relationships as emotional. How emotions are defined herein refers back to prior research conducted on teaching and teachers. Researchers such as Hargreaves (1998, 2000, 2001, 2002) and Zembylas (2004, 2007) have pointed out the emotional nature of teaching and teacher-student relationships: as teachers' relationships to students are emotional, all their decisions, ways of teaching and organising the teaching are guided by those relationships (Hargreaves 1998). Emotions are not understood only as personal and private experiences, but as constructed in social relationships (Boler 1997, Hargreaves 2000, 2002, Zembylas 2004). The existence of emotional rules arose in the teacher-student relationships as recalled by participants in this research. Both teachers and students may have to control some emotions over another, which illustrates how power and emotions are intertwined (Article III, Boler 1999, Zembylas 2007). Hargreaves (1998) has discussed this, especially in the case of teachers, the need to control some emotions and show others is conceptualised as "emotional labour." For example, those emotions related to caring are more preferable to show towards students than emotions of anger and frustration (Isenbarger & Zembylas 2006, Zembylas 2007).

2.3 Narrative, story and storytelling

This research is narrative in its starting-points and overall approach.¹⁴ Firstly, narrativity was an ontological and epistemological starting-point for the research as a whole, for thinking about the nature of knowledge and the construction of reality. In this chapter, I focus on what narrative approach has meant in this particular research and on narrative as a theoretical and methodological starting-point, which has directed the whole research process (Spector-Mersel 2010). Secondly, the different memory materials used and analysed in this research are narrative by nature: they consist of students' written and oral memories of teachers, shared both individually and in a group (Chapter 3.1). Thirdly, narrative ways of reading are applied in the analysis of the memories (Chapter 3.2). Fourthly,¹⁵ I understand that narratives can have practical significance (Estola *et al.* 2007, Mitchell & Weber 1999): the opportunity to share memories of teachers is considered important for the storytellers, and the value of the memories in teacher education is brought up (Chapters 5.3 and 7).

Spector-Mersel (2010) argues for a narrative paradigm, situating narrative research under interpretive-qualitative paradigm. As based on the qualitative research tradition, and according to the constructivist concept of knowledge, knowledge is to be understood as local, subjective, particular and contextual (e.g. Riessman 2008, Spector-Mersel 2010). In narrative research, there are considered to be many ways of knowing and understanding human experience (Clandinin & Rosiek 2007, Pinnegar & Daynes 2007, Riessman 2008). Knowledge is understood to be formed in the relationships between the researcher and the participants of the research¹⁶ (e.g. Clandinin & Connelly 2000). Instead of objectivity, the subjectivity of both the researcher and the participants of the research is emphasised, and during the research process they both learn and change.

¹⁴ In Articles I and II, we defined our research as narrative inquiries. This term seemed first appropriate for research in which narrative and research on teachers were united. However, lately it began to appear that the term of narrative inquiry seemed to settle to describe a particular kind of research done in close co-operation with teachers (e.g. Clandinin & Connelly 2000, Conle 2005, see also Elbaz-Luwisch 2005: 39). Hence, in Articles III and IV, and in this summary part of the thesis, this research is rather seen as framed in the context of narrative research and that the memories are approached narratively.

¹⁵ This division of what is meant by narrative was guided by Heikkinen (2002b), who discusses the use of the concept of narrative in research.

¹⁶ I discuss more about my position as a researcher and the relationships with the participants in Chapters 1.2 and 3.3.

I outline narrative as a way of knowing, through which it is possible in a unique and specific way to address the multiple and detailed meanings, complexities and nuances of emotions related to the experiences of teaching (Carter 1993). It is the personal life experiences that narrative researchers are studying. Yet, as researchers, we have no access to “another’s unmediated experience” but only to the constructions (Riessman 2008: 23). How people reconstruct stories of their experiences are the closest that we can get to human experiences (Clandinin & Connelly 2000, Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Hyvärinen & Löyttyniemi 2005). It is by telling about their lives and experiences, by listening to other people’s stories and by sharing stories that people make sense of their experiences and of who they are (e.g. Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Gudmundsdóttir 2001, Riessman 2008).

The concepts of narrative and story are occasionally used as synonyms, but sometimes they are differentiated from each other. I follow Clandinin and Connelly (1994: 416) by using the concept of story to refer to “the phenomenon” of people’s accounts,¹⁷ and the concept of narrative to refer to the research approach and the ontological and epistemological starting-point of this research. However, when referring to other researchers, I use the concepts as they do when possible. It is important to explain what is meant by narrative, story and storytelling in each study. As concepts such as story and telling are used in everyday speech, they can easily be related to merely fairytales or imagination, for example. Also, stories and narratives are studied in different disciplines, therefore, the concepts are used in different ways and with different meanings. Indeed, narrative research has been described as “amoeba-like” in nature and “a multifaceted creature” (Heikkinen 2002b: 15), not a particular method, nor a school of thought (see Riessman 1993: 1, 25), but “a huge buffet to which different disciplines bring their own methods and views for others to share” (Hänninen 2004: 69). In understanding these concepts I especially lean on the ideas posed in social sciences and educational research.

The concepts of narrative and story have been under a lively discussion, in which Hyvärinen (2008a, 2008b) has been a distinguished participant in Finland. Researchers have been concerned with the extensive and reckless use of those concepts. For example, Riessman (2008: 4) warns researchers that, “In a word,

¹⁷ The process-like nature of research shows in the concepts used in the articles. In Articles I and II we talk about “memories as stories from the past.” In Articles III and IV there is a bit different viewpoint to this: the writings of the tellers are referred to as stories and hence, inside a story there could be several memories.

narrative is everywhere, but not everything is narrative” (see also Hyvärinen 2008a). Traditionally, in Western culture a narrative has been seen in an Aristotelian sense, to structurally consist of a beginning, middle and an end – Riessman (2008: 2) describes how we are taught “dominant Western narrative conventions” at school. Labov (1977), who is a sociolinguist and studied short oral narratives, distinguishes a narrative structure that includes six common elements, with each serving a particular function in the narrative: an abstract, an orientation, a complicating action, an evaluation, a result or a resolution and a coda. Besides structural elements, researchers have looked for features that would distinguish stories from other talk. For example plot, time, setting and character have been offered as those distinguishable features (see Clandinin & Connelly 2000).

However, lately, limits of the traditional understanding of stories and their structure and form have been brought up. For example, Andrews (2010) questions whether narratives would always be coherent, have structure and meaning. She provides an example related to the oral testimonies in the South African *Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. People’s traumatic narratives about the events in Apartheid revealed how people could not make sense of them, they still struggled with their experiences and their narratives had no ending.

I understand the memories of teachers as stories and a result of storytelling: former students both wrote and orally told about their teachers. As the memories were analysed, attention was also paid to how students’ stories were constructed. Their stories were varied, which reflects the previous discussion on the concepts of story and narrative. Elbaz-Luwisch (2005: 41–42) speaks for the attentiveness of researchers to people’s experiences: some of those experiences are indeed told in a story-form, but there can be experiences without that form that are still meaningful and well-remembered and should not be ignored either.

Rather than extensive life-stories, both the written and the orally shared memories of teachers could be described as pieces, glimpses and episodes of storytellers’ lives. Yet, sometimes the writers did tell more widely about their lives intertwined with those memories. The depth and length of the stories varied. Some stories included detailed memory episode(s) with a plot, and had a so-called traditional narrative structure of beginning, middle and end, or the stories followed a structure of different teachers being recalled in a chronological order. This meant occasionally that many teachers were recalled, each only in some words. Some stories moved in a more general and descriptive level. The stories sometimes moved beyond a student’s school years. Sometimes participants told or

wrote small glimpses about several teachers, whereas sometimes they focused on one particular teacher or on some events related to one teacher. Whereas some writers dealt with particular moments with a teacher, some told about an entire grade or term, and some moved through their whole history of going to school.

Stories must not be seen as replicates or records of life, but as constructions and reconstructions, situated in context, and a result of tellings and retellings¹⁸ (Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Riessman 1993, 2008, Widdershoven 1993). Stories cannot tell everything, but telling is always a matter of choosing and interpretation (Carter 1993, Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Ochs & Capps 2001, Spector-Mersel 2010). Yet, although stories are partial and imperfect, what the tellers choose to tell about is somehow meaningful for them (Carter 1993). As former students were telling memories about their teachers, they were not “repeating” their experiences, but they were trying to understand and make sense of those memories, as well as considering their meaning.

In studying memories of teachers, the focus was in the content: in the teacher-student relationships as recalled. Nevertheless, the three dimensions – the content, the context and the process of storytelling – cannot be separated (Hyvärinen 2008b, Gubrium & Holstein 2009). The participants were telling about their teachers in a particular context and for a specific purpose and most likely in a different time and context their stories would have been different. Let us think about a situation that they would have recalled with their former classmates, for example: the situation of telling is different if both the teller and the listener share the past context. Also, the memories shared in this research were “elicited stories,” not stories that emerged “in naturally occurring conversation – stories told around a dinner table, for example” (Riessman 2008: 6, see also Ochs & Capps 2001). Also, there were storytellers who were working as teachers or were students of education, most of them studying to be teachers. They were not just telling about their past experiences, but about their (future) profession.

Stories are constructed in an interaction with other people. “Storytelling is a relational activity” as Riessman (2002: 697) puts it. Telling about teachers took different forms in this research: memories of teachers were both written and told orally. Ochs and Capps (2001) make a distinction between telling *to* someone and

¹⁸ Instead of the concept narrate, I use the concepts of storytelling or tell. Those terms are frequently used in studies about stories of teachers or teaching (e.g. Carter 1993, Clandinin & Connelly 1994, 2000, Elbaz-Luwisch 2005). In the title of this thesis the term storied is used (see Elbaz-Luwisch 2005). That term demonstrates the perspective to relationships – that relationships are studied namely through student stories.

telling *with* someone. The interactional nature of storytelling was evident when a group of teachers were recalling their teachers together, hence, “with someone” and they could join in to the memories being told. However, the interactional nature of telling is also present in writing, writing is directed at someone and the potential reader is taken into consideration (see Clandinin & Connelly 1994: 419–422). In a joint article by Salmon and Riessman (2008: 80) Salmon claims that all narratives are co-constructed: “The audience, whether physically present or not, exerts a crucial influence on what can and cannot be said, how things should be expressed, what can be taken for granted, what needs explaining, and so on.” Taking into account the relational viewpoint to stories, it should not be forgotten that narratives have different functions (Gubrium & Holstein 2009, Hyvärinen 2008a: 448, Riessman 2008). After all, when telling about an experience, a person is creating a self, how s/he wants to be known by others (Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Riessman 1993: 18). For example, through stories, we can “persuade others to see the events in a similar way” (Riessman 2008: 187), or choose such information for the story that will construct “a more appealing or telling story, or to create interest and suspense” (Elbaz-Luwisch 2005: 31). Therefore, Riessman (2008) also urges researchers to think about why a particular story is told and how the storyteller aims to convince the reader about the trustworthiness of the story, for example by adding lines of speech into the story.

In the context of this research, I understand the memories of teachers as personal accounts. While recalling their teachers, the former students were similarly looking at their lives from a particular perspective. The memories described how former students experienced their teachers and the relationships they had with them, but they also described themselves as students. However, although personal, stories are socially constructed and they include cultural as well as personal elements. In the context of social sciences, Hyvärinen (2008b: 51) points out that narratives are never only private and subjective, but that telling of narratives is a social and cultural practice (see also Spector-Mersel 2010). Our stories have reflections on the ways other people conceive of us, of the traditional genres of storytelling and cultural story reserve and of language (Carter 1993: 6, Kerby 1991: 6, Saarenheimo 1997: 19, 58). Carter (1993: 6) explains that the mere emphasis on personal meanings of stories suggests that stories would be important only personally, but yet they “exist within a community in which readers make something of them.” In a Bakhtinian sense, Gudmundsdóttir (2001) discusses the idea of multivoicedness and how in the end, no story or voice is one’s own only, but a mixture of voices of the culture.

Ways of telling about school and teachers, and images of current schools affect our way of telling about those issues (Lahelma 2002, Mitchell & Weber 1999). So, when teachers are recalled and told about, it is worth noting that the cultural story reserve of teachers and school is exceptionally wide (Viskari & Vuorikoski 2003). Teachers raise many kinds of emotions compared to other professions, and the role of media cannot be forgotten in the case of teachers: media reports and judges certain kinds of phenomena related to being a teacher (Laine 1998: 111–112). Although memories of teachers are constructed against the cultural ways of telling about school and teachers, the memories are not studied herein as cultural products or as cultural ways of telling as such (Salo 2005), but in the framework of teacher-student relationships.

2.4 Memories and remembering

Everything in our life and culture is based on our ability to remember, as described by Korhikangas (1999). Remembering is so natural in our lives that we typically do not notice its significance unless we have forgotten something. Memories are important for us and our identities, because without memory we would not know where we are from, who we are and where we belong. We would not know what has happened in our past and how we should see the future. (Korhikangas 1999: 155, see also Kerby 1991). Saarenheimo (1997) understands remembering namely as identity-work. The significance of memories is revealed in our need to retain pieces of the past in diary markings, written autobiographies, photos and videos (Saarenheimo 1997: 21).

Yet, rarely do researchers of stories talk about issues of remembering, although one could claim that the aspect of remembering is always present when people are telling about their lives and experiences. Saarenheimo (1991: 260) has noticed the same issue in biographical research, although memory is seen to influence how stories of one's life are formed (see also Huotelin 1992, Riessman 2008: 29). Remembering the past has been understood as one of the functions of narrative, as Riessman (2008: 8) points out, and she continues to say that “in a dynamic way then, narrative constitutes past experience at the same time as it provides ways for individuals to make sense of the past.” This side of storytelling is emphasised in this research, when recalling their teachers, the gaze of the former students is directed to the past, but nevertheless it is always done through the present.

Both concept of story and terms related to memory are used in this research, as is storytelling and remembering/recalling. I understand the situations when students are recalling their teachers as storytelling situations, and that only through storytelling can we attend to people's memories. However, people's personal accounts about their teachers are defined as memories, since that concept includes the retrospective viewpoint towards the past more distinctively than stories.¹⁹ Also, when the people participating in this research were discussing their teachers, they often referred to memories or how they remembered something.

It is remembering that Wertsch (2002: 17) prefers to talk about rather than memory, because whereas memories refer to something we have, remembering refers to the process of doing something. That understanding emphasises the active nature of remembering. Remembering must be understood as a process of interpretation, reconstruction, choosing and sense-making.²⁰ Although memories are related to the past, they are always reconstructed²¹ and told in the current context, the future already in mind (e.g. Huotelin 1992: 60–63, Kerby 1991, Riessman 1993). When we are remembering, “there is an active attempt to understand and explain” (Crawford *et al.* 1992: 9). This means that remembering is not about recalling past events, as such, and memories should not be understood as fixed or final or unchangeable accounts. If thinking about the memories of teachers, it is likely that we look at our own memories differently if we have just began teacher studies or if we have just finished a particular level of school or if our 7-year-old child is beginning school. It is even possible that a memory as it is told has never actually occurred to a person, but the memory is an

¹⁹ It would be misleading to talk about teacher stories instead of teacher memories or memories of teachers.

²⁰ Peltonen and Eskola (1997: 20) compare Finnish and English language in terms of memory expressions. According to them, the English language (remembering, recalling) captures the process of recreation and interpretation in remembering compared to the Finnish expressions (muisto, muistelu, muisteleminen, mieleen palauttaminen).

²¹ This research understands memories as reconstructions. However, Saarenheimo (1991: 261–263) discusses two theoretical models, through which the relation between autobiographical memories and the life as lived has been explained. Copy theories and reconstruction theories have been introduced. In the first one, memories are understood as copies. Memories repeat past experiences as they were. In the latter theories, the aspects of interpretation and reconstruction are seen as present in memories. Saarenheimo brings up that attempts have been made to connect the two models, for example by Brewer (1988). In that viewpoint, details of the original experience are present in the autobiographical memories, but those memories change over time. For example, it is possible that new elements are included in the memory. (see also Brewer 1988: 40–44).

image that consists of various closely related experiences. This example given by Kempainen (2001: 38–39) explains the connection between memories and interpretation.

When teachers were recalled, personally experienced memories often came up. Yet, sometimes the students did tell about events that had happened to their school mates and how they had witnessed those events. A few also told about events that had happened to a relative, for example. Korhonen (1999: 164–165) points out that autobiographical memories are sometimes supplemented with memories heard from others. A person is dependent on her/his community when remembering and Korhonen discusses how the guidelines of what is worth remembering and what a person should remember are defined in the community. In Chapter 2.3 (pages 39–40) I discussed stories as cultural and interactional constructions. Also, the act of remembering is seen as a social and cultural process. From the viewpoint of social psychology, Saastamoinen (2001: 137) deals with remembering as a socially learnt skill: interpretations of the past are reconstructed with other people, but this is done in the context of the cultural ways of storytelling.

Article II focuses on teachers sharing memories of their own teachers. We acknowledged the memories, although personal, “as the result of a collective process of recalling” (Article II: 519). The group was not simply members, but all teachers, all women, and all former students of teachers. This collectivity of recalling is also discussed by Davies *et al.* (2001): they executed a memory-work project, in which the researchers themselves went through their own experiences as schoolgirls. The memory-work method developed by Haug has been widely applied in feminist research, the method emphasises that personal accounts reflect the social and the structures of the society (e.g. Crawford *et al.* 1992, Davies *et al.* 2001, Kosonen 1998, Simonsen 1995, Ylitapio-Mäntylä 2007, 2009). Davies *et al.* (2001: 169) describe how “telling of stories, written and spoken, produces a web of experiences that are at once individual, interconnected, collective – and political.” In the group of teachers, the collective process of recalling showed: memories of one participant could evoke further memories, questions, comments, reflections and also non-verbal responses from the others (Article II: 519).

Many explanations have been offered concerning what and why something is remembered. Emotions and their meaning in recollections have been widely discussed (Crawford *et al.* 1992, Huotelin 1992: 61, Kempainen 2001: 38, Southgate 2003) as well as how scents, tastes, sounds or particular artefacts can evoke memories (Ilomäki *et al.* 1998, Syrjämaa 1999). The experience of Proust

is the most famous example of the meaning of senses for remembering: he had a Madeleine-cake with tea in a café, which resulted in an extensive viewing of his life. The example of Proust is discussed by Järviluoma (2007: 66), who cites that the case of Proust distinguishes involuntary and voluntary remembering. Tasting the cake was, for Proust, a strong involuntary memory related to childhood, and after that he began to remember voluntarily – in other words he began to recall (see also discussion of Proust in Whitehead 2009: 101–114). Kosonen (1998) also brings up the meaning of body for remembering. It is also claimed that people tend to recall unique, special events of their lives, whereas the everyday and the so-called normal events disappear from memories (Saarenheimo 1997: 21–22, Syrjämaa 1999: 5–6). Similarly, researchers of stories and storytelling emphasise that the surprising, the unexpected, and the unusual are told about more frequently than the everyday, routine, normal and ordinary (Elbaz-Luwisch 2005: 72, Huotelin 1992: 61, Ochs & Capps 2001: 253). Crawford *et al.* (1992: 9) add that memories are activated by, for example, problematic issues that are unsolved, contradictions, or if people's responses were not what was expected (see also Labov 1977).

Ordinary and particular are intertwined in many ways in memories. The participants of this research brought up very specific moments in their relationships with their teachers that were sometimes described as unique, special or exceptional, but the memories sometimes implied continuity or repetition (Riessman 2008). One might ask whether those teachers that, in some sense were exceptional or different, were the ones recalled, whereas the so-called normal and ordinary teachers were left outside of remembering. When remembering is discussed, the aspect of forgetting must also be taken into account. The storytellers who participated in this research discussed their memories and what they remembered, but occasionally they stated that they had forgotten some details or were unable to remember something (see also Lahelma 2002). However, without forgetting, we would drown in information. The ability to forget, choose and abandon is essential and these abilities reveal why memory influences, for example, how people's life stories form. (Huotelin 1992: 60–63, Ilomäki *et al.* 1998: 10).

In narrative research, the conception of a person about her/himself is seen as an evolving story that continually takes shape and changes. Also, instead of one absolute truth, it is understood that there are many realities that “are being constructed in individual's minds through their social interactions with one another.” (Heikkinen 2002b: 17). Keeping in mind that stories about lives are

always interpretations and they are always told in a particular context (Kerby 1991, Riessman 2008), it is relevant to ask about the "truth" and "accuracy" of memories and whether the memories can be trusted. It is impossible to say what is real or unchangeable in memories, or how the life lived and the current events have influenced memories about life as a student (Kosonen 1998: 280–281). Undoubtedly, there can be mistakes, inaccuracies and errors in memories, but yet memories are significant for those who tell them (Huotelin 1992: 62–63) and, as researchers, we should respect that. In the context of memory-work, Crawford *et al.* (1992: 151–152) talk about how it is not relevant whether memories have been described accurately or not, but rather the focus should be on how people search for intelligibility and negotiate meaning concerning past events. Therefore, it is not relevant to consider whether memories "really" happened in the past as people tell, but how and why those memories were constructed as they were (Kosonen 1998: 30). Kerby (1991: 7) adds, "In the case of our personal narratives, 'truth' becomes more a question of a certain adequacy to an implicit meaning of the past than of a historically correct representation or verisimilitude... meaning of the past is not something fixed and final but is something continually configured and updated in the present."

3 The process of research

3.1 Memories of teachers: three different materials

Three different memory materials were studied in this research. In different contexts, former students were asked to recall their teachers. Next, I will describe the collection of these materials and discuss issues particular to each of the materials.

Written memories by students of education

Students of education wrote about their teachers. These memories of 49 students were studied in Article I. However, the roots of the article go further, as I studied these memories in my master's thesis (Uitto 2003b). While beginning to work on my thesis, I described my research interests to my supervisor, Professor Leena Syrjälä. It turned out that during that same autumn 2001, she had already asked her students of education to write about their teachers as part of a study assignment in her course (see Appendix 1). Essays by 46 students were selected as the research material. In these essays, teachers were recalled, even if in brief.²² In addition to the students who had participated in the course *Orientation to Educational Sciences*, three other students wrote about their teachers. I was one of those students, as I recalled my own teachers before starting my actual research.

There were 40 female writers and 9 male writers. Based on the stories, these students had gone to school between the 1970s-1990s – their focus was on teachers in primary school, lower secondary school and upper secondary school.²³ Whereas some teachers were written about quite extensively, some were described in a few sentences. However, it is worth noting that even those teachers who were briefly described were still recalled, whereas most likely there were also teachers the writers did not mention at all. Altogether, this material consisted of approximately 115 A4-pages.

²² There were students who did not recall their former teachers in the essays, but wrote about other issues mentioned in the assignment. Their essays were not included in the research material as the interest of this research was namely in the memories of teachers.

²³ There were few memories of teachers that had taught the students in universities, in vocational schools or in universities of applied sciences. However, as there were only few such memories, they were not included in the analysis.

It is sometimes claimed that when people are writing about their lives, they are alone with their thoughts and experiences and not disturbed by an interactional situation (Eskola & Suoranta 1998: 124). However, I agree with researchers who understand situations of writing as interactional (Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Laine 2000: 23–24). In the context of letter writing and children’s letter writing in particular, Hall *et al.* (2000) talk about writing “as a social practice.” We write to someone in a particular context and for a particular purpose (cf. Riessman 2008). What is particular for the context of the memories by the students of education is that their writings were study assignments for a particular course, and for a particular professor of theirs. When writing to a person who may not be as familiar with their personal life-histories, writers need to take into account their style of writing, their word choice and they have to assume what the person may or may not know, they have to put themselves into a relationship with the reader, they cannot go straight into the story, but they have to contextualise it (Hall *et al.* 2000). Also, these students, who considered their own pupil experiences, were students of education and most of them were studying to be teachers. Whereas the narrative production may be more visible when people are orally telling about their life-experiences (cf. Gubrium & Holstein 2009: 39), it is not so easy to detect the process of how stories are interactionally constructed in writing – we only get hints of the process, some writers may say something about it explicitly, but for example, it is not possible to see the different versions of writing, what is included in the final version and what is left out.

Teachers shared memories of their own teachers

In 2004-2005 a project called INTO (Inspirational Narratives of Teaching as an Opportunity)²⁴ was established in order to support teachers’ coping and renewal at work (Estola *et al.* 2007, Kaunisto *et al.* 2009). I was involved in the project as a researcher. We organised voluntary-based peer groups²⁵ for teachers as in-service education, in which “different narrative ways of working were used to encourage

²⁴ The project [in Finnish *Kerronta opettajien työssä jaksamisen ja uusiutumisen tukena*] was carried out in co-operation between the University of Oulu and the city of Oulu. The Finnish Work Environment Fund and the Academy of Finland were the main financiers of the project and the research done therein.

²⁵ More information about the different groups and their more specific aims and activities is found in Estola *et al.* (2007).

the participants to discuss their life stories in the framework of wellbeing and coping as a teacher” (Article II: 518).

A group of 11 female teachers met altogether 16 times during a year and a half. They worked in the different levels of the Finnish school system: in day care centres, primary schools and vocational institutions. The teachers ranged from 30 to 60 years of age. There were four of us researchers present in the group meetings and we also planned the sessions. We had different responsibilities in the group. Eila Estola and Saara-Leena Kaunisto looked after the timetable and the different themes and tasks of each meeting. Leena Syrjälä took notes and observed the discussions, but also participated in them. I had the main responsibility of data collection: all the group sessions were videotaped. Riessman (2008: 29) talks about losing the dynamicity of the situation even if the situation is videotaped. Interpretation and the researcher’s influence are already present in the videotaping. While videotaping, a researcher has to crop the angles of view (Hakala 2007: 38–39). I recognise this too: the placement of the video camera was carefully considered so that it would not be too close but not too distant either. Also, the camera was re-directed according to who was talking at a given time.

Each of the group meetings had a particular theme that was agreed upon among the group participants. In the fourth meeting in February 2004, memories of childhood and school were discussed. This theme of memories related to the idea of moving from past experiences towards the present and the future: these aspects are seen as relevant for teachers’ identity work (Kelchtermans 2009). The material analysed in Article II is from this fourth group session,²⁶ as the shared memories often dealt with teachers that the participants had in their own student years. Most of the memories were situated to day care centres and primary schools.

Seven of the eleven teachers attended this meeting that lasted altogether three hours. The meeting began with collective recalling (Davies *et al.* 2001). After an hour, the discussion turned to the future. Because of our focus in teacher memories, we analyse that part of the session in Article II (31 A4-pages), when memories were shared collectively as a group.

Compared to the other materials in this research, these memories were oral and collectively shared in a group. Hence, although the participants of the group

²⁶ Besides the memories, we had other research interests in the group (see Estola & Uusimäki 2005, Kaunisto *et al.* 2009).

were recounting their personal memories, it is likely that the group had an effect on what memories they shared and that they also evoked memories in the participants (see Kaunisto *et al.* 2009). This was sometimes recognised by the participants themselves. For example, Virpi, a primary school teacher, started her recollections of her male teachers by indicating that she had “just now realised”... “this kind of thing came to my mind” (Article II: 523). Also, not only did these teachers talk about their own former teachers and student times, but they also reflected against the fact that they were now teachers themselves.

Memories via a writing request in a magazine

It would have been possible to concentrate merely on memories that teachers or other “professionals of education” had about their own teachers. Yet, it seemed important to also listen to memories recalled by so-called “ordinary women and men” instead of these special groups. Although we all have been students of teachers and hence, basically anyone could have participated in my research, I carefully considered the best way to approach people and their memories. Different possibilities came to my mind: I thought about visiting a class reunion, or going to a place in which people gather around the same hobby or interest. Yet, I found it important to respect the intimacy of recalling and to reach such people who would find the remembering meaningful for themselves and hence, would want to voluntarily participate in my research. In the end, I decided to publish a request in a magazine for people to write about their teachers and to submit their writings as material for my study.

A Finnish magazine called *Yhteishyvä* (The Common Good²⁷) agreed to publish my request in September 2006 and people were asked to send their memories by the end of that year. This material was analysed in Articles III and IV. *Yhteishyvä* was chosen because it is a free paper, read by both women and men of various ages and because it deals widely with different areas of interest.

²⁷ The magazine is a free paper delivered to the owner-customers of S Group, a Finnish chain of stores. In 2006, the magazine had a distribution of 1, 340, 000. (*Yhteishyvä* 9/2006: 131). Historically the roots of S group and the magazine are in the co-operative ideology and movement (URL: http://www.s-kanava.fi/valtakunnallinen/sryhma_artikkeli?nodeid=Sryh_Sryhmanesittely_0000__s_ska_basicarticle2_00866.xml&aid=Sryh_Sryhmanesittely_0000__s_ska_basicarticle2_00866.xml&exp=true. Cited 2011/4/6).

Also, there was interest in the magazine to write about the topic of memories.²⁸ Therefore, we agreed that the writings were first sent to the magazine and then they were redirected to me.

I wanted the writing request (see Appendix 2 and 3) to be as open as possible so that the writers could choose themselves which teachers to tell about, how much they told about them and from which viewpoint. The questions of the request, such as “Do you remember your teacher?” could be seen as prompts for the telling (Mitchell & Weber 1999). One-hundred and forty-one letters and emails²⁹ of varied length were sent by 116 women and 25 men of different ages with different educational and occupational backgrounds. Most of the writers were women – this has often been the case in different writing competitions as well (Taira 2006: 34).³⁰ The writers were aged between 16 and 87 years at the time of the writing, but nearly half of them were over sixty years of age. They lived in different sides of Finland, and a few of them also lived abroad. This material also included writers who were studying to be teachers, who were presently teaching or had retired. Most of the writers’ memories were situated to the time of basic education and upper secondary school. Some writers also wrote about teachers of a particular music instrument, and teachers in confirmation class, vocational education, adult education or higher education. The length of the stories varied between 80 and 7,000 words. This material consisted of approximately 400 A4-pages.

It was surprising that as many as 141 people decided to respond to my request. It seems to reveal something about the significance of teachers for students. Originally, the publishing of a request was seen as a possibility to reach those people who wanted to tell about their teachers and afterwards the recalling could have been continued together in an interview, for example. However, I wanted to appreciate the fact that so many people sent in their memories and thus, to focus on them. Compared to the other materials, this material raises a question of whom these people were that wrote and why. These writers evidently had

²⁸ Wallinkoski A (2008) Ihanat maikat, kauheat kansankynttilät (Yhteishyvä 5/2008: 10–12). This article in the magazine was based on the mailed-in memories and my interview.

²⁹ Four people sent me their memories personally prior or after the writing request and their writings were included as part of this material.

³⁰ Although my request did not relate to any competition and offered no reward, it is not uncommon for people to see requests for writing in magazines. Different types of writing competitions with rewards are organised regularly in Finland, for example by Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (The Finnish Literature Society). For example, autobiographies by women and men have been collected.

something to say, however, most of them did not specify their reasons for writing. Occasionally their reasons for writing were stated explicitly, and they showed that writing actually had different personal significance for different writers. Some writers wanted to assist the researcher, or some writers felt the topic of research was important, or for others the writing request had raised an interest and evoked memories. There could be something about one's teacher that seemed worth telling or the writing was seen as an opportunity to thank a teacher or to think about past experiences, or as a way to influence the current school system. Also, for some, teachers seemed relevant in their current lives (Metso 1999). For example, one writer had just phoned her teacher (email 8), the daughter of another writer was beginning her first year as a teacher (letter 14), and the son of one writer had just began lower secondary school and she had visited her son's school, which used to be her school (email 67). Then again, one of the writers was going to have a talk in a class reunion (email 70).

While most of the memories were written for the purpose of my writing request, there were few writings originally written for a different purpose, for instance as part of teacher studies, autobiographical texts or school chronicles. One writer (letter 68) asked me to send her back the handwritten memories, because she wanted to give them to her children and grandchildren. Besides the writings, some of the writers sent photographs, short newspaper articles or other material related to their teachers.

Writing gave an opportunity for the people to write when and where it was most suitable for them. There were various ways that writers occasionally attempted to build a relationship with me (see Hall *et al.* 2000). For example, they could ask whether I too recalled something they remembered, or they acknowledged that I would not know something about the routines of the school, or they greeted me in the beginning of their story and wished me good luck with the PhD research. Whereas there are examples in which people have worked with their memories on several occasion, for instance through methods of memory-work (Davies *et al.* 2001, Mitchell & Weber 1999), the participants of this research rather reflected on their memories on one occasion in a particular context. Yet, the writers had the possibility to send me further memories as I wanted to continue the interaction with the writers. After I had received all the stories sent to me via the magazine, I contacted the writers by email or letter in spring of 2007, thanked them, told them a bit more about the research and also invited them to write more in case they felt they still wanted to say something. After my contact, 13 writers sent me further memories. Also, there were writers

who contacted and otherwise commented on the research. With some of these writers, we exchanged several emails.

Table 1 introduces all the participants of this research by their educational generations (Antikainen & Kauppila 2002).

Table 1. Participants' educational generations.

	49 students of education	A group of 7 female teachers	141 writers, who recalled their teachers via the Yhteishyvä-magazine
"The war generation with scant education" (born in 1935 or before that)			27 writers (18 women, 9 men)
"The generation of structural change with growing educational opportunities" (born in 1936-1955)		2 teachers	56 writers (47 women, 9 men)
"The welfare generation with many educational choices" (born in 1956 or later"	49 students (40 women, 9 men)	5 teachers	52 writers* (46 women, 6 men)

*In addition, there were 6 writers (5 women, 1 man), who did not mention their age. Their memories did not either reveal in which educational generation they belonged to.

3.2 About the analysis of the memories

Each of the four articles of this thesis discusses a sub-study, and those studies are based on three different memory materials. The analysis processes of these studies were described in the articles and also briefly in the overviews of the articles (Chapter 4). In this chapter, I will discuss the analysis processes jointly: their common and distinct features.

Previous research has analysed memories of teachers, for example, in a microhistorical context (Tuomaala 2004), from the viewpoint of different student generations (Southgate 2003, see also Antikainen & Kauppila 2002) and in the light of cultural images of teachers (Mitchell & Weber 1999, Salo 2005). The theoretical framework of my research was shaped during the process of studying the memory materials. The research began from questions such as: What is

remembered of teachers after school years? Why are some teachers remembered and some forgotten? When analysing the memories of students of education, the meaning of teacher-student relationships was discovered through their recollections (Article I). Since that perspective was also present in the other memory materials, teacher-student relationships became the theoretical lenses and the interpretative framework in which the memories were read and analysed.

Inductive reading of the memories described the analysis. Yet, previous theoretical discussions were meaningful for the interpretations of the memories. I aimed to have the memories and the theory discuss with each other, that being the case, they could open up new viewpoints for each other (Saarenheimo 1997: 31). Theoretical literature helped me view the memories differently. An example is seen in Noblit (1993), whose research on one teacher's everyday practices helped form an understanding of how a teacher's acts of caring can be seen as a use of power for the benefit of students.

The analysis of each memory material began by organising the material. In the case of the written materials, this meant that each writing was named by a running number (e.g. essay 1, 2, 3 etc.). The stories that I got via the writing request were sent both by email and by post. They were saved as Word-files, which meant rewriting the handwritten stories by computer. During that process I also deleted the names of all the writers from the writings.

The session of the group recalling their teachers was recorded by video camera, after which I transcribed the videotaped material. My focus was on the participants' verbal exchanges and I also made notes about repetitions and situations when the participants talked on top of each other. However, besides that, notes were made on their non-verbal expressions (for example, laughter and longer pauses), body positions and movements. Already the phase of transcription must be understood as interpretative (Kvale 1996, Riessman 2008: 29). Kvale (1996: 27, 161–168) talks about the freezing effect of transcription, as a transcribed text is not dynamic since it tends to lose the presence of social interaction. Therefore, Kvale recommends viewing recordings and not relying merely on the transcriptions in the analysis phase. Yet, he reminds us that recordings must also be understood as showing only parts of the actual situation. We noticed the importance of watching the videotaped session together as we noticed a new perspective of the teachers as recalled (Article II: 520). Also, our interpretations of the particular session were influenced by the fact that we met with the teachers a total of 16 times during a year and a half.

The first readings of each of the materials as a whole focused on the content: what were the memories like about teachers and what was told. Attention was paid to those themes and topics that seemed to be shared in several of the memories, but also to such topics that only a few were recalling (see Elbaz-Luwisch 2005). Initial themes were formed based on the notes and coloured markings made to the transcript and writings. Making mind maps was also involved in the phase of thematically analysing the materials. During this phase, attention was also paid to how the students' stories were constructed. For example, whether students recalled one or several teachers and whether they told about individual episodes or talked in a more general way.

In terms of the stories sent via the writing request, I made a table of the whole set of 141 writings (see Appendix 4). This phase preceded the analysis processes of the sub-studies presented in Articles III and IV. Making the table was important in getting to know the material and in making the first observations about the shared and different content of the memories. Details about the writers' age, gender and occupation (if known) and the length of the story were marked in the table. Doing summaries of each of the stories included analysing the central themes and plots (how the story proceeded, what were the turning points of the story and what episodes were detailed). In addition, I analysed the time and place of each story (to where and when the memories were situated) and the central characters of the memories (who were the teacher(s) being described, which level of school they taught and how the student(s) were presented) (Clandinin & Connelly 2000).

Each article's viewpoint to teacher-student relationships took form during the phase that focused on themes and content. Because of the article format, the viewpoint was defined carefully. For example, the sub-study presented in Article III originated from how writers often discussed teachers' treatment of students and how the writers related to that. As a result of thematic analysis, four kinds of memories about teacher-student relationships were distinguished (see Appendix 5). One of these themes included memories of relationships that described students' hurt and feelings of unfairness. Those memories became the focus of Article III.

When considering the narrative nature of this research, it is important to consider that there is no one model or way of analysing, but rather, researchers apply the analysis methods of other researchers and develop their own ways of reading stories (Löyttyniemi 2004: 24). Different methods of analysis were applied to the four articles: for example, thematic, holistic and narrative

approaches were applied, depending on the context of the article. The memories by students of education and the group of teachers were analysed together with another researcher (Article I, II). The analysis of the material by the group of teachers began in the group, as we made our first observations there about the memories (Article II). Also, whereas Articles I and II focus on whole memory material, Articles III and IV focus on a limited number of stories.

I recognise what Riessman (2008) says about thematic analysis often being combined with other ways of analysis in narrative research. Different narrative methods for reading materials, appropriate for a particular piece of material, were applied after the phase that concentrated on the themes and content of memories. In Articles I and IV, holistic reading described the analysis, which meant that the memories were not read categorically as separate items, but in the context of the whole story (Lieblich *et al.* 1998). Different themes were not dealt with separately in the analysis, but their points of intersection within the memories were acknowledged. In Article I, we distinguished three main themes in teacher-student relationships (body, caring, power), but read the themes as intertwining with each other, both through theory and through the material. Similarly, in Article II, the main themes of gender and emotions were analysed as intertwining with each other in teacher-student relationships. The memories were read from different distances as well. Sometimes memories were read in light of the material as a whole (Article I, II, III, IV), sometimes they were read more closely by selecting one story for close analysis. In Article III, this analytic approach made it possible to analyse a relationship between a teacher and a student from the viewpoint of complexity in power relations. Anna's story of one particular teacher was analysed by its details, events, characters, time and place and by its construction (Clandinin & Connelly 2000, Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Riessman 2008).

In addition to the content and themes of memories, the ways of telling about teacher-student relationships were also analysed (Elbaz-Luwisch 2005). According to Hyvärinen (2008b), content and way of telling cannot be distinguished from each other in a story. In Article II, we noticed that the participants of the group either returned to recall relationships that had already been discussed or it was that some memories evoked an intensive discussion. Based on that, we distinguished different ways of telling about relationships (Article II). Article IV analysed "what and in what connection writers discussed the themes related to teachers' personal lives" and "how these themes were recounted." Besides teachers, how students were remembered in relationships

with their teachers (Article II, III, IV) and the ways in which former students made sense of their memories, while telling, were also analysed (Article III).

The context of a recollection is important in analysing stories and storytelling. Therefore, it is essential to take into account when and where the storytelling takes place, for what purpose and for whom one is telling (Hyvärinen 2008a, 2008b, Riessman 2008). Also, Gudmundsdóttir (2001) reminds us that a story needs context so that it can be told. The context must be understood in three levels herein: firstly, there is the situation, in which the memories are recalled, secondly, there is the context of the whole story and how a particular memory is a part of that, and thirdly, there is the historical, social and cultural context in which the story is situated (a particular year, level of school or institution) (see Spector-Mersel 2010: 212). Also, one part of the context is that individual stories and memories are part of the whole memory material, other stories help contextualise the individual stories (see Article III).

In terms of the memories shared in a group of teachers, specific analytic attention was paid to the interactional context of the telling and to the reconstruction of memories (Article II). We analysed the memories in the context of the group: how storytelling proceeded and how some memories evoked an intensive discussion. Yet, the context of storytelling was taken into account in other analyses as well. Although memories were not analysed in terms of a particular historical period, the context was considered in the interpretations of the memories. For example, in Article III, Anna's (the writer whose story was selected for a close analysis) way of explaining her memories with time and place was important in the telling. Also, attention was paid to how memories could move between the present and the past (Article I, II, III, IV). Seeking further information was sometimes needed in certain phases of the analysis (see Riessman 2008: 114). This was especially the case with elderly writers, as I sought further information to help me understand the details, timeframe and context of their memories. For example, I read literature that dealt with the different school systems in Finland (e.g. Nurmi 1989, Syväoja 2004, Tuomaala 2004) or tried to find extra information regarding the timeframe in which people recalled their school years as students or teachers (Kero 2000, Piela 1989, Rantala 2005, Seppovaara 2000).

The context of the storytelling was brought up in the phase of reporting the results of the analyses in different articles (in the extent that was possible). I paid attention to the historical and cultural context of the memories, in case it helped to understand or explain a memory (Kosonen 1998: 20). For example, contextual

information was needed in order for the reader to be able to understand some memories related to teachers' personal lives (Article IV). As the research went on, I paid increasingly attention that the wholeness of the memories would be retained also at that phase of presenting the results, in order to respect the storyteller and her/his story (Riessman 2008). I aimed at bringing up whole memories and extensive quotes instead of smaller parts in the article (e.g. Article III, IV). Also, I aimed to open up how a particular memory was situated in the whole context of a story (Hyvärinen 2008a, 2008b). I further noted (if known) which level of school a memory was situated, whether the teacher was a class teacher or a subject teacher, a woman or a man and how old the writer was and whether the writer was a woman or a man.

3.3 Ethical considerations

Several ethical issues are to be considered, especially when the research is dealing with people's personal experiences. Besides certain practical ethical procedures that are taken care of (such as confidentiality and anonymity), it is seen that ethics of caring should direct the whole process of research and its different phases (Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Syrjälä *et al.* 2006a). Initial choices, such as whom to listen to and what to study, are ethical decisions. Narrative researchers have often talked about their willingness to give a voice to a group of people, whose voices have been silent or silenced in research (e.g. Elbaz-Luwisch 1997). For example, it could be said that the roots of narrative research with teachers began with the notion that teachers must be able to tell about their work in their own words, when usually others have done the telling for them (Gudmundsdóttir 2001). It is thought that ultimately students benefit from teacher-based narrative research (Elbaz-Luwisch 1997, Syrjälä *et al.* 2006a). For me, the decision to listen to students was ethically important, the starting point of this research is to appreciate student memories of their teachers (see Article I: 355). Rarely have former students had the opportunity to retrospectively describe their teachers and their relationships with them.

A commitment to ethics of caring in research means attention to relationships that researchers have with the people participating in the research. This is especially true when people's personal experiences are studied, as the relationships between researchers and participants are of importance (Clandinin & Connelly 1994, Josselson 2007, see Pinnegar & Daynes 2007). Craig and Huber (2007) talk about relational ethics and remind us how researchers are in the

middle of stories and relations in research: the “webs of relationships” consist of relations with researchers, whose texts we cite, with our co-researchers and with the research participants. We should consider who we are in the stories of the participants. We go in the middle of people’s stories: their stories do not begin when researchers enter their lives. (see also Clandinin & Connelly 1994, 2000, Elbaz-Luwisch 2005: 29).

Hakala (2007: 39) states how, during the research, she had to continually negotiate her own position as a researcher. Similarly, as the choices of data collection methods were different with different storytellers, the relationships with the storytellers and my position obviously formed in diverse ways. The memory material written by students of education was a so-called ready material for me that I shared with my co-researcher Leena Syrjälä (who had taught the students in the course). However, personally I did not establish relationships with most of the writers, except with those who volunteered to write about their teachers. Yet, I shared with the writers the experience of writing about former teachers and my background as a student of education. The relationships with the group of teachers developed rather close as we met during a long period of time and, besides the face-to-face meetings we were in contact via email. In the group sessions I was positioned above all as a researcher for the teachers, since I videotaped the sessions. However, through discussions with participants other positions came up, namely that I was a doctoral student and a class teacher. For the writers based on the writing request, I was positioned as a researcher who initiated the process of remembering (Riessman 2008), but also as a doctoral student working on her PhD. Although we did not meet personally with the writers, we were in touch later as I wrote to them. With some of them we exchanged several emails or letters and few writers phoned me. These examples show that I positioned myself to the participants of this research differently. Moje (2000) has written about the research relationships from the viewpoint of power and body. She emphasises how the researcher and the participants of the research encounter one another from different kinds of positions: besides different institutional positions, gender, age and class are significant in how the positions form.

The issue about giving voice to former students is related to them being listened to, but also that they are visible in the research and in the pages of the research report. Naturally this means the use of original citations from the materials. However, this must be looked at critically. Although I have aimed to stay true to the voices of the students, nevertheless, the researcher’s voice is

bound to be present in the research, primarily in the different choices and definings. After all, in the end, the researcher decides what issues are raised from the material, what citations are used, whose voices are brought up, how those stories are interpreted and in which theoretical framework (Hakala 2007: 42, Kuula 2006). Elbaz-Luwisch (1997) also talks about the attentiveness of researchers by stating that we are more attentive to some voices of teaching in our research. Also, researchers may leave out details of the stories that are not important for pertinent themes, but which for participants are an essential part of the story (Josselson 1996: 65). These examples describe the power that is included in the relationships between the researcher and participants (Moje 2000).

In the book by Graue and Walsh (1998) Leavitt (1998: 62–69) introduces her study as considering the responsibilities of a researcher. Her research focused on infant day care centres and her observational material included cases that presented the caregivers in quite a negative light in their relations to children. Now retrospectively, Leavitt describes her decision to write from the perspective of children and thinks that she should have tried to show different possible interpretations about the situations. I aimed to bring up the students' voices and the different perspectives offered by their rich memories to analyse teacher-student relationships. However, this also meant bringing up moments that were not the brightest for teachers. After repeatedly reading memories about teacher relationships in which teachers humiliated, treated unfairly or in other ways misbehaved towards students from a student viewpoint, I had to look into those memories in more detail (Article III). It was an important decision ethically and, as Josselson (2007: 560) puts it, as researchers we believe that as we understand human experience better, it has a chance to change and have an impact on human life.

The use of materials was agreed upon with the storytellers in the case of each piece of material. Leena Syrjälä asked her students to write about their teachers in course essays: students were asked to inform in case they did not want their memories to be used in research. The identities of the students were not revealed to me, because before starting to read the memories, I blackened their names. In regard to the group of teachers who shared memories of teachers, we have written about the ethical challenges we faced in the group (Syrjälä *et al.* 2006a). Ethical questions were continually considered as the group went on. We aimed for ethically sustainable working within the group: the group itself and in the different activities, which were voluntary-based for the participants. Confidentiality was one of the main principles of the group and we aimed to make

sure that there would be time and space for each of the teachers to tell and to listen to each other's personal accounts. In terms of research ethics, we discussed on several occasions the notion of preserving the teachers' anonymity, about how the group material would be used, who would use it, who would be able to see the videotaped sessions and where we would store the material. Then again, the readers of the magazine could decide whether they contributed or by-passed the request. The writing request stated that the memories would be used for research purposes. By sending their memories, the writers expressed their willingness to participate in the research and their consent to use their memories – the writing was a “deliberate action” (Kuula 2006: 134). As the magazine was interested to write about the topic, the writing request stated that the memories could be published in the research reports and in the magazine: in both cases we promised to protect the writers' anonymity. After I received all the stories, I contacted them and wrote again about the use of the memories, told a bit more about the research and explained how the anonymity would be protected. Also, I asked the writers to contact me if there was something they were hesitant about.

Anonymity and other ways to make the research texts fictional are significant matters to think over from an ethical point of view (Clandinin & Connelly 1994: 422). The anonymity of the storytellers was assured by changing or omitting all the names of people and places that occurred in the cited memories. Also, some other details that might be too recognisable were left out. Taking care of the anonymity of the tellers is not always so straight-forward. For example, one writer, who wrote via the magazine request, suggested that I would use the actual names of the teachers when quoting his story. However, I felt I could not follow the writer's request. Names of places or other people in the story can reveal the identity of the participant (Josselson 2007: 542). In addition, for me the requirement of anonymity touches other people involved in the stories. Personal stories are never just about one person, but include other people, who may feel totally different about being exposed or recognised on the basis of the story. It can also be important for storytellers to protect those people who appear in their stories. (Syrjälä *et al.* 2006a: 193–195, see also Josselson 2007: 554). There were also participants who expressed their wish that the real names of the teachers would not be used. For these previous reasons I decided to use pseudonyms or omit the names of the teachers or other people present in the memories in all cases. In addition, it should be recognised that all procedures of protecting the anonymity may not be enough – for example, people might have told others about their participation in the research (see Kuula 2006). Also, two writers in the

writing request material hoped that certain parts of their telling would not be used in the research – this hope was respected. These are examples of how ethical practices in narrative research cannot be done based on universal instructions, but taking into account the particular situation and the people involved (Syrjälä *et al.* 2006a).

In terms of all three materials, the tellers were able to decide and choose the teachers they wanted to tell about and the perspective of their stories. The tellers themselves were able to define what was important in their memories (Carter 1993) and what they were willing to share with other people and in what extent. Craig and Huber (2007) talk about the process-nature of narrative research. Any specific theme or viewpoint of the research was not mentioned for the tellers, since it was likely that the viewpoint would have changed during the process of research anyhow. Particularly in narrative research, close and long-term relationships with the participants have been seen to increase the depth of stories produced by some participants (Clandinin & Connelly 2000, Hyvärinen & Löyttyniemi 2005). In this research, however, instead of biographical or narrative interviews which aim deep in the telling about one's lives and experiences, methods of data collection made it possible to talk about one's teachers in different ways. In all three materials, this meant that, whereas sometimes the participants recalled in great detail and variation also in the context of their own lives, sometimes the memories seemed quite fragmented and brought up short glimpses and moments with the teachers.

As in any narrative material, there were inevitably gaps, silences or holes in the memories (Elbaz-Luwisch 2005): for instance, not all teachers were recalled, details were missing and sometimes a particular memory was only briefly mentioned before moving on to tell about something else. Probably some of these gaps were unintended, while some were intended. I could have asked about these gaps. Nonetheless, I felt respect towards the gaps and saw that they could show just how much the people were willing to say. This is ethically important, especially in the case of so-called negative or problematic memories. Those gaps and holes in the memories can be justified and protective (Rosenthal 2003: 920).

From an ethical viewpoint it is not trivial to consider who the research is written for, how and where it is published and how the participants get to know about the results of the research (see Syrjälä *et al.* 2006a). This is a contradictory issue. On one hand, I worry how publishing research results in English will reach teachers and students, current and former, who could be interested in the research and especially those people who participated in the research by remembering their

teachers (some of the writers that wrote via *Yhteishyvä* magazine stated their interest to read the completed research while sending their memories to me). On the other hand, students' memories of their teachers offer an important insight into research about teachers' work and teacher-student relationships (see also van Manen 1994). Therefore, it is vital to take part in the international research discussions and write namely in English for the scientific community. *Yhteishyvä* magazine wrote an article based on the memories sent via the magazine and my interview. Most likely the article also reached those writers who wrote about their teachers and hence, they were able to read some of the observations. These kinds of popular writings are one way a researcher can give something back to the people who participated in the research (Ellis & Berger 2002: 852).

4 The articles

This thesis consists of four research articles published (or in press) in international peer-reviewed journals (see Appendix 6). Each of the articles is based on an empirical sub-study. Next, summaries of the four articles will be presented. The articles were written in the same order as they are presented.

4.1 Body, caring and power in teacher-pupil relationships: encounters in former pupils' memories

The first article (Article I) was written by me and Leena Syrjälä. We studied memories that 49 students of education wrote about their teachers. The article focused on how body, caring and power can be understood as elements of the teacher-pupil relationship, and what encounter can mean in the relationship between a teacher and a pupil. The analysis consisted of several phases: the memories were analysed in the framework of what kinds of relationships are remembered, the memories were read thematically, analysed narratively by writing a poetic story³¹ and by re-reading the recalled teacher-pupil relationships from the viewpoint of body, caring, and power.

The article discusses the intertwining of body, caring and power in teacher-pupil relationships. Teachers' bodies were often recalled through different senses: there were vivid details in the students' memories about teachers' appearances, expressions, gestures, voices and the way they dressed or touched. Through teachers' bodies pupils made interpretations: facial expressions and the posture of a teacher could indicate the teacher's aims in teaching and show her/his expectations towards the pupils. The body also revealed the teacher's caring or interest towards the pupils and their studying. That teachers showed caring through their bodies came up in the memories of teachers touching, listening or hugging their pupils and also in specific memories that talked about teachers concretely intervening – for example, if a pupil was bullied in school. Memories positioned teachers and students more close to each other, and sometimes more distant from each other. Memories included accounts of teachers hugging their pupils, but it was also recalled how a teacher could slap a pupil, which suggested

³¹ As a result of narrative analysis of memories, I wrote a poetic story. This phase of analysis followed the thematic analysis of the memories. The form of the story was understood as a comprehensive and evocative way to represent the main results of the research (see Richardson 2000). The poetic story has been published in Finnish (Uitto 2003a).

a physical and degrading use of power and also lack of caring. Teachers' uses of their voice were another indication of their power.

Former students described memories of teachers who were both caring and uncaring. Caring was highlighted in the memories that described teachers showing interest not only in pupils and their learning, but also in their work and the subject being taught. Such memories suggested that teachers can use power for the benefit of the child, for example by giving attention to every pupil and by demanding things from them (see Noblit 1993). Memories that described teachers as uncaring showed examples where teachers exercised disrespect towards pupils, disregard of their questions and ideas and failure to plan the lesson. Those teachers seemed not to be interested in their pupils or their work. Through these different acts, pupils came to learn whether their teachers cared for them.

Teachers' use of power was also described in the memories, as pupils and their bodies were objects of power. There were degrading memories of teacher-pupil relationships: pupils were controlled with fear, and there were instances where they felt devalued and humiliated, or felt shame. It was described how teachers used power over their pupils and did not seem to care for their pupils. Besides degrading memories, there were memories that described power as an inevitable part of the teacher-pupil relationship that was based more on humanity and equality between two people. These memories described pupils being treated as individuals, and that although teachers were authorities they were fair and presented themselves as human beings with feelings.

Teachers' power also came up in the memories that discussed teachers' impact on pupils during the school years and up to their adulthood. It was recalled how teachers were admired, how they encouraged and made pupils interested to learn by showing interest themselves, often through their bodies, towards a subject. On the other hand, a feeling of failure could be remembered as well and those feelings could still be present in connection to a particular subject. In addition, the remembered teacher could be described as a role model for one's career as a future teacher. The teacher could be remembered as having such abilities that students wanted to strive for, or avoid, in their own teaching and relationships with pupils.

In conclusion, we discussed what encounter can mean in the teacher-pupil relationships. It seemed to us that the teacher-pupil relationships were recalled in the light of how the teachers encountered or failed to encounter the pupil. The meaning of particular situations and moments with the teacher are emphasised in our findings, as they could turn into positive or negative encounters from the

student's viewpoint. We emphasise that both teachers and pupils are building a mutual relationship in everyday situations and that there is not one particular pattern or way to encounter the pupil as a teacher, but that the person and the situation are to be considered. The significance of memories of teachers was emphasised in view of teacher education. We described briefly our own practices of including this topic into our teaching and encouraged other researcher-teachers to do the same.

4.2 Gender and emotions in relationships: teachers recalling their own teachers

The second article (Article II) was written by me and Eila Estola. The article studies teacher memories shared by a group of female teachers and asks how gender and emotions are intertwined in teacher-student relationships. After our observation about teachers being recalled in relationships with their students, the recalled relationships were analysed thematically. The analysis brought up gender and emotions important in the relationships and those themes were studied further. We analysed the group's reminiscences and the ways of telling about relationships. Based on that focus, four kinds of memories about teacher-student relationships were distinguished.

The article illustrates the role of gender included in the memories of teacher-student relationships. It often happened that the remembered teacher was identified as a female or a male. The first name of the teacher or details of appearance or the subject taught could also be suggestive of the teacher's gender. These identifications often seemed self-evident, and were connected to the teachers' bodies (Gordon 2006, Mitchell & Weber 1999). Based on the memories, there were many ways of being a female or male teacher in relationships with students. Yet, in some memories the gender determined the teacher's way of being in relationships with the students and contrasts between female and male teachers were made. Such memories were also shared which only suggested the involvement of the teacher, and the teacher's gender was not revealed, these memories focused on the practices of the teachers and how they resonated from a student viewpoint.

The participants recalled their own emotions as students, and how they had felt towards a particular teacher. Also, the moment of sharing evoked emotions that were interpreted in the present context. Memories brought about discussions concerning emotional relationships to teachers that the participants had admired.

Emotions were also evoked by offensive situations, in which the participants remembered having been treated unfairly by teachers. They recalled how their emotions had not been taken into consideration, and that the teachers had hurt students' feelings. Such memories showed that, aside from emotions being named and communicated verbally, the bodies of the students seemed to remember how they were made to feel (Kosonen 1998). These memories describe teachers' use of power and control towards the bodies, appearance and behaviour of the schoolgirls (Lesko 1988). Emotions related to the impact of power also came up in memories, as they recalled how students were constrained by rules and restrictions set by teachers.

Besides student emotions, the article discusses interpretations that the group participants made of their teachers' emotions and how the emotions showed in their teachers' ways of being in relationships with students (Hargreaves 2000, 2002). The frustration and indifference of teachers, especially male teachers, towards their work was recalled, as was how it was showed to students through teachers' bodies. One participant recalled her teacher's look towards a florist that revealed not only their love story but also taught the student about love. This memory is an example of memories that, instead of formal education situated to informal, are memories situated to "the curriculum of the body" (Lesko 1988).

Moreover, the participants described themselves as schoolgirls in relationships with teachers, as they were also exploring their memories in the current context of being teachers themselves. Memories focused on significant experiences on the path of becoming a teacher. For example, a memory of working as a teacher's helper indicated how practices of caring and responsibility seemed to be transferred from women to girls (Crawford *et al.* 1992, Grumet 1988). One's own teachers were sometimes described as role models for becoming a teacher and as important people in one's life, both professionally and personally. Through memories, teachers considered their own teaching, practices and reflections as a teacher. On the other hand, memories also reminded these teachers what kinds of teachers they would not want to be with their own students. The memories brought up reflections on the current situation of teachers. Besides considerations towards one's own teaching, the perspective of motherhood and domesticity also (Grumet 1988) came up, one's own memories from childhood could help one to understand one's own children.

We highlight in the article the meaning for teachers to reflect on their own educational histories (see Smith & Paul 2000) in both pre-service and in-service teacher education. The context of group discussions offers peer support and a

place and time to share personal memories and experiences, but stories of other participants also provide opportunities to look at one's own memories from a new point of view. Methodologically, recalling as a collective process can open up themes, such as gender and emotions in relations that are otherwise rarely recognised.

4.3 Humiliation, unfairness and laughter: students recall power relations with teachers

Article III focuses on negatively coloured student memories of relationships with teachers. I ask in the article: what do those memories tell about teachers and students in power relationships and how students make sense of their recollections?

The written memories sent via the writing request in the magazine are studied in the article. In 79 stories out of 141, both female and male writers of different ages recalled teachers who humiliated, favoured or otherwise treated their students in hurtful ways. Analysis of shared contents, themes and plots “led to an understanding of how students’ memories viewed the power relations between teachers and students” (Article III: 277). Anna’s (a sixty-year-old) story was selected for close analysis in order to study the complexity of teacher-student relationships in terms of power.

Whereas sometimes writers recalled particular incidents that had occurred only once with the teacher, they sometimes described teachers’ use of power in connection to hurt and unfairness as repeated and continued experiences (Salo 2005). The memories illustrate the teachers’ more powerful position compared to students and various ways that teachers exercise that power. It was recalled how teachers treated students in an arbitrary way. The public nature of the teacher’s use of power (Kosonen 1998) was discussed in the recollections of having been humiliated, embarrassed or bullied in front of others. Teachers’ rage, ridicule, or mocking words could be remembered in detail. Memories of a teacher’s rage or laughter at their students illustrate the significance of a teacher’s body in the use of power. Teachers were described as having affected students’ learning: by lacking enthusiasm or by using uninteresting or out-of-date teaching methods or by discouraging words. The teachers were also recalled as exercising power over students’ bodies, as writers recalled incidents of teachers forcing or pressuring students, or harassing or physically assaulting students. There were memories of some students being favoured over others or students being treated differently.

Also, ways of punishing the student could turn into negative memories of how power is exercised over students.

In addition to descriptions of teachers' use of power over students, the students recalled how they as students reacted to those situations. Although some writers recalled having rebelled towards their teachers as students, the students' inability to do anything was often remembered. While writing about their memories, the students could question their teacher's use of power and consider how teachers should have treated their students. This depicts how teachers' use of power and its effect on students was considered from a moral viewpoint (cf. Hansen 1998). Emotional descriptions were included describing how they felt as students in situations where teachers used their power over students. Also, memories were evoked to try and make sense of a negative experience by searching through reasons for teachers' actions or by trying to understand their teachers in the context of their current lives as adults.

Through Anna's story, the article illustrated the complexity of power relations between a teacher and a student. Anna's memories recalled a teacher's use of power over the student and how she as a student reacted and felt about her teacher's treatment towards her. Based on two episodes with the teacher, Anna recalled her implicit and explicit ways of opposing the unfair treatment from the teacher. Anna talked about rebelling towards her teacher, about defending herself to the teacher and about seeking support from her parents. On the other hand, the story also illustrates how Anna had to accept the teacher's actions, had to control herself and her emotions and opinions and to act according to what was expected of her as a student.

It is emphasised in the article that, since teachers have a more powerful position in their relationship to students, the possibility for teacher power to be oppressive exists. The article pays attention to power relations remembered negatively by students. However, a teacher can use power towards students in many ways. It is concluded that students' memories of teacher relations should be focused on because it can be liberating to tell someone about one's own experiences, especially negative ones. Student memories of teachers offer an opportunity to discuss power in the teacher's work in teacher education. It should be possible for teachers, both future and practicing, to work with their own memories and the emotions involved in them. Teachers should especially work with memories that are negative or problematic for them.

4.4 “Behind every profession is a person”: students’ written memories of their own teacher-student relationships

Article IV focuses on student memories related to their teachers' personal lives. Based on such memories I ask: what do they tell about the intertwining of the personal and professional in teacher-student relationships. The article is based on the memories sent to me via a writing request in a magazine.

The beginning of the article was the premise that, as the writers recalled their teachers, memories of teachers' personal lives were revealed. Taking into account all such memories, the analysis was first thematic. Stories of 24 writers were selected for closer analysis. By reading the memories holistically, three ways of telling about teachers' personal lives was distinguished and further analysed in the framework of teacher-student relationships.

Theoretically, the article discusses the complexity of the personal aspect in teachers' work. Although it is widely suggested that teachers always work through themselves, through their persona (e.g. Nias 1989), at the same time teachers' personal lives have been surrounded with different kinds of regulations and expectations (e.g. Mitchell & Weber 1999). Also, research seems to point out the need for teacher-student relationships to be personal (e.g. van Manen & Li 2002), but similarly those relationships should not be too personal. A certain distance is needed towards students, since there is a risk for a teacher to be misunderstood if too personal relationships are established (Manos 2007).

The article illustrates how teachers' personal lives become visible to students in a school. There were memories that described teachers telling students about themselves, their lives, families and hobbies, for example. Such personal accounts could be important in terms of relationships, as they could for example, show a teacher's appreciation towards students. Also, they could be described as learning experiences, which is an example of how, besides an actual subject matter, informal lessons extending over the official curriculum can be significant for students (Lesko 1988).

It is argued in the article that besides teachers' accounts, their personal lives are inevitably revealed to students in school. This was illustrated in the memories of teachers' personal interests showing in their teaching, teachers' health problems or use of alcohol being revealed to students, or students visiting their teachers' homes. These memories suggest that teachers' personal lives become visible to students without the teacher probably even intending for that to happen. Teachers' homes were remembered both as a professional and personal place (cf. Lahelma

2002). Not only were teachers' homes remembered as places, in which the rules of the school remained or memories were related to school practices, but homes could also be places that showed something personal about the teacher or made possible more personal meetings with the teacher.

Glimpses of teachers' personal lives were revealed to students in memories that discussed meeting the teacher in private contexts either during or after the student's school years. Based on such memories, it is discussed how teacher-student relationships can include changes and that the relationships also develop outside school (Kosonen 1998, van Manen & Li 2002). Meeting the teacher outside of school could change the relationship between a teacher and a student into a more personal one: teachers and students could meet as persons. Also, outside of school, it became possible for students and teachers to see each other from a different viewpoint (Hargreaves 2000). However, there were other kinds of memories as well. Despite the private context and meeting the teacher personally, the meeting could turn into a professional one and remain somewhat distant. This could be the case even when the teacher was met outside school later as an adult – the positions of teacher and student still remained. There were also memories that illustrated how teacher-student relationships do not necessarily end after a student's school years, but can continue on as friendships (Barone 2001).

The article emphasises a personal and informal side to teacher-student relationships. It is argued that, although teachers can to some extent define the boundaries of personal and professional in their relationships with students (Aultman *et al.* 2009), it is impossible for them to keep their personal lives totally apart from their work. The article points out that the kinds of relationships teachers have with their students in private contexts is a complex issue today. Different forms of social media, including Facebook, make possible virtual relationships outside of school. Therefore, it is important for teachers to reconsider the personal and professional aspects of their relationships with students. Teachers also need to recognise the potential risks of maintaining relationships with students that are too personal (see O'Connor 2008). It is emphasised that pre-service and in-service teacher education ought to provide tools and means of support for teachers' balance between personal and professional. Memories of one's own teachers and cultural texts and artifacts about teachers are a fruitful starting-point for discussions in teacher education about the intertwining of personal lives and work and about the traditional images of teachers. Teachers need to be aware of the cultural expectations, regulations and ideals related to teachers' work.

5 Discussion of results

In this chapter, the main results of the research are discussed. The articles are re-read as the results of each article are viewed jointly.

5.1 Teacher-student relationships as recalled

Previous research has pointed out the significance of teacher-student relationships in teachers' work (Aultman *et al.* 2009, van Manen 1991). This study reinforces that significance from the students' perspective. However, memories illustrated that the teacher-student relationships are varied (Pryer 2001: 80, van Manen 1994). Whereas sometimes memories focused on describing how students had felt being cared for and noticed by teachers and their relationships to teachers had been personal and appreciative (Article I, II, IV), there were also memories of hurt, injustice and mistreatment related to the teachers (Article I, II, III, IV). It is the student experience that counts in the memories.

Memories of teachers have sometimes been viewed along the axis of positive – negative or good – bad (cf. Uusikylä 2006). Also, some researchers seem to suggest that extreme memories are remembered of teachers and school – the best and worst teachers stand out (Hargreaves 2002, Jackson 1968). Southgate (2003: 164) explains that since events related to teachers are seen to influence students either positively or negatively, teachers are usually remembered as particular types of figures, not as contradictory people. This research shows that from a student perspective, there can be different sides in a relationship with a particular teacher. Memories of a teacher can include both negative and positive aspects (Article I: 362). In addition, particular events with a teacher can be seen differently as an adult compared to how they were seen as students (Article III). Studies of teacher memories have repeatedly brought up students' memories describing teachers' misuse of authority and domination (e.g. DePalma *et al.* 2011, Salo 2005). Anna's story illustrated the complexity that can define a relationship to a teacher in terms of power and how there are many sides to the same relationship with one particular teacher. Although her memories suggest a teacher's use of power over her in a hurtful way, the complexity is revealed in how she reacted to that as a student (Article III).

Teacher-student relationships can include changes and they also can continue after school years, as illustrated in the memories. These are further aspects of how there were different sides to a relationship with a particular teacher. Teacher-

student relationships are defined by their temporality (Goldstein 1997). Yet, not all the relationships as recalled ended with school years – it was remembered how teachers were met later in life or some teachers became friends to their former students (Article IV, see also Article II). Teachers were then met as adults, but the history of those relationships still lay in those teacher-student relations (Article IV). However, sometimes the memories indicated that the positions of one being the teacher and the other the student still remained even though years had passed since the student's school years (Article IV).

There could be both personal and professional aspects included in the teacher-student relationships. This showed concretely in the memories that moved between the formal context of school and in private contexts outside of school. Such memories illustrate that relationships between teachers and students also develop outside school (Article IV, Hargreaves 2000, van Manen & Li 2002). Meeting a teacher outside school, during or after school years, or finding out something personal about a teacher could change the relationship to the teacher, it could show the teacher in a different light or develop the relationship into a more personal one (Article IV, see also Hargreaves 2000).

The nature of teacher-student relationships as person-to-person relationships were illustrated in the students' memories (Article I, II, III, IV). This emphasised how the teacher was personally and emotionally seen and experienced and how the teacher related to the teller as a student (Hargreaves 2002, Henriksson 2004). For example, it was recalled how the teacher took into account individual students (Article I). However, participants revealed the complex nature of the interpretations and the sense-making related to the memories – as a somewhat similar memory was seen differently by different participants. An example of this phenomenon is the way some students hoped that they would have been seen and heard by their teachers, whereas there were others who talked about some being favoured by teachers (Article I, III). It seems that there is a thin line between what is considered favouring and what is seen as being noticed and appreciated by a teacher (see Luttrell 1993). This reminds us about the importance of moment in teacher's work. Van Manen (1991, 2002b) talks about pedagogical tactfulness concerning taking into account a student's personal situation. There are no models or patterns according to which one can work as a teacher, but the situation must be taken into consideration (see also Kelchtermans 2005).

Yet, it was not just personal relationships that were recalled, but also how students witnessed something happening between other students and the teacher and how the teacher treated not just the individual student but other students as

well. One's own memory could be described as a mutual experience of students or other students' perspectives could be pointed out in case it was seen as different compared to the teller's own memory (Articles I, III, IV). As teacher-student relationships form among a group of students, it means that situations are not just between a teacher and a student but rather that they take place in front of other students (Henriksson 2004: 115, van Manen 1994).

The significance of individual instances in teacher-student relationships came up in the memories. Particular situations were described that could be short in time, but were still recalled vividly. These moments could be described in detail or in the sense of who said what, how the situation felt and what followed from it. The moments as recalled were varied. For example, particular moments were remembered that described how teachers intervened when a student was bullied (Article I), when a teacher told about her/his personal life (Article IV), or moments of humiliation, slapping or anxiety brought about by a teacher (Article I, II, III). The meaning of moments becomes emphasised as those particular moments could define the whole memory of the relationship to that particular teacher (Article I, see also Article III). Those moments can be understood as situations in which teachers succeeded or failed to encounter the student from the student's perspective (Article I). Van Manen (1991) talks about pedagogical moments and how influential a teacher's actions or non-actions are during those moments. Yet, the students' memories could also present particular kinds of moments as repeated experiences (see Salo 2005). For example, memories, instances of having been humiliated and mistreated could be recalled as situations that were repeated lesson after lesson in school (Article III: 282).

5.2 Teachers as seen by their students

Memories of teachers' bodies illustrated how teachers are present and work with their bodies in their relationships with students (Estola & Elbaz-Luwisch 2003, van Manen 1991). Based on the memories, teachers' bodies are observed by students both from close proximity and from a distance. These observations showed as memories of how the teacher looked, sounded, smelt and felt – the memories included descriptions of teachers' appearance, gestures, voice, scent and ways of touching (especially Article I). Such student memories related to teachers' bodies have been brought up by other researchers as well (Salo 2005, Southgate 2003). Further, teachers' own stories indicate that teachers know they are “on stage under public scrutiny” (Estola 2003: 55). One element in the bodily

descriptions of a teacher was gender. In the group of teachers, the teachers as recalled were often told about explicitly as women or men. Descriptions about a teacher's body could suggest the gender of the teacher, even if it was not explicitly stated (Article II: 525).

Based on the teachers' bodies, interpretations were made by students. By observing their teachers' bodies, interpretations could be made about teachers' personal lives, for example about the teacher's use of alcohol (Article IV). Also, through teachers' bodies and expressions students could understand how the teacher really thought about her/his work and interpretations were also made regarding a teacher's emotions (Article II). The body seemed to suggest what the teacher "really" felt, even contrary to what s/he said (see van Manen 1991). The teacher's body could suggest her/his own interest towards teaching and the significance of a particular subject (Article I, II), but also their feelings of frustration. When such memories of teachers' frustration were brought up in the group of teachers, for some tellers the teacher's gender seemed to determine how the teachers felt about their work with students, it was the male teachers who were recalled as frustrated by some (Article II).

On the grounds of a teacher's body, gender, age or name the memories constructed an image of a teacher as a particular person. Those memories emphasised that "teaching is done by somebody" and that "it matters who the teacher is" (Kelchtermans 2009: 258). This showed also as memories related to teachers' personal lives. Students described teachers' personal accounts of life as teachers told students about themselves and about their families, hobbies, background or personal life-events. They also recounted the varied ways they learnt about their teachers' personal lives. Such memories illustrated to show how students inevitably learn about their teachers' personal lives. Teachers' values or personal interests could be revealed in their teaching, and glimpses of teachers' personal lives were seen by students who had met their teachers outside of school, either during or after their school years. Those student memories demonstrate how aspects of personal and professional are intertwined in teachers' relationships with their students. (Article IV, see Clandinin & Huber 2005).

Memories with descriptions about teachers' bodies, emotions, gender and personal lives show how teachers are inevitably present through themselves and their persona to their students. This is a different story compared to how those aspects have been kept at distance from school practices and the role of teachers (Paechter 2006b, Vuorikoski 2005). Yet, the memories illustrate that those aspects are paid attention to by students and they are also recalled years after. Previous

research has discussed how students appreciate teachers who are genuinely present as themselves rather than through a particular role (Kelchtermans 2005). However, this research illustrates that the teacher is inevitably present through her/himself. Aspects such as body and gender cannot be hidden, although attempts to do so have been documented. For example, Mitchell and Weber (1999) talk about how the dressing of teachers has been controlled.

The aspect of caring in teacher-student relationships came up in the memories. It was emphasised that the teacher is the one who shows caring (Noddings 1992), as caring was related to the teacher being present to the students. We interpreted caring in the memories as individual attention given to the student and as interest towards the student and her/his thoughts and learning (see van Manen 1991). Teachers' level of interest described their way of teaching. These teachers seemed to care about their work as teachers and about what they taught, about the subject and, through their own enthusiasm, they also encouraged students to become interested. This resembles those descriptions of teachers who embody what they teach (Pryer 2001). As stated by Noddings (1992), caring extends to how teachers approach ideas in the classroom and the subject matter being taught (Article I, II, Pryer 2001, van Manen 1991). That a teacher showed interest towards a particular subject was recalled as significant for students to become interested, and such interest could last until present day (Article I, see also Article II). In addition to caring, indifference of teachers was also recalled. These teachers were described as frustrated and they appeared as not interested in their teaching, their work or their students (Article I: 361–364, Article II: 523–524, Article III: 284–285).

Whether the teacher cared was recalled as something the teacher did or did not do, yet, those actions seemed to tell students about caring or not caring (Article I, Estola & Syrjälä 2002a, Goldstein 1997). It was those actions that mediated students the feeling of being cared. Moreover, those actions were different, which emphasises the student perspective – different kinds of actions could be interpreted as caring or indifferent. Noddings (1992, 2001) describes the importance of taking into account the situation: a teacher may show caring towards different students in different ways, but also differently towards a particular student at different times. Hargreaves (1998: 839–840) also recognises how teachers make interpretations of their students' emotions and that misunderstandings are possible. For example, what is seen as diligence with a task may be boredom, or what is seen as respect is in fact resistance. That teaching and learning are “emotional practices” (Hargreaves 1998, 2000, 2002)

was also illustrated through students' emotions in the memories. Students described how they felt about their teachers or about events related to teachers. Students' feelings towards their teachers were described in different ways: through love or admiration towards their teachers (Article I: 366, Article II), but also through fear, shame, hurt and anger (Article I, II, III). Also, the context of sharing memories could evoke emotions. This came up explicitly in the group of teachers. One teacher described how she remembered her feeling as a student about her teachers' frustration in their work when another teacher told about her memories (Article II: 523).

A teacher's power has often been emphasised when considering the different positions that teachers and students have in relation to each other (Southgate 2003). That aspect came up in the students' memories as well. Use of voice or expressions could be indications of a teacher's power, and power became visible also in those memories that focused on describing students, their bodies, appearances and actions being controlled (Article I, II, III, see Kosonen 1998, Lesko 1988). There were memories that only implicitly hinted at the presence of teachers. Such memories emphasised practices of teachers that controlled and constrained students or provided possibilities for them (Article II). Although these teachers were not explicitly present in the recollections, the memories were yet emotionally important for the tellers (Article II: 526–527, see Southgate 2003: 136–137). Negatively coloured memories were strongly associated with evoking emotions (Article II, III). In such memories, teachers used power over students (see Alberti 1999). Students appreciated their teachers' way of being an authority figure, but similarly, it was also important that these teachers were fair and human and treated students as equals (Article I: 365–366). Memories of caring actions by teachers towards students showed caring and power as connected in teachers' work. Those descriptions of caring actions described how teachers can work for the benefit of their students (Noblit 1993, Southgate 2003, Weinstein 1998).

As it was recalled how teachers used power over students in ways that showed as negatively coloured memories, it was also remembered how students reacted to these situations of power being used over them. Memories pointed out the difficulties students had in opposing a teacher's actions: in cases they felt they were mistreated, the silence, inability to do anything and students not showing the teacher their true ideas or emotions was often described (Boler 1999, Zembylas 2007). This reflects an aspect to power in the form of controlling oneself and one's emotions (Article II, III, Boler 1999). In one situation, a teller, Anna, described how she rebelled towards the teacher, and yet she did not show her true

emotions, in another situation, she brought up her dutifulness as a student who aimed to act according to expectations and yet how she could not do anything in a situation where she felt having been mistreated (Article III).

5.3 Impact of teachers: moving in time

The memories illustrate how teachers can influence their students' lives, which is one aspect of power that teachers have in relation to students (van Manen 1991). While considering the significance of their relationships with teachers, the tellers often moved in time: back and forth between the past, the present and the future (Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Grumet 1988: xv).

The significance of teachers and the influence they had on students was considered either during the students' school years or in their later lives as adults (Article I, II, III, IV). Teacher-student relationships could have lasting meaning for the students as well. The influence showed as interest that the teacher could raise in the student towards a particular subject or some other matter (Article I, Pryer 2001, Southgate 2003: 168–169) or as admiration towards teachers by students (Article I: 366, Article II: 520–523). Besides actual subject matters, students sometimes recalled learning informal matters and how those matters could become significant for them (Lesko 1988, Yair 2008). These matters could be related to life in general, they included learning something about emotions such as love or grief (Article II: 522, Article IV), but also learning about teachers being people too (Article IV).

It was also recalled how students learnt about their own abilities and skills. Teachers' influence on students was not always described only in appreciative terms: a teacher's words to a student of her/him not being good at something or discouragement could be remembered word-by-word years after and the students could still doubt their abilities in a particular subject or skill (Article I: 364, Article III). This resembles what Henriksson (2004) noticed as she studied students' experiences of school failure. Students learn about themselves as certain kinds of students and persons in school. For example, one student in her study described how what she learnt during a mathematics lessons was that she was always behind others and did not work or understand fast enough (Henriksson 2004: 115, 123, Palmer 2007). The significance of a teacher could also extend outside of school and also beyond school years. The teacher and the student may have become friends and keep in touch after the student was no longer in school (Article IV).

In addition to personal significance, memories were considered from a professional aspect in terms of one's own teacher identity (Heikkinen 2002a, Mitchell & Weber 1999, Paul *et al.* 2000). When teachers were recalled by people who were studying to be teachers or working as teachers, it was possible for them to look at their memories both from a student's and a teacher's viewpoint (Mitchell & Weber 1999). A past teacher could be a reason a person decided to become a teacher (see also Flores & Day 2006). One's own teachers could possess such qualities in their relationships with students that (future) teachers wanted to execute in their own work. However, there were also qualities that (future) teachers wanted to avoid or they wanted to learn from those mistakes their own teachers had made, for example, the teacher's ways of using power that had hurt their feelings as students. Also, considering one's own teachers could evoke ideas of how teachers should be with their students (Article I: 366–367, Article II: 524–525). Therefore, one's own student experiences, especially the bad ones, could be seen as an asset that would help one to understand the experiences of one's own students (Article I: 367). Considering the future was included as the memory and its meanings were understood as directing one's own work as a teacher. Studies have illustrated that one's own teachers can be important models to new teachers, but also during their later years as teachers (Nias 1989: 136–137, see also Flores & Day 2006, Lortie 1975).

A dialogue between past, present and future was present in how the memories were sometimes looked at differently as an adult as compared to during one's student years. For example, Anna's story illustrated how, although her memories suggested a student experience of having been hurtfully treated, Anna now saw that because of her experiences her self-esteem improved (Article III: 286). A retrospective point of view also made it possible for the storytellers to question the teachers and their ways of being in relationships with their students. This is especially so for memories that dealt with teachers using power over students, which caused students to sometimes consider how teachers should have acted (Article III). Hence, besides memories revealing what relationships were like between teachers and students, the storytellers occasionally brought up how the teacher-student relationships should have been ideally. While remembering and considering the impact of teachers, the tellers tried to understand and explain their memories of teachers. Memories of having been treated badly were explained, for example, by the teacher's state of mind, by the student's school success, or by the student's personal characteristics and background. (Article III). Also through memories, contrasts could be made between the past and the present, for example

by bringing up the differences of going to school today rather than in the past (see Tuomaala 2004: 145, 150). For example, Anna seemed to explain by time and context just what kind of position teachers had and how it explained their ability to use power over students (Article III), or comparisons were made between being a teacher nowadays and in the past, and between being a male or female teacher (Article II: 524).

6 Evaluating the research

The evaluative questions in narrative research have been approached with different concepts. In the context of narrative action research, Heikkinen *et al.* (2007) discuss how the evaluation of narrative research is not solved by following a formula, but instead there are different viewpoints to consider. Therefore, they identify five overlapping criteria for validation of research: principles of historical continuity, reflexivity, dialectics, workability and evocativeness. These principles are applied in evaluating this research. Riessman (2008: 184–185) uses the concepts of both validity and trustworthiness, and distinguishes “two levels of validity” in narrative research. She states the importance of “the story told by a research participant and the validity of the analysis, or the story told by the researcher” or put through another concept “the trustworthiness of stories they [researchers] collect, and the analytic stories they develop from them.” In evaluating this research, attention is paid to those phases of research in particular, also widening the perspective to the phase of reporting the research results. The trustworthiness of the memories in particular was considered earlier (Chapter 2.4).

Subjectivity is inherently present in narrative research and the researcher’s active role in executing the research is acknowledged as vital (e.g. Pinnegar & Daynes 2007). The principle of reflexivity means that ontological and epistemological pre-assumptions are discussed, the researcher should bring up her/his own relation to the topic of research and s/he should transparently describe the material and methods of the research (Heikkinen *et al.* 2007, see also Riessman 2008: 195–196). The ontological and epistemological assumptions of this research are discussed in Chapter 2. I aimed for reflexivity by considering my background and my personal interests and motives to study this particular topic (Chapter 1.2). Richardson (2000: 934) challenges the concept of triangulation and talks about crystallisation. Through the idea of crystals that are prisms, Richardson explains how what we see depends on our viewpoint and position. Therefore, I tried to bring up how I know what I know (Etherington 2006: 89). One point of reflexivity is also the recognition of one’s position of power as a researcher in terms of the choices and limitations of the research (see Chapter 3.3). I described in detail how the process of research evolved: the different memory materials and their processes of analysis and interpretations were described as precisely as possible, and the grounds for the decisions were brought up in the articles and also in this summary. Such transparency is needed for the reader to be able to follow the research and its phases. That procedure is also

intertwined with the principle of historical continuity, which means that the research report should flow in a logical and followable way (Heikkinen *et al.* 2007). A research report such as this could be seen as a story that reflects the process of decisions, limits and choices (see also Gudmundsdóttir 2001: 231).

Heikkinen *et al.* (2007) define the principle of dialectics related to the viewpoints of dialogue, polyphony and authenticity: this means taking into account different voices and interpretations as well as preserving the authenticity of the originality of the voices. There is not only one right way to read or interpret stories as Lieblich *et al.* (1998: 2) explain, but rather materials are read from a particular perspective, through particular lenses. Teacher memories of this research were read and interpreted in the framework of teacher-student relationships. However, memories of different kinds of relationships are brought up in different articles: whereas teachers can be remembered through caring, interest and enthusiasm, there are also recollections of humiliation and hurt and relationships can also include complexity. Also, different ways of interpreting the memories have been brought up (examples can be found in Articles II and IV, see also Riessman 2008: 195–196). Articles I and II were written in co-operation with other researchers. We read the memories together and discussed them as well as the analysis and interpretation of them, working jointly with memories made it possible to compare our observations and to take into account our varied analytic observations.

In the current field of narrative research, the participatory paradigm has been emphasised. This promotes the idea that research participants should be present in all phases of research, not just during the data collection, but also when negotiating the analysis and interpretations of the stories and when publishing the results. Instead of informants, they are rather understood as participants or collaborators in the research. (Clandinin & Connelly 2000, Conle 2006, Pinnegar & Daynes 2007). Communicative validity has been used to increase the quality of the research in narrative research, but also in qualitative research more general. This has usually meant that before publishing research reports, the participants have had a chance to go through the results and bring their own perspectives into it. Also, after interviews, for example, they have been given the opportunity to read through the transcriptions and check whether they are in order. (Riessman 2008). Principle of dialectics introduced by Heikkinen *et al.* (2007: 13–14) includes the viewpoint of discussing the results with participants of the research.

The participants of this research did not read the articles or this summary before they were published. The nature of written memories was one reason for

that: the relationships that evolved with the writers were more distant than if we would have met personally. Compared to interviews or other oral discussions, the benefit of written stories is that the writers are able to check their own texts before sending them forward and to consider whether there is something they do not want to say. Some of the preliminary interpretations of the memories were briefly discussed with the teachers that participated in the group. For example, we brought up our observations about the distinguishing of female and male teachers in the stories. The teachers had a possibility to comment both on the original stories and the analysis.

The matter of participants reading the results and interpretations constructed of their stories is not always as straightforward of a solution as it may seem. For example, Josselson (1996) discusses storytellers' reactions after they read the interpretations she had made. Her participants had not been too eager to discuss them, but rather had seemed uncomfortable. Also, Josselson herself had experienced similar feelings as a researcher. Riessman (2008: 197–199) points out the ethical reasons why participants should be able to read the interpretations, but considers that, from the viewpoint of validity, the issue is different. She brings up that the theoretical commitments of the research may not fit in with the participants' perspectives. She also wonders whether those theoretical commitments are even meaningful for the participants. In addition, at the phase when interpretations have been made, it may be that what the participants were telling about is not important to them anymore (see also Elbaz-Luwisch 2005: 82). Chase (1996) highlights that researchers, who study narratives, should recognise their “interpretive authority”. That concept is further discussed by Josselson (2007: 548–550, 557), who emphasises that it is the researcher's interpretation of the stories and her/his construction based on her/his understanding that is being reported. She concludes that although the tellers own their stories, the researcher owns the interpretations made about them.

The principle of workability is related to bringing up viewpoints of pragmatic quality, criticality, ethics and empowerment in the research (Heikkinen *et al.* 2007). The consideration of ethical issues is an essential part of the criteria in research evaluation. While discussing research ethics, I described my relationships with the participants, as well as issues of anonymity, confidentiality and some of the decisions made regarding these issues (Chapter 3.3). The aspect of empowerment can be seen as related to the question of what significance this research had for those who recalled their teachers. For future and practicing teachers, the remembering offered a possibility to go through their roots in

teaching (Article I, II). For the teachers, the particular meeting to discuss memories was one part of their in-service teacher education. During that the teachers had an opportunity to share their experiences of teaching. For the writers of the writing request, the moment of remembering held different kinds of meanings (Chapter 3.1: 52). The research has also had practical significance: the research results have been introduced and discussed with future and practicing teachers. Through media, it has been possible to tell about the former students' memories to a wider audience. For example, a magazine called *Opettaja* (Teacher), which is a trade union magazine directed to teachers, published an article about the research based on my interview.³² I have also had possibilities, occasionally along with my co-authors, to introduce the research papers at different phases in conferences and to receive feedback from listeners. The research and its different phases have been discussed in our research group, Living Story. All the articles have gone through the blind peer-review processes in different journals. These procedures of feedback and discussion with other researchers are an important part of strengthening the research (see Riessman 2008).

The principle of evocativeness introduced by Heikkinen *et al.* (2007) has to do with the ability research (report) has in evoking emotions or memories about a topic. Based on Bruner (1986, 1987), Heikkinen (2002b: 24–25) talks about the concept of verisimilitude used by narrative researchers, rather than truth. Verisimilitude means that people reading or listening to a story recognise something similar in the story to their own lives. In addition, the story can create new understanding or make the readers/listeners think differently about some issues (Heikkinen *et al.* 2007: 17). Hence, it is not integral whether the events of the story have really happened to someone, but whether the story opens up as believable to other people in a way that they can identify with the characters of the story and understand their actions in a particular life-situation (Heikkinen 2002b: 24–25). I have aimed at achieving evocativeness by bringing up the voices of the former students in different articles. The reader can also evaluate the interpretations made based on memory citations (Eskola & Suoranta 1998: 181). As I have described my research to different people in different connections (for example, while teaching, in conferences or informally) I have noticed that the memories and the interpretations about them often evoke memories in the

³² Högbacka AL (2009) Valta halata tai nolata. *Opettaja* 38/2009: 32.

listeners from their own school years. This seems to reveal the ability of the research to touch something familiar in people's own experiences. For Denison (1996: 358) people's comments such as "You got it right" or "That's exactly how I felt," towards his research texts about retired athletes indicate the text's verisimilitude.

The memories were originally told or written in Finnish, not in English. The use of memory citations in the articles was preceded by a translation process, which meant that I translated the original citations to English and then the translations were sent to a language consultant with whom we discussed the translations in case of unclear points. The translation is not a technical procedure but an interpretative process (Riessman 2008). It was sometimes important to show the varied possibilities of how to translate a particular point in the story (see Article IV.) Also, if it was difficult to maintain a particular idiom or metaphor used in the original memory in the translation, the original expression, its translation word-for-word in English and an explanation were included (e.g. Article II, IV).

Three different memory materials are used in the articles of this research. Inviting different people to tell their recollections in different situations made it possible to reach rich materials that have been studied from different viewpoints. It would have been possible to focus, for example, on the memories collected via the writing request in a magazine, and to analyse those memories from different angles. However, I wanted to use all the materials, already for practical reason, since the other materials were collected and analysed before collecting the material via the writing request. The form of this thesis (consisting of four articles) made it possible to use different materials in different articles.

An inductive approach to memories directed the analysis. The memories by the students of education illustrated the significance of teacher-student relationships. This observation, made previously in the early phase of the research, eventually formed as the focus of the whole research. I have been painfully aware that, while focusing on certain things, I turn my back on other things. Interesting themes and points of views had to be left out of the scope of the research: for example, how different subjects and teachers' teaching methods were recalled, how the memories discussed the bodies of students and what memories revealed in general about going to school in Finland at different times. This is a further example of the use of power in research. Hakala (2007) ponders her position as a researcher, the boundaries and limits of her interpretations and the situational nature of research. She recognises, as do I, that her research would

have been different in a different time and situation and if conducted by a different researcher (see also Conle 2005).

7 Conclusion

Through student perspectives, this research reinforces the significance of teacher-student relationships in teachers' work (e.g. van Manen 1991, van Manen & Li 2002). Memories remind us how teachers inevitably bring themselves to their teaching and to their relationships with students. Teachers are being observed by students, maybe even more closely than teachers anticipate (Estola 2003). Besides the teacher's gender, appearance, voice, and other bodily qualities, former students remember teachers' personal lives and their interpretations of teachers' emotions.

Relationships between teachers and students varied, and it was found that teachers influenced students' lives in different ways, both during and after their school years. Students recalled how particular moments became significant in their relationship with a teacher, and those moments could define their whole memory of it. Memories illustrate the presence of different sides in a relationship with a particular teacher, and also show that relationships can include changes. Based on this research on understanding and conceptualising teacher-student relationships, more emphasis should be paid to how teacher-student relationships develop outside of classrooms and school. The comprehensiveness of relationships from the students' perspectives reflects the meaning of those encounters with teachers that occurred outside of school.

This research emphasises the meaning of the student experience. Regardless of the time and place in which they took place, the memories demonstrated the importance of how students experienced their teachers, and how they remembered they were treated and acted upon by their teachers. Van Manen (1994) reminds us that students' experiences from school are not only important for students from the perspective of the future, but that they are life experiences that are important in themselves. Memories of this research show that teachers' personal involvement, and the private encounters and moments they share, are significant for students. People can carry these memories with them for decades.

Memories suggest that a somewhat similar kind of situation could be interpreted differently, and could be meaningful in different ways to the storytellers. Memories also reveal student emotions and thoughts that were not shown to teachers. Hence, paradoxically, from the teachers' viewpoint, these points seem to suggest that, as a teacher, one cannot know whether one's own actions really convey to students what they were supposed to convey (Kelchtermans 2005, van Manen 1991). Teachers are bound to work in such

uncertainty. The demanding and sometimes ruthless nature of a teacher's work is illuminated in the recalled moments of injustice, hurt, and humiliation. Moments related to teachers may have happened only once a long time ago, yet they were still remembered.

Relationships and challenges related to them need to be central in the content and curriculum of teacher education. Those relationships are part of the everyday reality of teaching. Not only are there relationships that teachers develop with their students, but in addition there are relationships with colleagues, fellow employees, parents of students, and other partners in education. There are no established models or patterns to use in such relationships (Kelchtermans 2005, 2009), but drama, for example, can open up possibilities for dealing with interactions in teachers' work, and to better understand why certain situations may not have worked. By using drama and discussions about situations with other students, it is possible to see the situations in new ways. (see Estola *et al.* 2007). Also, students' own memories and experiences offer fruitful starting points for drama and for discussions about teachers' work, its nature, and the inevitable relationships.

Since teachers' work is based on relationships, teachers should know themselves and their histories (Palmer 2007, Paul *et al.* 2000). One part of those histories includes their own school years as students. In pre-service and in-service teacher education, memories can support and work as a means for students' professional growth. By working with memories both independently and in groups, students can learn about themselves as teachers with particular kinds of backgrounds (Article I, II, Mitchell & Weber 1999). Not only can these memories be useful as a part of the individual personal growth of a teacher, but also in collective identity work: the role as a representative and the cultural rules of being a teacher are not always stated out loud (Heikkinen & Huttunen 2007). Furthermore, collective identity work includes dealing with cultural images about teachers' work, which are strong because we all have personal experiences with teachers and teaching. If those institutional experiences and images are not discussed, opened up, and disentangled, conventional ways of acting remain in the culture of the school and teaching – studying the past opens the possibility for change and for the inclusion of different voices (Salo 2005: 9, see also Calderhead & Robson 1991, Mitchell & Weber 1999). In order to make this disentangling possible, we need research that focuses on memories of teachers and school. Research about memories is needed because former students currently have other connections to school and education. For example, they are now

parents or grandparents of current students, students of education, future teachers, or practicing teachers. Our memories live in the present and can be important in how current schools and teachers are viewed (Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, Metso 2004).

This research shows how student memories open up viewpoints about current teaching and about understanding teacher-student relationships. Also, it illustrates how students' personal stories about teachers reveal contradictions and complexities, as well as multiple meanings attached to memories about teaching (Carter 1993). In the future, research attention could be explicitly paid to whether teacher-student relationships as recalled are discussed differently in different levels of school institutions and, if so, how those relationships are revealed. Memories could also be studied from the perspective of teaching, teaching methods, and learning. In addition, the cultural, historical, and social contexts of the memories could be analysed, as well as how the memories reflect changes in the Finnish school system. Besides teachers, memories seem to focus on school more widely, and sometimes also focus on the lives of the students outside of school. Therefore, it would be useful to focus solely on students' presence in the memories. This research provided one perspective of teacher-student relationships by looking at them as power relations. Future research could include not so often told stories about teachers being bullied and challenged by students.

The process of telling about memories was studied in the group context (Article II), but it could also be studied in relation to the written memories in order to clarify how the writing about teachers proceeded, and to pay attention to the similarities and differences in written and oral memories. One interesting aspect would be to study relationships in the context of bringing both a teacher's and a student's perspective to the relationships, thereby working with not only students' stories but also with teachers' stories about relationships (cf. Barone 2001).

Teachers are currently facing increasing challenges in their work and in their relationships with students. A report by Ministry of Education and Culture (2011) reveals that although Finnish students do well in OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) studies, not all of them enjoy going to school. Respect to teachers has diminished, which manifests as increased problems in classrooms and schools (e.g. Cothran & Ennis 1997). Social media challenges teachers to think from a new perspective about the boundaries between their personal and work lives (Article IV). The current hectic pace in schools, the increased control over teachers' work, and the continuous pressure for change and accountability in the everyday lives of teachers and students has been illustrated

(Ballet & Kelchtermans 2009). Contrary to how teachers may feel, current educational discourse focuses on productivity, efficiency, outcomes, and accountability at the expense of students (van Manen 2002a: 135). With increased responsibilities and pressures to change with the times, teachers have become concerned about how they will have time for children and young people, as this is the work that they consider to be most important (Syrjälä *et al.* 2006b).

Amid these changes and challenges, the significance of relationships and how the student is encountered must be kept in mind, as emphasised herein from the student perspective. Listening to student memories mediates teachers' possibilities to influence their students' lives, both positively and negatively. Teachers are indeed engaged in meaningful work that has long-term significance for students. Therefore, it must be assured that the structures of school institutions and the demands placed on teachers do not hinder, but promote the development of relationships. For relationships to develop, there has to be time, space, and small enough groups of students.

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Appendix 1 The study assignment for the students of education

In Finnish

Tehtävän määrittelyä

Kirjoita tarinaa elämästäsi noin (pari liuskaa – konsepti)
Millainen oli merkittävä opettajani ja miksi (hyvässä tai pahassa)
Millainen opettaja, kasvatustieteen ammattilainen haluaisin olla?

Kirjoita tarina ajatuksistasi, joita ”kaikkietävä kansankynttilä” herätti
Millaisia muita ”mallitarinoita” elää opettajista?
Millaisen tarinan itse haluaisit kertoa?

In English

Defining the assignment

Write a story about your life (about two or four pages)
How was my teacher significant and why (in a good or bad way)?
What kind of a teacher / professional of education would I like to be?

Write a story about your thoughts that “the omniscient model citizen” evoked.
What kind of other “model stories” are there alive about teachers?
What kind of a story would you like to tell?

Appendix 2: The writing request published in *Yhteishyvä* magazine

Muistatko opettajasi?

Kasvatustieteen opiskelija **Minna Uitto** kerää muistoja opettajista väitöskirjatutkimustaan varten. Haluatko osallistua tutkimukseen kirjoittamalla muistoja omista opettajistasi? Kertomuksen muoto on vapaa, samoin pituus. Jokainen muisto on arvokas.

Kirjoitukset käsitellään ehdottoman luottamuksellisesti. Muistoja tai osia niistä voidaan julkaista tutkimusraporteissa ja *Yhteishyvän* artikkelissa myöhemmin syksyllä. Liitä mukaan tietoa iästäsi, sukupuolestasi ja koulutustaustastasi sekä yhteystietosi. Ne jäävät toimituksen ja tutkijan tietoon.

Voit lähettää muistoja 31.12.2006 asti osoitteella Yhteishyvä, Muistoja opettajista, PL 200, 00400 Sanoma Magazines tai sähköpostitse yhteishyva@sanomamagazines.fi

(Yhteishyvä 9/2006: 19)

Appendix 3: English translation of the writing request in *Yhteishyvä* magazine

Do you remember your teacher?

A student of education **Minna Uitto** is collecting memories for her PhD-research. Do you want to participate in the research by writing memories about your own teachers? The form of the story is free, as well as the length. Every memory is valuable.

The writings will be treated with absolute confidentiality. Memories, or parts of them, can be published in research reports and in an article of *Yhteishyvä* later this autumn. Attach to your writing information about your age, gender, educational background and your contact information. They remain in the knowledge of the editorial office and the researcher.

You can send memories until 31.12.2006 to the address *Yhteishyvä*, Muistoja opettajista, PL 200, 00400 Sanoma Magazines or by email yhteishyva@sanomamagazines.fi

(*Yhteishyvä* 9/2006: 19)

Appendix 4: An example of the table made concerning the memories received via *Yhteishyvä* magazine

Letter / Email	A summary with a plot and themes	Notions of what memories share or have different – what individual memories bring up about the whole material
Email 11, 204 words, a female, institutional kitchen manager	1 st and 2 nd grade in the elementary school. The teacher was lovely, always calm and kind, did not get upset, we had a big class, there were no school assistants. On the first school day she received us, we were nervous and cried when our mothers left, the teacher calmed us with her calm speech, gave us pencils and erasers at the same time. An episode: I got sick before the exams, I worried how I can pass them, the teacher said that I can go to her home and pass them, a beautiful home, after the exam she gave me a big red apple, I never forget her smile, a teacher with big heart. (personal – professional)	How school used to be – is now At teacher's home
Email 12, 112 words, a female born in the end of the 1940's, a teacher by profession	From the beginning of my school route, the middle of the 1950's, a female, middle-aged teacher, I was a weak pupil, lazy, stupid, the teacher showed it visibly – mocked, made me stand next to my desk (body, misuse of power), I will always remember the word Mercedes Benz – I practiced the word dozens of times while the teacher and the class laughed. I have worked 30 years as a teacher myself. Dyslexia follows with me, I have been alright because of guts, as now teaching students with dyslexia in the encouraging and positive atmosphere, the methods of the 50's often come to mind. (influence)	Words Being a teacher now herself

Letter / Email	A summary with a plot and themes	Notions of what memories share or have different – what individual memories bring up about the whole material
Email 13, 503 words, a female, 69 years	<p>Memories from school, both sad and nice, as memories are supposed to be.</p> <p>The principal, very nice, during the morning devotions in the gym someone always fainted, our tall principal kept the situation under control and carried the fainted person to recover, nice and liked.</p> <p>The teacher of drawing, the only one I knew who smelled of garlic. (body)</p> <p>The teacher of gymnastics, I remember her with warmth, I don't recall her name unfortunately, one of the true friends in my childhood and of people who understood a child, an episode: purchase of the clothing for gymnastics, I had not been purchased the clothing before the given date, I did not have the courage to go to the class, the teacher, as a wise woman, understood and sent a student to fetch me, nothing was said about my absence, this is how a teacher must understand a shy and clumsy child, this is a person I will never forget. (understanding)</p> <p>A completely opposite case, the new teacher in PE, good proof how a teacher can ruin something from a child for the rest of her life by ignorance and stupidity. An episode: I put skates on my feet for the very first time and staggered to the ice, the teacher skated there and said in front of the whole class that you do skate worse than a two-year-old, I have not forgotten the words nor have I put skates on ever since. (misuse of power, influence)</p>	<p>What was I / did I mean for the teacher?</p> <p>What did the teacher mean to me?</p> <p>How did s/he relate to /treat students?</p> <p>How did s/he act, behave towards students?</p> <p>The teacher was a friend</p> <p>Addressing the reader – you know, you can imagine, isn't it</p> <p>An example that some themes seem to remain despite time and context.</p> <p>When the teacher understands the child, or does not.</p> <p>The teacher's words and what they tell to the pupil.</p>

Letter / Email	A summary with a plot and themes	Notions of what memories share or have different – what individual memories bring up about the whole material
Email 14, 227 words, a male, 38 years, working in the university	Two very different memories of teachers – one pleasant, the other not A sad memory, a female form master in lower secondary school, remained distant and cold, as we went to upper secondary school, she did not look you in the eyes when passing you in the corridors nor answered if you said hello (power, body) A pleasant memory, the teacher of Swedish in lower secondary school, demanding and precise way of teaching, word exams every week, demanding but fair attitude. (fairness)	I decided to do my bit – the decision to write, in the other message says that the topic is very interesting.

Appendix 5: Four kinds of memories about teacher-student relationships: thematic descriptions

Teachers keeping order and discipline (or not)	Teachers treating students hurtfully or unfairly	Teachers inspiring and appreciative towards their students	Teachers who influenced students
<p>This theme included memories of teachers, who were described as authorities, keeping discipline, evaluating and controlling students, supervising students' obedience, also sometimes experts in knowledge, guiding to the order of the school. Sometimes also students kept order in behalf of the teacher. The way of telling about these teachers was respecting. Teachers are not criticised, but the hierarchy between a teacher and a student is stated obvious and normal. Teachers had a higher position. Also the memories about teachers who were described as not having authority – students bullying these teachers, the situations when the order of the school was broken by students.</p>	<p>Teachers, who misuse their power over students. The students recalled that teachers exercised power unfairly or hurtfully, treating students in an arbitrary or indifferent way, humiliating, embarrassing and forcing them, physically assaulting them, punishing them unfairly, showing favour, and discouraging them. The way of telling and the content suggested that these memories were clearly negatively coloured for students. Juxtaposition between the student and the teacher.</p>	<p>These teachers inspired and encouraged students. Among these teachers were teachers described as caring, comforting, safe, approachable, fair, and interested and they also had a sense of humour. They did not favour any of the students, but understood students and their world. For example, a teacher could put her/himself into the student's position. Or it was described that the teachers believed in the students and their abilities. Students felt they were respected and possible problems were dealt with consideration by the teacher. There were memories that described how teachers worked hard for students to learn. Few stories also described the equality between teachers and students.</p>	<p>Teachers were described as influential people to students, both in good and bad. These memories could describe teachers as models and examples. Teachers had influence on students both during their student times, but also later in their lives. Besides descriptions of discouragement, there were memories of how teachers' words helped students to trust their abilities and gave confidence. There were teachers who influenced on how students saw themselves today. Teachers' influence on the future of the students showed in memories that described an enthusiasm to a particular subject (or to writing, for example) or how those teachers affected on whether students applied for grammar school.</p>

Appendix 6: A summary of the four articles of the thesis

Article	Material	Research questions	Phases of analysis	Main results
<i>I Uitto & Syrjälä (2008): Body, caring and power in teacher-pupil relationships</i>	Written memories by 49 students of education	1. How body, caring and power can be understood as elements of the teacher-pupil relationship? 2. What encounter can mean in the relationship?	Reading the memories in the framework of what kinds of relationships are remembered. Thematic reading. Narrative analysis. Re-reading the recalled teacher-pupil relationships from the viewpoint of body, caring, and power.	Teacher-student relationships in the core of recalling. Body, caring and power intertwined in the teacher-student relationships. Particular moments could turn into positive or negative from the student's viewpoint.
<i>II Uitto & Estola (2009): Gender and emotions in relationships: teachers recalling their own teachers</i>	Teachers were recalled by a group of 7 female teachers, who worked in different levels of school. One-hour joint recalling.	How are gender and emotions intertwined in teacher-student relationships?	Thematic analysis. Ways of telling about relationships in the group context – proceeding of the remembering. Particular kinds of memories about teacher-student relationships were distinguished based on the ways of telling.	Teachers as recalled were identified as women or men Many ways of being a female or male teacher in relationships with students. In some memories, gender determined the teacher's way of relating to students. Some teachers in the background – their gender was not revealed. Student emotions. Interpretations of teachers' emotions. The situation of recalling evoked emotions.

Article	Material	Research questions	Phases of analysis	Main results
<i>III Uitto (2011): Humiliation, unfairness and laughter: students recall power relations with teachers</i>	Written memories by 141 people, who sent memories via a writing request in a magazine. 79 writers discussed negatively coloured memories.	Based on students' negatively coloured memories of their teacher relationships 1. What do those memories tell about teachers and students in power relationships? 2. How do students make sense of their recollections?	Analysis of the memories: plots, themes and ways of telling. A close analysis of Anna's story. Attention to its contents and construction.	Teachers exercising power over students in various ways. Memories dealt with what happened between teachers and students, and how the students experienced the situations, reacted and felt. Complexity of power relations. Students made sense of the memories and considered their meaning.
<i>IV Uitto (in press): "Behind every profession is a person": students' written memories of their own teacher-student relationships</i>	Written memories by 141 people, who sent memories via a writing request in a magazine. 24 stories were selected for close analysis.	Based on memories about teachers' personal lives, What do they tell about the intertwining of the personal and professional in teacher-student relationships?	Thematic analysis of the whole material. Holistic reading of the 24 stories. Focus on what and how the themes related to teachers' personal lives were recounted. Three ways of telling about teachers' personal lives was distinguished and further analysed in the framework of teacher-student relationships.	There is a personal and informal side to teacher-student relationships. Besides teachers' personal accounts, the inevitable presence of teachers' personal lives in school. Teacher-student relationships develop in private contexts during and after the school years.

Original publications

- I Uitto M & Syrjälä L (2008) Body, caring and power in teacher-pupil relationships: encounters in former pupils' memories. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 52(4): 355–371.
- II Uitto M & Estola E (2009) Gender and emotions in relationships: teachers recalling their own teachers. *Gender and Education* 21(5): 517–530.
- III Uitto M (2011) Humiliation, unfairness and laughter: students recall power relations with teachers. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society* 19(2): 273–290.
- IV Uitto M (in press) “Behind every profession is a person”: students' written memories of their own teacher-student relationships. *Teaching and Teacher education*.

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Original publications are not included in the electronic version of the thesis.

104. Safarov, Ildar (2009) Towards modelling of human relationships : nonlinear dynamical systems in relationships
105. Tauriainen, Pekka (2009) Teknologiatuettu työssäoppiminen : matkapuhelimen ja verkko-oppimisympäristön käyttö työssäoppimisessa ammatillisessa peruskoulutuksessa
106. Peltonen, Jouni (2009) Kasvatustieteen teoria–käytäntö-suhde : teoreetikoiden ja praktikoiden vuoropuhelua
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A
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