Teacher attitudes towards Continuous Professional Development within private language schools : voices from the TESOL sector

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Teacher Attitudes towards Continuous Professional Development
within Private Language Schools: Voices from the TESOL Sector
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PhD Thesis
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Certification of Original Work

I hereby declare that the work herewith is my own original work.

Peter Brendan Ray – 27 September, 2020

Abstract

Teacher attitudes towards Continuous Professional Development (CPD) among Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) is a topic that has not been focussed on regarding teachers within Private Language Schools (PLSs). This study focusses upon those teachers working in this widespread and international institution-type, and explores how those experiences influence their career development and career planning.

The aims of this study are to examine as to what attitudes teachers hold about different types of CPD and why those attitudes have developed. The forms of CPD discussed are research engagement, group discussions, record-keeping, observations, mentorship, and attending workshops. The underlying motivations are examined using the Possible Future Selves theory of Marcus and Nurius (1987). To address the aims above, a two-stage mixed-methods research inquiry was conducted consisting of a questionnaire-based study to survey attitudes and practices of 66 teachers, based predominantly in Canada and the UK. The second stage consisted of two rounds of interviews to investigate PLS TESOL teachers' motivations for CPD engagement. The first round of interviews was conducted with 20 teachers with teaching experience in over 20 countries. Follow-up interviews were conducted with four teachers, 2 – 4 years later to investigate if any changes in attitudes or position had occurred.

The findings indicate that PLS teachers were motivated towards CPD engagement by the idea of self-improvement, peer pressure, school management and external pressure (e.g., government regulation, union practices). Using the framework of Future, Ought-To and Feared Future Professional Selves, it was found that teachers' engagement was future-focussed and based on the view of CPD as a pathway to new identity as a teacher, often with greater stability of employment and income.

Implications of this study include the need for a re-evaluation of TESOL within PLSs as precarious labour, and the proletarianization, or at least de-professionalization of teaching more broadly.

Glossary of Terms

Term	Meaning
ADOS	Assistant Director of Studies
C&A	Certification and Accreditation
CALL	Computer Assisted Language Learning
CEF/CEFR	Common European Framework for Reference of Languages
CELTA	Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults
CLB	Canadian Language Benchmarks
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
CPD	Continuous Professional Development
DELTA	Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults
Dershane	Turkish cram school
DOS	Director of Studies
ESL / EFL	English as a Second Language and English as a Foreign Language are treated interchangeably throughout this document
ESOL	English to Speakers of Other Languages
EL	English Language
ETS	Educational Testing Service
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council – Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Oman and the United Arab Emirates
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IGJ	Interactive Group Journal
INSET	In Service Education and Training
IATEFL	International Organisation of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language
ISI	Independent Schools Inspectorate
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
IWB	Interactive White Board
JET	Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme
L2	Second Language
L2MSS	Second Language Motivational Self System
LINC	Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada
MATESOL	Masters of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
MELAB	Michigan English Language Assessment Battery
MIIS	Monterey Institute of International Studies
MMR	Mixed Methodology Research
NEST	Native English Speaking Teacher
NNEST	Non-Native English Speaking Teacher
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
OHP	Overhead Projector
OJT	On-the-Job Training
OS	Operating System
PCTC	Post Certificate Training Course
PGC	Post Graduate Certificate
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate in teaching English
PLS	Private Language School
RP	Reflective Practice (NOT Received Pronunciation)

TEFL	Teaching English as a Foreign Language
TESL	Teaching English as a Second Language
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TOEFL	Test Of English as a Foreign Language
TOEIC	Test of English for International Communication
TSLC	Test of Second Language Competence
YUELI	York University English Language Institute

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1   Introduction to the Themes

There are many attributes that distinguish a "profession" from a simple "job" or "trade", but one of the most important is an element of ongoing training and education, with the assumption that learning the profession is never a truly completed task (Shulman & Ericson, 2013). For traditional professionals, like medical doctors, solicitors or engineers, there is a constant training and re-training process to keep the practitioner at the forefront of their career (Schön, 1983). In this tradition, educators try to don this mantle of professionalism and claim membership amongst the more established professions (Shulman, 2005). For this thesis project, a short, practical distinction between these often-interchanged terms is that a "job" represents a specific task completed for renumeration, while a "profession" has renumeration based on specialised education and skills.

This raises the question of how teachers can train and retrain to hone their essential skills and knowledges in order to better perform in their profession, and the answers are similar as in other professions: to read and research (Nunan, 1997), to keep and consult records (Wilson & Berne, 1999), to have and later be a mentor (Hobson et al., 2009), to attend training sessions at various scales (González et al., 2002), to observe other professionals (Powell & Napoliello, 2005) and to discuss findings and experiences with peers (Farrell, 2009). This process is identified under the umbrella of Continuous Professional Development (CPD) and is a common practice in professions, including the field of education.

Teachers' CPD is a widely documented practice, though that field narrows when the focus is moved to English Language Teaching (ELT). It narrows further when CPD is refocussed to teachers in Private Language Schools (PLSs). PLSs teach English (or

sometimes other languages as well) in a variety of contexts, but commonly in the field of adjunct education outside of regular primary, secondary, or post-secondary schooling. PLSs are often entities more independent than other schools, and are funded by private capital, making for a different format than most traditional schools.

The following work aims to examine the role of CPD among PLS English-language (EL) teachers. The importance of this examination is complex. The main reason of import is that PLS teachers are an under-researched population. Even when included in other research, there is little distinction of this population, and their data is often conflated with that of primary, secondary or post-secondary EL teachers (Allison & Carey, 2007; Johnston, 1997). These combining forces of over-integration of PLS teachers into the larger TESOL population and no recognition of the population's uniqueness has allowed for a blind-spot to emerge with regards to this inimitable population in a global industry.

These teachers' interaction with different types of CPD represents their valuation of career development, not only in terms of short-term opportunities but also in relation to longitudinal career stability. Because of this, CPD is being treated as a key indicator of professional identity, and how this particular population can be differentiated from its hypernymous category.

This present study will seek to answer two research questions, that will be discussed in more detail in 1.5: Research Questions:

RQ1 – What are the attitudes of English language teachers in PLSs towards CPD?

and

RQ2 – What motivates these attitudes?

1.2   Key Concepts

CPD needs to be separated from Initial Teacher Education (ITE). ITE is where new concepts are introduced to novice teachers. For many ESL teachers, this would typically

be a teacher's certificate programme of some form as ITE, and then years of on-the-job

training (OJT) exercises as CPD, or In-service Education and Training (INSET). While CPD

and INSET are often used interchangeably, CPD is treated herein as being an ongoing

process, whereas INSET with its more specific and episodic nature will be considered to be

part of workshops and seminars, a sub-division of CPD (Harland & Kinder, 1997). CPD is

training for people with practical experience in the classroom and who have the capacity to

assist in their own training and development. The key to experiential learning is to

contextualise the subject's own experiences into a learning opportunity. Only an experienced

professional can reflect upon their experience to gain insight, in a process called Reflective

Practice (Farrell, 2009). This will be expanded upon in Section 2.3.

Reflective Practice has its roots in the writings of Donald Schön (1983), who was

looking at the professional practice of managers, designers and engineers. It was Thomas

Farrell's work (2009, 2014, & 2018) that built on Schön's to explicitly connect Reflective

Practice to TESOL. CPD in TESOL is largely built upon that connection, with activities such

as consulting research, observing classes or being observed, having a mentor or being a

mentor, or any other activity as CPD, focussing on building the opportunity and venue for

reflection to occur.

This study will look at how teachers engage with six different forms of CPD:

1. Engagement with research

2. Record keeping

3. Participation in discussions

4. Mentoring

5. Classroom observations

6. Attending seminars, workshops and/or conferences.

These will be called "forms of CPD," rather than "CPD activities". The reason for the distinction is that CPD comes from the act of reflection upon practice, as will be detailed in Section 2.3 of the Literature Review. Reflective practice is the activity which prompts development, so in the example of Classroom Observations, being observed does not help in and of itself, but reflecting on what was observed by both the observer and the observed is where that development happens, exploiting the "zone of proximal teacher development" (Fani & Ghaemi, 2011; Warford, 2011; Vygotsky, 1978). As such, the above list represents opportunities for that key reflection, and not activities that substitute for it. These forms, when engaged in for CPD purposes, succeed because they give the practitioners the opportunity to reflect on their own experiences, or the vicarious experiences of others. The teacher can interact with that experience, and question it, as well as petition the insight and reflections of others.

While teacher attitudes towards the forms of CPD will be examined in Chapter 4, so too will teacher motivations in Chapter 5, i.e. as to why teachers feel the way they do. In psychology, "Attitudes provide summary evaluations of target objects and are often assumed to be derived from specific beliefs, emotions, and past behaviours associated with those objects" (American Psychological Association, 2020), and motivation is "the impetus that gives purpose or direction to behaviour and operates in humans at a conscious or unconscious level" (American Psychological Association, 2020). Attitudes are often slow to change, though change is possible. These definitions are suitable for the present investigation as they make allowance for emotions and past experiences tempering current beliefs about CPD and its forms.

Teacher motivation can be subdivided into influences by Expectancy-value theory, achievement goal theory, and self-determination theory (Richardson, Watt, & Karabenick,

2014). The attitudes are unique to specific forms of CPD, but the motivations represent an underlying drive that manifests through attitudes and actions. Both are relevant to this study.

A teacher's long-term goals for participating in CPD are motivated by a future idea of who and what they might be as practicing professionals. The Future Professional Selves Theory was first proposed by psychologists Hazel Markus and Paula Nurius (1986). For them, professionals (a general term, not restricted to education) were motivated by a future-goal identity, rather than a short term or provisional state. Like Schön (1983), they were imagining this within the terms of broader professionalism. This continued to build with the work of Magdelena Kubanyiova (2009), who connected Future Professional Selves to TESOL. She used Markus and Nurius' three Future Professional Selves for the language teacher, a model that is adopted throughout this research project. They are represented as:

1. The Ideal Future Professional Self – an intrinsic goal to which the teacher aspires;

2. The Ought-to Future Professional Self – an extrinsic standard imposed upon the teacher; and

3. The Feared Future Professional Self – a negative outcome that the teacher hopes to avoid manifesting.

Because this study has been exploratory in nature, it has taken the form of a Mixed-Methods Research (MMR) project. The project was done in two stages, the first stage consisting of a questionnaire-based survey to identify major trends, and then two series of interviews. The first series consisting of nineteen interviews with current and former teachers. Most were actively teaching in PLSs, some were teaching elsewhere or pursuing other non-teaching ventures, but all had taught in PLSs in the past. The second round of interviews were follow-up interviews up to three years after the initial series to see how the

teachers' careers had developed over that period. The interviews gave a counterbalance of fine detail to the broad strokes of the questionnaire data.

1.3   Rationale

While the Future Professional Selves as envisioned by Marcus and Nurius (1986) and expanded upon by Kubanyiova (2009) and Farrel (2009), are issues that affect teachers and particularly language teachers (Kubanyiova was examining the professional identities of EFL teachers in university preparation programs), the population to be examined in this study is EFL teachers at PLSs. While my own study does not purport to be an ethnography of the professional histories of PLS teachers, it intends to look at the immediate identity notions of teachers. There is existing research that includes PLS teachers, but there is only a minority of research that focusses on these teachers exclusively rather than as part of a larger population of EFL teachers (Braeshears, 2004, Johnston, 1997).

One of the most notable examinations of PLSs was by Bill Johnston, who in a pivotal article evocatively entitled "Do ESL teachers have careers?" looked at a population of teachers in Poland in the 1990s. He found that the population was reluctant to identify as ESL teachers, and many only viewed their career as a transitionary phase in their professional lives. He used the term "permeable" to describe the simple transition into and out of ESL for the PLS teachers that he was interviewing. This kind of short-termism would emerge as one of the defining characteristics of the population in my own research, contrasting to the long-termism inherent and assumed in many forms of CPD. The difficulty of extrapolating Johnston's sample is the uniqueness of the population. "The Republic of Poland", in the decade of transition from "The People's Republic of Poland", had a situation where state-schools were not as stable or as prestigious as PLSs, and many of the teachers that he interviewed were either formerly or concurrently working in the public system. The world of TESOL has changed since 1997, and Johnston's findings need updating.

Although future studies investigated the situation of PLS teachers since Johnston's (1997) seminal work, such as Breshears' (2004) study of PLS teachers in British Columbia, they focussed on local contexts, whereas the present study aims to capture a more global trend. The choice of this population is significant because neo-liberalism is an issue in education (Olsen & Peters, 2005), and particularly so in language teaching (Block, Gray & Holborrow, 2012). PLSs are not so much affected by business considerations as they are a *sine qua non* commercial enterprise. The underlying economic issues of a PLS are different than those of a primary, secondary or post-secondary institute, and this condition will affect the professionals working there.

PLSs as neo-liberal entities will be discussed in Section 2.5, where the diversity of international models of PLSs will be examined. This internationalism is important as the mobility of labour is also integral to the experiences of PLS teachers. Teachers' careers experience moves across countries and many schools regularly employ multinational teaching faculties.

Despite this distinction between mainstream education (primary to post-secondary) on the one hand and PLSs on the other, TESOL experiences a great deal of professional movement of teachers entering and leaving the profession (Johnston, 1997), of people entering teaching after other careers (Shin, 2017), and of teachers moving from one country to another (Rucker and Ives, 2015). Many teachers go from teaching in PLSs to public schools, or vice-versa, or experience seasonal movement by teaching summer courses at a PLS and teaching Autumn to Spring in a "regular" school.

Private Language Schools are a unique venue that requires examination because of their economic structure, their employment practices and their unexamined ubiquity. Using teacher attitudes and motivations as they manifest in CPD engagement is an expedient way to examine how teachers as stakeholders function within that environment. Employing the

Future Professional Selves theory of Marcus and Nurius (1986) helps in this task by having teachers contextualise their own career development from the past to an extrapolated future, based on their current trajectory, and then placing current actions within that arc.

1.4   Significance

This research is an exploration of teacher attitudes and motivations towards CPD as they are identified and contextualised within the spectrum of professional experience. While the major significance of this work is that it focusses on a population that is hitherto under-examined within TESOL research, it also looks at teacher attitudes towards professional growth within TESOL, and how professional opportunities are judged by those teachers. The research also sheds light on how PLS teachers work and function within the parameters of an institution.

What this study is expected to produce, is an understanding of the CPD habits of PLS teachers, as distinct from their primary, secondary and post-secondary colleagues, particularly as they reflect upon their career. Having developed themselves within this distinctive economic and professional setting, this sub-section of the TESOL community is given a disservice when treated as a part of the TESOL common.

1.5   Research Questions

This document seeks to answer two questions: "What are the attitudes of English-as-second-language teachers towards continuous professional development within private language schools?"; and "Why do teachers hold these opinions?"

The first question is to be answered by the data in questionnaires and interviews, by asking teachers direct questions, then collecting and summarising the responses. The second question is more nuanced. To answer this second question, the first question needs to have been answered with a thoroughness and rigour that allows for analysis. In an effort to

analyse the question of "why", the professional histories of the teachers are discussed, as is their economic status and other aspects of professional life.

1.6   Organization of the Thesis

Chapter 2 is a literature review where existing and current research on the interconnected topics are discussed. The key aspects of reflective knowledge are developed in a historical context, as a developing understanding of how reflective knowledge helps the professional learn from experience is so crucial to understanding CPD and teacher identity. Also in this chapter, there is a survey of the current research surrounding the six different forms of CPD already mentioned in 1.1. Finally, there is an examination of PLSs and how they differ from mainstream schools where English is taught.

Chapter 3 is where the methodology of the research project is detailed. The process of qualitative interviews informed by a preceding questionnaire is employed as an MMR approach to identify themes and then explore details. Because this research project is exploratory, this selection of a model serves the function of answering RQ1 and RQ2 as thoroughly as is currently available. This chapter goes over the methodology beginning with the theoretical constructs of the model, and then chronologically examines the implementation of the research over the years of data collection.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to answering RQ1, looking at teacher attitudes towards the different forms of CPD. The chapter examines each of the six major forms of CPD, with each section being broken down into sub-sections of "Interview data", and then unique emergent themes. There is a comparison of preferred forms, and then of favoured topics, as well as a discussion of non-engagement in CPD. There is also a discussion of the remuneration of CPD.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to RQ2, where answers are sought to the question of why teachers hold the opinions that they do. Taken largely from the interview data, though also

reinforced from the questionnaires, this section examines the four sources of motivational data: the Self, the Peer group, the School and External. These categories are broken down into in sub-categories to represent the different manners in which these motivations exert into the professional development of teachers.

Chapter 6 is a discussion of the themes that emerged, and how the data compares with the literature introduced in Chapter 2. This is done particularly in the context of Schön's (1983) dichotomy of Reflection-in-action and Reflection-on-action, this chapter looks at Motivation-in-action and how the four sources of motivation manifest in the discussed forms of CPD. This chapter also looks at how PLS teachers define their school and conditions.

Finally, the project ends with Chapter 7 as a conclusion, where the contributions of the study are listed, as are the limitations. Recommendations and venues for further study are proposed at this this point.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1   Chapter Overview

Continuous Professional Development (CPD) is a cornerstone of the process of modern professionalism, particularly in the field of education and by extension TESOL. The underlying principle of CPD, as opposed to ITE (Initial Teacher Education), is that experiential learning is what adds to the practice of an active professional both in terms of the performance of their duties, and also in the assertion of their status as a professional. From the field of a more general philosophy of professionalism, Schön's writing of reflection in theory and practice (1984) keep influence over later writers who contextualize reflective practice into other fields, and particular to this study, into the field of Language Education (Borg, 2001; Farrell, 2001; Gu & Wu, 2013; Kubanyiova, 2009; Olsen & Peters, 2005; Warford, 2011).

Over the following chapter, the existing literature on CPD as a reflective theory and practice is discussed, examining notions of professional identity and how those notions are to be engaged in the theoretical and practical valuing of different forms of CPD. First, in Section 2.2, the concept CPD, as opposed to other forms of professional development is examined. Then in 2.3, reflective knowledge, an integral aspect of CPD is defined and put into its place within CPD literature. From there, in 2.4, an examination of Professional Selves, Professionalism and PD amongst teachers, based largely on the work of Markus and Nurius (1986), is employed. These professional identities exist within a focus of professionalism, education, and TESOL. In 2.5, the setting of the teachers being examined is discussed, that field of the Private Language School.

After exploring the underpinnings of reflective practices, identities, and setting on a theoretical level, the practical manifestations of these theories through different forms of reflective CPD practices will be examined in greater detail in 2.7, particularly in the focuses

of engagement with research, record keeping, professional discussions, classroom

observations, and attending or participating in seminars, conferences and workshops. After

examining these common practices of CPD, the chapter will conclude in 2.7.

2.2   CPD

Continuous Professional Development is an attempt to improve the knowledge and

practice of professionals, in this case teachers of English (Johnson & Golumbek, 2011).

Professional knowledge is ever expanding, and Schön noted "Even if professional knowledge

were to catch up with the new demands of professional practice, the improvement in

professional performance would be transitionary"(1983, p. 15). Schön's assertion in 1983

remains true as technology grows in import (Cole, et al., 1996; Hadjerrouit, 2014; Van Wyk,

2013; Xerri & Campbell, 2016).

Wyatt & Ončevska Ager (2016) used their own definitions and drew a distinction

between bottom up "teacher development", which was initiated and guided by the teachers

with a higher cognisance of their own needs, and top-down CPD (p.171) that limited teacher

agency in the practice by being one step removed from the classroom. While examining

CPD-focussed discussion groups, Paran (2016) looked at teacher agency in the development

of such groups, as did Thanh Vo & Mai Nguyen (2009) in examples of both top-down and

bottom-up ESOL teacher groups. For the purposes of this thesis, CPD will be defined as

being either directed by participants or those in authority, respecting the teachers' self-

awareness of their needs and the role of management in looking at faculty-wide issues that

are not restricted to a single teacher experience.

2.3   Reflective Knowledge and CPD

Reflection, Reflective Knowledge, and Reflective Practice (RP) are basic building

blocks of CPD. "Ten years of experience is not the same as one year of experience ten

times" is a maxim emphasising experiential learning. The core of this is that seniority is not

synonymous with experience, and that simple performance does not advance a professional approach to a task. Recalling Hegel's observation that "the Owl of Minerva begins its flight only with the coming of dusk" (1821, p. 23), reflection as a guide to CPD posits that the key to ongoing learning is to contextualize experience *post facto* and build on the experience of oneself and of others.

Schön made a distinction between "Reflection on Action" and "Reflection in Action" to demonstrate the act and the result of professional introspection (1984). The first category in Schön's division is the traditional notion of "Reflection;" an act of thinking upon actions and events of the past in order to find profit from everyday practice and to preserve and promote best practices. The second category of reflection is a more fast-paced and immediate reaction to stimuli. "Reflection-in-action is the moment-by-moment examination of classroom events and is probably something many teachers do whether they are aware of it or not" (Gunn, 2010, p. 209). Two years prior to Schön, Elbaz would describe this experiential wisdom and reflection as "Practical Knowledge" (1981) while making the case to insert more of that practical knowledge into the decision-making process of curriculum designers.

Reflection on Action is an activity after-the-fact which is something that does not necessarily happen organically or without focus. "Although teachers are constantly encouraged to 'reflect' on their teaching, they are unable to do so effectively unless they are specifically trained in how to reflect" (Gün, 2011). To this end, Gün recommends training in reflective practices, noting several practices that can aid in the process, particularly by employing video-recording lessons and then later watching oneself in action (2015). The belief is that doing so would allow the observer to critically observe their own behaviour without feeling a need to defend their actions against management, or even another peer who might sit in judgement. Gün even goes so far as to point out that "under no circumstances is

trainers' feedback on these observations made available to the administration (p. 66)." She stresses the importance of removing appraisal or judgment from the process, lest the reflection process be mired down in posturing or positioning. The act of reflection can easily fall prey to a host of influences not geared towards the improvement of teacher, but rather an unpredictable selection of local motivations.

Reflecting upon one's own actions as a professional requires a certain level of detachment that does not always come naturally to everyone (Farrell, 2009). As part of an MATESOL program at the University of Sharjah in the UAE, Gunn (2010) attempted to promote critical reflection by the student-teachers. She did this by asking for online journal entries to describe the practical effects of teaching and reflect upon what was successful and what could have been changed, and found that many students would log factual, chronological descriptions rather than introspective reflections. Comments on the posts of others were often politely supportive and occasionally combative, though not what Gunn had hoped for in terms of reflection. Like others, Gunn would report on the problematic nature of self-reflecting in a public forum, and echo Gün's lament of untrained reflection.

The juxtaposition between these examples of Gün's approach of a recorded lesson which can then be quietly and privately observed by the practitioner, and Gunn's semi-open intranet forum is an important distinction, in that *Reflection-on-Action* is a useful activity, but reflection on *one's own* action, especially when happening in a public (or semi-public) square is not only difficult but also has the potential to be embarrassing, by reflecting upon weaknesses that might be improved. In light of this example, many of the forms of CPD examined in this study can operate within the formal or informal domains. This is in-line with Mann's observation that language teacher development "is independent of the organisation but often functioning more successfully with its support and recognition" (Mann, 2006, p. 105).

Mann's comment illustrates the often-personal responsibility of PD especially amongst teachers working part-time or in multiple venues, though still acknowledging the importance of management. Edge was to build upon that notion of personal importance, and argue that to the practitioner, there was a strong overlap between professional and personal; that

> …the idea that professional development is a part of personal development: that we do not simply amass bundles of pedagogic functions separate from who we are, but rather that we are whole-people-who-teach and that a continuing exploration of what that means in terms of individual congruence is an appropriate companion to the learning of, for example, how to use new techniques and new technologies. (Edge, 2011, p. 35)

Walsh and Mann (2015) would go on to assert that Reflective Practice was not something that would come naturally to everyone, putting it bluntly that RP "has little corresponding knowledge base that demonstrates how RP gets done" (p. 351). The authors would go on to identify four problems with RP, being that it was 1) insufficiently data-led; 2) heavily focussed on the individual; 3) dominated by the written word; and 4) lacking detail on reflective tools (p. 352). This research project attempts to address those four concerns by presenting a data-led study of RP; 2) focussing not solely on the teacher, but also on the community of teachers, schools, and external agencies (see Section 5.2 Motivations for CPD Engagement); 3) including written and spoken reflection (see 2.7.3 Discussion Groups, 2.7.4 Mentoring, and 2.7.5 Classroom Observations); and 4) going into extensive detail about forms of reflective engagement (see 2.7 Forms of CPD and 4.2 Teacher Attitudes towards Continuous Professional Development).

Edge preferred the term "Reflexive" rather than "Reflective" because it implied a symbiotic relationship between the practitioner and the practice. While using the terminology of teachers as education field-researchers, for him, "reflexivity in qualitative research is concerned with the ongoing, mutually-shaping interaction between the researcher

and the research" (Edge, 2011, p. 165). While looking particularly at teachers as researchers, this is a relevant practice for the reciprocal wherein teachers approach the research of others. There was a cycle of reflecting on past experience affecting the present reflector and developing that individual as a professional, which in turn would make them more able to reflect, even when reflecting on a time when there was a compounding of reflection affecting the practitioner. Reflection was not so much of a practice as it was a characteristic of the professional. Both Edge and Rickman (1988) evoked Dilthey's (1917) concept of a hermeneutic circle to describe the reflexive relationship between the practitioner and the practice:

> The hermeneutic circle involves the alternation between the detail and big picture, the historical and the systematic, acknowledging no best place to start, and that there is a paradox involved in saying that our knowledge arises from our experiences and that our experience is shaped by our knowledge (Rickman, 1988, p. 165).

While the traditional flow of knowledge and practice would seem to be that theory should inform practice, and reflection is to bring practice and theory back in-line, there is a reversal of that tide for more experienced practitioners in that successful practice should be theorised rather than theory practiced. Reflection upon successful practice is to "help make the tacitly held prior beliefs more explicit" (Farrell, 2013, p. 17).

One of the key components of Edge's concept of the Reflexive Teacher is that the practice of reflection is an ongoing cycle rather than a terminal event. A traditional concept would be that a reflective teacher teaches and then reflects upon the practice, then adjusts course to become a better professional (Erraut, 2004). A reflexive teacher reflects on their practice and adjusts course, and then later reflects upon their reflection and their adjustments to adjust again, and the cycle repeats. This becomes an attribute of their reflective practice and continues for the duration of their career. While that longitudinal cycle could well be

inferred in traditional notions of the reflective teacher, Edge is more overt in his assertion of a

continuous cycle of reflection, and of reflecting upon that reflection and adjusted practice.

Figure 2.1
**Reflexive Cycle of Long-term Development – Adapted from Schön (1984), Erraut (2004)
and Edge (2011)**
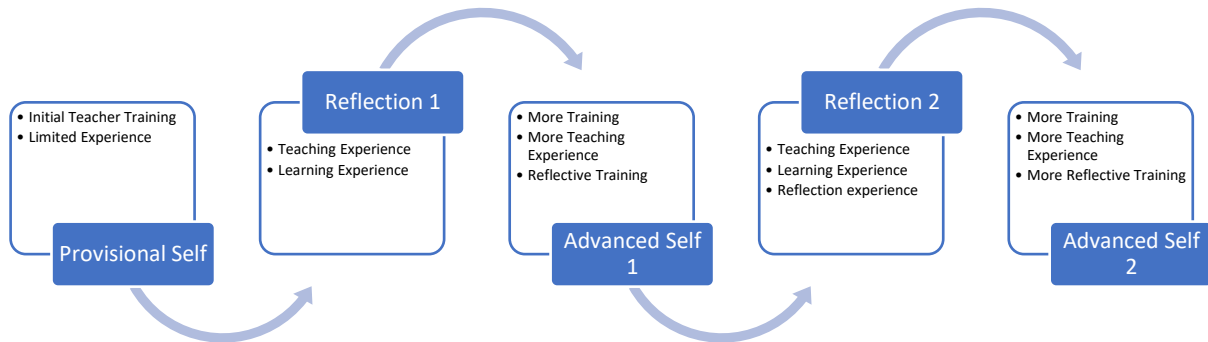
Farrell (2013, p. 81) lists six major potential contributions of mid and later-career

professionals that would be brought to a shared CPD forum: Subject matter knowledge,

pedagogy, self-awareness, understanding of learners, understanding of curriculum, and career

awareness. He also noted that:

> It is especially important for experienced teachers to be able to give accounts
> about their existing beliefs, assumptions, values and knowledge concerning their
> work so that they can be acknowledged as professionals, similar to other fields
> such as medicine or law (Farrell, 2013, p. 131).

For both Edge and Farrell, reflection as Schön defined it was not a casual activity,

but one that was to have a significant effect upon the reflector. It was a part of the process of

grounding the professional in both theory and practice. The goal of reflecting upon reflection

and what that means to the individual (Farrell, 2013, p. 133) and how the practice unites

teachers as professionals (Edge, 2011, pp. 51-52) is the purpose of this meta-reflection.

2.4   Professional Development and Professionalism

For the purposes of this study, the model employed of the Self is that of the

"Possible Future Selves Theory" of Markus and Nurius (1986), as adapted into the field of

education generally (Carver et al., 1994; Hamman et al., 2010; Ronfeldt & Grossman, 2008)

and language training in particular (Csizér, 2020; Kubanyiova, 2009). The Possible Selves has oft been applied to language learners, rather than teachers (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei 2003; 2007; 2020), where many of the same principles apply, that the learning process is goal-oriented towards a better version of the current self.

This future horizon is a changeable, rather than fixed position. Varghese et. al, noted that identity was "multiple, shifting and in conflict; crucially related to social, cultural and political context; [and] being constructed, maintained and negotiated through discourse" (Varghese et al., 2005, p. 24) and that understanding of Professional Self as a mutable present with an eye to a future form is central to the understanding of the Professional Selves of ESL teachers in the context of this study.

Kubanyiova built on Markus and Nurius' emerging identities as potential "Professional Selves" that the teachers saw as a mutable, future goal – something always on the horizon. The three models that Kubanyiova elaborated for ESL teachers being the *Ideal Professional Self*, the *Ought-to Professional Self*, and the *Feared Professional Self*. The Ideal Professional Self "constitutes identity goals and aspirations of the language teachers, that is, involves the Future Professional Self which they would ideally like to attain" (Kubanyiova, 2009, p. 1279). Closing the distance between a present reality and an ideal Future Self is reminiscent of Vygotsky's ZPD – Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky, 1978), where the gap between where the learner is and where they would be is Zone of Proximal Development, was expanded upon by Warford's ZPTD – Zone of Proximal *Teacher* Development (2011). The dissonance between the current and the ideal is central to teacher development. That gap between the current flawed situation and the ideal of the future is a source of focus for development, but also of frustration when unmet or seemingly unmeetable.

Figure 2.2
Possible Selves in Present and Future
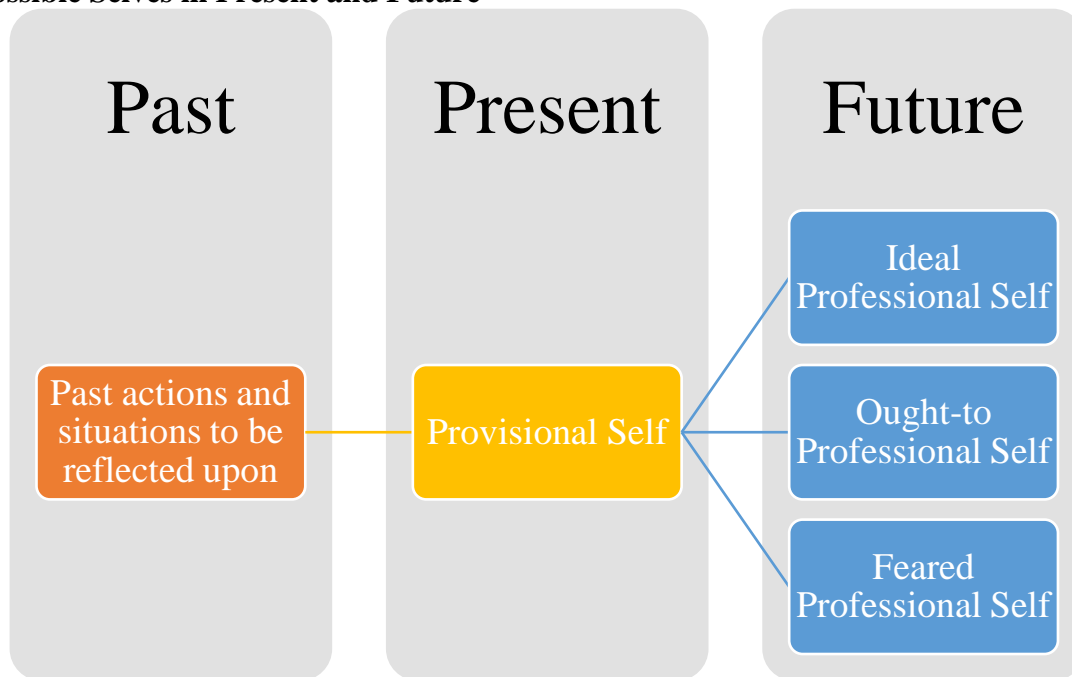
The *Ought-to Professional Self* is the extrinsic cousin to the intrinsic Ideal. The

Ought-to Future Professional Self is the teacher demanded by the school, the manager, the

board of education or the employer, not the hope of the teacher themselves. It is more

influenced by management at the current school (a motivator that is by its nature changeable

in the modern economy), or by the demands of external agencies such as national education

policies or inspectorates. "The O*ught-to* self represents the attributes individuals are

expected to possess as a result of certain duties and responsibilities" (Yuan, Sun & Teng,

2016) The Ought-to is externally sourced, but internally felt by the teacher, whereas the Ideal

is internally created and striven for by the individual. A subtle, but inherent difference

between the Ought-to and Ideal is that while the Ideal Professional Self can be "*x+1; where*

x=current self;" Ought-to is often more rigidly defined because of the external nature, and

presents standards that can be satisfied, resulting in the "*x>y or x=y or x<y; where x is the*

current self, but y is the expected standard."   When *x<y*, the opportunity for development is

strongest, as is the fear of instability. The Ideal has mutable horizons where development is in the striving, and the standards never need to be fully met.

The third Future Professional Self, the *Feared Professional Self* is based on what the teacher "could become if either the ideals or perceived obligations and responsibilities are not lived up to" (Kubanyiova, 2009, p. 1281). This is using Kubanyiova's third category, rather than that of Dörnyei & Csizér (2002, Csizér, 2020), who used "Learning Experience" as a third category. This category was appropriate for L2 learners, but Kubanyiova's was better suited to teachers.

Kubanyiova notes that if the professional lives of teachers are balanced, then this future self should be relegated to a minor influence, but the converse of that could be extrapolated, that in an unpredictable or unstable work environment, the anxiety-fuelled *Feared Professional Self* would have the loudest voice.

The Feared Professional Self is an intrinsic construction, unique to the individual, and mutable over the course of a career. For a novice teacher, this might represent a failed entry into their profession, while at later phases of the same teacher's career it could manifest as being professionally stagnant while colleagues are promoted, or being professionally trapped and unable to leave or advance. The forms would be idiosyncratic to the teacher.

For many teachers, the fear of economic instability is a recurring trope. Not only for PLS teachers and teacher trainers, but for large swaths of the general population there is a new Feared Professional Self, where unemployment or underemployment is no longer a temporary setback, but a regular attribute of an emerging underclass and a fear of redundancy is a permanent attribute (Bauman, 2007; Standing, 2011).

Those three Professional Selves remain as future models of development but lack a description of a present-tense Professional Self. Ronfeldt and Grossman (2008, p. 42) evoked a notion of a *Provisional Self*, echoing Varghese et al's notion of transitory teacher

identity (2005), particularly at the beginning of a career. The current self for them is an interim stage, where [researchers] are currently developing the skills and status markers needed for their later, expected status. As teachers acquire experience, skills and connections, they reach towards their *Ideal* or *Ought-to* selves, and hopefully avoid the pitfalls that would lead to their *Feared* selves.

Making an immutable boundary between the intrinsic and extrinsic is difficult to the point that it might be considered wasted effort. Csizér (2020) noted that extrinsic forces can be internalised and become intrinsic, just as internal motives can lose their immediacy and migrate to the external. In the following study, "the intrinsic" will mean intrinsic at the time, and "the extrinsic" will mean extrinsic at the time. These are subject to change for the individual.

One of the complications of the model of Professional Selves, is that while time's arrow flies forward in reality, for many people (professional or otherwise) there can be an ideal self from the past. Writing about psychology in general, rather than specifically education, Markus and Nurius noted that "Past selves, to the extent that they may define an individual again in the future, can also be possible selves" (1986, p. 955). Certainly, past selves can influence the hopes of future selves; be it as a return to an ideal, a flight from a negative point, or anywhere in between.

While exploring teacher notions of the Ideal Self, Hamman et al. (2010) tried to limit the Ideal Future Professional Self to the Expected self, to reduce the expectations to the practical, but kept Markus and Nurius' taxonomy. Hamman et al. used a questionnaire to collect data from 221 respondents, split between student teachers and NQTs working at an American university. They noted that "possible-selves theory provides a theoretical framework for examining future-oriented, identity- relevant, goal-directed thinking in the present, and the salience of that thinking for regulating behaviour to reach a future state

(p.1349)." Because of the difficulties of assessing what should be considered a realistic future goal, this study will also use the term Ideal Professional Self when discussing future projections, rather than Expected Future Professional Self.

An unfortunate gap in the research literature is that much is written about novice teachers or those in their first decade of teaching (Arnold, 2006; Crasborn et al, 2011; Hobson et al, 2009), though little is recorded about more experienced teachers. Hamman et al., in their study, noted that Possible Selves Theory was "a particularly good fit for examining the developing identities of new teachers (p.1349);" the implication being that it would be less appropriate for older, more experienced teachers. How the future selves of these experienced teachers would change as their did, touches on the idea of a realistically expected, rather than Ideal Professional Self. This study will investigate the roles and experiences of novice teachers, as well as their more experienced colleagues.

There is a risk here of conflating "older" with being more experienced. This conflation is problematic given the increasing number of second-career novice teachers entering teaching after multiple years in other fields (Shin, 2017). They would presumably bring life experience from other paths into their career as a teacher, though not all experiences are directly transferable.

The gradual tension between the idea of the Provisional Self as a novice teacher against the future self as a competent teacher represents a potentially long migration, uniquely for the novice teacher, though not the experienced journeyman, is also a Feared Professional Self, that of the failed teacher before their career even begins (Yuan, Sun & Teng, 2016, p. 228). There are idiosyncratic factors as to how the "Competent Teacher" would manifest.

Teachers may be pushed towards Ought-to Professional Selves that are not of their own devising, but that are motivated by the needs of employers or other agents. In two

examples of classroom teachers being pushed into the role of researcher, Yuan et al. describe these magnetic poles pulling at teachers within the assertive state-system of a Beijing university (Yuan, Sun & Teng, 2016) where they would be more in-line with the criterion of Ought-to rather than Ideal, though the categories are far from impermeable. Gao, Barkhuizen & Chow (2014) examined primary teachers in the Chinese state system, looking at their preferences for research engagement. Gao, Barkhuizen & Chow note that "language teachers in China are often encouraged by policy makers and school leaders to engage in classroom research" however, their research motivations might be affected by a wide range of contextual obstacles, such as large classroom size, lack of school support, and the examination-oriented system (p.220). These Chinese examples show the role played of a state system that encourages research, but regulates the product of education with strict gate-keeper examinations, and schools that may or may not support the teacher. The lack of school support would be a major influence on the teachers interviewed by Yuan et al, as it would also be on those giving feedback to my research.

2.4.1   Teacher Identity, Self, and Role

"Identity" includes beliefs and qualities that apply to a person or group (Leary & Tangney, 2003). "Self" involves either the cognitive or affective representation of an individual's identity or the subject of their personal experiences (McEntee-Atalianis, 2019). The fundamental distinction between these two terms is that "Identity" involves group membership as well as individual traits, whereas "Self" is more internal and restricted to the individual. Because of the inherently social aspects of professionalism, there is a large degree of overlap between Identity and the Self. "Role" is a purely social identity and is only relevant to this study when describing the relationships between the teacher and other teachers, management, students, or other stakeholders.

Identity is tied to social environment, and the Future Professional Self is not something to be interpreted as a solitary activity, as there are numerous social acts of positioning for example, that go into the status of this Future Self. A team engaging in research, or consulting research, is a community of researchers, hoping to elevate their practice as well as their status (Wilson & Berne, 1999), and the individual members are asserting an "Academic" persona not as a solitary practitioner, but visibly and within their community.

Identity within these communities of practice can take on many attributes, with some teachers identifying as subject matter experts (Johnston, 1997), or experienced pedagogues (Pavlenko, 2002). During his research into teacher identities of ESL teachers at PLSs in Poland, none of Johnston's subjects self-identified as ESL teachers, with non-NESTs instead preferring notions of "expert users of English" and their NEST colleagues describing their entry into teaching as an accidental or second choice (1997, pp. 691-692). The status of teachers in the wake of the economic uncertainty of post-Communist Poland was such that it was an undesirable provisional or future self, due in large part to the instability of the time.

Another central aspect of identity is "Role." Role is more connected to the here-and-now of teacher identity called the Provisional Self, as opposed to the future aspirations of Future Professional Selves. Role represents the social aspect of the Professional Self, either amongst other teachers or in the classroom with the students. If a teacher wanted to take on the role an IELTS expert, for example, they would need peers to recognize them as such, lest they be a proverbial tree falling in the woods alone. Farrell observed three major groupings of TESOL roles when dealing with students (Farrell, 2013, p. 355): The Manager, the Acculturator, and the Professional (See Figure 2.3: Taxonomy of Experienced ESL Teacher Role Identity), though these roles can also carry over to how those same teachers interact with their colleagues. Of these, the Manager was the most widely-attested role, with seven

descending sub-classes, all revolving around controlling the classroom itself. The

Acculturator would be more common in an ESL, life-skills, civics or citizenship-class, where

the teacher tries to prepare students for life outside of the classroom. The final grouping,

Professional, was unique in that the characteristics of the category would be on display

outside of the classroom: "Works and shares with other teachers, continuously seeks

knowledge about teaching and self as teacher, knowledgeable about teaching and subject

matter, dedicated to their work, take it seriously" (Farrell, 2013, p. 85). This serves as a

necessary reminder that being a teacher is not limited to a job description but is an element of

personal identity as well (Edge, 2011), an identity that continues after class is dismissed and

everyone has left (Tsui, 2003).

Figure 2.3
Taxonomy of experienced ESL teacher role identity (From Farrell, p.85)

Manager
- Vender
- Entertainer
- Communication Controller
- Juggler
- Motivator
- Presenter
- Arbitrator

Acculturator
- Socializer
- Social worker
- Careprovider

Professional
- Collaborator
- Learner
- Knowledgeable
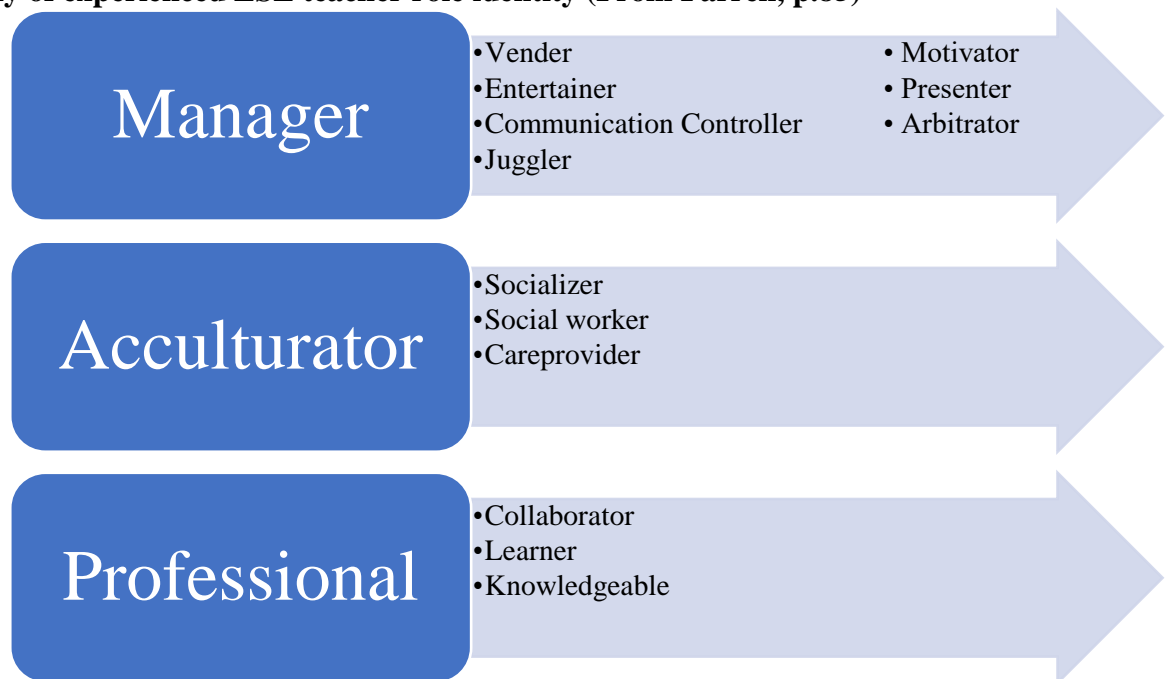
As teachers engage in CPD, they take on different roles; those of the worker, the

teacher and the learner. Gonzales et al (2002) used Maslow's (1943) model of needs to look

at how teachers psychologically integrated into seminars, particularly looking at what they

hoped to get out of the process. They placed PD as a pathway from "Esteem Needs" to "Self-

Actualization," and placed teacher training as a way to gain a better salary, more stable employment, and less of a workload.

2.4.2   Developing Identity

Embedded in the notion of the competing Professional Selves is the idea that teacher identity is a motile state. Teaching is often a "flat" profession, in that there are few levels of promotion or advancement (Farrell, 2018, p. 106), and those that exist are usually quite significant. To combat the limited options for vertical mobility, some teachers shift their employment laterally, specializing in an aspect of TESOL to distinguish their careers rather than seek employment as general English teachers.

Motivation to participate in CPD is a bellwether as to how teachers feel about their profession. Hamman et al. (2010) used Marcus and Nurius' Futures Proforessional Selves Theory to look at the motivations of teacher development at different stages of their careers. They found that "possible-selves theory provides a theoretical framework for examining future-oriented, identity-relevant, goal-directed thinking in the present, and the salience of that thinking for regulating behaviour to reach a future state" (2010, p. 1349). They noted that previous use of the future professional selves was targeted at NQTs, and intended to expand the use of the model to look at what they identified as more experienced teachers, and found the model useful with more experienced teachers having more nuanced future professional selves than the more general notions of newer teachers.

Specialisation is a way of asserting an identity that is not a part of the crowd, and Cheng (2017) and Matsuda (2017) both wrote about the importance of identity for dedicated writing teachers. Donato (2017), Block (2017) and Xu (2017), all write of language teacher identity research, where experienced teachers try to make the transition from being an ESL teacher to a higher status of professional teacher. This aspect of professional development is dependent on CPD engagement.

2.5   Professional Selves and Emotions

Teaching is by its nature an emotional occupation, where teachers must present a positivity and caring enthusiasm to their students. While some (Dörnyei, 2020; Kubanyiova, 2009) have discussed the emotional impact of language teaching, Hargreaves points out that "caring occupations like teaching call not only for emotional sensitivity; they also require emotional labour" (Hargreaves, 1998. p 840). As in other forms of emotional labour, that emotional control represents a burden to the performer. The weight of that burden is something that contributes to teacher burnout. Coombe (2008) noted that teaching was within the top 5 most stressful professions, and Kyriacou reported that 25% of TESOL teachers, responding to a questionnaire measuring burnout, considered their jobs to be extremely stressful (Kyriacou, 2001). Küçükoğlu (2014) uses the data from Coombe (2008) and Kyriacou (2001) to look at the motivators of burnout, and offered a list of sixteen pieces of advice for teachers struggling with what Maslach and Jackson had eloquently defined as "a syndrome of emotional exhaustion and cynicism that occurs frequently among individuals who do 'people- work' of some kind (Maslach & Jackson, 1981)".

While TESOL-specific scholarly literature on the subject is limited, literature in the professional domain on the subject is quite common, with many TESOL organizations dedicating space on websites to the phenomenon (Mahoney, 2016; Owens, 2018). The practical advice on these pages represents a simplified version of the advice given by Küçükoğlu (2014).

Outside of TESOL, the pressures of teaching have led to an increasing attrition rate amongst secondary and primary teachers (Linqvist, Nordänger & Carlesson, 2013). Saatcioglu (2020), while examining teacher attrition in education (not limited to TESOL), described a 50% 5-year turnover in K-12 schools in the United States.   The financial pressures that are held against teachers, forcing them to leave the classroom in order to make

ends meet are chronicled as the proletarianisation of education (Ellis, et al., 2014) but this is hardly a recent phenomenon. Johnston (1997) began the process of detailing the economic uncertainty of TESOL among teachers in a PLS. Johnston described the profession of language teaching as permeable - something that can be entered or exited with ease.

In addition to the important work of Johnston in Applied Linguistics, the issues of economic security come to light in the work of Guy Standing, particularly in the monograph *The Precariat* (2011). Standing contextualises the decline of economic stability by wage labourers across the developed world and the changing face of the modern workforce – particularly in the rise of a sense of Anomie. The reliance of PLSs on hourly wage labour (Breshears, 2004) moves these teachers from the domain of the professional to that of the labourer, even when the wages are often higher than many other jobs.

"Anomie" is a concept originally espoused by the French sociologist Emile Durkheim as one the prevailing reasons for suicide (1897). Standing (2011) extrapolates the term to describe modern precarious labour, and while he does not single out teachers in particular, the situation he describes of can be reasoned onto those whose labour is centralised in PLSs. *Anomie* is summarised as a "feeling of passivity born of despair… intensified by the prospect of artless, career-less jobs (Standing, 2011. p 34)." Continuing in this vein, he asserts that "once jobs become flexible and instrumental, with wages insufficient for a socially respectable subsistence and a dignifying lifestyle, there is no 'professionalism' that goes with belonging to a community with standards, ethical codes and mutual respect among its members based on competence and respect for long-established norms of behaviour (p 39)."

In his admittedly gendered definition of the alienation of labour, Karl Marx describes a situation to which many ESL teachers could relate, exhaustedly carrying out a job for which they have lost enthusiasm.

> What constitutes the alienation of labour? First, the fact that labour is external to the worker, i.e., it does not belong to his essential being; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefor only feels himself outside his work, and his work feels outside himself… his labour is… not voluntary but coerced; it is forced labour. It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a means to satisfy needs external to it (Marx, 1884).

The struggles for emotional and economic stability are not completely disconnected as motivators. Many teachers, particularly in PLSs find themselves working on zero-hour contracts (Breshears, 2004) that bring the Feared Professional Self of a semi-employed teacher struggling to make ends meet to the fore. The model of PLSs makes this potential situation more commonplace and more real. A recurring issue with CPD or other forms of additional training, is that qualifications and certificates are important, as these contribute to employability as a teacher (Borg, 2009), while experience and practical training does not always have the same transferability from CV to job. Contradicting the hopes of the teachers in Borg's study, Neary interviewed HR professionals and recruiters who were working in different sectors, and chronicled their frustration that CPD had very little impact on the employability of anyone outside an immediate context (Neary, 2016).

Johnston employed Bakhtin's notions of a Heteroglossic Discourse when interpreting life-story narratives of PLS teachers. In a criticism of the very notion of professionalism within TESOL, he joined EFL and ESL into a single item (as has been done in this study) and used the example of his PLS teaching case-studies as indicative of all, when he noted that:

> The reality of teaching EFL/ESL, however, should at the very least give pause for thought. Teachers in many national contexts – some would say in most – tend to be underpaid and overworked, often operating in difficult physical and psychological conditions. The occupation of EFL/ESL teaching as a whole lacks the status of the established professions such as medicine and law. Many teachers work without job security or benefits (Johnston, 1997, p. 682).

Johnston referenced a 1989 survey that noted how few teachers over the age of 45 remained in TESOL in the UK (Centre for British Teachers, 1989) and compared this to McKnight's 1992 investigation in Australia that found similar results (McNight, 1992). Making matters worse for the supply of experienced teachers, according to Shin, many over-45 teachers are second or third career teachers rather than veterans of classroom (Shin, 2017).

In Johnston's research, "A discourse of professionalism was absent from the teachers' discursive construction of their working lives; altruism was in some cases ironized whereas commitment was seen only in day-to-day terms" (Johnston, 1997 p. 692). The dismissal of notional professionalism amongst Johnston's population is significant and represents a shift from more traditional notions of professionalism in education, where there is a struggle to take a space at the table alongside other professions (Gardner & Shulman, 2005). Johnston's population seemed to have given up the struggle and accepted their lot as academic proletarians.

While other writers have noted the changing face of the marketplace of TESOL, Johnston put TESOL, or at least PLS TESOL, in very clear terms as rather hopeless, and more in line with the rising tide of precarious labour (Standing, 2011) than with traditional notions of professionalism in education.

2.6   Private Language Schools

Private Language Schools are schools where the primary, if not only, program of education is language training. Many PLSs also provide academic preparation for college and university bound students, but this is not always the case. PLSs are businesses run for profit, though like any other business, other motivations are present. Some are independently owned and operated, while others are branches or franchises of established language-learning corporations. International House is an example of a large-scale PLS, with an affiliate system of independently owned schools (International House, 2017). Education First (EF) is a

Sweden/Switzerland-based worldwide chain of PLSs which is also heavily involved in travel and tourism (Education First, 2017), and the British Council, a public corporation and cultural organization governed by Royal Charter (The British Council, 2017). Some are, like the Canadian Language Learning College, brick-and-mortar schools (CLLC, 2017), while others, such as Modern Diller, are agencies that dispatch teachers and trainers to companies or individuals for language training rather than hosting traditional classes (Modern Diller, 2011). In light of the COVID-19 Quarantine of 2020, most schools now have an online-component that has increased in importance. Some of these private enterprises become contractors to higher-education institutes and some PLSs operate as public-private hybrids (ie. British Council). Some are regulated by governing bodies within the educational administration of state apparatus, while others operate with minimal outside regulation.

PLSs represent a broad range of business models with incredibly diverse roles in the marketplace. Despite, or because of, this range of operational norms, there is little academic research on the institutions themselves. Why PLSs have managed to operate outside the scrutiny of the academy is a curious topic. Some schools (for example EF) teach no accredited course, instead using the success of student progress as a benchmark rather than a system of credits. Conversely, International House offers a mix of accredited and non-accredited training programs and courses.

An international element to the definition is that the model of PLS can often be included with other types of adjunct education. Chinese Buxibans, Korean Hagwons, Turkish Dershanes, Greek Frontisterias, Japanese Jukus, all have local variance within their country's education system and market placement.

One feature of the diversity of PLSs is that for non-credit-granting institutions in English-speaking countries, there is a model of educational tourism, for students who arrive in-country, study English, and then return to their homelands. While examining the hiring

practices in such PLSs in Toronto, Canada, Ramjattan (2015) noted that there was what he described as an "aesthetic" preference amongst managers and students to have white language models instead of dark-skinned teachers, whose English would be associated with the Global South, even if the teachers themselves were born in Canada. Ruecker & Ives (2014) noted the same hiring preferences in a sampling of Korean PLS teacher job-ads.

The diversity of models makes an inclusive definition of PLSs elusive. For the context of this inquiry the language is English, although some teach other languages in addition to English. Toronto-based Hansa Language Centres is one such example of teaching multiple additional languages in addition to EFL (Hansa Language Centres, 2015). Some PLSs have a formal Certification and Accreditation (C&A) process, and some simply measure their success by student satisfaction to their own standards. PLS are almost exclusively in the field of adjunct education.

My own personal experience as a teacher has been tempered by PLSs. I began teaching at a chain of PLSs operating in Turkey. I then taught at a start-up university preparation program that had hired on a PLS to administer the program; it was that PLS that hired me on to work at the university. I have since then worked as a director of studies of a PLS, as a teacher in a primary school, and at various post-secondary institutes in Turkey, Canada, the UK and Kuwait, as well as PLSs while working on my MA and PhD. My own experience testifies to Johnston's notion of permeability (1997) and teachers' movement both within TESOL and outside of it. While I no longer teach in a PLS, my formative experiences are in those customer-service-oriented institutions, as are many teachers that have since begun their teaching careers. The fact that PLS teachers may then move on to primary, post-secondary, administration or academia is a part of the importance of the PLS experience.

Given the ubiquity of PLSs, it is surprising that there is little direct study of PLSs as institutions, though using peripheral data about teachers, teaching or other education-

related topics is not uncommon. Gkonou & Miller (2019) performed research on emotional labour using a PLS as their population but at no point indicated that the population was anything but a normal teaching environment. One of the few to cast light into the professional lives of teachers within PLSs was Bill Johnston, though in the over twenty years since his publication of "*Do EFL teachers have careers*?" (1997) there has been little additional research. Even with this important work, the situation of the teachers working mostly in the private sector was incidental and not fully explored as a setting, nor were his subjects uniformly working solely in PLSs. The present study will fill this imbalance by specifically investigating this model.

2.7   Forms of CPD

CPD for teachers is a very broad topic, with numerous different approaches. CPD is at its core a practical application of contextualised reflective knowledge. This contextualisation and application needs a proofing chamber in which to develop. This section will take the previously discussed literature about reflection, motivation and identity and look at how CPD is given a practical form in the private language schools described in 2.6.

Given the importance of reflection in the development of professional practice, several different forms of CPD have been identified as effective in meeting these needs: Engagement with research, record keeping, discussion groups, mentoring, classroom observations, and seminars, workshops or conferences. This list is not exhaustive, nor is it derived from any particular organisation or writer. Rather, it is a collection of CPD forms commonly written about in many different sources and from my own experience. Neary (2016) suggested themes of PD, being operational, experiential, and formal, Wyatt and Ončevska Ager (2016) discussed how teachers and administrators could facilitate roles, and Borg (2015) also discussed several different forms, of which my list is an inheritor. These six forms are not present in every school or every teaching career but are common enough across

typical practice and academic literature to merit presence in this project. No list can be exhaustive of forms, but manageable six categorical forms selected cover many different ways that reflective knowledge can be mobilised for purposes of CPD.

These types of CPD have situational value, existing as both ritual observance to mandatory norms, and as foci of the reflection necessary for growth and real development. Each type is intended to facilitate a reflective process, allowing the practitioner to contextualize their first-hand knowledge and experience and to build upon their capacity for reflection in action.

2.7.1   Engagement with Research

Any discussion of the topic of research engagement begins with the problematic requirement of defining the threshing process of what will be considered "research" and what will not. Borg has published numerous articles on teachers trying to define research (2007; 2009; 2010) and others have used his research as a starting point to their own (Allison & Carrey, 2007; Xu, 2014; Yuan, Sun, & Teng, 2016). While either consulting or participating in research can have a positive impact on the reader or participant (Nunan, 1997), Simon Borg's research into research engagement (2007; 2009; 2010) reached two major conclusions: that research engagement was a respected practice and that it remained a minority habit. This description was shared by Walsh and Mann (2015, p. 251) in their characterisation of Reflective Practice on the whole. He used the term "research" as I intend to, as covering "both engagement in research (i.e. by doing it) as well as engagement with research (i.e. by reading and using it)" (2010, p. 391). Borg used the criteria brought by Stenhouse that research must be "systematic inquiry made public" and that the publication of research was essential for the material to be considered as a serious endeavour, rather than simple personal interest (Stenhouse, 1981, p. 111).

Borg's central assertion into the defining of research is that it is perhaps best judged by the beholder and that while some will regard informal reading as research or discussing the reading of others to be legitimate engagement, others will not necessarily share so broad a definition (Borg, 2007). By presenting a series of ten scenarios depicting research-type activities, Borg asked fifty teachers at a university English foundations program to rate a series of activities as to if they did or did not constitute a type of research. These ranged in formality from reading a peer-reviewed journal article, to casual action research upon their own practice. They include reading about approaches, learning about methods in a course, self-initiated and workplace-mandated new techniques, with different degrees of autonomy and formality. The participants were asked to rate each item on a four-point Likert-scale with varying results. This technique was used in my own study's questionnaire.

As Borg presented the scenarios, a pattern emerged that teachers would often regard research engagement as a formal process, dealing with published material, and were less accepting of informal activities without public scrutiny. Borg then repeated the survey in 2009 with 505 teachers from 13 countries (Borg, 2009, p. 358) and found much the same patterns and preferences as present, despite the larger and more international sample size. A similar project in 2012 focussed Borg's sample data by placing a similar experiment among 57 student-teachers in Saudi Arabia, though it yielded similar conclusions (Borg & Alshumairimeri, 2012). Of the teachers who responded to Borg's 2007 questionnaire, 30 (61%) reported consulting or doing research on a regular basis. In his 2009 refinement of the same test, out of 505 participants, 495 (98%) reported "often reading published research (Borg, 2009, p. 369)."

Another result of the meta-research was the finding that teachers would engage in research for several reasons, including improving their classroom performance. The 2007 and 2009 questionnaires identified themes that were repeated in the 2012 interviews, and that

displayed that the major reason for teachers to engage with research would be to develop into a better teacher and to solve self-diagnosed weaknesses within their own teaching practice.

A pattern that emerged as Borg repeated variations on this particular scenario with different populations and in different settings, is a tacit acceptance of academic pursuit as "real" research, rather than classroom specific action research. This would also suggest the academician as an *Ideal Professional Self* over the practical classroom teacher, an issue that would materialise amongst several interviews recounted in Chapters 4 and 5. This preference for formality in research, training and other forms of CPD would be a recurring theme throughout literature on teacher preferences (Allison & Carey, 2007; Borg, 2009; 2010; Borg & Alshumaimeri, 2012). Respondents preferred the formal, university-professor-style of subject matter expertise, rather than the practical, informal, experiential expertise of the labouring teacher. This preference reveals an emerging set of values about how teachers see the role of the educator.

Echoing Borg, Allison and Carrey (2007) examined TESOL teacher engagement with research at a Canadian university preparatory program. Their research involved an open-ended questionnaire, followed by interviews (p.67). This model of qualitative interviews following a quantitative questionnaire was very influential to my own methodology (see Chapter 3: Methodology). Unlike Borg's curiosity of teacher attitudes, Allison and Carrey's goal was to establish a CPD routine amongst the teachers that involved not only teachers consulting research as a form of professional development to maintain up-to-date subject-specific awareness but was also intended to promote teacher participation in research as professionals. The discussion of research and findings was intended to "[serve] to both dignify the educators' work and shape its substance" (p. 191).

Burton (1998) conducted similar research with Australian teachers in a more general field that included primary, secondary and post-secondary teachers. Burton carried

out interviews that were looking more at institutional checks on teacher to facilitate research engagement. She noted that teachers "are uniquely placed by training and practice to provide data on classroom practice, and second, as interpreters of research data they become stakeholders in research outcomes" (p. 419). She evoked Schön's notion of reflection on and in action when she stated that "teachers should be encouraged to view reflecting on practice and theorizing practice as essential parts of their activity (p. 422)." The Self-evidence for which she described as:

> For teachers, researching teaching is a natural outcome of professional interest in what they normally do. It is equally natural to want to share experience and expertise with other professionals, such as other teachers, researchers, and teacher educators (p. 340).

She then laments that teachers have not traditionally been well-placed to make the movement from classroom teacher to analytical researchers.

For both Allison & Carrey, and for Burton, the opportunity to engage in research, as well as the tangible benefits of such engagement were a lost opportunity. Those authors were trying to promote a culture of research as readers and practitioners amongst their participants, where the ideal teacher as the "Academic" could be realised. Both showed a preference for an "academic" teacher over "practical" teacher, in terms of how a teacher should develop. This would present research engagement as a part of the *Ought-to Professional Self* being presented to teacher by management, contrasting and comparable to Yuan et al.'s pressure by the education ministry and market forces in China.

In the example of the PRC, Yuan et al. (2016) explicitly employ the taxonomy of Higgins' self-discrepancy on the three selves (Higgins, 1987), as well as that of Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011). Fifteen Beijing-area teachers involved in a research project by the authors were interviewed about how they felt about becoming researchers, and one of the most common reasons was that it was a part of who they were expected to be. There was a

frustration at the sense of their employer "moving the goalposts" as the Ought-to Professional Self was being pushed higher, as their employers expected them to move from classroom teacher to researcher. Many felt positive about this, as this was helping them to build their own professional identity as researcher and expert, rather than as a novice teacher. There was also fear at the possibility of being left behind as junior faculty members.

Engagement with research adds to the practice of a teacher as a professional (Nunan, 1997), but also to the teacher's understanding of their own professionalism – that they are aware not only of their practice, but policy issues as well (Kirkwood & Christie, 2006, p. 432). This provides a source of new data not only about teaching, but about teaching within a particular political and social context within the field of local current events that would be a side benefit to research engagement on a policy.

2.7.2   Record Keeping

Record keeping is a loose category that, like the previous category of "Consulting and Engaging in Research" involves more than a casual interaction between the professional and the written word. It is a "productive form of reflection, introspection and self-evaluation" (Mann, 2006, p. 109). Diaries and journals, lesson plans and portfolios are teacher-generated material that are intended to provide a venue for reflection after-the-fact (for diaries, journals and portfolios) or before a class (in the case of lesson plans). Rather than the more theoretical and formal research engagement of the previous section, record-keeping is intended to be more practical. Record-keeping practices involve much more situationalised records than engaging in research would.

The difference between a diary and journal is not universally accepted. For purposes of this study, a diary is intended to be a daily log for professional purposes and a journal is to incorporate more personal feelings. Not all teachers use the same distinction. I will use this distinction for the literature review and interviews, but the distinction and

inclusion of the two terms is problematic to the discussion. In the event than one writer is using a "journal" that fits my definition of "diary," the distinction will be noted with square brackets.

Teacher's logs, as either diaries or journals, represent an opportunity to self-reflect, and an opportunity to focus not only on actions and results, but also on the cognitive process that operates underneath the actions of teachers. Bailey et al. noted that "Making daily entries in confidential journals can help us as teachers see where we divert from our lesson plans, what procedures seem to work well for the students, which activities are less successful, and so on. The journal can be a place to document questions that arise while our primary focus is on working with the learners rather than on analysing our own behaviours and attitudes" (1998, p. 548).

One consideration of these teacher's logs is their readership. When Simon Borg kept a research journal (Borg, 2001), he found the practice to be helpful in contextualizing his own experience when he consulted it. He then published the 2001 article, making the practice a hybrid of record keeping and engagement in research. While teaching an INSET course, Woodfield and Lazarus (1998) had the subjects (20 Malaysian teachers learning Swedish) record their reflections in diaries, which were then made available to the researchers to read. Their hope was to gain emic knowledge from "beyond classroom behaviour and into the realms of cognitive, social, and affective processes in learning, as perceived by the learner" (Woodfield & Lazarus, 1998, p. 315). The teacher/students wrote about the process of learning and how their peers were very supportive.

That study is more relevant for its failing, in that it unfortunately neglected to incorporate some of the power dynamics of course instructors consulting a class journal. How critical a self-reflection will students present to their instructors, when grades may be a factor? How critical a self-reflection would teachers present to their employers, when

salaries or promotion may be a factor? These factors are all contextual to local situations, and the dynamics present in one situation are not universal or even necessarily transferable to others.

Another consideration is the nature of the reflection being sought. If the Teacher's Record is a document intended for general reflection, along the lines of the diary or journal described above, then there are several privacy issues at play, and the likelihood of general publication is limited. If the Teacher's Record is a focused document, and tied to a particular element of action research, or testing a particular technique or material, then the ability for general publication and consultation is higher, and the value is direct and not subject to as much interpretation (Klug, Shultes, & Spiel, 2017).

A private teacher's record can include notes on lessons, lesson planning, revisions on teaching material, or behaviour in-class. When the records created are for personal use, they can offer very specialized insight into a teacher's immediate needs. Bailey, Curtis and Nunan had a limited experiment with this, where Bailey kept a record of her classes (though she did have a dual role as both teacher and researcher), summarizing the day's events for later reflection. She identified over-explaining vocabulary as a deficiency in her practice. "When I realized what I was doing by writing in my journal, I made a conscientious effort not to explain vocabulary items unasked – and if asked, I got the students to explain to their peers instead of doing the talking myself" (Bailey, Curtis & Nunan, 1998, p. 549).

A similar self-assessment occurred with Simon Borg revisiting his own research journals (Borg, 2001). He noted that the process of "…writing about my anxiety provided an outlet for it. Once the anxiety had been articulated, I was then able to analyse, understand, and react to it. Working through these processes allowed me to move ahead at what was a crucial stage of my work" (Borg, 2001. P. 164). By writing about his anxiety, the articulation allowed for reflection, which then facilitated a resolution.

For both Bailey et al. and Borg, there is a focus to the use of these records. Bailey et al. use the technique to examine practice, identify and diagnose short-comings, and then prepare a solution to the failing, and Borg is focusing on the effects of his workload as a researcher. Integral to the journal is the purpose of the record, without which the record would be a stream of unrelated musings.

The difficulty with the literature on teacher's private records is that they have, by definition, ceased to be private, and as they have been published with the consent of the authors, that implies that the defining characteristic of private records, that they are intended for the personal use of the author, is no longer the case. They will also all be examples of journals that represent successful use, as a journal that yielded little data would hardly be self-published, whereas a publicly read diary could be contextualized with others, and a lack of useable data can be explained when compared to others. This was the case when Jarvis compared the texts from multiple learner diaries (Jarvis, 1992). Jarvis found that many of the writers were listing events and reporting on measurable facts, rather than offering the kind of insight that she had been hoping for. She noted that many of the journal entries were attempts at "pleasing the teacher".

Gilar et al. used Teachers' Records of student teachers in an attempt "to analyse which learning strategies the trainee teachers use and how this use of strategies influences the results of the knowledge gained" (2007, p. 1334). This was a demonstrable use of the general reflection of a diary-model Teacher's Record, in that the authors of the article were looking at the qualitative data revealed in the texts. The students were provided with format-sensitive journals, with each page labelled for subjects and days. The data were used to provide insight into the learning processes of the teacher/students.

Portfolios, on the other hand, are made with the expressed purpose of being viewed by others. The process of making a portfolio is integral to a teacher's notion of their own

identity, as the product is designed to display the teacher to the observer, in all their professional standing.

A portfolio is a collection of items to display a teacher's ability and experience (Brown & Wolf-Quintero, 1997); it is a résumé of proofs. This can include artefacts and attestations, productions and reproductions (Johnson, 1996), as well as digital evidence of style or accomplishments. Portfolios need not take a physical form, but could be digital, the advantages of which are many. Sharing the data, sending it to a prospective employer or from a mentor to novice, would all be facilitated by the technological medium.

The difficulty with encouraging people to adopt a digital portfolio, is that the digital divide between technophiles and technophobes is quite strong. In Xerri and Campbell's discussion of adopting digital portfolios at a private school in Malta (2016), they encountered teachers who were hesitant to adapt to technology, one claiming that "I'm fifty years old. I have a full life and I don't need any more hassle. It's for the younger generation." To which a younger colleague re-framed "We have a number of mature teachers who aren't good at computers… So I think it would be better for them to have the portfolio as it is. An e-portfolio for them might not be so user-friendly" (p.396). The reluctance of older teachers to adapt to new technology is a recurring issue in the literature (Cole et al., 1996; Hadjerrouit, 2014; Van Wyk, 2013; Xerri & Campbell, 2016).

In addition to examples of material development or certificates from courses or conferences, teachers can use the platform of the teacher's portfolio to position themselves using the voices of others, using items such as student feedback or supervisors' appraisals. This uses Bakhtin's literary approach of multi-voicedness (Bakhtin, 1981) to present themselves in what looks like a consensus of others even if those other voices are curated and cherry-picked for effect. The dialogic representation allows the teacher to present themselves

as an educational professional, to other educational professionals, using the language of education professionals (Arvaja, 2016).

Record keeping, in the "private" manifestation, is a tool for personal, development in terms of performance as a teacher. The distinction that comes with the "public" manifestation of record keeping, is that it is a display of professionalism to others. That other teachers, administrators, students or potential employers might "gaze upon my works, ye mighty, and despair" (Shelly, 1818), or at least recognize the professionalism of the publisher.

One popular mode of facilitating reflection is that of an asynchronous web-based forum. All reflective needs of teachers could easily be met with a record being easily established for later reference (Hadjerrouit, 2014). The ease of doing so, is unfortunately compromised by teacher inexperience or unwillingness to embrace new technology (Hadjerrouit, 2014; Van Wyk, 2013; Xerri & Campbell, 2016). In Ernest et al.'s conclusion to their examination of online teacher development, they implored teacher trainers to insist on technology training (Ernest et al. 2013). This limits the viability of having a web-based log as a shared record for teachers.

2.7.3   Discussion Groups

Discussions are a fundamental building-block of professional development and thus merit attention. They are integral to mentorship and workplace induction, and can take on aspects of grand formality when the discussions are a part of those other types of PD. "Discussions" represent a nexus of many different forms of CPD. They are a forum where teachers might position themselves among their peers and negotiate status and authority, building on professional structures. To take Bailey et al.'s observation at face value, "having an opportunity to interact with others facilitates teachers' reflection. The interactions force

the teachers to negotiate their meaning, and by so doing, to extend and reframe the ways in which they look at their own practice" (Bailey et al., 1998, p. 537).

Professional development needs to be sustained and organized in order to be an effective practice (Wilson & Berne, 1999), and as such, discussion groups are not incidental conversations, though that medium of transmission of knowledge and expertise would often be of value as well. Discussion groups, in order to be a serious CPD activity, should have a focus of topic, a mode of delivery and an organization.

An additional requirement to this version of discussions, online discussion forums, will not be considered here, but are mentioned earlier in the research engagement and record-keeping sections, because of the characteristics to distinguish record-keeping from discussions is the spontaneity of the interaction.   One popular mode of facilitating a discussion is that of an asynchronous web-based discussion forum. All of the reflective needs of teachers could easily be met with a record being easily established for later reference (Hadjerrouit, 2014).

Successful teacher conversations yield two kinds of topics, those relating to expertise in either subject matter or teaching practice. These two fields should not be interpreted as impermeable, and many pails could draw from both wells, they do serve as ends to a spectrum. The teaching of subject matter or of new developments in TESOL is a large topic but as teachers develop, one that experiences diminished returns. Teachers would often move in the direction of sharing teaching techniques and experiences rather than acquiring new insights from those of others as they acquire more experience (Bess, 2000; Wilson & Berne, 1999).

The organization of motivated individuals is important for keeping the discussion groups together and to be a long-term phenomenon, rather than a short-term or isolated event

(Clair, 1998, p. 469). Two of the more common forms of teacher organization would be Language Teacher Associations (LTAs) or a less formal Critical Friends' Group (CFG).

LTAs (such as TESOL International or IATEFL) are organizations that can be very strong voices for promoting CPD discussion groups, locally and regionally, but their level of formality will often veer the discussion into the formality level of conferences or seminars (Paran, 2016). Participation in LTAs presents teachers with an opportunity to self-identify and present themselves to their peers as professionals. This allows them to take on the roles that Farrell described earlier: The Professional, The Manager, or The Acculturator (see Figure 2.3: Taxonomy of Experienced ESL Teacher Role Identity). It allows teachers to interact with other professionals and seek out role-models.

One of the disadvantages of LTAs is that they tend to focus on large conferences rather than facilitating local discussions or panels. This is to the detriment of research into LTAs, as Paran also pointed out:

> In spite of their centrality, however, conferences—and more importantly, the learning and professional development that happens at conferences— are an under-researched phenomenon. Most such research is in the form of evaluations conducted by the organizing LTA itself, and is normally constrained by the practical type of feedback that an LTA wants and needs, normally with the purpose of implementing improvements for the next conference. (Paran, 2016, p. 130)

CFGs have a more bottom-up appeal for teachers at a smaller locality, which allows for the addressing of very specific needs, rather the vagaries of appealing to a larger audience (Vo & Nguyen, 2009).   CFGs also have the advantage of not only meeting the direct concerns of participants, but also providing agency for teachers in a large institution (Wilson & Berne, 1999). This advantage is important in countries, cultures or institutions where anything as large as an LTA might carry with it the spectre of organized labour which may have unforeseen and varied ramifications.

Fenton-Smith and Stillwell observed a CFG of EL teachers (predominantly NESTs with some Japanese nationals) at a Japanese university over a semester and provided numerous examples of ways to focus a discussion. These included PowerPoint presentations, opinion discussions, watching a DVD, reading and discussing an article with and without the author being present, reviewing a book, and watching and discussing an interview (Fenton-Smith & Stillwell, 2011). From their research, the most positively felt experience was discussing an article with the author present, and most negatively was the discussion around a PowerPoint presentation and slides. The discussion of the article with the authors present was perhaps also affected by the "star power" of the authors in question, being Rod Ellis, Paul Nation, and Brian Tomlinson, however the reasons for appreciating that discussion would hold true for less-well known authors as well: a free discussion with an attending expert, with their enthusiasm and personality getting driven into the text. This list is exhaustive to the experience of the article, but not to the potential of discussion foci that exists. Integral to their effort was that the meetings maintained a regular schedule, with concrete topics for discussion. This provided the CPD that the teachers needed and allowed the participants to consider themselves a vanguard within their faculties.

On the other side of the spectrum, Curry (2008) investigated CFGs at a California high school, in an effort to identify the protocols necessary to optimize the usage of this type. She found that the group was helpful for building inter-personal relationships amongst the staff, as well as local school functions. She came to the conclusion, based on her sample, that "CFGs exerted minimal influence on teachers' pedagogical content knowledge" (p.374). Her conclusion was that the benefit did not justify the cost. The existence of CFGs was unconfirmed in my interview data.

2.7.4   Mentoring

Mentorship consists of experienced role models acting as exemplars upon which the novice teacher may base an Ideal Future Professional Self. Markus and Nurius introduced the notion of professional role-models as this (1986, pp. 954-955), while Ronfeldt and Grossman extended this into education with novice teachers looking to more experienced colleagues as possible professional examples (2008, p. 48). This is one of the underpinnings of mentorship as a form of CPD, as a role model should be able to provide as much practical insight as possible to their professional training, rather than simply be a distant paragon upon which the novice might ruminate.

Mentoring within a context of CPD in PLS is not commonly attested in literature. Much of the literature, where found, is restricted to the practicum; a student teacher who is not quite ready to take on the responsibility of a class rather than an NQT beginning their practice (Crasborne et al., 2011; Hobson et al., 2009). Hobson et al. define an NQT as a teacher within their first three years of practice (2009, p. 207), and my study concurs with that restriction. The practice provides the mentee with a local role model for the idealization of an Ideal Future Professional Self (Edge, 2011), but also allows for the actualization of their own Professional Self by the teacher taking on the role of the mentor.

Among the more practical definitions of mentoring, is where mentoring is viewed as a "professional partnership which usually involves a more experienced practitioner supporting a less experienced one" (Arnold, 2006, p. 177) Arnold inserts an amendment to Butcher's (2002) definition, adding that "Often, the less experienced one is new to the job, organization or profession (p. 177)." Hobson et al adds to this definition with a note expanding from job practice to professional culture, defining mentoring as "one-to-one support of a novice or less experienced practitioner (mentee) by a more experienced practitioner (mentor), designed primarily to assist the development of the mentee's expertise and to facilitate their induction into the culture of the profession" (in this case, teaching).

These definitions provide a practical and workable definition for mentoring in general, because it assumes that the mentee is placed at the foot of the pedagogue-mentor because of their amount of experience. Complicating this, is that there are cases where a younger, less experienced teacher might mentor older, more experienced teachers in specific areas, such as an induction into a new school, system or technology platform. The conflation of age and experience is again problematized with the influx of second- or third-career NQT entering the workforce (Shin, 2017). This would be more of a "guide" than a mentor, though there are parallels. In the interview data presented in Chapters 4 and 5, only 6/19 interview subjects began their working lives in TESOL, the remaining 13 having migrated there from other professional endeavours.

Defining mentorship is difficult for other researchers as well, as not only is the relationship between mentor and mentee varied, but the relationship between the institution and the mentorship participants may also be mercurial. Some teachers may have a mentor at a different school or institution, perhaps a parent or other family member with experience as a teacher, or other such out-of-location mentorship could take place. In the case where there is an *in-situ* mentorship mandated by management, there are a wide variety of interpersonal relationships between the participants that may develop. This makes the cataloguing of the practice of mentorship a difficult one. A strong hand of management was common in several examples of literature. Arnold (2006) explored the practice within a military ESL school in Oman. Hobson et al (2009) and Crahborn et al (2011) both examined the practice in university preparatory programs, and Maltas & McCarthy-Claire (2006) looked at mentors within music teachers at primary schools.

While the above settings were quite different, none were looking at mentor relationships that had developed independently but had been facilitated by a program sponsored either by management or by the researchers themselves. Arnold lamented that

none of the mentoring relationships continued on past the closing of the research project. There emerges a divide between formal and informal mentorship. In an informal context, a mentor provides emotional support, support for reflection and support on technique for their ward (Gakonga, 2019, p 434.). Most studies of education assume a formal mentorship, with senior teachers assigned to junior (Arnold, 2006; Haigh & Ell, 2014), the facilitation of which comes from teachers working overlapping schedules, with shared time to engage in mentoring. For PLSs, this facilitation is not always guaranteed because of the hourly-wage dynamic, which explains why there is little literature on mentorship in TESOL, let alone at PLSs. Curiously, the value of mentorship is attested in TESOL training, as university programs advertise their ongoing mentorship to NQTs (Columbia University, 2018), and TESOL organisations like TESOL International offer special mentorship for career development (TESOL International, 2018), a subject of scarce resources for ESOL teachers (England, 2020). The lack of research on the topic, while frustrating, is not cause to assume that the practice is rare There is a demand for mentorship, though the supply is irregular.

A CPD-based understanding of mentorship is an ongoing, consultative and demonstrative relationship between teachers. The relationship is not one of equals in terms of skill or experience, but an instructive one. As mentioned earlier in Section 2.4, Warford developed a Vygotskian model of a Zone of Proximal *Teacher* Development (ZPTD), referring to "The distance between what teaching candidates can do on their own without assistance and a proximal level they might attain through strategically mediated assistance from more capable others" (Warford, 2011, p. 253). Part of that ZPTD assumes that the teaching novice can take on some of the responsibility of planning and mapping their own development, rather than being wholly guided by their mentor. Many novice teachers find their initial teaching experiences to be isolating and intimidating, lacking the socialising into the profession needed for proper development (Golombek & Johnson, 2019). The

collaborative model of ZPTD aims to diminish that to a large degree and help the NQT to become a fully included member of the profession more on their own terms (Warford, 2011, p. 256). There is an assumption of professional development stages that the novice passes through, and the mentor is more of a friendly assistant or a coach than they are a formal pedagogue (Fani & Ghaemi, 2011).

The role of the mentor in the mentoring process is also subject to variance Lammert, DeWalt, & Wetzel, 2020). The mentor approaches their role in either an active manner, bringing situations to their ward, or reactive, addressing their concerns on an X-axis and they can be direct or indirect when giving feedback on a Y-axis in a MERID (Mentor Roles in Dialogue) model. Through this dialogue analysis, Crasborn et al. posited that the most common role for the mentor to take was the active and the direct, a quadrant they labelled the "Imperator" (Crasborn et al., 2011, p. 327). This model seems to be largely appreciated by the mentees.

Contrasting Crasborn et al's (2011) assertion of a teacher preference for an "Imperator" style of leadership by a mentor, Lammert et al (2020) asserted the opposite, and detailed a preference among teachers for a style of "coaching" rather than the harsh instruction role described prior. While only examining a single case-study, as opposed to Crasborn et al's survey of 20, Lammert et al identified coaching as a form of assistive professional action and relegated mentoring to a hierarchical relationship between professionals. This division between a formal mentoring relationship, and an informal coaching is an important one as many PLSs operate on a series of informal interactions between peers.

In the context of "regular" schools, there is often a culture or system of mentorship, often overseen by the school itself (Wyatt & Ončevska Ager, 2016). In Private Language Schools, that responsibility can often fall to the teachers themselves, with teachers

choosing their own mentorships. While this would seem a minor issue, the mentor being an

unsupervised supervisor is a particularly sensitive relationship, and the possibility of a toxic,

or even predatory relationship developing remains a real hazard (Glomb et al., 1997;

Kobayashi, 2014). This is especially problematic when there is a possibility of sexual

harassment from the mentor to their ward.

Mentorship provides the Ought-to and the Ideal Future Professional Selves and

promotes the gradual evolution from novice teacher to professional teacher. More than just

skills-guidance, mentorship also provides career-guidance and role models for a career

trajectory, rather than being restricted to the field of classroom-teaching, but the literature of

role-models and professional mentoring out of the classroom and into school administration

are minimal and need bolstering. For many education professionals over the long-term,

teaching is where a career begins, but not necessarily where it also ends. Mentorship and

vertical movement are not discussed in much depth.

Related to the lack of mentorship is the resistance to career development. Simon-

Meada discusses the issue of why there are so few women who gradually work their way up

into education management (2004), though her sample is limited to Japan and not necessarily

applicable to different countries with different norms. A lack of role-models or patronage by

management are important factors in the dearth of female leaders in the context of Japanese

education.

Another topic which is unfortunately absent in the literature is that of sexual

harassment within teacher mentorships. Sexual harassment within mentoring is attested in

literature, but not within education, or TESOL. The maxim of "absence of evidence is not

evidence of absence" is worth reiterating here, and the lack of attested cases of harassment

cannot be interpreted as a lack of harassment, as sexual harassment is traditionally an

extremely under-reported crime. Incidents of sexual harassment may be discussed in professional periodicals (Waldron, 2017), but have yet to enter the academic catalogue.

Beginning with the simple power dynamics typical in TESOL, with a predominantly male manager class overseeing a predominantly female labour force of teachers (Kobayashi, 2014), added to by the nature of foreign labour that often lacks an awareness of their rights and protections in a given jurisdiction, with the addition of few recourses available to the women in this situation (Glomb et al, 1997; Gutek & Koss, 1993), the opportunity for abuse is rife. This is compounded by the transient nature of PLS's, where teachers are often working in precarious employment, where payable hours can easily be granted or removed without notice or elaboration, adds a completely new dimension to the reluctance of some women to seek or enthusiastically accept mentorship in such a workplace (Hurley, 1996).

2.7.5   Classroom Observations

Classroom observations are a ubiquitous aspect of professional development in TESOL (Copland & Donaghue, 2019). The practice brings an external perspective to an engrained teacher performance, offering a new perspective upon which to reflect. Yurekli nominates four key reasons for classroom observations: to support novice teachers, monitor performance, help teachers with problems, and to identify the needs of staff (Yurekli, 2013, p. 3030). These four reasons are valid and helpful, though they unfortunately tend to focus on the development of newer teachers, rather than developing the skills of existing staff. This is a recurring issue in the literature on classroom observations, where there is a regular focus on observing a practicum, but little insofar as observations of and by more experienced teachers (Ochieng; Ong'ondo & Borg, 2011; Yurekli, 2013). An important factor in Yurekli's reasonings for observations, is that not all classroom observations are for the

purpose of teacher development. Monitoring of teacher performance is a wholly different purpose and one that should not be conflated with CPD.

Two aforementioned weaknesses of classroom observations as CPD are the focus on the practicum rather than ongoing elements of teaching practice; and secondly, the focus on assessment and evaluation of the teacher teaching, rather than their development. An observation as CPD is not a "Snap-shot" capturing a specific moment in time but is a part of an ongoing process. Ochieng'Ongondo & Borg chronicle the teaching of what they call "plastic lessons," where teachers teach observed lessons, one time and one time only, that are for the audience of their visiting supervisor, and for the benefit of the teachers' professional assessment and qualification, rather than for the students (Ochieng' Ong'ondo & Borg, 2011). For an observation to yield developmental data, the teacher is assumed be teaching in their natural manner, not the sterility of a "plastic lesson". Keeping an observation in the realm of CPD, rather than falling into staff appraisals is a challenge and is needed for the development of the teachers and the schools (Clair, 1998).

When a class is being observed by an outsider, there is an inherent change in the dynamic of the classroom. One tactic used to observe teaching without disrupting the class is through the use of closed-circuit cameras (Peköz, 2015). While the idea has value, there are privacy issues raised, making the practice problematic. When Bailey et al. were delivering an observation (Bailey et al., 1998), Bailey taught a lesson with a video camera in the classroom, and Curtis and Nunan joined her to watch the video and provide feedback. This particular approach to an observed classroom has the logistical advantage of not needing others. Bailey could well have watched her class alone and kept her own council, though she readily asserted that the outside perspectives were valuable.

In the process of classroom observations, there are four possible beneficiaries: the teacher, the teaching faculty, the students, and the teacher trainers themselves observing the

lesson (Gün, 2012). These beneficiaries depend on who is doing the observation and to what end. When observations are done by management, these could be problematic in terms of CPD as there are issues of authority injected into the process. Voluntary peer observation lacks the judgement of the employer and thus can often be much more beneficial, not only to the teacher teaching, but also to the teacher observing (Gün, 2011; 2012; Hammersley-Fletcher & Orsmond, 2005; Yurekli, 2013). Peer observation has a strong benefit for the observer as a catalyst for reflection, rather than just a provider of feedback for the teaching teacher (Trotman, 2015). For these reasons, peer observation is often more helpful than managerial observation for purposes of professional development.

To have peers observe multiple peers and be observed by multiple peers in turn, also meets the criteria of ongoing practice, as changes may be made and tested, allowing for said practice to be refined (Kurtoğlu-Hooton, 2004). In addition to being performed by peers rather than managers, classroom observations are also most productive when they are a regular event. This removes the clash with existing classroom dynamics, as well as the threat of the teacher shifting audience from their students to supervisor rather than presenting practice for feedback (Ochieng' Ong'ondo & Borg, 2011).

A requirement of observing other teachers is that observers need to be trained in terms of what to look for (Gün, 2012; Hammersley-Fletcher & Orsmond, 2005). Conversations between observer and observed should take place before the event that priorities and goals might be established (Powell & Napoliello, 2005; Yurekli, 2013), and afterwards to discuss what was observed during the class (Copland & Donaghue, 2019; Hammersley-Fletcher & Orsmond, 2005; Kurtoğlu-Hooton, 2004).

The role taken by the observer and observed can be multifaceted, and Yurekli suggests six different roles that may be taken in the follow-up debriefings – three authoritative and three facilitative (2013). The weight of power dynamics within a school

would greatly affect the role taken by the observer. The three authoritative roles are:

prescriptive (which entail direct action by the observer), informative (where the observer

provides more general advice) and confrontational. The word "confrontational" has a more

negative connotation than necessary and would be better understood as a more Socratic or

questioning method. These three roles assume an authority to the observer over the observed.

This is not to say that the relationship is negative or managerial. It could be that a manager is

observing a teacher's class, but it could also be a mentor teacher observing their mentee.

There is also the potential that one peer is trying to assert themselves over another in a

confluence of office politics.

Three facilitative roles include *cathartic*, where the observed teacher is given leave

to say what worked and what did not during the observation, *catalytic,* where the observed

teacher is allowed to discover what was positive and what was negative about their lesson,

and *supportive*, where the observer takes a confirmatory role in their feedback about the

lesson.

Classroom observations are fairly ubiquitous in teacher practice and training, but

the two pitfalls of the literature are that they are often seen as a singular event that concludes

the practicum of a teacher-in-training, rather than a practicing professional and that they are

often seen by experienced teachers as more of a performance review than they are seen as a

part of a continuous professional development regime. These two issues loom as pre-

suppositions by teachers and researchers, and this affect the enactment of observations.

Unlike the other types of CPD, observations carry an added burden of performance that the

others lack, making it a delicate subject for some teachers.

2.7.6   Seminars, Workshops and Conferences

Perhaps the most traditional format for CPD is the seminar style of CPD-session.

A functioning distinction between these formats would be that a seminar is a short training

event, typically ranging from 30 to 120 minutes. A workshop would involve several sections, perhaps over several days and include a practical element. A conference would be a large-scale, collection of workshops and seminars, alongside individual presentations and symposia. The difficulty with these practical definitions of terms, is that there is no guarantee that researchers would use the terms in the same manner. For purposes of CPD, I will be using the above definitions and supplanting the terms used by others with these definitions as I discuss the topic.

The model of seminar or workshop sessions is based on the idea of trained professional needing skills to be cosmetically enhanced, rather than a more holistic methodology that would involve significant effort and dedicated CPD facilities (Gebhard, 1998; Paran, 2016). It also relegates the opportunity for self-improvement to the category of additional, and often unpaid, responsibility, reinforcing the semi-professional status that suborns teachers to management (Patrick, Forde, & McPhee, 2003).

There are many instances of successful CPD programs based on seminars, particularly in China where the National School Teacher Development Fund is funded to £56,000,000, and the Ministry of Education funds and sets professional standards for kindergarten, primary and secondary school teachers (Gu & Wu, 2013)**,** though such examples are often backed by a state-school system and run into issues of implementation with a voluntary community of practice when CPD is not a mandatory part of the job; private language schools for example. For a nation with 240 million language learners, the organization needs to be more assertive than a small PLS of a hundred.

Despite the problematic construction of workshops, seminars or conferences, this form of leader-driven training can be beneficial, especially within a reflective context. According to Gonzales et al.'s research into the professional development needs of ESL teachers in Columbia, sixteen areas in need of professional improvement were described as

what the teachers hoped to get out of their seminars (Gonzales et al., 2002). Those included: better salary, less workload, a more stable job, more autonomy, logistic support of administration, better teaching techniques, better language proficiency, opportunities for networking, graduate studies, reflective teaching, and more humanistic approaches. Of those, many would be well-served by the traditional mode with a guiding expert. While some topics (better proficiency, options for graduate studies, teaching techniques, reflective teaching among others) could be skills imparted through discussions, reading or mentorships, others like networking are best suited to large the congregations of fellow teachers that this type of teacher training provides. Mora et al. would single out this particular example of Latin American educational ministries adopting foreign models of teacher training that were not a good fit in their current context (Mora et al., 2014, p. 51).

Participating in these events, as either an attendant or presenter, is a very common form of CPD, largely because of the ease of organizing on a small scale. Even on a large scale, the events are organized by others, so attending or even presenting is still a simple matter for the teachers themselves. These reasons, as well as the advantage of precedent, make this sort of event to be the most common form CPD, and what most people think of when the topic of PD is broached.

Mora et al (2014), while investigating the effects of PD on the identity of English teachers in Mexico, agreed with Edge (2002) that self-directed PD is inherently coherent to the needs of the teacher (Mora et al p.50). Mora et al noted that one of the reasons for attending seminars and workshops was to collect certificates, to bolster their employment stability (p.59-60). Self-direction built up the elements of their case-study according to their own professional needs and involved pursuing the teachers own Ideal Professional Self as to their inventory of needs. When teachers could not meet their own needs, this would lead to a professional frustration, and lead to burnout or a sense of *Anomie*. This sense of Anomie

would come from an inability to reach their Ideal Professional Selves. This creates a stressor against the development of a fully realised Professional Self.

2.7   Conclusion

While there is a regrettable shortage of literature focussing on teachers plying their trade in PLSs, the stories of these teachers are recorded in the indirect scholarship of others, and their tales are can be refracted into being. Some facets can be collected from general education literature, others from TESOL-specific literature and others still from the fields of the studies of professions and economic security. Much of the data for a project such as this thesis comes from such vicarious sourcing. The task then is, to borrow a line from Tolkien, "to bring them all and in the darkness bind them" (1954). The image formed may be a silhouette without the depth needed, as there are two levels of what Bakhtin called "competing discourses" (Bakhtin, 1981; 1986), in that the research is coming to the fore in a second-hand fashion, and from the original sources of questionnaire and research data, the identity of a PLS TESOL teacher is often hidden among other identities that the teacher may wish to present to the world, as Johnston described (1997).

The notion of Future Professional Selves is based in psychology and studies of professionalism. It has been applied to TESOL before (England, 2020; Kubanyiova, 2009), though not to the specific niche of PLS teachers, so there is an assumption that the identity factors and professional *cursus honorum* bear enough similarities as not to be wholly disqualified.

The following study, containing mixed research of quantitative questionnaire analysis and qualitative interviews based on that quantitative research data will be amongst the first of its kind, looking specifically at the professional lives of PLS TESOL teachers as they engage in CPD.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1   **Chapter Overview**

The following chapter explains the procedures for data collection and analysis and then describes the reasons behind the choice of a Mixed-Methods Research (MMR) approach, particularly the model of an interview study facilitated by a preceding questionnaire. Section 3.2 explains the decision to employ an MMR format for answering the two research questions. Section 3.3 explains the details of the questionnaire design and the administration of the interviews is described in 3.4. 3.5 explains the interview analysis and 3.6 concludes the description of data analysis of the interviews and their integration with the questionnaire data.

3.2   **Research Design**

In order to answer the two questions of "*What are the attitudes of teachers of English as a second/foreign language in Private Language Schools (PLSs) towards Continuous Professional Development (CPD)?*," and "*Why do these teachers hold such attitudes*?," there needs to be a certain starting acknowledgement that these two questions are both intertwined, but require different approaches to answer. The research question informs the methodology rather than vice versa (Biesta, 2010; Plano Clark & Badiee, 2010) and the approach used was a particular MMR methodology what Cresswell described as being "characterised by the collection and analysis of quantitative data followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data (2003, p. 215)".   This research design was used for many of Simon Borg's inquiries into teacher attitudes towards research (Borg, 2007, 2009; Dörnyei, 2007).

Research Question One (RQ1), identifying CPD attitudes, assembles a survey of feelings and opinions, but it is Research Question Two (RQ2) that gives them context and reasoning. Because of the two-phased nature of this inquiry, the answers sought come in

stages. The first being to gather and then examine data for the varying degrees of

participation and enthusiasm or lack thereof, that teachers held for different types of CPD, as

well as their experience with these different types, some of which may or may not be in

current practice among the population.

RQ2 was intended to gather more nuanced data and held the potential to shed light

on the motivations of the participants in a facet of the industry often neglected by serious

academic research. Teachers engage unevenly in CPD because of the complex nexus of

teacher motivations. The practice of open coding interviews, followed by isolating themes to

build a modest description, in the tradition of Strauss and Glaser (1967), while

acknowledging the social construction of professional relationships in the TESOL industry,

emerged to be the most appropriate design.

The study undertaken is descriptive and exploratory, and not theory-building *per

se*, but the methodology of Grounded Theory (GT), in terms of open coding, focussed coding

and axial coding, augmented by memo-writing as a continuous self-reflection and a constant

comparison of new data to existing data has certainly provided a methodological arrangement

to build a practical structure with which to sort incoming data. While not a purist's version of

GT, the study's methodological underpinnings were certainly heavily influenced by Glasser

and Strauss (1967) in terms of the procedure of coding, interpreting, comparing and

reflecting. The emphasis of GT upon the development of substantive theory, the plausible

relationships between concepts and the focus on individual relations between such concepts

(Dey, 1999) has added to the value of the methodology to produce a workable answer to the

research questions of this study.

One of the issues raised in an MMR project such as this is the traditional

dichotomy between the quantitative and qualitative. Rejection of this artificial divide is one

of the heralds of MMR (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010), and while many research questions

would be best answered by either a wholly qualitative or wholly quantitative approach, my

particular research questions demand an MMR approach. One of Teddlie and Tashakkori's

defining characteristics of the conceptual methodological interface of MMR, the

"subscription to the iterative, cyclical approach to research (pp. 16-17)*"* mandates the second

stage of interviews, informed by earlier research. This was eventually done, with years

separating the initial and second interviews.

A potential danger of an MMR project is not integrating the two stages of the

project, but "conducting two mini-projects, reporting the two projects in parallel, but not

necessarily integrating the two at intersecting stages in the research process in favour of a

whole rather than a collection of individual parts (Riazi, 2016, p. 36)". While the research

project was conducted in distinct phases, RQ1 is answered by data collected as part of both

the first and second of those phases, while RQ2 is predominantly answered by the second

phase. The two phases answer different questions but are never wholly isolated from the

other, and the lingering threat of Riazi is not manifested.

The notion of beginning from a *tabula rasa*, that the researcher should walk into

each phase without bias (twice in this case – once for each stage) and trusting the data to

guide where it may would seem to be problematic (Charmaz, 2014) without the questionnaire

feeding the interviews. As a researcher, I possess an awareness of the topics that precede the

inquiry, and the interview subjects were self-aware of their own practice and biases to

varying degrees. As a teacher, I have engaged in research (by completing a Master's

program and researched student success on standardised testing); I have practiced record

keeping as a contributor to joint lesson planning, iterative lesson planning, and collected

lesson plans as an administrator; partaken in discussions at school branches, group level and

at conferences; observed and been observed both for the purpose of CPD and performance

evaluations; mentored new teachers (Helen was my student teacher) and had three significant

mentor (Katherine and Jacob among them, with the third having died in recent years),

attended and presented at conferences (in Canada, Turkey, Kuwait and the UK). When I read

about these methods, I cannot be pure as new-fallen snow to the findings of the writers; I

have experience and opinions. Charmaz points out that "rather than being a *tabula rasa*,

constructionists advocate recognizing prior knowledge and theoretical preconceptions and

subjecting them to rigorous scrutiny (Charmaz, 2008, p. 402)*"*. This would be more in-line

with approaching the participants of the questionnaire and interviews, in that all have studied

education in one form or another.

There are bound to be inaccuracies of memory by both myself and the subjects of

the inquiry that would be compromised to a certain degree. While opinions and biases are the

subject of inquiry, there is also the fear that some recollections may be coloured by time.

Rejecting the strawman notion that "critical realists posit that there is a truth, but it can never

be known in its entirety (Redman-MacLaren & Mills, 2015, p. 4), the constant comparison

method espoused by traditional GT practitioners gives the opportunity to weigh testimonies

against each other and allow steel to sharpen steel in order to hone usable data that would

meet any realistic definition of "true." As a method limiting my own biases, I have answered

the questionnaire and interview schedules with my own opinions and experiences, not only

for the awareness of the readers but also a reminder to myself at what lays beneath the

surface of my own fair analysis. This would not negate my biases but putting them in the

light of day would allow for my own introspection as well as the judgement of others.

In his rebuke of constructionism in general and Charmaz in particular, Glasser

proclaimed that:

> *Data is discovered for conceptualization to be what it is - theory. The data is*
> *what it is and the researcher collects, codes and analyses exactly what he* [sic]
> *has whether baseline data, proper-line data, interpreted data or vague data.*
> *There is no such thing for [GT] as bias data or subjective or objective data or*

misinterpreted data. It is what the researcher is receiving as a pattern, and as a human being. It just depends on the research (Glaser & Holton, 2007)."

And while the interpretation of some data may indeed be coloured by pre-existing biases or agendas, fair analysis is not rendered impossible by presence of opinion. As long as the researcher possesses a personal bias sensitivity to pair with the theoretical sensitivity as an analyst, the interpretation to emerge should be within the limits of acceptable accuracy.

3.2.1   Choice of method

The selection of an interview study facilitated by preceding questionnaire survey was based on a desire to inform and contextualize the interviews, from which the majority of data would come. The questionnaire identified themes and commonly held beliefs, the details of which could be later examined in depth. An advantage of the interviews was that interviews could contextualize the findings of the questionnaires and triangulate the current sample with wider research data (Dörnyei, 2007), which proved to be the case.

The advantage of the preceding questionnaire was intended to be a wider view across the TESOL market, so that the details of the later phase could be more solidly grounded in a real context. Dörnyei states that the method of the broad survey and detailed follow-up contained "[…] one possible drawback: it does not work if the initial questionnaire is anonymous, because then we cannot identify the appropriate survey participant" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 172). That counsel was rejected for this particular survey, as anonymity was important when discussing job-satisfaction issues, particularly the role of management and the situation of payment when many of the intended population is precariously employed, the details of their situations being looked at in more detail in Section 5.3.3 Economic Stability. The interview subjects were chosen independently of the questionnaire, though some may well have also answered the questionnaire.

While a speculative assumption on my part, I believed that if identifiers had been used for the questionnaire data, the sample size would have been smaller than it was. There was no confirmation or refutation of this assumption based on the data collected, but in two of the interviews, the teachers being interviewed asked for a confirmation that their employers would not hear about this interview. For one potential interview, the fear of compromised anonymity meant that he decided to withdraw from the interview at the last minute. As of the time of writing these words, I remain confident that this decision not to include any personal identifiers in the questionnaire was beneficial to the sample size. "Consideration of design at the outset is intended to stimulate early awareness of the pitfalls and opportunities that will present themselves, and through knowledge of prior designs, to simplify subsequent analysis and so aid warranted conclusion" (Gorard, 2010). The major pitfall that concerned this study was the potential of a small sample size, which was eventually realised, and this had to be counterbalanced with a reliance upon the interview data.

The two stages of the research revealed two different sets of data. The questionnaire stage collected responses to questions about the demography of the group, and about their attitudes to particular forms of CPD. The second data set, coming from interviews, was where the reasoning behind the particular attitudes was brought to light. The demography data will be discussed in this chapter in Section 3.3: Administration of the Questionnaire and Sampling. The quantitative data gathered about teacher attitudes towards those particular forms of CPD is central to the next chapter, particularly in Sections 4.2 and 4.3. The qualitative data provides insight behind the preferences is plumbed from interviews, and that data is found alongside the descriptive data in Sections 4.2 and 4.3, but also throughout Chapter 5.

3.2.2   The Questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Appendix ii) consisted of 44 questions. Nine items had distinct parts and while most were closed answer, six questions gave the opportunity for longer, elaborative answers. The questionnaire took 15 pages if printed and was on five pages if seen as a web document, which was the method of distribution.

The questionnaire was divided into three parts, each aimed at identifying a specific need for answering part one of my research question "*what are the attitudes of teachers of English as a second/foreign language in PLSs towards Continuous Professional Development?*" The first part of the questionnaire (Items 1-13) aimed at identifying demographic information of the respondents. These items included several standard biographical items, as well as questions designed to confirm that each respondent was indeed a part of the target population. The second part (items 14-29) asks preferences about specific types of CPD, as well as needs and reasoning behind their engagement. Mostly, these came from identifying common themes from the literature review with regards to specific forms of CPD (See Section 2.7: Forms of CPD). The third and final part of the questionnaire (items 30-43) focussed on professional engagement, which asked about the respondents' places of work and working conditions so as to better understand the factors of the workplace which may impact on their engagement or lack thereof with CPD. There was then a final question soliciting any other comments.

The first page of the questionnaire (web-version) contained an introduction to myself and the questionnaire, describing the purpose of the instrument and outlining the overall structure of the questionnaire. Also on the first page, was a statement of confidentiality, reassuring the potential respondent of security of the storage of information (Dörnyei, 2003). In the interest of informed consent, the reader was advised that they may answer "*no comment*" or "*do not wish to answer*" on any questions upon which they did not feel comfortable answering. They were also reassured that their answers would be kept in

confidence, and they would not be recorded until the respondent clicked the final "*submit*" button at the end of the questionnaire.

Dörnyei advises against exceeding four pages or forty minutes (Dörnyei, 2003), and while fifteen pages (in print form, five online pages) may seem onerous, the questionnaires were given online and segmented into smaller parts, and in the piloting of the questionnaire (see 3.3.4 Piloting section) the questionnaire took less than twenty minutes to complete.

The first section of the questionnaire was targeted at identifying the characteristics of this particular population. Most of these items were used for obtaining background information about the participants and ensuring that the population was well-targeted. They were asked about their age, years teaching, education, gender, context of teaching job and stability of schedules.

The demographic data (age, experience, gender, job title and country of origin or practice) are all topics that are deeper than can be fully examined in this work. Age and experience are not traditionally aligned because of the frequency of later-in-life entry into the profession (Shin, 2017). Gender is a peripheral issue, examined by Simon-Maeda in a Japanese university (2004) or as a teacher identity issue (Nelson, 2017; Vandrick, 2017). While these topics have great potential for exploration, they are out of the scope of this exploration of teacher attitudes towards CPD.

Respondents were asked about the country where they were currently residing, not their nationality. I also asked about native-speaker status, but instead of offering the two traditional choices of NEST (Native English-Speaking Teacher) or Non-NEST, I added the third option of Near-NEST. The issue of NEST status and nationality were treated with trepidation because they represent more than simple data. Nationalities and NEST status can affect a teacher's salary situation (see 3.2.3 Ethics Approval and Issues), consequently many

Non-NESTs self-identify as NESTs at work, as they would often receive higher remuneration and better overall employment prospects if successful (Petrić 2009, Ramjattan, 2015, Ruecker and Ives 2015). NEST status is also laden with notions of race, another question unasked on the questionnaire. This, again, is part of the importance of an anonymous questionnaire. The option of Near-NEST was given so that respondents might choose that option as a more neutral answer.

The second part of the questionnaire was entitled "Continuous Professional Development" and focussed more directly on CPD in terms of respondents' preferences of different types. There was a note asking the respondents to think of their experience particularly in the most recent five years, imploring them to put their experiences and preferences within a current context. Following the example of Simon Borg's questionnaire (2006), four of the following fifteen items were in the format of a Likert Scale with four points: *Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree*, in addition to *No Comment*. Unlike Borg, the decision not to offer a neutral option in an odd numbered scale was intended to force partiality.

Respondents were asked about preferences and habits with regards to consultation of research (Q14-Q16), records keeping (Q17), mentorship (Q18-Q19), discussion groups (Q20), observations (Q21-q23), and workshops/seminars (Q24). These types of CPD were identified as the most common types in practice for language teachers, as described in Section 2.7. Respondents were also asked about what topics of training they would prefer, how they evaluate different types of CPD and their reasoning behind engaging or not engaging in CPD.

The third and final part of the questionnaire was entitled "Professional Engagement". These questions revolved around working conditions, duties, salaries and future plans. These items were designed to look at the professional lives of teachers,

particularly in the spectrum of precarious labour that may motivate teachers towards or away from career advancement within their current field (McWilliam, 2002; Standing, 2011).

The questionnaire closed with an open-ended opportunity for any other comments. The instrument in its print form is available as Appendix iii**.**

3.2.3   Ethics Approval and Issues

On an ethical level, a tension between teacher-as-worker and school-as-employer is an inherent assumption of the topic, and one to be handled with gentle consideration. For teachers to give honest answers to questions that circle the conditions of pay and labour stability, their anonymity had to be assured. This was accomplished first by removing any personal identifiers from the questionnaire itself. Proper names of individuals had not been asked, nor names of schools. Respondents were asked as to whether their teaching situation was in an English-speaking country or not, but since this will include teachers in countries as diverse as Canada, Australia and the UK, that would make identifying specific individual answers difficult, though not impossible.

Ethics approval was obtained prior to data collection by questionnaire or interview in the Spring of 2015. After each interview, the participants signed an informed consent form, reproduced in this document as Appendix iv.

Specifics about wages, salary or consistency of payment were omitted, though respondents were asked about union membership. During interviews, some respondents looked over their shoulder when I asked this, some laughed, and others asked to make certain that their employers would never hear the interviews. I did not anticipate that this question would make people so uncomfortable or would be considered sensitive. There was one teacher that I had arranged to interview, but then withdrew out of fear that he might be seen as advocating for unionisation amongst teachers in the lucrative Toronto PLS market. He was not included in the interviews. I stopped asking these questions in later interviews.

Two of the young female teachers that I interviewed (Patricia and Emily) worked at the same PLS. Both mentioned that they had felt uncomfortable around their older male supervisor who was in charge of CPD at their school. I felt that there was potential in those two interviews to derail into a description of a situation of sexual harassment, or certainly one of strained workplace dynamics, and the conversation was directed elsewhere, as that topic was outside of the scope of this study, or the breadth of the ethics approval. The details are omitted in descriptions of interview data, but the potential complications presented by such a situation are discussed. A third teacher related a story about sexual harassment by her supervisor, and then emailed me the next day and asked me not to include that. That conversation was not included in the transcript. A fourth teacher also brought up a similar story without going into details. That was four of the ten women interviewed, and while my sample size is too small to make a general statement, the implications are daunting.

The issue of this kind of behaviour was not originally envisioned when I submitted my documentation for ethics approval, and I was not prepared to address it when it first emerged. I sat silently and allowed the interviewee to tell her story, and I asked no follow-up questions and simply moved on to my next topic when she had finished. After the second interviewee broached the topic, I began to read the regrettably sparce literature concerning sexual harassment in TESOL in order to give context to why some women might be reluctant to accept mentorship from an older male teacher. The data presented in this thesis project does not include a deep discussion of the topic of this potentially felonious behaviour, as I did not have ethics clearance for that topic, nor do I possess the pre-requisite knowledge to examine the topic with the diligence it deserves.

3.2.4   Piloting

Upon receiving approval of the topic and questionnaire from the Departmental Ethics Officer at University of London, Birkbeck College, preparations were made for a pilot

study of the questionnaire by three respondents in the target group of experienced teachers

working at Private Language Schools. Two volunteers answered the questionnaire in paper

form and in my presence, following speak-aloud routines in order to identify any confusing

or ambiguous wording. The third respondent answered the electronic version of the

questionnaire while speaking face-to-face over Skype™. As a result of this feedback, some

changes were made to the questionnaire. These include additions to the academic

qualifications to respect the diversity of a multi-national education base (PGCE was added to

the list of degrees and Cambridge TESOL Certificate was added to the list of TESOL

qualifications), ensuring that "*Do not wish to answer*," was an option on most questions; a

minor typographical error was caught; a note of distinguishing "*administrative work*" from

"*lesson planning*" was inserted; the items on membership in professional organisations were

altered to indicate that this was personal membership, not institutional; and a quantifier was

put on the number of students, indicating that the question was asking for typical numbers,

ignoring high and low seasonal changes. The final version of questionnaire as it appears in

Appendix iii, took form on 20 May, 2015.

3.3   Administration of the Questionnaire and Sampling

The questionnaire was delivered in an online fashion, using Google Forms™ as a

format to produce the questionnaire on five pages, delivered via a web link. This raised the

issue of a sample of convenience, from using data from anyone who would be so inclined to

answer such a questionnaire, and how generalizable the data from such a sample might be.

Dörnyei noted that the generalizability of non-probability sampling was often negligible, with

an increased homogeneity of the sample (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 99). In an effort to combat this

homogeneity, posts were placed on groups and fora for language teachers on several social

media platforms (see Appendix i), as well as links sent to a variety of PLSs. Another

limitation of the questionnaire's breadth was that it was to target teachers that would be

comfortable using online tools. Wilson and Dewaele (2010) made the argument in 2010 that the phenomenon of web-based questionnaires was ubiquitous enough to be considered "establishment," so this 2015 effort, half a decade later, should be of little difficulty to potential respondents.

In May, 2015, the questionnaire went public and responses were solicited on Facebook™, Twitter™, Google+™, and LinkedIn™. Posts were placed in specific groups that catered to language teachers. Emails were sent to every language school accredited by Languages Canada in Canada or the British Council in the UK. Emails were also sent to all of my personal and professional connections at PLSs, asking them to pass the questionnaire along to anyone they knew who was teaching in a PLS in an effort to build a snowball effect to recruit as many responses as possible. Four months later, in September of 2015, data collection ceased, and analysis began.

Google Forms™ collected the responses of all who completed the questionnaires. The data was catalogued in the form of Google Sheets™ which was then exported into Microsoft Excel™ and later to SPSS™ for statistical analysis.

3.3.1   Participants

There were 116 questionnaires submitted, of which only 66 were by teachers who were actively teaching in private language schools; the rest were from retired teachers, teachers who were working in other TESOL avenues or capacities. This represents a limitation of my original understanding of the target population, in that many teachers would hold down numerous jobs, including different TESOL jobs, and would find themselves bridging several employment categories. Because the question was framed as a single-answer category, fifty respondents (nearly half of the population) would not be used in statistical representations. The PLS teachers were 60.1% female (n=40/66) and 76% were Native English-speakers (50 NEST, 6 Near-NEST, 10 Non-NEST). The respondents were

quite highly educated (n=25/66 had MA degrees) and 40% (26/66) had multiple TESOL

qualifications (See Figures 3.1[1], 3.2, and 3.3).

Teaching experience was measured in 5-year increments, with the average being

10.7 years, and most were in the 36-40 years of age group. Slightly over half of the

respondents (25/48) held an undergraduate degree in a discipline related to TESOL. These

figures would imply that for many of the respondents, teaching English to speakers of other

languages was not their first career path when they entered the workforce.

Figure 3.1 Countries of Practice (n=66)
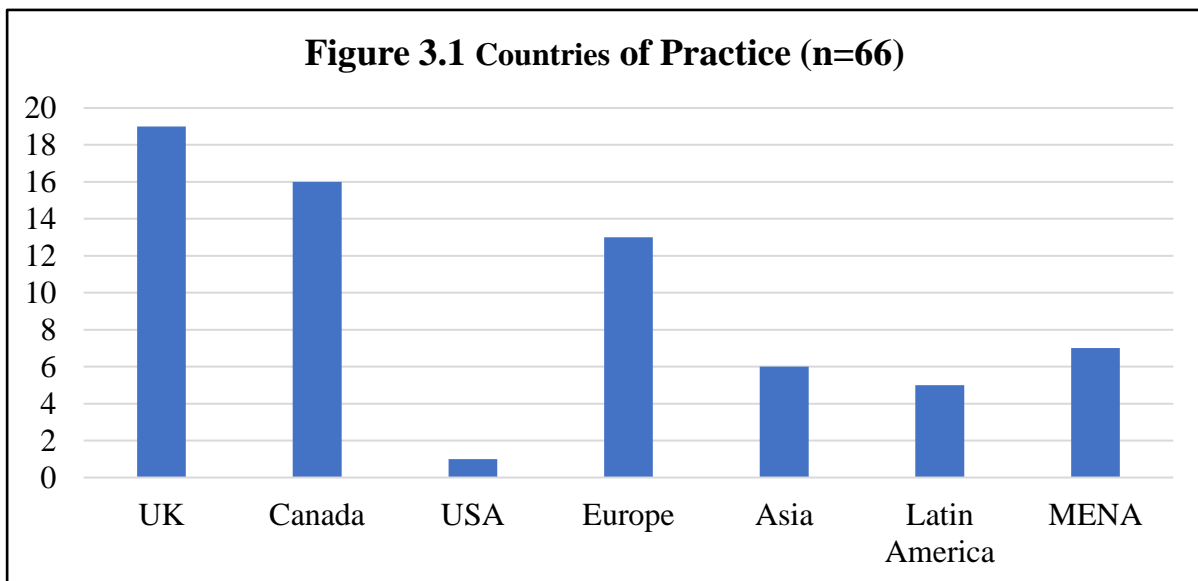
The gender and native-speaker status of the respondents was in-line with much of

the existing patterns of research. Twenty-six of the respondents were male and forty were

female (39.4% to 60.6%), fairly close to the one-third/two-thirds to one-quarter/three-quarter

proportion that was typically described in questionnaire-based research (Wilson & Dewaele,

2010).   Three quarters of respondents identified as Native Speakers of English (n=50/66)

while the remaining quarter was composed of Non-NESTs (n=10/66; 15%) and Near-NESTs

(n=6/66; 9%).

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[1] For the purpose of categorization, Brazil (n=1) is considered as part of Latin America and Turkey (n=2) is considered part of Europe.

65 of 66 respondents answered the question of in which country they were teaching (See Figure 3.1). Of the 65 respondents working in PLSs, 55% (n=35/65) were working primarily in English-speaking countries. Other predominantly English-speaking countries (Ireland, South Africa, Australia, etc.) were not present in the questionnaire data. The other 29 who answered for location represented twenty-two different countries. This gave the slight numerical majority (55%) to an English-speaking market, as opposed to an English as a foreign language context, though for this study there is no formal distinction made. While the diversity of responses from different countries was noted, it was consistent with the areas targeted through social media.

Figure 3.2 TESOL-specific Qualifications Held (n=66)

This chart includes 95 qualifications held by 66 respondents
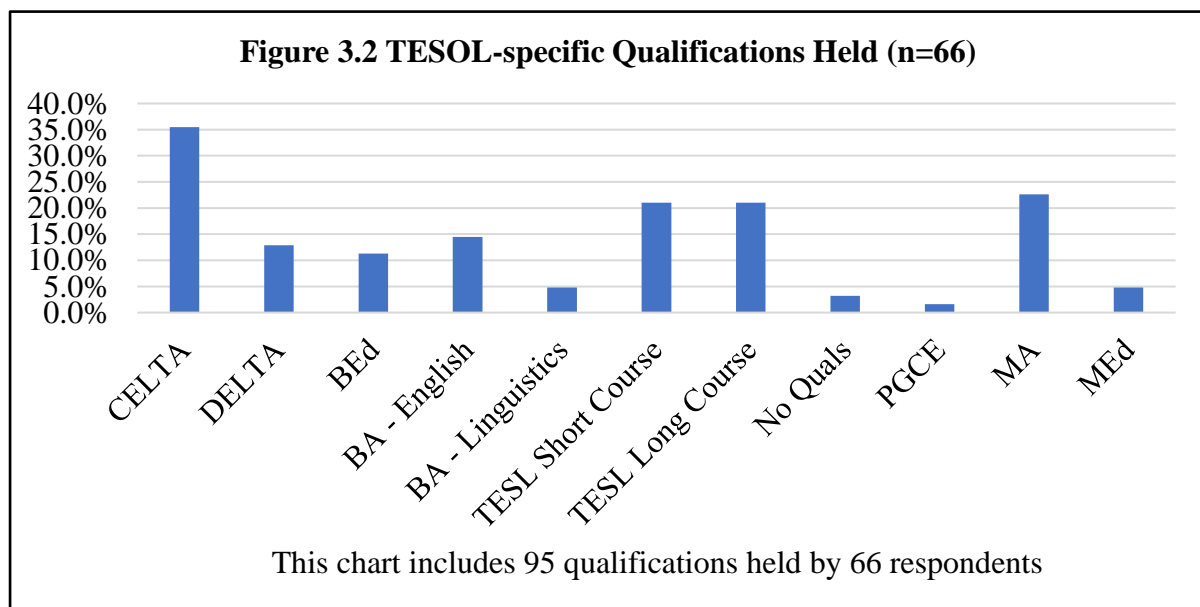
The diversity of qualifications held by individual respondents, even given the educational cultures of such a scale, was unanticipated. Multiple higher- and lower- level qualifications were the norm in much of the responses (See Figure 3.2 TESOL-specific Qualifications Held), with an average eight qualifications for every five teachers (mean=1.66 qualifications per respondent at PLSs). The most common dynamic was for teachers to have a BA in one field, and then a TESL or CELTA certificate to enter teaching. Of the 26

teachers who possessed undergraduate degrees as their highest credential, 8 added TESOL

short courses to their repertoire, 2 added TESOL long courses, 12 completed a CELTA and 6

a Cambridge TESOL.

Insofar as formal education was a strong characteristic of the respondents (See

figures 3.2 and 3.3), there was a near parity of teachers who had master's degrees compared

to solely undergraduate qualifications (n=26 for bachelor's and n=25 for master's).   This

leads to questioning of the validity of the data with the dangers of self-selection at the fore

Figure 3.3 Bachelor Degrees (n=55)
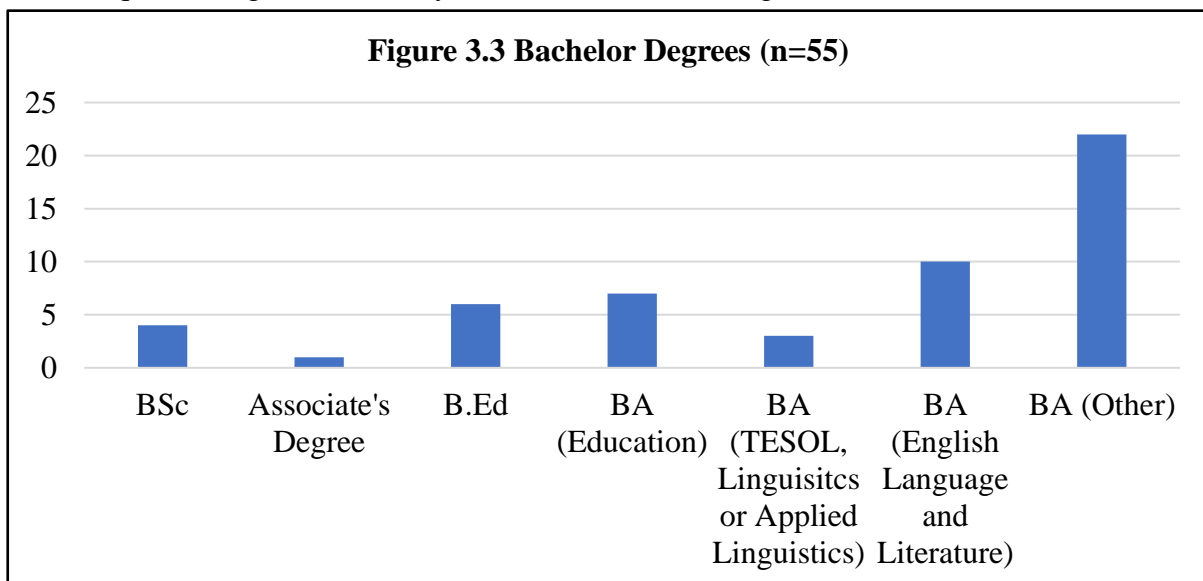
(Dörnyei, 2007), as the finding that half of PLS teachers have an MA would seem unlikely to

be true of the population if the sample who responded to the questionnaire were more

representative of the entire PLS population (England, 2020). This idiosyncrasy is a reminder

of the limitations of the sampling of the population.

TESOL qualifications are more varied than university degrees, as these were

divergent in terms of national education cultures; for example, a DELTA is absent among

Canadian respondents compared to their colleagues in the UK where 8 of the 19 respondents

held that particular qualification. All but two of the teachers had a university degree (49%

held a BA in a non-TESOL related subject) in addition to a single TESOL qualification

(47%) or more (51%).

Table 3.1
Highest Qualification Held (n=66)

Name of Qualification	Frequency (n=66)	Percentage
Secondary / High School	2	3%
Community College / Trade School	3	4.5%
University Undergraduate	26	39.4%
PGCE	6	9.1%
University Master's Degree	25	37.9%
University Doctorate	2	3%
No Answer / Do not wish to answer	2	3%

The myriad of qualifications that exist are partly a representation of different national norms, which would be an expected feature of any international field (Barduhn & Johnson, 2009). Making allowances and accommodations for such diversity is part of the complexity of the TESOL labour marketplace. As far back as 1984, Kerr compared this variety of organizations, to the characters and plots of a 19th Century Russian novel (Kerr, 1983). The number has grown since and the field has not simplified.

An unavoidable inference from the early questions of the instrument is that there is a wide variety of major and minor qualifications held by teachers. Formal degrees and a single TESOL qualification were the norm in the data, which invites questions about an "irregular" education that brought the teachers into TESOL. What kind of major qualification is held, as well as the selection process of ensuing minor qualification, is a topic to be answered at a later point.

3.3.2   Analytical Procedures

The data was analysed using SPSS™ for descriptive statistics, the results of which are described in detail in Chapter 4. Most of the items targeting attitudes and experiences represent the unique experiences of the individual respondent, and as such, traditional measures of reliability, such as a Chronbach's Alpha measurement of internal consistency

would not be appropriate as that measures the internal consistency of the test itself rather than acknowledging a diversity from respondents (Sijtsma, 2009). Instead, the descriptive statistics are used to represent general trends amongst the survey population.

Because of the small sample size and ambiguous reliability factors, the data collected from the questionnaires are not considered to be strong enough upon which to make solid assertions, though the data are solid enough to guide the collection of further data in the ensuing interviews.

3.4   Interviews

The interview question guide was constructed as a spoken version of the original questionnaire but included opportunities for new data to be included based on the inclusion of more "open" questions (Barkhuizen et al. 2014). The open questions were placed throughout each sub-section of the interview schedule document, in order to elicit more unpredicted data (Richards, 2003).

3.4.1   Introduction to the Interviews

Dörnyei noted that "The downside of quantitative methods is that they average out responses across the whole observed group of participants, and by working with concepts of averages it is impossible to do justice to the subjective variety of individual life" (2007, p. 35). The detail of emic knowledge available for exploring through an interview format offers new avenues that may have not been predicted by a quantitative survey. The goal of the interviews was to provide detail to the broader patterns of the questionnaire data, so as to better answer RQ2, regarding why teachers feel the way they do about different types of CPD.

Stage Two of the investigation into teacher attitudes towards CPD involves detailed interviews with teachers of ESOL in context. The initial questionnaire raised several issues though the format of a questionnaire fixed in advance made the examination of

unpredicted avenues difficult.   Interviews were done in a semi-structured format (see Appendix iii), where there was a scheduled list of topics to be covered, but either interviewer or interviewee would be able to explore any new pathways as they emerged.

Future Professional Selves as a lens through which to perceive and categorise teachers' ideas on CPD, entered the research after the initial data was collected but before the later rounds of interviews. In the early-stage interviews, there was a much greater willingness to allow the data to flow "as-it-would" and categorise it afterwards in a fashion similar to Grounded Theory proscription. Future Professional Selves emerged as the theory that accounted for the data produced through the interviews when assembled and analysed. Once the Future Professional Selves theory was adopted, it brought greater insight into the later interviews by asking follow-up questions as to why teachers engaged in CPD and what they hoped to gain from this engagement, and where they would see themselves in the future.

3.4.2   Participants and Recruitment

The total number of interviewees was 18, with four of whom being interviewed twice. According to Dörnyei (2007):

> *Qualitative inquiry is not concerned with how representative the respondent sample is or how the experience is distributed in the population. Instead, the main goal of sampling is to find individuals who can provide rich and varied insight into the phenomenon under investigation so as to maximize what we can learn.*

And accordingly, the sample population was not purely representative, though it produced data and insight. This data included several people who had moved out of PLSs, into primary, secondary, or Post-secondary, into management, ownership or academia. It also included three teachers with only a few years of experience, and some would measure their experience in decades. The intention behind the broad sampling was to produce a cross-section of a multi-faceted industry.

In Borg's use of qualitative interviews informed by a preceding questionnaire, he recruited interview participants from questionnaire respondents (Borg, 2009), a practice advocated by Dörnyei in order to bolster reliability (2007). This was not done in the case of these interviews, although many of those being interviewed had also been asked to complete the questionnaire. I did not ask them if they'd completed the questionnaire, so the direct connection between the first and second phase of data collection would not have a measured overlap. Both groups should be seen as samples of the overall population.

The majority of the participants (16/19) were known to me prior to the interviews (See Table 3.2), and many had been asked to answer the questionnaire as well as participate in my interviews. Some, such as Helen or Nancy, were in a very peripheral way acquainted with me, and others, like Jacob were long-term friends. Some were former co-workers (Thomas) and others were former classmates (Nathan). Some participants were unknown to me prior and were recruited through snowball sampling (Beatrice) and some were met online through social media (Aaron).

Having this variety of pre-existing relationships and rapport with the interview subjects could present the potential for bias, with issues of friendship, loyalty and authority within a dialogue, particularly with regards to the sequentiality of the recorded interviews (Holquist, 2002), because there is unreported, prior discussion, particularly when some of the relationships were close and go back many years. One of the guards against this was the semi-structured format of the interviews, where the frame is applied to all interviews, and another is an awareness and acknowledgement of this pre-existing bias.

There is a wide variety in the settings in which these nineteen teachers taught, but in the first round of interviews, all were either still working in PLSs or had recently left teaching in them for one reason or another. Since the focus of this study is on teachers in PLSs, those who had moved on to other venues were asked to keep their experiences within

the PLS context while responding, rather than discussing new experiences outside of Private

Language Schools. This was largely observed but many teachers would put their experiences

in context by comparing to their new positions. When teachers did this, the context was

made quite clear in the reporting in Chapter 5.

Table 3.2
Interview Participants[2]

Pseudonym	Native Language	Citizenship	Working location at time of interview	How known to researcher
Clive	English	Canada	Canada	Friend of 4 years
	BFA, TESOL Long Course, MA, 13 years teaching experience., MA student at first interview, PhD candidate at second, working 3 part-time positions at time of first interview. At the time of the second interview, he was entering the write-up phase of his PhD. A new father living outside of Toronto and preparing for a post-doctoral career in academia, despite many years as an ESL entrepreneur. His area of expertise is computer assisted language learning.			
Oliver	English	United States	Canada	Colleague of 3 years
	BSc, BEd, TESOL Long course, 15 years teaching experience., Full-time PLS teacher at time of first interview, self-employed at time of second. Science teacher from Mississippi, moved to Canada for spouse and taught ESL because his American certification would not allow for teaching in a publicly funded school in Ontario. Left TESOL to work in events sales and management, returned to online teaching in the wake of COVID-19 pandemic.			
Emily	English	United Kingdom	United Kingdom	Colleague for 6 months
	BA, CELTA, 3 years experience, Full-time PLS teacher at time of interview. Left the PLS where she and I worked because of a lack of hours and began at a new PLS. Teaching in Spain was first job out of university, London with myself was her second.			

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[2] Current status as of 28 March, 2021.

Katherine	Russian	Russia	Turkey	Friend of 12 years

BA in TESOL, 14 years experience, casual tutor at time of interview. Had been teaching in PLS for several years before having children. Currently a housewife.

Jason	Persian	Canada / Iran	Canada	MA colleague of 2 years.

BA in TESOL, MA, 12 years experience, University ESL teacher in Iran before migrating to Canada, Full-time PLS teacher at time of interview, currently director of an immigration service consultant.

Patricia	Greek[3]	Greece	United Kingdom	Colleague of 6 months

BA, CELTA, 2 years of experience, Full-time PLS teacher at time of interview, currently working as a recruiter for a temporary staffing agency in London. Became an ESL teacher because her mother was one, left because of unhappiness with job and lack of stability.

Helen	English	Canada	Taiwan	Former TESOL student

TESOL short course, 1 year experience, Full-time children's PLS teacher at time of interview. Left social media so current location unknown, but at last contact was intent on leaving TESOL forever.

Clio	Romanian	Romania / Canada	Turkey	Friend of 12 years

BA, MA, 13 years of experience, Full-time university language institute teacher at time of first interview, at time of second interview was also self-employed tutor and PhD candidate.

Beatrice	English	Canada	Canada	Friend of colleague

(BA, TESOL short course, 6 years experience. I took over her class after she quit in extravagant disgust at Ottawa-based PLS. Currently teaching in South Korea.

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[3] Patricia was born in Greece but attended British schools. She reveals very few signs of being a non-native-English-speaker.

| Lisa | English | Canada | United States | Colleague of 2 years |

BEd, TESOL short course x 2, 6 years teaching experience, moved to USA because of spouse. Was teaching TESOL because she could not find work in public school board. She would prefer to teach history. Current location unknown.

| Aaron | Arabic (Darija) | Morocco | Morocco | Responded to social media post |

BA, MA, CELTA, 10 years of experience, Full-time ADOS at branch of a large multi-national PLS.

| Robert | English | United Kingdom | United Kingdom | Colleague of 6 months |

BA, CELTA, 10 years of experience, Full-time PLS teacher at time of first interview, Full-time K-12 English teacher in GCC at time of second interview. Moved to UAE to support family by teaching, still there despite COVID-19 pandemic.

| Jacob | Arabic | Jordan/Turkey | Turkey | Friend of 12 years |

BA, 16 years teaching experience, Owner of language training institute in Turkey which has recently (2019) opened second branch. Worked with me at two PLSs in Istanbul and was best man at my wedding.

| Thomas | English | United States | Morocco | Colleague of 1 year |

BA, TESOL short course, currently working on MA, 13 years teaching experience, returned to the United States since interview and working at University Prep Programme for a prestigious institute.

| Nicole | English | Canada | Kuwait | Colleague of 9 months |

BEd, MA, 21 years teaching experience, Full-time college language institute teacher at time of interview, alongside myself. She has since left to become lead instructor at university in former Soviet Central Asia.

| Rachel | English | Canada | Canada | TESOL course colleague of 1 year |

BA, TESOL long course, 2 yrs. exp. Part-time teacher at PLS at time of interview, currently ESL teacher at a public college in Northern Canada.

Nathan	English	Canada	South Korea	TESOL course colleague of 9 months
	BA, TESOL short course, TESOL long course, currently working on MA, 13 years teaching experience, Full-time university language institute teacher in Korea. Moved to South Korea because of spouse and better job opportunities.			
Arthur	Russian	Canada / Russia	Canada	TESOL course instructor of 9 months
	BA, MA, PhD, 25 years teaching, Full-time TESOL co-ordinator at College and PhD candidate, executive member of Ontario-wide ESL accreditation instrument.			
Nancy	Serbian[4]	Canada	Canada	Colleague of 2 months
	BA, TESOL long course, 6 years., Full-time K-12 teacher and summer-time PLS teacher at time of interview, now college prep programme instructor in Northern Ontario.			

Twenty interviews with sixteen teachers, one program administrator, one DOS, and one language school owner, were conducted (See Table 3.2) to answer the two research questions of how teachers feel about different types of CPD and why they feel that way.

As described in Table 3.2, those interviewed ranged in terms of experience from their first year (Helen), to over twenty (Nicole and Arthur). Most teachers were from Canada (7/19[5]), and many self-declared as non-native speakers (11 NEST, 4 Near-NEST, 4 Non-NEST). Some were still working in PLSs, though many had moved on and were speaking of past experiences rather than at the time of data collection (9 still teaching, 8 no longer and 2 unknown). Many of the teachers have taught in several countries, and while this

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[4] Nancy was born in the former Yugoslavia but moved to Canada as a child and speaks English as a native speaker.
[5] Three participants not included in this number were Canadian citizens, but were born elsewhere.

investigation is not a comparison, teachers would make comparisons in order to contextualise experiences[6]. The following are brief profiles of the teachers interviewed.

3.4.3   The Semi-structured Interviews

The interview guide (see Appendix iii) consisted of four sections. The Guide directed the interviews, though those interviews would frequently explore new topics, only to return to the Guide once those topics had been mapped. Most of the interviews lasted just over thirty minutes, see Table 3.3.

For individuals who could not speak in person or via video chat options (Aaron, Robert 1 & Beatrice), the Interview Guide was sent to them as both a Microsoft Word™ document and an Apple Pages™ document for them to return via email.

The first portion in the interview introduced me and the nature of the study. It reassured the interviewee that if they were uncomfortable with any question, they were free not to answer and we could change the topic; this happened in three cases. I went over the process of assuring anonymity through pseudonyms for both individuals and schools. The protocol for sending them a copy of the transcript for their approval was presented, followed by a brief outline of the scheduled course of the interview.

The second section is where the onus was moved to the interviewee for describing themselves and their experience. *"Tell me about how you started teaching? What were your initial qualifications?"* These two significant questions were open-ended and followed by a series of sub-questions, which depended on the participants' responses. These questions (one personal, the other factual) allowed the interviewees to take ownership of the conversation and define their professional narrative, their experience and their qualifications on their own

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[6] All of the following updates are accurate as of July, 2017.

terms; to build a rapport between the researcher and the researched (Barkhuizen, Benson, &

Chick, 2014; Schön, 1999). Allowing the participant to describe their qualifications was also

necessary, given the breadth of qualifications from different countries; many qualifications

did not fit into simple standards, but needed explanations. This open-ended question had the

hopeful purpose of allowing the respondents to open up and feel comfortable. They were

then asked about where they had taught, in terms of countries and "types" of schools. The

last question in the biographical information section asked if they had picked up any

qualifications as time had gone on.

Table 3.3
Interview Times, dates and formats

Interview	Interview begins	Date	Duration	Format
Clive 1	18:30 EDT[7]	20 July, 2015	32.27	Skype Video
Oliver 1	20:00 EDT	24 July, 2015	23.27	FaceTime
Emily	12:00 EDT	25 July, 2015	35.51	Skype Audio
Katherine	17:50 EDT	28 July, 2015	31.57	Skype Video
Jason	17:20 EDT	30 July, 2015	27.59	FaceTime
Patricia	14:20 EDT	2 August, 2015	32.46	Skype Video
Helen	10:06 EDT	8 August, 2015	33.41	Skype Audio
Clio 1	11:00 EDT	8 August, 2015	34.50	Skype Audio
Beatrice	N/A	10 August, 2015	N/A	Email only
Lisa	15:00 EDT	10 August, 2015	38.08	Skype Audio
Aaron	N/A	22 October, 2015	N/A	Email only
Robert 1	N/A	24 October, 2015	N/A	Email only
Jacob	15:00 AST[8]	29 October, 2015	23.06	FaceTime
Thomas	13:03 AST	30 October, 2015	40.31	Skype Video
Nicole	17:48 AST	17 November, 2015	30.56	Skype Audio
Rachel	17:36 AST	5 January, 2016	26.15	Skype Audio
Nathan	11:14 AST	14 February, 2016	29.02	Skype Video
Oliver 2	14:50 AST	9 April, 2016	21.45	FaceTime
Arthur	17:30 AST	11 April, 2016	32.14	Skype Video
Nancy	13:00 EDT	26 July, 2016	33.17	Skype Video
Clive 2	11:00 EDT	29 July, 2018	31.12	Facebook Video
Clio 2	9:20 EDT	30 July, 2018	15.05	Facebook Video
Robert 2	6:30 EDT	6 August, 2018	26.03	Facebook Video

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[7] EDT: Eastern Daylight Time (GMT-4)
[8] Arabian Standard Time (GMT +3)

Respondents were then asked in the third section about their experiences and opinions of the five major types of CPD: engagement with research, record-keeping, discussions, observations, and attending workshops or seminars. They described their self-motivation in pursuing each type of CPD. The participants were asked if there was anything about their teaching practice that they would improve, how they were doing so and how were those needs identified. They were asked why they were doing so. These questions are seen as guiding questions, that the respondent might explore the field and reflect upon their practice.

It was in this third section that the teachers' Future Professional Selves began to appear. They would describe why they would want to engage in CPD, and the answers would commonly point to where they would like to be in the future, once they had internalised the material that they were hoping to learn or gain from the CPD. The two that were most commonly hinted at or depicted outright were the Ideal Future Professional Self or the Ought-to, though there were glimpses of the Feared in teachers' descriptions of their plans.

The fourth section of the interview was a simple closure with a pre-written text thanking them for their time, reassuring them of my promptness to get them a copy of the transcript, and that I was available if they had any questions about the whole process. I conducted the interviews from my home, and most of those interviewed were in their homes, although Thomas was at his place of work.

3.4.4   Subsequent Interviews

In order to look at how attitudes might change over time, follow-up interviews were conducted with a sample of the interview population (4/19, 21%). After the initial interviews in the summer of 2015 and subsequent months (See Table 3.3), a second interview began with Oliver nine months later, as he was changing jobs and moving from a full-time

position at one PLS to part-time at two different PLSs. Three other interviews were conducted three years later (Clive, Clio and Robert).

The four were selected because they had all changed their careers in those years, while staying within TESOL. This would give them an opportunity for direct comparison and continuity. Part of the selection bias on display here is that the four teachers re-interviewed were friends of mine, as after four years I was no longer in contact with the snowball samples of other teachers who had participated in the first round of interviews. While less than an ideal sampling procedure, the data from the participants is still insightful.

A central aspect of the Future Professional Selves approach is that the practitioner has an eye on future development. By interviewing four teachers one year or three years later, there can be some consideration given to the planned career arch of the teachers, seeing if they continued where they were, or moved on to different aspects of TESOL or elsewhere. The limited scope of 1-3 years is useful because with too many years, the number of variables would increase exponentially, and with too short a time, there would be little room for change.

The second-round interviews had the advantage of revisiting topics after situational change. None were still working in the same schools at the time of the second interview, so there could be a comparison of teacher attitudes with fewer variables. This opened up the options of inquiry as to why they no longer taught at PLSs, what has been the change in the role of CPD from their old PLS job to their new position, and how has that impacted their identity and presentation as professional teachers.

3.5   Interview Data Analysis

After the interviews were completed, the data files were transcribed and there was a stage of reflection prior to coding. The interviews were revisited, listened to and summarised as memos in order to discuss the major themes that the interviewee was trying to

communicate before the text would be analysed on a deeper level (See Appendix v for examples). Memos were written to summarise the interview as a whole and then to address specific points, many of which would later become the points of analysis. From this process emerged four major sources of motivation. The four major sources that emerged regarding the sources of motivation towards CPD participation were: (1) from the self, (2) from peers, (3) from the institution where they work, and (4) from external agencies governing TESOL. A critique of Reflective Practice is that it is often a solitary phenomenon (Walsh & Mann, 2015), though my research data placed much of the RP into a social milieu.

The first theme of Self-motivation revolved around the building and achievement of an Ideal Future Professional Self (Kubanyiova, 2009). The teacher has a vision of what they want to be at a given time in the future and pursue that goal with or without the help of others. This independent goal and independent pursuit are central to the building of the teacher's Future Professional Self.

The next theme was Peer-motivation where the interviewees described their communities of practice. The participants' discourse with other teachers as it related to work and workplace issues was central to professional practice. The influence of co-workers, positively or negatively, was a strong indicator of teachers' attitudes towards CPD engagement, and their enthusiasm for TESOL in general.

The third theme was motivation by School. When respondents spoke specifically about what their school offered them in terms of PD or if there was someone specifically responsible for PD, the answer was typically the manager or DOS who was solely responsible. This created a huge variety of involvement in CPD, as different managers had different valuations of the practice. This topic was relevant for the teachers, but also for the administrative personnel (particularly with Arthur) who were answering with detailed examples.

The final source was External motivation, where participants spoke about the kinds of outside authorities that affected their professional standing. This was the smallest category, but one for which the importance outweighed the direct testimony. Teachers, despite little awareness on this topic, were under the influence from external agencies through the conduit of management. The vagueness of teacher knowledge with regards to this final influence was what justified the inclusion of Arthur and Jacob as non-teaching administrators.

These four factors are not weighted equally, nor are they weighted uniformly for all. Overall, Self and Peer were strongly felt by everyone interviewed, but School played the most direct role in teacher engagement with CPD. External is difficult to assert by import because teachers were largely unaware of how the pressure exerted outside their line-of-sight materialised. Generally, the order of importance would be:

1. The school is the direct impetus for most CPD.

2. External agencies pressure schools outside of the knowing practice of teachers but is a constant environmental pressure.

3. The Self will motivate teachers if the school doesn't.

4. Peers help, but are rarely the instigator of large-scale CPD activities.

3.5.1   Memo-Writing and Coding.

Memo writing is an integral aspect of reflective research analysis, and memos are designed not just to take inventory and summarise, but to contextualise what the researcher believes are the salient points of the interview (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Saldaña, 2016; Strauss & Glaser, 1967). After each interview, summaries were written of the interview on the whole and then memos were written about specific points before the detail work of coding began. This was to encourage a degree of sensitivity to themes and undercurrents by fostering an awareness of both overarching themes and detailed minutia.

This pattern certainly showed value as some general themes emerged during the questionnaire and other, more in-depth themes emerged during the interviews. The themes that were brought to the fore during the questionnaire were notions of formality and informality with regards to CPD, as well as some complications when it came to teachers' understandings of different modes of CPD.

"The deliberate linking or weaving of codes and categories within the narrative is a heuristic to integrate them semantically and systematically (Saldaña, 2016)." Adding to these themes from the questionnaire, were the different notions of what was pushing teachers towards CPD. Memo writing while coding, and while taking field notes provided a constant pattern of reflection and testing of hypotheses (Glasser & Strauss, 1967).

An example of this comes from the first interview with Clive, when the theme of external agencies controlling his professional development emerged. The memo about Clive's concern was this:

> *We started the interview by asking about background, to which Clive responded with his own professional narrative, which revolved largely around acquiring external qualifications. Bureaucracy is important to him and there is concern for the external-motivations throughout the interview. When Clive spoke of changes in the industry, particularly with regards to CLT and CPD, it was very concerned with the changing role of qualifications within the practice. His experience with getting TESOL certification for both TESL Canada and TESL Ontario, and teaching the courses showed this.*

Prior to interviewing Clive (the first interview in the process), very little consideration had been given to external agencies, in his case the regulatory bodies in Ontario, Canada. The themes were not even present in the professional literature that had been consulted to that point.

I had believed Clive's concerns to be idiosyncratic to him until Jason began discussing the pressures that TESL Ontario brought to bear on his employer, forcing them into CPD in order to keep their certification. "*… Languages Canada and TESL Canada*

certified members have to do around ten hours [a year], to renew certification, so I've mainly been doing that." Jason had intended that as a simple statement that bore no special insight, and the role of TESL Canada and Languages Canada may have stayed hidden in plain sight if not for the writing of these reflective memos.

The result of the first stage of open coding, was that the four themes of Self, Peers, School and External had emerged as regular sources of motivation for CPD engagement and became major categories.

3.5.2   Second Coding

The second coding stage involved the examination of all the open notes, memos and codes from the first stage, and organizing them into themes. There were four major themes that had been winnowed from the interviews. The initial codes were grouped along these themes with sub-themes being integrated to each axis theme.

In the initial coding, the major categories of Self, Peer, School and External motivation emerged, along with six minor sources. However, there were three hundred and eleven different codes (see Appendix vi) in which those categories took shape from the original coding. The original list of 311 codes and 10 categories was abridged so that repetitious comments could be eliminated, and similar codes could be merged, until there remained the four major categories. Those categories were then linked into the three aspects of Future Professional Selves, ie. those of Ideal, Ought-to and Feared Future Professional Selves as identified by Marcus and Nurius, (1984) and expanded upon by Kubanyiova (2009), as described in the literature review. This placed all of the motivational issues into a matrix of the four sources of motivation: The Self, the Peer Group, the School, and External; and three manifestations of Future Professional Selves, resulting in 12 categories outlined on Tables 3.4 – 3.8.

Table 3.4 describes the coding used for interviews. Each code has two parts, the source of motivation and the intended manifestation behind the motivation. This creates a table with the sources of motivation on the Y-axis, and the Future Professional Self on the X-axis. The sources of motivation in CPD, be they pressure from the intrinsic Self, the Peer group, the School or their place of employment, or from External to the immediate practice of the teacher. While these four motivators have the teacher engaging in CPD, the reason that the teachers are participating are to develop the Future Professional Selves described by Marcus and Nurius, as either the intrinsic Ideal Future Professional Self, the extrinsic Ought-to, or a worst-case-scenario of a Feared Future Professional Self.

The transcripts of the interviews were labelled using the comments feature on MS Word™, and a colour system. Examples of coded excerpts are to be found in Appendix v.

Table 3.4
Sources of Motivation for CPD and their Relation to a Professional Future Self

Source of Motivation	Ideal Future Professional Self	Ought-to Future Professional Self	Feared Future Professional Self
Self-Motivated	A desire to attain a respectable status as a teacher.	A desire to "fit-in" at the desired position, either at the current position or a more prestigious future one.	Fear of not attaining or maintaining financial or social stability from career.
Peer-Motivated	Yearning for a position of respect among peers.	A desire to be a part of local peer community and keep up with norms of behaviour.	Negative role models of failed professionals.
School-Motivated	School provides external role-models to which teachers may aspire.	School provides codes of professional and standards to be met.	School fails to provide examples of professional success and allows instability to linger.
Externally-Motivated	A venue of professionalism external to the	A provision of codes and standards, as well as direct or indirect	The threat of losing accreditation and

	immediacy of the workplace.	pressure to meet those standards.	stability if recognition is withdrawn.

Table 3.5
Code 1: Self-Motivated

Code	Definition	Example
Self-ideal	This code refers to the Future Self that the teacher hopes to attain through CPD. This can be as a teacher, or an administrator within education. It could also refer to a desired economic situation. The Ideal Future Self is unique to each person, though within the profession, commonalities emerge. It is also subject to change as a career develops, and the Ideal Future Self of an NQT and an experienced teacher are predictably different as their careers have professional selves that have been nuanced by time.	"It's made me aware of some of the gaps in my linguistic knowledge. That was always sitting there as an option, and I'm one of those people, that I'm not comfortable with those gaps in my knowledge." – **Thomas**
Self-Ought-to	This code refers to when teachers engage in CPD, not to improve themselves for intrinsic reasons, but because additional training is demanded or expected of them. This could be by peers, their employer or other external sources, but this could also refer to the standards of another institution where the teacher hope to enter. This category might be confused with the Ought-to of those other motivators, but this category refers to when the teacher internalises the Ought-to, rather than be explicitly commanded to do so.	"I felt nervous about teaching in Toronto without having some sort of certificate. You didn't need one at the time, you just needed, this is back in 2004, so you only needed a degree and some experience. So I had both. But, you know it's Canada, so I figured that eventually it would be mandatory." – **Clive**
Self-Feared	The Feared Professional Self motivates the teacher to engage in CPD out of fear of what might happen if they fail to do so. This could be motivated by changing economic conditions, or by negative role-models. This is the "push" to the Ideal's "pull."	"Years before, when I had private lessons, because I had a small kid, right? I couldn't work for schools, I had to give private lessons. I realised that people, when you teach them, they wanted to use a computer. They

wanted me to use something from the internet, some interactive stuff, it was like, ten year ago, a book and photocopy was enough. Now it's not." – **Katherine**

Table 3.6
Code 2: Peer-Motivated

Code	Definition	Example
Peer-Ideal	Peers present role models for which, with CPD training, a teacher might aspire. The role model is not an external model, but something that is internalised to the teacher. Socially, a teacher can also aspire to an Ideal Self that heavily incorporates peer status into their identity.	"I did [an IELTS training workshop] with another colleague, and it went well. Everyone came. All of the directors of studies, the academic team, so I found it, it made me realise it was a different experience, talking in front of my peers. It made me slightly nervous, and I think maybe with more practice, I'd be more comfortable, but it made me feel more useful, the feedback was useful." – **Emily**
Peer-Ought-to	The Ought-to Future Professional Self that emerges from the peer group is difficult to generalise, because of the uniqueness of individual teachers and of local faculties. This category represents CPD-related peer-pressure in its positive and negative aspects.	"Yeah, we would show [the new teachers] what to do, explain to them how to do something. And we'd show them how to use the language lab, and how they needed to pace a lesson, and techniques that would work the students. They could be as simple as what to do when you have all these tests, that we would mark these students their listening exercises and the comments that we would write. And then how to distribute them, or how to get students involved, or task-based

		activities that worked really well in the classroom." – **Nicole**
Peer-Feared	This category looks at the peer group in an exclusively negative light. Where the role-models provided are of teachers who fail to reach the status aspired to. There are numerous instances of teachers struggling within precarious labour, or of generational bias. CPD is an escape from this potential negative.	"I thought the TESL Ontario certificate was the biggest, absolute biggest joke. The biggest waste of time. And it was all run by LINC teachers. You know, obviously in LINC they're just fossilised, old […] They were so dumb. I had this main guy, this director, I guess of the Ontario program, literally stopped at Skinner and that's it. No one's moved on from that. It was all about behaviourism. He's like "it works," and I'm like "Should we like shock our students?" **- Clive**

Table 3.7
Code 3: School-Motivated

Code	Definition	Example
School-Ideal	The school provides role-models that the teacher might claim and internalise, or facilitates the teacher's development on their own terms. This category describes the school taking on the role of the facilitator of professional training or professional behaviour.	"We had some of the other teachers who were teaching IELTS, we were three teachers, we had a meeting every month to talk about the problems. So for the first three months, I'd say more, but later fewer meetings we had and we were just talking to them more. Yes. Senior teachers. […] At the beginning, [the meetings were] informal, but the monthly meetings that I mentioned, they were kind of formal. We were paid for those hours." – **Jason**

School-Ought-to	The school provides a set of standards that the teachers must attain in order to maintain good standing at their job. This often entails CPD, but these standards are external to the teacher, unlike the above which are internally cohesive.	"So yeah, it was a CPD on [teaching students with special needs]. Which was informative, but not necessarily useful, because we don't really, like the school doesn't give us really detailed decisions as to what it is that this learner needs, or kind of, I don't know how to explain this without being kind of, sounding like an asshole really. It was for show." **– Patricia**
School-Feared	For the Feared Future Professional Self, the most common apparition involves a lack of success in finding full-time work and being relegated to part-time wage-labour in the long-term. Schools contribute to this fear by not offering CPD that will combat this fear, or not promoting teachers out of the "trenches" of the classroom and into the more stable domain of salariat positions.	"When TESL Ontario designed that framework, they didn't really design accountability into it. So you get a certificate, or you get a line on your transcript of this course, and it was said that employers were looking for this type of certification for this course. But it was kind of assumed, but it was never on paper." **– Arthur**

Table 3.8
Code 4: External-Motivated

Code	Definition	Example
External-Ideal	An agency external to the immediacy of the teacher provides standards that exceed the immediate environs of the teacher. This gives model to attain for the teacher and can be used to negotiate further CPD options.	"I think [the CPD provided by my school] is the minimum they need to do. I don't know if there are any regulations about it, I have no idea, but as you mentioned, why only just three or four of them in a year? Why not more? Why not more training?" **– Jason**

External-Ought-to	External agencies provide a standard of CPD for teacher to meet. Where the Ideal represents the carrot, the Ought-to is the stick. This code is active when teachers do not desire the required PD project, but engage reluctantly because of the extrinsic pressure from these governmental or non-governmental forces.	"[…] a couple of years ago. I'm supposed to… to have your Ontario teacher's certificate, you're supposed to do ten hours a year, and I have had a tumultuous last three years, and I fell behind. And I am now without my TESL certification. Which is really bad, because I can't teach for any boards." – **Rachel**
External-Feared	The externally-motivated Feared Professional Self affects teachers in two ways. The first is a fear of changing regulations that might unemploy the teacher. The other is on an institutional level, where external organizations can sanction schools rather than individuals, also affecting the precarious employment of the teachers. CPD is a venue to escape that precarity.	"[…] and his response [to inspectors looking for Individual Learning Plans] is "If the ISI comes and asks me how many students are on ILPs, I really need to know. I should know. Because then they will have my head. This is my head on a platter." **- Patricia (describing to her supervisor's outburst)**

3.5.3   Inter-rater Reliability

In February of 2019, inter-rater reliability checks were performed with three other raters upon two interviews. Copies of the coding system (Tables 3.4 – 3.8) were given to two markers, all of whom had experience with graduate level qualitative data analysis. They were then asked to examine one interview and identify each segment with one of the twelve labels in the matrix of motivations (Table 3.4).

The first co-rater had several discrepancies with my own rating, and the agreement rate was 58%. This number was derived by taking the number of segments, and dividing that by points of agreement. This was based upon the number of segments with agreed coding

divided by the total number of segments to be coded times one hundred in order to find a percentage. This discrepancy was caused by two major factors, the first being that she was unaware that writing "nil" to indicate that there was no important data in a sequence was a possibility. The second contributing factor was that she had conversation sequences where the subject of the interview would say something that would be identifiable as one of the labels and then issue a follow-up statement confirming information, she would label the follow-up statement with the same category, rather than leaving it blank. Once these two factors were discussed and distinctions were made, the agreement rate jumped to 87%. Most of the differences between the coding involved only one part of the two-part characteristic. For example, if I had labelled one segment as *School-Ought to*, she would have labelled the same segment as *School-Feared*, or *Peer-Ought to*, having one part different, rather than wholly different, as in *Peer-Ideal*. After each co-rating, there would be a meeting to debrief, which led to revised descriptions and higher agreement rates.

The segmenting and note about labelling some segments as "nil" was incorporated into the instructions to the second co-rater, which resulted in a agreement rate that was 67% in compliance with my own. After a discussion about the differences in our results, the main factor was a confusion over the two stages of the label – those being the impetus for participation (Self, Peer, School, External), and the source of motivation (Ideal, Ought-to, Feared Future Professional Selves). In the co-rater's original reading of the factors, Ideal and Self were joined together, and Ought-to was motivated by Peers, Schools or External sources. Making a stronger distinction between onus and motivation was added into the code-book so that a third reader might have a higher initial agreement score. After a follow up discussion with the second rater, the agreement between her second coding and my own moved up to 79%. The third co-rater's agreement score was 85% and a brief discussion resolved the differences.

3.6   **Conclusion**

The pitfall of two non-intersecting studies was not to be the case, as there were issues that arose in interviews that were not present in the questionnaire or the literature. The integration of questionnaire survey data and the qualitative interviews began by taking the themes generated from the questionnaire results being used to refine questions that were later explored in the interviews. One example of unpredicted data was that three female teachers that I interviewed had experienced degrees of sexual harassment in their workplaces which affected their desire to leave that job for another. This issue emerged during the interviews and was not something that I had considered or had emerged in the questionnaire. I could not insert a new line of questioning into the questionnaire which had by this time closed, but I could augment the literature review with research findings from previous studies on the subject.

This chapter contains an overview of the selection of MMR of interviews informed by a preceding questionnaire. The choice of this method was because the lack of pre-existing demographic information on the target population of teachers actively teaching in Private Language Schools made this the best model to answer the research questions. The questionnaire was administered online and analysed using SPSS™. The interviews were recorded as .MP4 files and analysed manually for themes. The major sources of motivation for teachers at PLSs to engage in CPD was expressed as a matrix of the Self, the Peer Group, the School and other External factors, expressed intravenously with Marcus and Nurius' Future Professional Selves.

Chapter 4: Teacher attitudes towards and practices regarding specific forms of CPD

4.1   Chapter Overview

The aim of this chapter is to present the data from questionnaire and interviews as it pertains to teachers' specific attitudes and practices with regards to different specific forms of CPD, in order to answer RQ1. The chapter will look at research engagement, record-keeping, mentoring, discussion groups, classroom observation and seminar as the specific forms being examined (Section 4.2), and why some teachers opt not to engage with CPD (4.3). The final section will conclude the study of specific practices of CPD.

From this data, several factors will emerge about how teachers engage in CPD. Teacher engagement in CPD depends largely on the level of formality of the CPD form. Teachers revere higher formality level types, but are more likely to participate in less formal ones. Secondly, teachers prefer to engage in CPD alongside their colleagues rather than in a solitary fashion, and thirdly, these teachers are often concerned about oversight from management and this affects their willingness to engage.

4.2   Teachers Attitudes towards Continuous Professional Development

Attitudes towards CPD were broken down into different types of CPD that were commonly used in TESOL. These included interaction with research (10 items), record-keeping (6), mentoring (8), discussion groups (4), classroom observations (8) and workshop participation (5). Each topic revealed insights that were both locally specific and had broader implications across the spectrum of the sample population. Overall, mentoring was the most positively reported in terms of participation (see Figure 4.1, although Table 4.11 shows contrast when preferences are asked instead of participation).

Figure 4.1: Overall reception of types of CPD

Type	Value
Engagement with research	2.73
Record Keeping	2.99
Mentoring	3.40
Discussion Groups	2.75
Classroom Observations	2.12
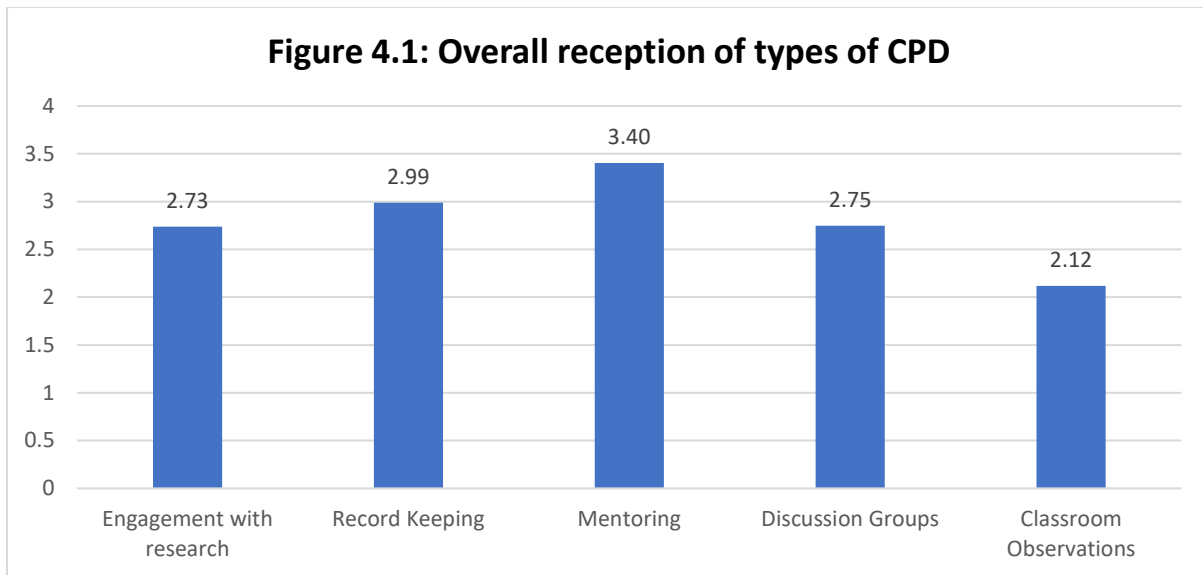
4.2.1   Engagement with research

As can be seen from Table 4.1, teachers are both interested in research, and believe it to be of direct practical value (3.02/4, both with a standard deviation of less than 1.1), while research engagement overall enjoyed the second lowest rate of participation (see Figure 4.1). In interview data, research was treated with reverence, if not enthusiasm.

Most respondents in PLSs claimed to agree with the statement that they are interested in reading published research (Score of 3.02). This is the first instance of teachers showing respect for the formal forms of CPD, particularly the prestigious category of research publication, while expressing limited interaction with that formal domain. Actual reading or participating in research was much more limited. This was a curious dynamic of teacher interaction with CPD, in that there was a respect for the formal mechanisms of CPD, without an active desire to participate.

As far as the availability of reading research publications at work is concerned (See Table 4.2), the respondents answered a multiple response item with statements to tick to show agreement and there was space for writing in other information. Some respondents included the option of being members of a university and hence having access to large

Table 4.1
Teacher Attitudes towards Research based on Questionnaire Item 14(n=66)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Data	Standard Deviation	Mean
I am interested in reading research.	17 (26%)	34 (52%)	10 (15%	3 (5%)	2 (3%)	1.040	3.02
I find research useful to my practice.	14 (21%)	37 (56%)	9 (14%)	3 (5%)	3 (5%)	1.017	3.02
I find research easy to understand.	10 (15%)	39 (59%)	9 (14%)	2 (3%)	7 (11%)	1.147	2.95
I am interested in participating in research.	15 (23%	33 (50%)	10 (15%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)	1.168	2.92
I engage in action research	19 (29%)	30 (45%)	10 (15%)	4 (6%)	4 (6%)	1.214	2.84
I discuss research at work.	8 (12%)	18 (27%)	22 (34%)	15 (23%)	3 (5%)	1.145	2.30
My employer encourages me to engage in research.	3 (5%)	14 (21%)	20 (30%)	14 (21%)	15 (23%)	1.290	2.12

libraries, which presented an unforeseen situation: that of multiple places of employment.

The divide between PLS teacher and K-12/higher education teachers was not as impermeable

as first assumed. Of the 66 PLS teachers, 8 (12%) had other teaching jobs and 19 (29%) had

non-teaching jobs which may have included access to such libraries. Only 59 respondents

answered Question 15 (Does your school provide the following materials?), of which the

most frequent response (n=46/59; 78%) was "*My school does not provide such materials.*"

This presents an ambiguity as to what is understood by having access to materials, as online

access may be casually assumed.

A contrast to that, a lack of enthusiasm was felt with regards to the employers

encouraging engagement in research. Of the 51 who answered this question (more than 20%

of respondents opted not to answer, more than any other item on the questionnaire), the mean

score of 2.12 was the lowest overall. That two-thirds of those responding would claim zero

or minimal encouragement from management to engage in actual research is a considerable

percentage. The next least positively received item was discussing research at work with a

score of 2.30. On this item, 34% disagreed (the highest instance of that choice), and 23%

strongly disagreed (also, the highest instance of that choice).

Table 4.2: Literature provided by employers, based on Item 15 (n=59)

Item	Responding "Yes"	%
Peer-reviewed journals	2	3%
TESOL newsletters and magazines	10	18%
Trade publications (IELTS, ETS, etc.)	10	18%
My school does not provide such materials	46	78%

4.2.1.1 Interview data

Asking participants about their engagement with research revealed some of the

problems of the questionnaire which had been predicted earlier by the findings of Borg

(2009; 2010) and Allison and Carey (2007), namely that many of the participants had

radically different notions of what constituted research. While some, such as Clive and

Nathan perceived research consulting to be limited to reading peer-reviewed academic

literature (Nathan was beginning an MA while Clive had recently completed his), others such

as Patricia and Jason considered the casual consulting of blogs or YouTube™ videos to fit the criteria.

Borg (2007, 2009, 2010) discussed the same recurring theme when discussing research literature, as to the burden of what constitutes "real" research. Clive was in the middle of his MA studies when interviewed the first time, and he laughed at the question of how often he read research, as he claimed to be reading peer-reviewed journals every day. Robert claimed to consult a paper version of a professional newsletter for TESOL teachers, *ELT Gazette*. Patricia was derisive of the enterprise and claimed a consultation of research that went no deeper than Google™. Katherine claimed to read research but was reluctant to describe what she read, and Nicole claimed to engage in action research, despite not being able to describe what she meant by this, as opposed to Nancy who tested and reviewed material in a more traditional "action research model". Others were in the process of building credentials and experience, and hence took the process quite seriously.

4.2.1.2 Goals for Engagement with Research

In addition to the formal-informal continuum, there was also diversity with regards to the goal of consulting research, in that some considered the objective to be to improve work performance (Katherine, Patricia, Robert, Lisa, Nicole, Nathan and Jason), others for career development within TESOL (Thomas, Nancy and Katherine) and in one case (Helen), for career change out of TESOL. Overwhelmingly, those interviewed consulted research in a very informal capacity, though were deferential to the more formal. This was mostly through an on-line medium, although Robert noted that he read a paper version of the British Council's newsletter.

Practical guidance in job performance was the objective that drove most respondents towards consulting the research of others. In the case of Katherine, when asked

if she consulted research, she spoke about how she was trying to read about new techniques but did not mention what those may be.

> B: *Do you read about current ELT methods?*

> K: *Ha ha, of course I do! There are so many new things coming, especially from educational minds, I try to know about new systems, new methods. Years before, when I had private lessons, because I had a small kid, right? I couldn't work for schools, I had to give private lessons. I realised that people, when you teach them, they wanted to use a computer. They wanted me to use something from the internet, some interactive stuff, it was like, ten year ago, a book and photocopy was enough. Now it's not.*

Katherine was motivated to learn new techniques; in her case (as was the case with roughly half of the questionnaire respondents – See Table 4.12) this involved an acquisition of technology skills. As an independent tutor at that point in her career, she was reacting not to the PD guidance of a school or government program, but directly to the expressed needs of her target clients. For Katherine, the consultation of existing literature was her way to keep her skills up-to-date, that she might remain employable. She was no longer working full time at a school after a long career of teaching in various schools.

In many ways, the above scenario with a lone teacher reading for their own development was what was initially envisioned when the topic of consulting research was first broached for the questionnaires. The assumption was for there to be a direct line between research engagement, self-motivation and the professional self. Many of the subsequent interviews problematised that view.

Lisa's story is a case in point, where she saw herself as fortunate to be a part of a team that pushed and facilitated her CPD. She found herself sharing a teachers' room with teachers who were pursuing master's degrees. Those teachers would use the teacher's photocopier to print out their reading lists which were then shared about the teacher's room, creating an informal guided-reading room for TESOL. Lisa's reading list, the discussing and

sharing of research, helped her to develop her in-class practice, despite her not being an active student. "I brought in some readings, yeah there were a bunch of things I came across, like articles that had to do with cheating on exams. […] So we did circulate some readings." Indeed, it was because Lisa was not an MA student at that time that this became so relevant. The enthusiasm of her colleagues in their engagement with research was contagious and would eventually lead to Lisa pursuing an MA on her own accord.

Nathan's experience was also collaboration-oriented, and he was enthusiastic for the sharing of research at work from peers. He related a scenario where both he and one of his colleagues were working at the same school and were in the same MA program. They were able to coordinate their research projects for their mutual benefit; this belied my initial assumption of solitude while reading.

The experiences of Lisa and Nathan both illustrate the overlapping nature of the types of CPD, in this instance with research engagement and with discussion groups. For Lisa and Nathan, there was a social element to what for many was seen as a rather solitary practice. Nicole also commented about how much she valued the process of engaging in and discussing action research with her colleagues. Unfortunately, harkening back to the ambiguity of understanding over the term "research" among previous authors and participants, Nicole seemed to have only vague notions of what constituted action research.

> N: *Well, [colleagues engaging in research] would ask you to do some action research in your classroom for them. And, we would, and then they would share the results with us.*
> B: *What do you mean by "action research?"*
> N: *I can't remember, it was a long, long time ago. I mean it was like maybe fifteen years ago. But, I can't even remember. They might do like grammar things […]*

Building on the experience of Lisa and Nathan in sharing research at work, Helen and Oliver would also consult research while working but not for the improvement of practice. For them, it was to expand other career options. Helen was hoping to leave TESOL

and enter the field of Waldorf Education, and Oliver was trying to qualify his teaching credentials for the local public board, as his background was as a science teacher, rather than English.

Nancy, however, had much more concrete and direct experience with action research. Her employer was actively involved in TESL Ontario and had cultivated partnerships with various ELT publishers in Canada. Nancy piloted chapters from a book that was under production. For her, the action research also met the needs of external accreditation, as well as an opportunity to involve herself in the testing of material, a direction that hoped to move her career in.

Unlike what Xu reported (2014), there were no respondents in this research who indicated any pressure from their employers, government regulations, or any other authority, to consult or engage with research. The nearest exception was when Nancy performed action research in the form of putting new materials to trial because her provincial regulator considered any form of CPD to be necessary for the renewal of her certification. This lack of direct pressure limits the presence of the "Ought to" Professional Self, by a diminutive external influence. Unlike the interview population of this study, Xu was looking at schools within the state-system of the PRC, and while there were teachers in this study's population who had experience in China, those were limited to PLSs and the experienced dated before Xu's reportage. The PLS teachers were not pressured by any authorities to engage in formal research, and hence did not.

In light of Borg's assertion of research being more acceptable as CPD when done through a formal domain, engagement in research as a reader, writer, and researcher emerged for both Clio and Clive as a venue for professionalizing and economic mobility. In the 2018 interviews, both had largely moved away from teaching at PLSs (though both taught private lessons without the intermediation of a school). They were both pursuing PhD studies, Clive

in Canada and Clio in the UK, and had published their first articles. Both were changing

their professional role from "teacher" to "academic"; they considered their engagement with

research to be a guarantor of respectability as educators and wore the badge of professional

academic with pride. Clive was far more eager to talk about his particular focus of online

learning than he was to speak about CPD and TESOL, and the second interview was a

challenge to keep focussed.

Robert also echoed those sentiments in the 2018 interviews. Robert, Clive and

Clio had never met each other, though all had taught for several years in PLSs in various

countries and reached the point at which they decided to upgrade their skills for promotion

out of front-line teaching. Clive and Clio were working on PhDs, and Robert was organising

an application to an MA program. All considered the prestige and stability of academia to be

synonymous with research and made a commitment in that direction in order propel their

careers out of the stagnancy of PLSs where they had toiled.

In her second interview, Clio was more enthusiastic to speak of her identity as a

professional researcher. She had written a writing-skills book that she was attempting to

have published. She positioned herself as a research expert and lamented the lack of

research-backed pedagogical tools available to most teachers. She was concerned about the

business-focus of PLSs and constructed her position in the market in contretemps to this.

Where the PLSs were businesses, she was an academician and she was to meet their flash

with her rigour, and research was the focus for this shift in professional identity.

Consulting research was widely appreciated in both the questionnaire and research

data, but when the surface of that appreciation was scratched there was a great deal of

ambiguity as to what was meant by "consulting" and "research", making the questionnaire

data problematic without the more vigorous defining from the interviews.

4.2.2   Record Keeping

There are two general purpose categories for record-keeping, one being administrative (particularly for regulatory purposes) and the other being for teacher development, and that distinction must be borne in mind when discussing these attitudes, as must the acknowledgement that a single task can accomplish both purposes. Generally speaking, there is a distinction between formal records for employers, and informal records for personal consultation. Approximately 40% of the respondents claimed that their employers expect lesson plans to be submitted to a manager directly (Question 17a), although that number jumps to 42/62 (63%) when asked if lesson plans are mandatory in a later section (Question 37a). Some schools may keep lesson plans for administrative purposes, some to submit for approval by management and some to inform students of scheduling.

Table 4.3
Record Keeping and Lesson Plans Based on Question 17 (n=66)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Data	Stand. Dev.	Ave. Value
I keep records of activities.	25 (38%)	28 (42%)	10 (15%)	1 (2%)	2 (3%)	0.998	3.20
I re-examine lesson plans.	20 (30%)	31 (47%)	9 (14%)	3 (5%)	3 (5%)	1.119	3.08
I keep lesson plans.	23 (23%)	25 (38%)	10 (15%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)	1.152	3.05
I keep records of CPD activities.	21 (32%)	21 (32%)	15 (23%)	7 (11%)	2 (3%)	1.148	2.88
I keep lesson plans for later reflection	9 (14%)	22 (33%)	9 (14%)	6 (9%)	2 (3%)	0.994	2.74

The amount of time that goes into lesson planning at a Private Language School is (based on Q34), an average of 1 hour, 9 minutes and 58 seconds per day; although the variety of schedules could alter the daily impact of those hours. Slightly more than half of

respondents claimed that lesson planning was either unpaid or incorporated into their wage, which raises the question of how valued the process was by the employer as opposed to by the teacher. Keeping personal records of lesson plans and activities would seem to be a common practice, with over 60% of respondents reporting to keep lesson plans, and 80% keeping records of activities.

4.2.2.1 Interview Data

Keeping records of lessons, activities and other teaching events has an appreciated value, but was not universally practiced by interview respondents, though it seemed to be present in the early career phases of experienced teachers. Active lesson planning was integral not only to their own performance in the long-term, but also to the development of the program where they were working. Oliver, Jason, Helen, and Beatrice were all working in short-cycle programs at PLSs. They would teach a lesson on day "x" which would cover the needs of the program.

4.2.2.2 The Short-term Cycle

Because PLSs operate on a constant intake and constant withdrawal basis, new students would be joining the class every week, and some leaving the class every week (typically either advancing to a higher level, returning to home-countries, or moving on to other immigration or education goals). The class would then cycle, and the lesson plan for day "x" would then be re-used, in a cycle of eight, ten or twelve weeks, depending on the school. This short term cycle made the iterative characteristic of lesson planning an integral part of lesson crafting.

Keeping records, either *ex-ante* or *post-facto*, provided the opportunity for planning and reflection, respectively. In many ways, these records provide informal reflection along the purposes of journals. Clive and Rachel both spoke about the importance

of record keeping, particularly early in their careers, thought the practice became less common as their experience built. The planning allowed them to ground their lessons in pedagogic theory as they understood it, and to instil this habit as their careers would later develop. Lisa described the process with an almost dictionary-ready definition of reflective practice, "When I was just about to teach it again, I would go back and see what worked and what didn't, and what were the issues and what were the successes there."

Oliver described a similar situation, with a bit more detail. He would collect his lesson plans along with additional materials used for a given topic and then cycle through them, revisiting, editing and honing his material as the weeks turned into years. He collected adjunct material to augment the lesson and over time his lessons became tauter, and required less of an investment of time for preparation. The short-term cycle was very conducive to record-keeping, analysing and adapting. This phenomenon may be restricted to a PLS-type of model, where there is a swift cycle of material. For a school that cycles through material on a yearly or semester basis, the swift reflection and recycling of material is a less practical option than it would be for an eight-to-twelve-week option.

4.2.2.3 Sharing Documents

In addition to the personal performance benefit of record-keeping, the sharing of lesson plans amongst teachers within an institution was frequently reported, making these records a shared aspect of professional identity. Examined lesson plans are a way that teachers might reinforce the teacher roles that were described in Figure 2.3 from the Literature Review. While the primary, expressed purpose of keeping records is organize teaching practice, these records also provide a platform for identity assertion. This informal practice can occur outside of the supervision of the school management, allowing for "bottom-up" form of team-created CPD to develop.

Katherine, Lisa, Thomas and Nancy all described the rigours of sharing lesson plans with other teachers. Elements of lesson plans could be questioned by colleagues or by management, making the process of record-keeping to be an element of their professional identity; one by which they would be judged by peers and management.

For Thomas, the challenge was to try and share teaching strategies, and help other teachers plan around a book. While others saw the cyclical nature of PLSs as integral for iterative lesson planning, Thomas resented the power of the course book as a crutch. "Most language centres are married to a book. For better or for worse, and I would say largely for worse. So it's typical to focus on what the students are interested in. I think that's one of the biggest mistakes that we make." While the lesson plans of his devise would often not involve the textbook, those of his colleagues would consider "cover Section A to Section B" to be an adequate amount of lesson planning, creating an imbalance of value between his lesson plans and those with whom he was to be sharing.

As discussed in the previous section (4.2.2.2), the simple repetition and cycling of tasks allowed for predictable iterations of lessons. Thomas' attempt to "re-invent the wheel" and create a new lesson for every class instead of recycling with minor changes represented an increase in workload, one that was often unpaid. Not to dismiss Thomas' enthusiasm, by presenting the practice as additional unpaid labour to the hourly wage contracts of the faculty, the practice devalued the teachers' labour on a financial level. This theme will be discussed further in 4.4 – Duties and Remuneration.

Part of Thomas' professional identity involved his creativity with lesson planning. This made him reluctant to reuse material. This insistence on starting each class with a blank slate was the reported cause of some tension with his co-workers when he tried to normalise the practice amongst his peers, in part because of a reluctance to take on additional unpaid responsibilities, but also from fear of being evaluated by management or peers.

Katherine was teaching ESL at a private English-language primary school in Istanbul, where she also had difficulties sharing her lesson plans at her school. While not a PLS *per se*, the ESL department had separate hires and was a parallel structure within the institute, operating outside the Ministry of Education guidelines that governed the rest of the school. It was effectively a PLS within a primary school. She was teaching one of three classes which were supposed to be in lockstep with each other. Her problem was that her "Level 5" class, and her partner's "Level 5" class, were not at an equal level of base competence in English. Being a K-12 structure, the students were grouped together by age, rather than skill level in English. She found the lesson plans that were coming to her were too difficult for her students, and her partner found her material too simplistic. This resulted in an unwillingness and impracticality towards the sharing of lesson plans and other resources.

Katherine was not the only one who held hostility towards lesson plans. Emily and Beatrice both had difficulty with management and thought that lesson plans were being demanded of them either for box-ticking (Emily) or as a disciplining opportunity against teachers (Beatrice). Emily had recently started at a new school and was pleasantly surprised that the school did not insist on lesson-plans, so much as weekly outlines, for the benefit of students. At her previous school, all weekly lesson plans had to be approved by management prior to leaving on Friday.

4.2.2.4 Performance Management

While lesson-planning has considerable value to the teacher on an individual basis, and for the teaching staff on a collective basis, there were many who were apprehensive about the practice, and they saw this as the eye of management casting its gaze upon the precariously employed teachers. The level of oversight that would be appropriate is difficult

to say, although generally teachers seemed to want less oversight and more independence as will be shown below.

Academic managers Aaron and Jacob overtly followed the theme of using lesson plans to observe teachers as a part of a regular business practice. Jacob was the owner and manager of a language training service, and added that for him, the lesson plan was an adamant commitment and was a shield to his program and a sword to the teachers. The standard was used to maintain discipline. "[…] So none of the students, none of the teachers can say that 'Oh, yesterday I [taught] vocabulary in my lesson.' And they actually didn't. They can't do something like this. We keep a very close eye on it."

This is a topic that stretches out of the realm of CPD. Record-keeping is being observed here as a form of CPD, but there is reluctance by some teachers to engage in the process (as will be demonstrated by Patricia's testimony), because they see the practice as manager-initiated performance management. Submitting lesson plans has the attributes of both.

Keeping records as lesson plans, teaching journals or course files was a well-received practice amongst PLS teachers particularly because of the short turnover-time of their cyclical courses. Teachers would complain that management would irregularly demand to see lesson plans, though this varies from institution to institution. The lesson planning that was handed over to management was largely seen as a formal exercise of supervision on the part of DOSs or education managers (as Patricia, Robert and Jacob asserted), whereas the impending repetition of course material made the teachers take their own records more seriously (as Nicole and Oliver reported). The eye of management was seen with some apprehension, but overall engagement with the practise was well-received.

4.2.3   **Mentoring**

Most respondents were more positive about being a mentor than about having a mentor (a value of 3.73 vs. 3.52) and were more likely to say that they had been a mentor than had a mentor, either in a formal or informal capacity.   Both being and having a mentor arched strongly in the direction of informal over formal (63-36% for being, and 78-21% for having a mentor), again suggesting teachers organising their own training, on their own initiative.

Table 4.4
Being and having Formal or Informal Mentorship

Statement	Respondents who answered "Yes"
When I began teaching, a senior teacher mentored me in a FORMAL capacity.	15 (n=69; 21%)
When I began teaching, a senior teacher mentored me in an INFORMAL capacity.	31 (n=69; 78%)
I have mentored a new teacher in a FORMAL capacity.	22 (n=60; 36%)
I have mentored a new teacher in an INFORMAL capacity.	38 (n=60; 63%)

When it comes to the item of trying "to help new teachers to benefit from my experience (Q18b)," a resounding 41% agreed and 55% strongly agreed, representing solid effort to assist Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs). Also, from the four-item data of question 18 came the result of 24% agreeing and 74% strongly agreeing to being "*happy to accept advice from someone more* experienced than themselves (Q18a)." This may suggest that these respondents were more willing to accept help than to give it (see previous paragraph), though again, the responses are subject to a context that may be quite specific.

The enthusiasm to mentor outside of the classroom was not accompanied by a willingness to share duties inside the classroom (one third of respondents opposed the idea), suggesting levels of nuance to participatory sharing. These nuances, as well as the barrier

between the formal and informal, what were mandated by management and what was to be

initiated by teachers, require further examination, as will be discussed in the interview data.

Table 4.5:
Teacher Attitudes towards Mentoring and Sharing Classes based on Q18 (n=66)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Data	Stan. Dev.	Ave. Value
I am happy to accept advice from someone more experienced than myself.	49 (74%)	16 (24%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0.482	3.73
I try to help new teachers benefit from my experience.	36 (55%)	27 (41%)	2 (3%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	0.706	3.52
I am happy to share a class with someone MORE experienced than myself.	23 (35%)	33 (50%)	4 (6%)	2 (3%)	4 (6%)	1.095	3.24
I am happy to share a class with someone LESS experienced than myself.	19 (29%)	32 (48%)	7 (11%)	2 (3%)	4 (6%)	1.197	3.13

4.2.3.1 Interview data

Among many of the mentorships attested by recorded interviews, particularly for

Clio, Emily and Patricia, head teachers took on the role of guide to their new-hires.

Conversely, teachers who found mentors later in their careers, Jacob, Oliver, Nathan and

Thomas, found their mentors amongst their peers and leaders as well. While the sample size

of 19 teachers is not large enough to suggest a global pattern, the gender divide of those

teachers is worth noting, in that all three teachers with early mentors were women in their

first three years of NQT (Hobson, 2009), and those with later-career mentors were men. In

this section, having a mentor, being a mentor, and lacking a mentor will be discussed.

4.2.3.2 Having a mentor

Thomas would describe the official mentorship experience that he received in Morocco by his manager, and then later by a coordinator, both being very positive for his immediate practice and his long-term development as a teacher. Unlike Clio and Emily who received their mentorship early in their teaching careers, Thomas had been teaching for several years before this guidance was made available to him, hardly an NQT by Hobson's definition (2009). Like Clio and Emily, he was very grateful for the imparting of practical knowledge that was finally made available to him, but this was done after many self-described "bad habits" had developed. The term "bad habits" would also be employed by Robert to justify his pursuit of later retraining.

> *I didn't know what I was doing, and of course I cringe when I think about those early lessons, we just had a director … a very knowledgeable guy in terms of pedagogy, but kind of a terrible human being. Hard to deal with, kind of intimidating. And he's a guy who would "hmmm" and "haw" when he'd watch your class and he'd see something he didn't like. And I just, the students… and so he really undermined the confidence of the teacher. That's something that I'm very careful about, when I'm watching a class and I try to avoid. […] I learned through them the basics of how to read a class, and not do so much… how to set up the conditions for the students to practice. At least it got me that far.*

Thomas inserts a mixed review of his experience, unlike Emily and Clio who would be more enthusiastically positive; this could be due to a variety of issues, including gender, location or the personal dynamics of the people in questions. One other possible reason for Thomas' harsher perception of his mentorship could be that he was a more experienced teacher than Emily and Clio, who were both starting out in their first year and perhaps a gentler treatment was more appropriate than the "tough love" approach on display here. The second significant point in the above quote was that Thomas was a mentee and eventually went on to mentor new teachers in his own practice. At the time of the interviews, he and Clio had each accrued thirteen years of teaching experience (Emily was still a relative

newcomer with only three years), but it is significant that despite the same level of experience, some people will choose to mentor new colleagues and others choose not to do so.

The model of mentorship was inclusive of other forms of CPD, particularly discussions and observations, as well as giving explicit advice. Thomas also credits his mentors for showing him how to make proper *ex-ante* and *post-facto* lesson plans and reflections, crossing lines into several different CPD forms.

Not all attempts at mentorship are successful. Patricia and Lisa both experienced failed mentorships because of a different sort of conflict with colleagues, as described in Section 5.2.3.2. Both found themselves as young women teaching in a foreign country and an older, more experienced, male teacher offered to help them by taking on a mentor role, whose motivations proved suspect.

Because PLSs lack the longitudinal staffing element of more traditional schools, with staff turnover typically being higher than at semester-based yearly-program schools, and because of the permeability of the profession and the frequency of migration or lateral movement by teachers, mentoring as a long-term relationship is not as common amongst PLS teachers as it is among other facets of teaching. This permanently impresses an informality onto the practice and mentorship becomes a more short-term phenomenon that focusses on more situational aspects than it does on the development of a career or a notional professional self.

The "mentor" is a role-model for many early-career teachers. This mentor helps to shape the goal of the NQT as classroom teachers and is a presence to help the teachers internalise their new role as teachers. Clio described the mentorship that she received when she began teaching in a PLS as very valuable. Her DOS mentored her upon her initial hire, observed her classes and took the time to help her to develop as a teacher. Clio described the

feedback from the observations as being particularly fruitful, both in terms of practice and morale. The mentorship that Clio's DOS provided for her was of immense value, both through classroom observation and feedback, but also through general advice about building a "teacher's persona," and in terms of career development.

Like Clio, Emily benefitted greatly from her DOS' observations and mentorship when she first began teaching. Most of the sentiments and experiences overlap in terms of observations and feedback, advice, mentorship and frank discussions. She was fortunate enough that her immediate supervisor took on the role of a formal mentor and helped ease her into the profession. Emily felt appreciative of her mentor's efforts, and was swift to credit him for the role he played in her early teaching career, guiding her as a teacher and assuaging the fears of economic marginalisation.

> *"And there was a senior teacher. Who was, who I was kind of allotted to, and I found him quite helpful right at the beginning, and the Assistant Director of Studies taught me how to get through. It was my first teaching job, so how to teach a skills class, how to teach a textbook-based class. Yeah, I found that very helpful. I think that their observations were fairly rigorous in that maybe it was just kind of every six weeks at the beginning, or maybe once a month, or if I had a problem when one didn't go great, so they had a new one to teach you how do it. They gave you support and I always felt that I was in the right place and I remember the director, the assistant director of studies, saying 'don't worry, we're not thinking of getting rid of you.' I felt that I had made mistakes and [what I had] learned from the help was very valid."*

Some teachers reported never having that mentorship experience when they began teaching, such as Robert and Nathan, but survived in East Asia as Thomas had, based on their own effort at teaching as well as the low expectations of their own PLSs. When Robert returned to the UK after many years in Japan, he retook a TESOL short-course in order to refine his practice, claiming he had fallen into "bad habits." Nathan did the same, though he took a TESOL long-course and later MA program. Both felt that the lack of mentorship early in their careers had presented certain long-term problems with regards to lesson planning, pacing, and extending activities around a language point.

4.2.3.3 Being a mentor

Having a mentor can be a positive experience, as can being a mentor later in a career. Mentoring an NQT helped later-career teachers Clive, Katherine and Oliver to rethink their experiences and professional sense of being. Clive was asked to do so by management. He was asked to take new teachers under his wing and guide them through lesson planning and classroom control. Oliver took that role on himself without the suggestion of management but was quick to point out that management would ask him about how new teachers were working out.

Katherine had no such interaction with management and took the role of "*den-mother*" to new teachers. Her movement from the role of "Professional" as she saw herself as being an expert teacher among untrained backpackers hired for being NESTS, to the role of "Acculturator" was stark (Farrell, 2013). She incorporated the role of mentor into her Ideal Professional Self, where she was sought out and consulted by new teachers about work issues, and by management for her thoughts on program issues. She saw the NQTs as her wards. "Because some teachers were fresh off of a language course, it was their first teaching experience. They just finished their CELTA course and the, the CELTA course wasn't actually enough. So, I remember that I was helping newcomers. The new teachers, I had to. Yes. Usually the teachers were not experienced, you know? I had to help the new teachers."

Revisiting these practices a year later for Oliver and three years later for Clive and Clio showed little change in perspectives. Oliver was content to help new teachers if the opportunity arose, though would not independently seek this out due to a busy schedule, and Clio still believed that her colleagues were somewhat undeserving of her assistance, considering them to be disinterested academic labourers. Clive continued to assert a role as resident expert on a particular zone of teaching, in his case IELTS preparation and the minutia of high-level syntax but took on a role as being available for consultation, rather than

actively taking part in the development of new teachers. For the second round of interviews, "mentor" remained a verb rather than a noun.

4.2.3.4 Lacking mentorship

Not having the guidance of a mentor can lead to a sense of frustration and feeling "lost." Helen was an NQT teaching in Taiwan where she began teaching without the guidance of a mentor. She lamented her early experience "I didn't really do a good job, because they have a certain way that they do everything, but they didn't really show me what to do, so I did cry. [laughs] and then I had to redo my demo. And I sat there going 'you know, no one's really helping me, or taught me anything or showed me what to do,' and I just was like, then there's this huge expectation." Not having a guide through the local context who could demystify the established practice proved to be a disorienting experience for Helen, who has since left TESOL after only two years.

That lament for a guide problematises the idea of mentors, as the term is a heavy one, and bestows a long-term professional significance. What Helen needed in that particular instance, if not a formal mentor, could have been a friendly peer to guide her through the process. The weight of the term "mentor" might create a reluctance by some teachers to accept a facilitation role.

The male teachers mentioned earlier who lacked mentorship at the dawn of their careers still managed to acquire experience, additional training, and mentorship along the course of their career trajectory. While tempting to say that the delay in mentoring had only a minor effect on the careers of these teachers, as they are now employed and veteran teachers in their own right, the danger of survivor's bias is present. These teachers managed to thrive and discuss their experiences with this researcher, but many did not. Failed teachers are not included in the data set and guessing at their number in contrast to those that persisted in TESOL is wholly outside of the scope of this study.

Mentoring was appreciated when present and when absent, and to varying extents the teachers interviewed were pleased to take on the role of mentor when the opportunity presented itself. The degree to which the role was taken on was the point of interest, in that mentoring took the form of an active verb and not a passive status in the discussions with teachers.

4.2.4   Discussion groups

Table 4.6
Participation in discussion groups (n=66)

Statement for agreement	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Yearly	Never	Stand. Dev.	No Answer
The teaching staff and management have formal discussions about classroom issues at my work.	2 (3%)	19 (29%)	20 (30%)	9 (14%)	13 (20%)	1.328	3 (5%)
I participate in discussion groups at work.	5 (8%)	13 (20%)	14 (21%)	6 (9%)	24 (36%)	1.483	4 (6%)
My employer facilitates discussion groups.	3 (5%)	15 (23%)	16 (24%)	7 (11%)	19 (29%)	1.512	6 (9%)
I discuss TESOL issues at work in an informal capacity.	20 (30%)	20 (30%)	10 (15%)	4 (6%)	10 (15%)	1.550	2 (3%)

Discussions are most social of workplace CPD, though organised Discussion Groups are not always so common. Informal discussions are much more widespread than formal events organised and overseen by management. More than a third of respondents (36%) claim to never participate in discussions, and almost half that (15%) claim this partake in informal ones. A note should be inserted here, that teachers' rooms in PLSs are often very social environments, and there may be some who participate in conversations on a daily basis and others who never contribute in the same room; some may listen but not contribute.

Teachers may be located in an open-concept teachers' room with shared work-stations or could have their own office, a shared office, or a dedicated desk in a common room (or no common room). Office space was not envisioned as a factor when the questionnaire was first produced. Such factors can radically alter the socialization, informal interaction, and overall esprit-de-corps of teachers and were explored in later interviews.

Because of the robust endorsement of the practice of learning through discussion in literature, and its relatively low engagement within school-managed CPD in PLSs, this topic draws attention to the self-motivation and peer-motivation of teachers that can function either alongside or in opposition to school-motivated participation in CPD. The reasons for this could be fairly diverse, but the ideas and opinions of management are not well-attested enough in the data (n=2) to make any generalisations about the reasoning for this.

Table 4.7

Possible contributing factors to non-participation in discussions

	I participate in discussion groups at work: NEVER	I discuss TESOL issues at work in an informal capacity: NEVER
Male / female	7/17	2/8
Difference from norm (26:40)	-20%	-40%
NEST / non- or near-NEST	18/6	6/4
Difference from norm (76%)	-1.5%	-32%
Under 25 years of age	4/5	1/5
Difference from the norm (36%)	+22%	-16%

The benefits of group discussion are well attested in literature (Bailey, Curtis, & Nuñan, 1998; Clair, 1998; Deni & Malakolunthu, 2013) and are obviously rather strongly

held by the vast majority of respondents. However, 36% report never participating in the

discussions that occur in their workplace. There is not enough data in the questionnaire to

confirm a reason, though some suggestions are described on **Table 4.7**.

Women would seem to be less likely to participate in a discussion by 20% but

more than 40% likely to participate informally. Younger teachers (under the age of 25) are

more likely to be silent during meetings by 22%, but more likely by 16% to pursue informal

discussions. Non-Native English-Speaking Teachers were not substantively more or less

likely to participate in discussions (1.5% more likely to not participate) but were 32% more

likely to participate in informal discussions. Going into the interview data, the informal

domain would appear to experience the most traffic.

4.2.4.1 Interview Data

From the interview data and existing literature, discussion groups can fall into the

two camps: the formal, where management organises groups on the one hand; and the

informal and peer-facilitated on the other. Both allow for teachers to take on notional roles

amongst their peers, ranging from an ingénue-type novice (like Helen), to a veteran

pedagogue (like Oliver), a specialist (like Clive or Jason), or a "den-mother" like Katherine.

This practice is a manifestation of a true *community* of practice. While there are advantages

and disadvantages to both, the informal discussions were much more common and thusly

merit discussion first.

Casual, informal discussion allows the participants to cover a wide variety of

specialised needs, including theoretical backgrounds of the subject material or practical

aspects to the classroom. 30% of questionnaire respondents reported informal work-related

discussions on a daily basis (see Table 4.6**).** They also have an immediacy, in that the

information gleaned can be tested in short order. Emily, Helen and Clio all commented on

the benefits of this peer-facilitated development. In the following sections, the use of

physical space, formality and reluctance to participate in discussions will be discussed as they impact on workplace discussion.

4.2.4.2 Physical Space

Emily, while working as a relative NQT (3 years), took on an appropriate role amongst her peers, that of a novice teacher, looking to learn from her experienced peers. When she described capacity for informal feedback provided at her school in Central London, she was very positive. She also spoke of a topic that was not really mentioned in much of the education or applied linguistics literature, that of the physical space of the teacher's resources.

> *"The place where I'm working is supportive. It's very big, there's about, at the moment, maybe 40 or 50 teachers. It's kind of crazy. There's a huge basement staff room, I do feel a bit squashed in my corner. There's this sort of temporary teacher area. As well as the modern teachers who are… modern language teachers, sorry, who don't only work at night but also during the day. So we're fighting over 10 or 12 computers, so it isn't so bad. But I find people very helpful with ideas, and also the director's office is within [a few steps]."*

Her access to her peers facilitated informal and formal discussions at work that she reported as being a great benefit to her as her career began.

Emily found herself in a situation that for many teachers is fairly ideal. There are a wide variety of teachers, easy access to management, and a socially non-threatening environment, allowing her to develop from the role of novice.   Helen described her teachers' room in Taipei in similar terms, also touching on the notion of physical space: "We share a small room with a lot of teachers [laughs]. Our kitchen is bigger than that. It's like, yeah. Pretty much the size of a hallway [laugh]." She then went on to describe the social dynamic as positive and helpful, with lots of opportunity to guide her through her first year of teaching. The space was important in promoting informal interaction.

For teachers new and old, space to speak mattered. Teachers with crowded offices and teachers' rooms that were buzzing and bustling with energy were quite enthusiastic about their colleagues and their work environment, even if other aspects of their jobs were less well-received. Those teachers were the most positive about the peer-motivated aspect of CPD, and were least interested in the school-facilitated. When management did not provide teachers with the opportunity to discuss work with colleagues, this decision was met with hostility, and not just for the language training services at which Jacob and Rachel worked, but for when there were conflicting schedules as well. Rachel, Beatrice and Jacob both claimed that their faculties were only permitted to meet once per year. Rachel and Beatrice made the claim with hostility, Jacob with enthusiasm. Having space matters and it is something that should be considered as part of a teacher's routine.

Because of the social dynamic of a PLS, with scheduling and sharing of classes, discussions about work should be considered as fairly ubiquitous. For Rachel who was working as an outcall teacher for a language training service, rather than a brick-and-mortar building, she felt that not being able to discuss work issues with other peers (or even meeting other peers) was a detriment to her career development. She felt that she lacked the opportunity to brainstorm ideas and compare techniques, or learn from veteran teachers. At a holiday party, she actively sought out her until-then-anonymous colleagues in order to exchange contact information, that they might discuss work and work-related issues. For her, a busy Christmas party at a busy time of year was her only available option to meet and become aware of her colleagues and speak to them face-to-face, making this type of CPD very impractical. Jacob, as the owner of a language training service that utilized this outcall model also spoke about his Christmas party where he actively tried to dissuade his teachers from talking about work. From his perspective, it was a party, after all.

4.2.4.3 Formal and Informal Discussions

CPD-focussed discussions facilitated by management were not uncommon. Interviewees described these discussions as focussed on a particular topic, such class discipline, school routine or the use of a new computer program. 30% of questionnaire respondents reported monthly, and 29% reported weekly formal discussions about TESOL-related issues (see Table 4.6).

As an example of a formal discussion, Jason was teaching IELTS at a PLS and was asked by management to talk to other experienced teachers who were teaching IETLS for the first time. He described the discussions "[…] at the beginning, informal, but the monthly meetings that I mentioned, they were kind of formal. We were paid for those hours."

In the informal domain, teachers can informally converse with colleagues at their own instigation and opt not to for no required justification. Formal discussions presume participation unless an absence could be justified. This is not to imply that participation is forced of reluctant teachers, only that the voluntary aspect of the informal domain means that more teachers would have recent experience with the formal because of the lack of an ability to abstain.

For Oliver, those management-facilitated discussions were a great boon. For a teacher who was new at his particular PLS, he did not begin with the interpersonal familiarity needed for informal discussions, and used the formal discussions to get to know his new colleagues. Speaking about his first CPD session at a new PLS, he recalled that "I remember a lot of focus on techniques and you know, general techniques in the classroom. Teachers getting together to share ideas. Teachers getting together [interference] not team building, but a lot of sharing of ideas. Borrowing good ideas."

4.2.4.4 Reluctance towards Discussions

While discussions were generally received as positive, they were by no means universally accepted as such. Particularly among more experienced teachers, discussions were found to be repetitious, and there was a fear of competition for an asserted position. This led to a potential of posturing for position within the team, a phenomenon that carried an effect on team cohesion. Clio expressed her identity as a subject-matter expert throughout both 2015 and 2018 interviews, though according to her, her co-workers did not seem to recognize her position as such. She claimed her co-workers were difficult to talk to because she felt that "They're not interested in theory. They're interested in what worked for them in class. They're not even interested in what research says works. They're interested in getting the lesson done and, more hands-on stuff." Clio moved from the positive embrace of discussion as a learning opportunity at the beginning of her career to being dismissive of the practice at a later stage. In her halcyon days as a new teacher, the practice was of great benefit to her in an immediate and measurable way. As the immediacy and measurability of the benefit diminished over time, she valued it less and resented it more, feeling that it was not her responsibility to train the neophytes. A part of this was role assertion, in that when her role was that of the inexperienced NQT looking for advice, in a vein similar to Emily's, her chosen role was easily met, but when the role developed into a faculty leader mantle, there was frustration and resistance. This was a common pattern among more experienced teachers interviewed.

Discussions were almost uniformly agreed as being positive, with only a few situational outliers, but encountered the same issue that would affect research engagement, and that was an ambiguous understanding of what was meant by the term. These minor issues aside, workplace discussions were the exemplar of teamwork and the peer-influenced Professional Self.

4.2.5   Classroom Observations

Classroom observation is so common an event that among the 65 respondents, everyone reported being observed at least once in the previous year. Over the year prior to taking the questionnaire, 52% reported being observed by a manager, 71% by a DOS, 46% by a senior teacher (see table 4.8). For purposes of CPD, the status of the observer should be unimportant, but when the position of observer is held by the more powerful DOS, manager or director (as compared to a peer), the situation is open to a shift from PD to performance evaluation. This apprehension towards managerial oversight is a recurring issue. Answering Question 23 (How else would you describe observations – See Table 4.9), a wide range of responses was provided, although most of the comments could be grouped into the opposing categories of "Constructive" or "Stressful." Without further data, it is difficult to attest to whether or not teachers perceived their observations as CPD or staff evaluation, if the teacher perception was the same as that of the authorities, or if this were truly an either/or dichotomy.

Table 4.8
Frequency of classroom observations (n=66)

Statement	Annually	Seasonally	Monthly	Never	No Data
The manager observes my class	11 (17%)	16 (24%)	4 (6%)	32 (48%)	3 (5%)
The DOS observes my class	14 (21%)	27 (41%)	3 (5%)	19 (29%)	3 (5%)
A senior teacher observes my class	7 (11%)	16 (24%)	2 (3%)	37 (56%)	4 (6%)
A junior teacher observes my class	10 (15%)	19 (29%)	4 (6%)	32 (48%)	1 (2%)
I observe junior teachers' classes	8 (12%)	14 (21%)	0 (0%)	40 (61%)	3 (5%)
I observe senior teachers' classes	11 (17%)	12 (18%)	3 (5%)	37 (56%)	3 (5%)

An example of the "Stressful" category of comments could be Respondent PLS 35 saying that "The manager is not a teacher and has never worked in a classroom. The dialogue is often stressful and frustrating as I am a qualified teacher and find that the ethos of the school is more about student retention than educating them." This criticism was reiterated by Respondent PLS 51, who asserted that observations "are only conducted if a student has made a complaint against the teacher. The director tries to find mistakes in the teacher's teaching style to satisfy the student's complaints, so the meetings are stressful and humiliating."

Those two extracts illustrate the themes, but of the 65 responses, only ten wrote in comments to this question. Two of the commentators were positive (limited to single words "Good" and "Productive"), but the other eight were in-line with the above comments that the purpose of the observation was for performance evaluation, not PD.

Table 4.9
Descriptions of Observations

I would describe being observed as	(m=66)
…constructive.	39 (59.1%)
…cooperative.	33 (50%)
…brief.	30 (45.5%)
…comfortable.	22 (33.3%)
…in-depth.	18 (27.3%)
…redundant.	10 (15.2%)
…stressful.	10 (15.2%)
…confrontational.	6 (9.1%)
…political.	6 (9.1%)
…directed against the teacher.	5 (7.6%)
No provided answer chosen	4 (6.1%)
…positive.	2 (3%)
…apathetic.	1 (1.5%)

* The answers shaded in grey are write-in answers and are not a part of the original options.

As far as reciprocation of observation goes, only 39% reported observing the classes of junior teachers and 44% for observing senior teachers.

While there were many positive responses to being observed, there were also many respondents that described their experience in a negative light. Respondent GP 24 said that the process "Heightened tension in the teacher-administrator relation." Respondent GP 27 said that it was "Either overly long and too detailed to be useful (and extremely stressful), or so brief as to be meaningless (checking all the boxes, so to speak)." Respondent GP 10 described the experience of observing others as laden with political weight "Being a non-native-speaker woman from a minority group telling a white male what he could have done better is no easy task."

The practice of being observed is one that is generally well-received amongst teachers, as detailed in Table 4.9**.** Despite the enthusiasm for this medium of CPD, these findings would indicate that the process itself is mired in power relationships, as suggested in previous research (Yürekli, 2013). Details on preferences of CPD topics are discussed in 4.2.8 Preferences of Topics for CPD.

When presented with a list of adjectives to describe their experience with observations (Q22-23), respondents generally selected the more positive options, leading with "constructive" and "cooperative". The listed descriptors were paired as opposites, the first being "brief," the second "in-depth," and so forth with redundant-constructive, stressful-comfortable, confrontational-cooperative, and as described on the list below (Table 4.9), the only negative term to break into the top five responses was "brief." The write-in answers from Q23 were all negative, but there was an over-all positive impression of the practice.

Respondents have varied opinions on the practice of classroom observations, as is demonstrated not only by the above responses, but also by the write-in answers on the table. In order to better understand how teachers feel about classroom observations, teachers were asked open-ended questions about their experiences observing and being observed. Their

experiences can be looked at through the lens of narrative analysis, to give light to the above data.

4.2.5.1 Interview data.

The power dynamic of manager-facilitated observations is a hierarchical one, with 100% teachers being observed by school managers, education managers, or external inspectors, though many also observe other teachers without that hierarchy. Among teachers interviewed, NQTs are observed more regularly than experienced teachers who are less subject to the gaze of management. To that end, Katherine, Lisa, Thomas and Nancy all joked about not being observed in years. The issue is that NQTs are most likely to need guidance, whereas experienced teachers are viewed as professionals. NQTs and mid-career teachers welcomed the value of this particular form of CPD, but more experienced teachers seemed to show signs of resenting the practice. Upon occasion, there are peer observations, which are well-regarded by participants, though these were far in the minority of practice. Self-initiated observations, observations of newer teachers, and observations outside of PD purposes will be discussed forward.

4.2.5.2 Self-initiated Observations

Observation and its direct feedback were generally regarded in a positive light by those interviewed; perhaps none reported a more positive experience than Lisa. While she was teaching in China, Lisa's immediate supervisor did not provide observation or feedback. This was uncommon as 47% of questionnaire respondents reported being observed by their manager and 66% by their DOS (see Table 4.8), yet for Lisa there was nought. Likewise, Katherine even joked that she had never been observed by management in her 14 years in Turkey. Lisa claimed never to have been observed by management in her two years of teaching in the PRC. Lisa moved the procedure from a management-initiated endeavour to a

peer-facilitated one by enlisted the help of colleagues visiting her in the PRC from Canada to

observe her class and give her feedback.

> L: *There was never a classroom observation done in China.*
> B: *Never? Not one?*
> L: *Never! In fact, I actually got a couple of visitors, some people who*
>   *had come to visit me in China, just some friends, some who were fellow*
>   *teachers. I asked them to come in and watch my class and let me know*
>   *how they thought I was doing, mostly with regards to classroom*
>   *management. Because most of my experience had to do with high*
>   *school students or primary and high school students. And I just had no*
>   *idea if I was handling that classroom management situation well. With*
>   *the grade three-to-five crowd. So, I actually had other teachers who*
>   *had come to visit me give me feedback after.*

Being observed by other teachers or by an immediate supervisor was largely held

in high regard, with Emily, Patricia, Clio, Lisa, Robert, Aaron, Thomas and Nicole all

attesting to the value of the practice for refining their teaching.

4.2.5.3 Observing New or Experienced Teachers

As careers developed, the opportunity for feedback seemed to diminish. Clive,

Katherine, Clio, Lisa and Rachel noted positive responses to observations early in their

careers, but the practice then seemed to die off as they grew more into the role of teacher

once the standard of adequacy had been reached. The Ought-to pressure emanating from the

management of the school was sated by the adequate performance of teaching, and hence the

need for improvement was met.

For Lisa and Nathan, being observed by management as they were competent

journeyman teachers was habitual and semesterly. They both felt that they had reached a

level of teaching prowess that did not need such a check and were not interested in the

practice. Patricia, despite not being an experienced teacher, said that the only reason for

observations at her school was "Because the ISI wants to tick the box." For them, the

observation was not intended to assist in their professional development but was a mandatory

criterion for an upcoming inspection. Emily and Patricia were both preparing for an

inspection by the Independent Schools Inspectorate (ISI) in the UK and Nathan for an inspection by a South Korean government agency. These teachers felt that their observations were being done not to develop them as professionals, but to satisfy the formal mandates of an external agency.

Observing other teachers was largely relegated to an induction procedure, to inform new teachers (not necessarily NQTs, but teachers new to the institution) of the local expectations. OOliver, Clive, Katherine and Clio all reported having newly-hired teachers attending their classes to witness the standard practice. This helped to build a camaraderie, or at least a sense of workplace community. Helen also described sitting in on the classes of experienced teachers when she arrived at her new school.

Clive, Nancy and Jacob all observed junior teachers as part of their working roles practice. Jacob observed teachers to make sure that they were meeting the standard that he expected. The observations were directly linked to a performance evaluation by himself as the supervisor. Nancy observed the practicums of novice teachers as a way of meeting her PD requirements for her continued certification. Clive, in his capacity as a trainer for TESOL Canada found observing the practicums of qualifying teachers to be an overall positive experience, developing skills in those he observed, but also for developing his own leadership skills.

Clive took on several roles as an observer, starting as that of the corrective authority figure and moving into a more constructive guide, learning to be a more critical observer as he went along, in a manner reminiscent of what Kurtoğlu-Hooton described as a corrective facilitator (2004); he would watch the class and convert the observed practice into a lesson plan that he would have done. As Clive went on from working in a PLS and later started his own business, that practice was used for developing his staff. A point does need to be made that professional development needs not be limited to immediate job performance,

but should also include career guidance, lest the teacher encounter a stagnation of skills.

Observations are intended to benefit both the observed and the observer.

4.2.5.4 Observations without CPD

Another attitude for observations emerged, in addition to the reasons of PD and

pro-forma, and that was the spectre of a performance evaluation. This relegates the teacher

to the role of being evaluated for professional standards, in an industry where teachers'

livelihood depends upon classes per day and wages per hour. Clive, Jason, Beatrice and

Jacob all spoke quite openly about the observation process being used to evaluate the

performance of a teacher. This process was not limited to new, probationary teachers, but

included established teachers as well. Jason in particular was subject to a classroom

observation that had direct impact on his employment status rather than his professional

development:

> *B: […] Do you get observed at the school?*
> *J: Yeah, twice a year.*
> *B: Twice a year? And who observes you?*
> *J: The directors, the director let's say. They normally want to see the*
> *   quality of teaching, and normally based on that observation, as well as*
> *   being assessed by the students every month, you can get a raise at the*
> *   end of the year.*

Beatrice's testimony ran parallel to Jason's frustration with observations and added

her own experience of observations being done in response to student complaints, and she felt

the experience to be more of a public disciplining, rather than opportunity for improvement.

The frustration of Jason and Beatrice towards their observations makes the plastic

lessons of Ochieng'Ong'ondo and Borg (2011) seem like the logical approach to an observed

class: teach a perfect lesson to satisfy the observer, rather than a natural lesson in order to

receive valuable input. When the benefits of a positive impression by management include

job stability, and perhaps even an increase in hours and ergo remuneration, then teaching that

plastic lesson is not only an understandable defence mechanism, but it would seem almost irresponsible not to do so.

A reminder needs to be inserted that the purpose of classroom observations as CPD should be for the observer and the observed to see the practice in a new light, and for there to be a positive development in the general practice of teaching, or repertoire of techniques. Demonstrating practice or assessing staff are competing motivations to CPD, though there can be multiple motivations behind a single observation. Assessing the attitudes of the observer was what caused stress for several teachers, as was attested by 15% of questionnaire respondents. This should not take away from the value of observations and feedback as a form of CPD, but the practice wears three hats, those of CPD, of quality control, and of staff review. This problematises teachers' attitudes towards the practice, as there may be numerous other variables floating in the breeze when the topic is discussed.

4.2.7   Workshops and Seminars

Table 4.10
Teacher experiences with workshops and seminars (n=66)

I agree with the following statement	Number and Percentage
My school offers me regular, optional CPD seminars and workshops.	22 (33.3%)
My school has mandatory CPD seminars and/or workshops.	27 (40.9%)
My school organizes participation in external CPD seminars and/or workshops.	24 (36.4%)
My school expects teachers to lead internal CPD seminars and/or workshops.	25 (37.9%)
No option selected	17 (25.8%)

Many schools offer CPD workshops to their teachers, be they mandatory or voluntary, internal or external. There is a complexity of answers, with many respondents indicating that there is both mandatory and voluntary CPD; many schools organize internal AND external CPD. The variety of administrative histories and models of schools, when combined with the ease of lateral movement from school to school, makes this question difficult to interpret within this particular questionnaire and more easily explained through the following interviews. This issue was unfortunately not detected during the piloting process.

4.2.7.1 Interview data

The interview accounts revealed that the terms *workshops, seminars,* and *conferences* were understood as interchangeable in the minds of several people interviewed, though understood quite differently in professional and academic literature (as described in 2.7.6 of the literature review). This was an issue that may have also been present during the questionnaire, and the three will be discussed together as an umbrella topic. This CPD umbrella casts a shadow over individual, group, management and external agency. This type also allows for more professional positioning within a team of peers as subject matter experts, pedagogues, or faculty leaders. Alongside its commonplace nature, this type becomes one of the most diverse experiences within CPD.

Regular PD workshops at a school were well-received. Oliver described monthly meetings at his school where strategies were discussed with his colleagues, as did Emily. At Emily's school, she had difficulty attending the workshops because of her work schedule, but the events were recorded for later consultation, and she was quite enthusiastic about that. Lisa welcomed the events at her school as an opportunity for group lesson-planning. Amongst those interviewed, it was common for teachers in the UK to describe seminars as

occurring fortnightly, Canadians monthly or bi-monthly, and amongst those teachers in the Middle East or East Asia, CPD was generally less common.

The topic of engagement with workshops and seminars will be discussed in terms of presenting and leading events, attending in-house events, and attending external events.

4.2.7.2 Presenting and Leading PD Events

The faculty-room leader who attends or delivers material at conferences is someone who is positioning themselves typically not as an ESL teacher, but as a subject-matter expert. There were few presenters among those interviewed, who were still working at PLSs. Those who had moved were teachers whose career-planning had moved them out of the PLS classroom, and into other facets of the ESL industry. This was certainly the case for Arthur, but was also seen when Robert, Clive and Clio were all attending conferences and/or delivering local workshops in their follow-up interviews years after the original interviews and the three of them had since moved on from PLSs. These teachers had all positioned themselves in the "Professional" tier of roles described in Figure 2.3: Taxonomy of experienced ESL teacher role identity of the Literature Review.

While those being interviewed were generally quite positive about this type of traditional PD, most were generally more positive about small-scale PD workshops than they were about larger-scale conferences. Participants spoke more positively about PD events where they knew the other people in attendance. Whether or not this is because of the scale of the event or because of the perceived degree of usefulness, is not easily attested for everyone, but the preference for the smaller, more intimate settings should not be interpreted as a general dislike of the larger.

One of reasons why the small-scale workshops received a more positive response was because they allowed teachers to participate more openly, particularly junior teachers. Patricia and Emily both worked at the same language school for a year, and during that time,

they gave a workshop on teaching IELTS-preparation courses. Neither had been teaching for

more than a few years at the time, and for inexperienced teachers to give training to

experienced teachers on such a large topic would certainly be more positively received by a

small group of teachers who know each other, rather than a large group of anonymous peers

as described on Table 4.10.

Emily described her first workshop presentation as being very positive:

> *I did [the presentation] with another colleague, and it went well. Everyone*
> *came – All of the directors of studies, the academic tea. So I found it – it made*
> *me realise it was a different experience, talking in front of my peers. It made*
> *me slightly nervous, and I think maybe with more practice, I'd be more*
> *comfortable, but it made me feel more useful, the feedback was useful.*

Patricia's recollection of the same event was less positive and focussed on the

particular role played by the ADOS, given the pseudonym "Andrew". The hostile dynamic

between Andrew and Patricia will be described in 5.2.3.2. While still enthusiastically

supporting her peer, the pressure from management had a negative impact on her

participation. Showing an interplay between peer- and management-motivated engagement,

she reported that:

> *Well, he actually interrupted [Emily's part of the] CPD and took me out of the*
> *CPD to give me a report that I clearly wouldn't be fixing before the end of the*
> *CPD. And, anyways. Just like… and then he came in with a cup of tea and he*
> *tripped over and the tea went everywhere and [Emily] almost had a panic*
> *attack. Ummmm and so it was my turn to do the speaking, and it was just like,*
> *I… well… it went alright. But I was completely pissed off.*

The disparity between the two recollections of the same event adds to

Barkhuizen's note that the interview data should not be interpreted as expert testimony but

rather a part of the meaning-making that the respondent uses to give their professional

narrative a cohesion (Barkhuizen, 2014; 2016). The same event went through the editing

process of storytelling for both Emily and Patricia and fit into Emily's story of a novice

teacher becoming a professional and Patricia's of a disgruntled teacher deciding that teaching was not for her.

Patricia would then go on to add that the two were not properly compensated for the event. "[Emily] told me that week, because it was an hour's worth of CPD, but we did thirty and thirty, so we only got thirty minutes worth of pay." Assuming the accuracy of Patricia's testimony over the silence of Emily's on this particular instance, that would give an example of the valuation that the school placed on CPD as pro-forma rather than an active asset. While it may indeed be a decision made by HR rather than the education side of the school, the perception is what would be important to the teachers.

Patricia's recollection was far more negative than Emily's, but the narrative was unchallenged (I interviewed Emily less than a week prior to Patricia). This raises the question of the teacher's attitude towards CPD, where Emily was much more enthusiastic about her teaching career than Patricia, who at this point was actively seeking work elsewhere. At the time of writing, Emily is still teaching and Patricia has moved on to marketing in the energy sector.

4.2.7.3 In-house and local events

For many of the teachers interviewed, there was the forum of the school-group conference. Many schools would have multiple branches within the same city, and the branches would congregate into a group conference. As workshops move from small single-school sessions to group-level sessions where many branches of the same school come together, the frequency and enthusiasm both waned, but did not disappear. Clio was teaching in one of the largest PLSs in Turkey, with over a dozen branches in Istanbul alone[9], and there

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[9] English Time, a school where three of the teachers interviewed had worked at one point, had 16 branches in Istanbul, Turkey as of January, 2020.

would be multi-branch conferences every year. Clio described them as generally positive, but they were discontinued when the group-DOS was replaced.

Nathan had a similar experience with a yearly conference for his PLS group in South Korea, as did Thomas in Morocco. Thomas' PLS was the largest in his group of schools in Morocco, and his group conference was significant enough to invite guest speakers, and this proved to be a good networking opportunity for Thomas who met the writer of a popular ESL course-book, and Thomas (like Clio and Clive) is currently trying to publish his own textbook.

While many spoke in positive terms about workshops and seminars, Clive, Oliver and Helen offered a counter-narrative. Clive and Oliver had mixed experiences with them, both positive and negative, as opposed to Helen, who as an NQT had a limited repertoire of experience to reference and had no positive experience with this type of PD.

Clive attended a workshop through the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program. He was new to TESOL and lacked any self- or peer-awareness or motivation outside of the most nebulous notions of someone walking into a class untrained for the first time. There were two conferences per year, both in Tokyo. These conferences served as both ITE for new hires, and as CPD for those already in practice. Clive was dismissive of the workshops he attended, which were mostly about dealing with culture shock, Japanese culture, and classroom discipline, and less about teaching and learning. He also described the experience as "I don't think these seminars were pedagogically sound, they were pretty useful in terms of giving you some coping mechanisms and trying to get you through the day." The JET program's training catered to the untrained and the inexperienced, and as a result, there should be an expectation of diminishing returns vis-a-vis what teachers can learn from the conferences as they gain more first-hand experience and theoretical understanding.

Clive's later negative experience came when he was working as an independent contractor at a Canadian university language training program, as will be discussed in 5.2.3.2 Workplace conflict between peers. The faculty were assembled to attend a mandatory workshop by the director on the subject of changes to the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) – a Canadian standard similar to the Common European Framework of Reference for languages (CEFR). While Clive was eager to learn, his comrades did not share his enthusiasm. He found them to be reluctant to engage and disinterested in the material. Clive's attitudinal matrix in this instance consisted of a strong self, weak peer and incidental management-driven motivator block. "[…] What really drove me crazy was that the [people I worked with], the full-timers with contracts, they really didn't like it at all. And they were pretty openly disdainful with the whole process."

The negativity of his peers in their perception of the process was a theme that was also touched on by Helen as she considered attending workshops. As an NQT, she wanted as much additional training as she could get, though her colleagues dissuaded her from attending a PLS group-level conference because they claimed that it would be catereing to the needs of the larger, host-branch of the PLS, rather than Helen's smaller, satellite branch. Since the event was poorly-paid, far away, and Helen was busy, she was convinced not to attend by her colleagues. The negative role of the peer group of teachers is explored later in this chapter.

Perhaps the most negative experience of a PLS workshop gone awry would go to the otherwise enthusiastic Oliver. The staff of his PLS was mustered for a mandatory CPD session, which turned out to be a general staff meeting where they were told that their take-home pay was being dropped by 10%. Oliver's pay was based on an hourly wage plus an hourly 10% "bonus". This meant that his practical payment had been higher than his wage, but that that practical payment was now being reduced to the wage to which he had been

contracted. Management then tried to put a positive spin on that by matching RRSP[10]

contributions. He likened the meeting to a scene in the film "Blazing Saddles" when the

sheriff gave his deputy a handful of ping-pong balls and told him to "give these to the men in

lieu of pay (Brooks, 1974)."

While not a PD experience *per se*, the experience of such an event being called

CPD and having a session of what management tried to describe as career-planning, could

certainly affect the enthusiasm level of Oliver and his colleagues. He described the morale

situation at his PLS as "pretty grim." He no longer works at that PLS. Like observations,

staff meetings and CPD workshops could serve multiple purposes, creating a tension.

4.2.7.4 External events

Large-scale conferences emerged from the sea of local workshops only for the

teachers who left PLS and migrated to more stable work at secondary and post-secondary

institutes. Clive, Clio, Robert, Nicole, Helen, and Nancy all attended conferences on a local,

national and international level, and Clive and Nicole had presented at them as well. The cost

of attendance at such events is often prohibitive for many. Also, many PLS teachers are not

directly invited, and may feel unequal to the task as PLS teachers often do not feel to possess

the required professional gravitas.

While most of those going to conferences seemed to attend for the generally self-

motivated reason of refining practice, Nicole went for the opportunity to accrue further

certification. For her, the certificates of participation and attendance that were given at these

events were what was used to bolster her CV in order to secure later employment, as she went

from job to job. The micro-qualifications allowed for her to refine her professional profile as

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[10] An RRSP is a "Registered Retirement Savings Plan;" a Canadian private pension savings account.

an expert of teaching IELTS to students in the Persian Gulf. This niche of expertise allowed

her to command a higher salary by her estimation. This pattern of accruing micro-

qualifications was already attested to by the questionnaire (see Section 3.4.2: Participants and

Recruitment), but Nicole was the only interview participant that would speak directly on the

subject.

4.2.7   Preferences of modes for CPD

The curiosity of Table 4.11 is there would appear to be a consensus by respondents

that any of the listed forms of CPD might be a fruitful option. When the respondents were

asked to evaluate different forms of CPD, very few forms were dismissed as being "not at all

beneficial." Even the mildly negative response of "not very beneficial" was quite

uncommon, the most negatively received being the keeping of a diary or journal, and even

that was fairly positive (3.13 out of 4). None of these methods were given an overall

negative assessment by the population; the overall average was 3.1, placing them all between

"fairly" and "very" beneficial.

The most popular form of CPD was observing another teacher with a clear

majority of respondents calling it very beneficial. Being observed and participating in

discussion groups were the only other forms that received above 50% as very beneficial. In

opposition to the practical activities of observing and discussing, the more academic activities

of reading or performing research and keeping a journal, all scored very low insofar as

teacher perceptions were concerned. Teacher ambivalence to these activities has been

examined on its own (Allison & Carey, 2007; Borg, 2010), but when contrasted to other

activities, it offers the opportunity to compare peer-motivation and self-motivation.

There was an expectation based on research that being mentored would have been

received more positively than being a mentor (Crasborn, et al., 2011; Maltas & McCarthy-

Claire, 2006), but the positive response of mentoring another as a path of professional

development for the self was also quite high. This was a curious affirmation of teamwork

and peer-support that was not predicted by pre-existing literature, though the apprehension

towards management could have inferred a movement towards peer-development.

4.2.8   Preferences of Topics for CPD

Table 4.11
How do you rate the following methods of CPD? (n=66)

Type of CPD	Very beneficial	Fairly beneficial	Not very beneficial	Not at all beneficial	N/A	Average Value
Observing another teacher (n=63)	37 (59%)	19 (30%)	5 (8%)	2 (3%)	3 (5%)	3.44
Participating in discussion groups (n=63)	34 (54%)	21 (33%)	4 (6%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	3.43
Being mentored by a senior teacher (n=62)	29 (47%)	24 (39%)	3 (5%)	2 (3%)	4 (6%)	3.38
Keeping a teacher portfolio (n=60)	27 (45%)	19 (32%)	5 (8%)	2 (3%)	7 (12%)	3.34
Being observed (n=61)	33 (54%)	17 (28%)	7 (11%)	3 (5%)	1 (2%)	3.33
Giving workshops and/or seminars (n=63)	26 (42%)	22 (35%)	6 (10%)	1 (2%)	7 (11%)	3.33
Attending workshops and/or seminars (n=64)	30 (47%)	24 (38%)	9 (14%)	1 (2%)	2 (3%)	3.3
Mentoring a junior teacher (n=61)	22 (36%)	27 (44%)	6 (10%)	1 (2%)	5 (8%)	3.25
Reading research (n=60)	17 (28%)	34 (57%)	4 (7%)	1 (2%)	4 (7%)	3.2
Performing Research (n=61)	21 (34%)	24 (39%)	10 (16%)	1 (2%)	9 (15%)	3.16
Keeping a diary or journal (n=61)	19 (31%)	23 (38%)	8 (13%)	2 (3%)	9 (15%)	3.13

Table 4.11 has a reliability score of $\alpha = 0.918$

As technological communication moves to the forefront of training, teachers seem to show an enthusiasm to adapt, by placing *online platforms, hardware* and *software training* as the first, second and third most popular topics in which they "would like additional training". These represent topics of increasing importance, though not ones that may have traditionally been included in teachers' initial training repertoires.

Table 4.12
Topic of CPD (in order of most positive; n=66)

Topic of Interest	Indicated "yes"
Technology – use of online platforms	33 (50%)
Technology – use of hardware	30 (45.5%)
Technology – use of software	28 (42.4%)
Pedagogy – teaching writing	27 (40.9%)
Pedagogy – teaching listening	26 (39.4%)
Tests (IELTS, TOEFL, TOEIC, etc.)	23 (34.8%)
Pedagogy – teaching reading	22 (33.3%)
Phonetics / pronunciation	22 (33.3%)
Pedagogy – teaching speaking	21 (31.8%)
Student cultural background	20 (30.3%)
Grammar	16 (24.2%)
Behaviour management	2 (3%)
Evaluation and assessment	2 (3%)
Young learners	2 (3%)
Administration	1 (1.5%)
Collaboration with research	1 (1.5%)
Making classes more engaging	1 (1.5%)
Mobile Assisted Language Learning (MALL)	1 (1.5%)
No to all above	1 (1.5%)
Promoting learner autonomy	1 (1.5%)
Teaching upper level classes	1 (1.5%)
Vocabulary acquisition	1 (1.5%)

* Topics marked in grey were write-in topics that were not presented on the original list.
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Technology in the classroom is a topic that elicits enthusiasm from teachers and would seem to indicate a more general acceptance of technology as an integral part of the classroom and as a teaching tool. *As an addendum – this research was done prior to the COVID-19 global pandemic when the need for strong technology skills was made clear across TESOL and many other industries.* As technology is by its nature ever-innovative, it would seem logical that it would be the item in need of the most frequent updating (Hampel,

2009). This was contrary to the ample evidence in the literature of teachers being reluctant to adapt to new technologies (Cole, McCarthy-Raffier, Rogan, & Schleicher, 1996; Hadjerrouit, 2014; van Wyk, 2013; Xerri & Campbell, 2016). None of the teachers interviewed spoke much about a desire to increase their skills with technology, save for Nancy, and she was treating technology more as a necessary evil than something with which to be actively engaged.

A possible explanation of this enthusiasm is the nature of the question. Teachers were asked "In which topic would you like additional training?" This concerns attitude to CPD in this area and does not imply automatically transfer to actual classroom practices. Whether or not the teachers are actively including technology in their practice is unattested. The possibility exists that they would want technology training in order to add to their resume and make them more appealing as a potential employee, like Nicole accruing micro-qualifications, or simply learn about technology or technology's sake. Technology training is certainly valued, but the attitudes behind the valuation is not yet established.

There are many possible reasons for these attitudes; respondents were showing a demonstrable preference towards the more practical and portable aspects of teaching instead of the theoretical underpinnings than for more traditional elements such as grammar or the Four Skills. This could indicate a desire to bolster résumés for future movement. It could also indicate that many of the teachers sampled feel that they have an adequate understanding of these traditionally more "basic" elements of language teaching.

4.3   Reasons for non-engagement

Regular CPD participation is reported among only slightly over a third of respondents within PLSs. Conversely, a quarter of respondents indicated that no CPD of any kind was offered by their school management. The variety of responses in Table 4.13 illustrates this divergency.

Table 4.13
Reasons for non-participation in CPD (n=66)

Statement	Cases of agreement
I DO regularly participate in CPD activities.	23 (34.8%)
CPD is not offered at my school.	17 (25.8%)
CPD is unpaid work.	11 (16.7%)
I have a conflicting schedule.	9 (13.6%)
I intend to leave TESOL.	9 (13.6%)
My school discourages CPD.	8 (12.1%)
I have no interest in CPD.	5 (7.6%)
CPD doesn't relate to my immediate circumstances.	3 (4.5%)
I have time commitments.	3 (4.5%)
Do not wish to answer	2 (3%)
Poor quality of CPD	2 (3%)
Aimed at inexperienced teachers	1 (1.5%)
Aimed at senior teachers	1 (1.5%)
Don't know where to pursue it	1 (1.5%)
Inaccessible because of geography	1 (1.5%)
My colleagues don't engage in CPD	0 (0%)

＊ Reasons marked in grey were write-in responses not offered on the original questionnaire

Despite some teachers regarding CPD as an onerous experience, and some as an opportunity to help themselves in their professional environs, there are measurable factors contributing to teacher's attitudes to PD. The most common reasons for teachers not to participate in CPD work in concert. If CPD is not offered by the place of employment, then the cost could be passed on to teachers personally, and it would be unlikely for the teachers to participate in CPD if the practice costs them personally. Time management arrives high on the list, as many teachers have multiple commitments on their time, rather than just one single job. A commitment of time and money for a job that may or may not fit into the long-term career planning of the professional was explored in the interviews.

4.3.1   Teachers' Future Plans

One of the most surprising findings is that 13.6% of respondents do not intend to stay in TESOL (see Table 4.14). The self-selection of respondents to the questionnaire implies that most of the respondents would be keen on CPD and TESOL. These respondents

follow discussion fora on the Internet and answer 20-minute-long, multi-page surveys from

someone unknown, yet despite this, 13.6% of them do not intend to stay in the profession.

There is a broad spectrum of reasons as to why a teacher might wish to leave teaching, but

throughout the questionnaire and later interviews, as well as the previously described

literature, there is a regular theme of attrition, where teachers opt to leave the classroom for

reasons of remuneration, working conditions, diminished enthusiasm or other opportunities.

Table 4.14	
Plans for the next five years (n=66)	
Career plan for the next five years	
Teaching TESOL	28 (42.4%)
Education management – TESOL	24 (36.4%)
Teaching – Non-TESOL	9 (13.6%)
Unrelated to education	15 (22.7%)
Not sure	14 (21.2%)
Education management – not TESOL	8 (12.1%)
Retiring	3 (4.5%)
Other TESOL-related	7 (10.6%)
Education Plan for the next Five Years	
Formal education within TESOL	18 (27.3%)
Formal Education outside of TESOL	13 (19.7%)
PD within TESOL	13 (19.7%)
None	15 (10.6%)

Another reason could be that TESOL was never intended as a life-long

commitment for this particular group of respondents. As can be seen by Table 4.15, the

phenomenon of professional attrition from education is not restricted to those with a

background outside of TESOL or education. The highest category of respondents was for

those whose undergraduate fields was "BA – Other"; they had a relatively high rate of those

either looking to leave, or uncertain to stay (56%) uncommitted to staying, but that category

of uncertainty remained high even amongst those with a BA in English Language and

Literature (60%), or a BA in Education (71%). Those with a Bachelor of Education, while

holding a similar number to those with a BA in Education (6 and 7 respectively) had a much

lower rate of non-committal plans (17%).

Table 4.15
Cross-table of undergraduate degrees and plans for leaving TESOL within five years

Undergraduate Degree held	Total respondents (n=58)	Future plans are unrelated to education (n=14)	Not sure of future plans (n=14)
BA – Other	23 (40%)	4 (17%)	9 (39%)
BA – English language and literature	10 (17%)	3 (30%)	3 (30%)
BA – Education	7 (12%)	4 (57%)	1 (14%)
Bachelor of Education	6 (10%)	1 (17%)	0 (0%)
BSc	4 (7%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)
Do not have a university degree	4 (7%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)
BA – TESOL, Linguistics, or Applied Linguistics	3 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (33%)
Associate Degree	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Another statistic of note is that 11 (16.7%) do not participate in CPD because they

see it as unpaid labour. This in itself is not a surprise, but Question 27 had a list of options to

select and this was not among them. 11 respondent took the time to make this claim as a

write-in option. Despite the inconvenience of writing-in an answer compared to the ticking

of boxes, this item scored higher than many of the predicted answers that were listed. One

option listed by Borg "My colleagues don't engage in CPD " (Borg, 2009), was suggested but

not a single respondent selected it. This implies a noteworthy difference between his population of university teachers and my population of PLS teachers.

This item raises questions of professional enthusiasm, which assumes professional participation in CPD. Asking respondents in interviews about their future professional plans would be integral to building a profile of the Future Professional Selves of teachers in PLSs.

4.4   Conclusion

Teachers identified numerous inter-related attitudes towards different types of CPD, with motivational themes emerging for investigation in the subsequent chapter. Just as CPD has become less formal, many perceive their careers to be so as well. The number of respondents looking to leave TESOL was quite high, with more than half looking to move on to either other facets of education or leave entirely. Many are also looking to advance their formal education, to this end.

The respondents typically held multiple minor TESOL qualifications in addition to university degrees in a broad variety of disciplines, implying that many of the population entered TESOL out of happenstance rather than design. They were generally positively pre-disposed towards professional development, although ambivalent as to how to obtain this. Much of their professional development has been relegated to the informal sphere, particularly in mentorships and discussion groups. PLS teachers are educated and showed an eagerness to learn a specialised knowledge for which they had not been formally trained.

Unfortunately, a sample size of 66 respondents is not enough to make broad generalizations about all teachers of English to speakers of other languages. It is however, enough to note some wider trends that might be explored, those trends being (1) the importance teamwork and peers in the development of individual teachers; (2) there is a binary divide between formal and informal engagement in CPD, a topic upon which teachers

have mixed emotions, and; (3) the role played by the PLS itself, where management operates

both as a champion of CPD, and as a bugbear that causes teacher anxiety.

Chapter 5: Teacher Motivation towards CPD

5.1   Chapter Outline

This chapter examines the reasoning behind major sources of motivation for CPD engagement in order to answer RQ2, as to why teachers feel the way they do. This chapter draws information from the interviews described on Table 3.2: Interview Participants, and the questionnaire to a lesser degree. The data interpretation looks at how motivations intersect with relation to the four sources of motivation, the Self, the Peer Group, the School and External sources (5.2) and then other motivators such as migration and personal finances (5.3). There is then a conclusion and discussion (5.4).

Throughout this chapter, the more general themes that had begun emerging in the previous section, those of the importance of teamwork to teachers, and a sense of apprehension towards management, coalesce into the stronger fields of peer and management roles (5.2.3 and 5.2.4 respectively). The lean to the informal side of the formality spectrum repeats, but is expressed throughout the chapter rather than meriting a specific section.

5.2   Motivations for CPD engagement

Based on the analysis of the data, four major sources of motivation in CPD emerged. The four main sources of motivation were the Self, the Peer Group, the School and External Agency. Two factors that affect multiple sources and interweave on multiple aspects of professional development are notions of professional identity and the adoption of the neo-liberal business model rather than the more traditional education model within a PLS.

While the sources of motivation, the Self, the Peer-group, the School-management and External organisations, would seem to be wholly separate, there is a large overlap of these four categories, creating a complex matrix of motivators. Controlling the matrix of the types of CPD and the motivators of teachers, is the web of the Future Professional Self,

comprising the Ideal, the Ought-to and the Feared Self, as described in Section 2.4 of the

Literature Review (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

The Ideal Future Professional Self is a largely self-imagined position for the

teacher to take in the future. This can incorporate elements of status, of material gains,

position, or any other realistic goal for career development. This represents the intrinsic

motivations of the teacher as they plan or imagine their career.

The Ought-to Future Professional Self is defined by external sources. This can

be the demands of the employer, an accreditation board, the pressure from parents, friends or

peers, or any other external pressure. This represents the extrinsic motivations. Some

external motivations may or may not be internalised by the teacher, and some internal

motivations may cease to be externalised over time. The overlap between the Ideal and the

Ought-to is not stationary but is subject to change over time.

Figure 5.1
Analytical Framework I: Sources of Motivation to Engage in CPD
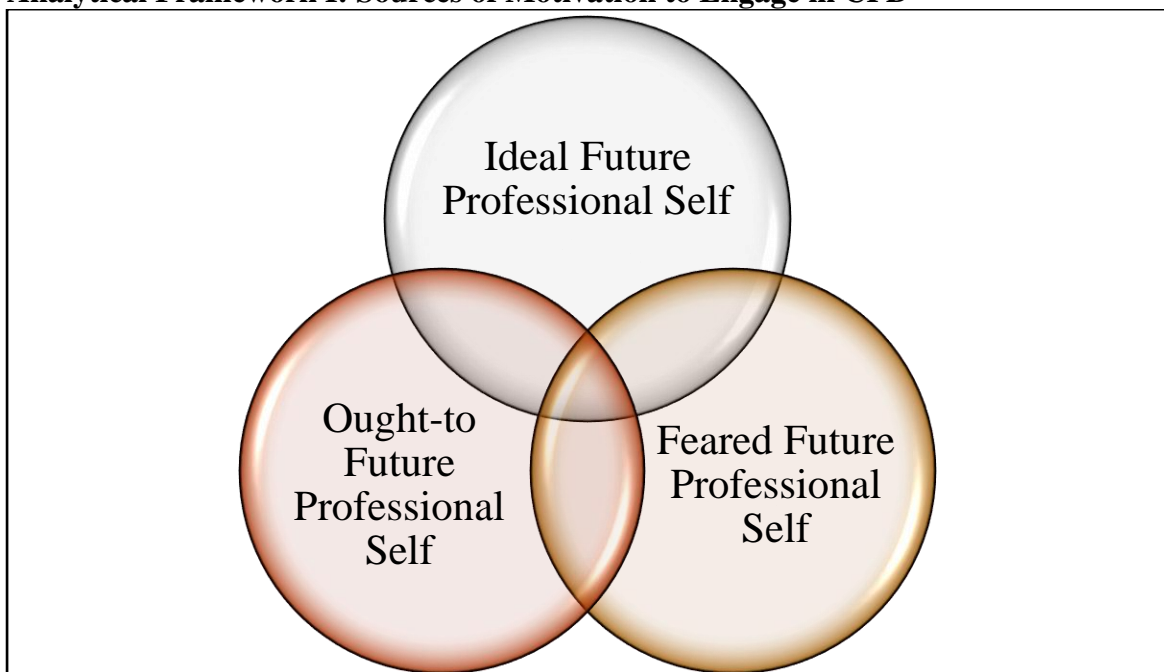
The Feared Future Professional Self is the imagined worst-case scenario of the teacher's career trajectory. This is an intrinsic and personal vision to teachers, that could be best understood as an antithesis to the Ideal Future Professional Self.

Figure 5.2
Analytical Framework II: Sources of Action to Engage in CPD
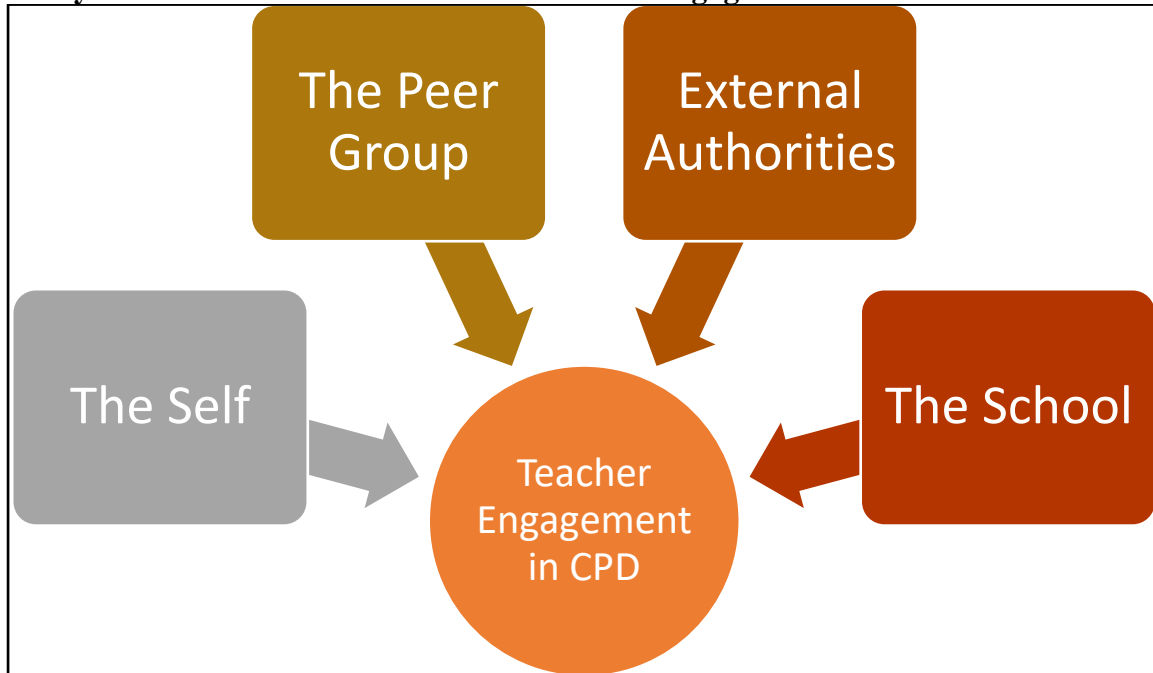
5.2.1   Major sources of motivation to engage in CPD

The Self represents the inner drive to improve. This can be in the form of improvement for improvement's sake, or for more practical purposes such as career advancement, both in service of attaining the Ideal Professional Self or avoiding the Feared Professional Self. Self-motivation entails self-assessment, self-direction and self-improvement, and the gradual expansion of qualifications and repertoire of teaching.

The Peer-group represents the community of practice, and despite the solitary practice of teaching a class, the community of teachers at a school is often the most direct influence on teachers and their practice. It is this peer group that presents a collective self and an informal "ought-to" with which the individual teacher must interact. This can be a positive influence, helping teachers to access CPD, or negatively, typified by inter-personal

feuds and conflicts, extending even into a Feared Professional Self by way of negative role-models.   One feature of the peer group that needs to be recalled is the short-term nature of the group. While camaraderie was an important part of teachers' lives, lateral movement within teaching is such that there are few long-term team members in any school's faculty. Peers at a school are always "new" to a certain degree.

The School is the direct employer of the teacher, and often bears responsibility for ongoing PD. More than any other player on the stage of a teacher's career, it is the schools that define the formal "ought-to" professional self. The variety of employers over a single career is often quite broad, as horizontal movement and labour mobility were both strong features of TESOL. While many teachers valued the contributions of their school to their own careers, there was often an apprehension towards management involvement in the affairs of the classroom. Amongst those interviewed, the theme of positive support from schools was quite common, even if it often took a top-down approach as to what the needs of teachers were. There was also a concern over managerial neglect of training, or of disguising evaluation as CPD, though the category of "School-motived CPD" was the category that acquired the most data from those interviewed.

The **Other External** pressures to engage in CPD come typically from government agencies or less-commonly from non-government organisations. Government agencies in some countries regulate professions, regulate education or regulate the standards for student-visas, all of which place pressures on the level of training and professional knowledge of the teacher. Non-governmental professional agencies such as TESL Canada, the British Council or local unions try to encourage CPD for the sake of the profession or the members. This is a curious category, because many teachers knew that external forces had an impact on their teaching practice and CPD engagement, but few knew to what end.   For many, the external represents an invisible current flowing beneath the surface by the subject of the system.

These four categories are all important for teacher engagement in CPD, but not equally so for each teacher. Based on the interview data, the school was a factor present for each teacher, and when the school mandated CPD, teacher did so; when the school failed to do so, CPD fell out of practice. Secondly, the self could motivate a teacher who was precariously employed to engage in CPD, either for TESOL or to explore the avenues of new careers. Peers could motivate teachers to engage, though could also alienate teachers from the practice. Peers also provided networking opportunities for teachers to find new jobs. External, while important, remained too varied and misunderstood by teachers to be as significant as the other factors to the teacher's motivations, thought the effect on teachers was still strong regardless of teachers' perceptions. The practical rankings of the four motivators, from the most powerful to the least in terms of effect on the teacher are: The School, the Self, the Peers and External.

5.2.2   The Self

CPD as an end to itself or as a path to self-improvement motivates teachers. When describing the motivations that stem internally from the self, there are five main aspects of that push/pull dynamic that emerged from the interview data and will be examined in this section. The first is that teaching is solitary work, where self-assessment and self-improvement are inherent in the process. Secondly, the teachers at PLSs are often in an economically unstable situation that requires accruing of qualifications that have an appeal to a broad market, and that teachers experience professional movement at a high rate (see 5.3.3 Economic Stability). Thirdly, teacher career development when working at PLSs is limited and requires a different lens to examine than does career development in a larger education system with graded positions, committees and room for advancement. Fourthly, teachers have limited time to invest in a career that may or may not be able to provide the stability that

they need, making the prioritisation of time a complex issue. Finally, when the Self ceases to motivate, teacher burnout is an experience shared by many teachers.

5.2.2.1 Self-assessment and Self-Improvement

Teachers described being responsible for much of their own CPD. This was especially true as teachers gained experience and expertise. School management would often only resort to CPD if they believed it was warranted. As Beatrice noted, "Observations were only done if students complained," and this ethos carried over into other aspects of the relationship between management and teachers. When this sentiment was present, any attempts at CPD organised by management would be subverted if teachers believed that the purpose of the class visit, or the lesson plan, or the discussion, were not PD-related, but a form of performance monitoring. "We'll only have a teacher meeting if there's a problem," as Jacob noted, illustrating the point. Management would seem to inform teachers in the event of a problem that requires direct action, rather than provide guidance. Once a teacher gains experience, then their need for intervention from the school diminishes. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Katherine joked that "I haven't been observed in twenty years!" as a result of no complaints. Experienced teachers, like Katherine, have more autonomy than their colleagues who had yet to reach this threshold. That threshold, however, becomes a ceiling of development when unattended. For teachers who intent to improve their performance, the responsibility for assessing areas of improvement and planning of new goals is left up to the teachers themselves.

Self-diagnosing areas for improvement can be challenging, given the necessary degree of self-awareness required. As a popular teacher, Oliver operated under minimal supervision or feedback from management. As a result, he would self-diagnose his own areas for improvement and pursue development therein. He describes his self-awareness of his over-reliance on Teacher-Talking-Time in one extract:

> *O: One thing I tend to, and this is a personal thing, I guess, is it's a*
> *common mistake among ESL teachers, is that I guess I spend too much*
> *of the time talk[ing].*
> *B: Teacher talking time?*
> *O: Yeah, too much talk time, myself. As a way of filling up the space*
> *that's going on.*
> *B: Hallelujah, Brother!*
> *O: Yeah, so that's a personal weakness that I try to focus on. Being*
> *aware of the problem is a good first step, but addressing the problem*
> *is a necessary next step. Continuing the conversation.*

Oliver's self-awareness guided him in his development. He believed that he spent too much time talking in class, and planned strategies to limit the practice. He was in the process of certifying for TESOL in Ontario because his American qualifications were not acceptable for the Canadian province. He was working at a PLS pending that certification. Oliver held a BSc and BEd and many years of experience, but rather than go through the TESOL course in a perfunctory manner, he took the opportunity to seek out training in his own weaknesses, to refine a skill that needed work. Oliver was self-motivated to improve his practice, despite his ability to pass the certification course and keep his job without that refinement. Oliver was aware of the situation for teachers in Toronto, and that he would find himself working zero-hour contracts unless capable of securing a position as a truly exemplary teacher in a school. He adapted by working part-time at one school and taking on several private students. This fear of working part-time at the periphery of the market, as many of those in his position do, was a strong motivator. The Feared Future Professional Self for him was a continuation of his present, but he remained diligent to progress past this. Although, at the time of writing he has left teaching to a more lucrative career.

Oliver's enthusiasm for recertification was shared with Robert. Also working in multiple venues, Robert taught at a PLS during the day, and worked as a stand-up comedian and musician at nights. He had taught for five years in Spain, seven in Japan and several in the UK before requalifying his original TEFL Certificate. He felt weaknesses were creeping

into his practice. His abrupt answer as to why he would incur such an expense of money and time, for a revisit of a qualification that rarely expires, was "I had got into some bad habits in Spain and Japan." There are elements within the TESOL industry which rely on NESTs to simply be NESTs (Ruecker & Ives, 2015), and perhaps Robert felt that he needed to reinvigorate his practice when re-entering the more competitive London market, but if that was the case, then his self-diagnosis of weaknesses was instrumental in his career development. Aside from the voluntary re-certification, Robert would also read blogs on his commute to and from work, selecting his own readings and interests as a TESOL professional.

Revisiting the interview with Robert three years later in 2018, Robert had ceased to work at the same London PLS on his zero-hour contract and was working at a primary school in the UAE with a fixed (and more lucrative) salary. He credited his CPD program of his last year in the UK as preparing him for his position in the UAE. When asked where he hoped to further develop himself, he said that because his current job gave him such financial stability, he could now focus on other pursuits, in this case he wanted to pursue a career outside of education (See Table 4.14: Plans for the Next Five Years) and was refining his material as a comedian.

This pattern of self-diagnosing weaknesses was common amongst teachers interviewed. When Thomas was asked about what he had learnt from his recent MATESOL training, he answered that "It's made me aware of some of the gaps in my linguistic knowledge. That was always sitting there as an option, and I'm one of those people, that I'm not comfortable with those gaps in my knowledge." He was working at a PLS in Morocco while working on his MA, and the PLS showed little to no interest in his additional training or refinement of practice. Unlike the previous examples, where CPD was a type of survival mechanism, Thomas was interested in improving his practice and knowledge for his own

sake and was pursuing that goal by working on an MATESOL through an American

university in an online capacity, without peers, help from management, or external agents

applying pressure.

Helen, like Thomas, was independently pursuing her formal teacher education

while teaching TESOL. She showed a preference for the practical and for topics that would

benefit the teacher in a day-to-day capacity, helping to secure her current position at her

school. She resented the CPD that was made available to her on topics that she felt would be

of little direct benefit. She would instead pursue her own topics of professional development

outside of the provision of her PLS.

> H: *So like I'm constantly on my own time, and like I took a class in*
> *classroom management, and like how to work with kids with*
> *disabilities. And I do have one kid, he's got a bit of a walking*
> *disability and like he's really smart, so I do feel what I'm learning*
> *helps me. But I'm not, I haven't upgraded really.*
> B: *Ok, is your school giving you any money for that development, or is*
> *that all you?*
> H: *No, that's just my stuff on my own.*

Helen was working with only a TESOL certificate and no formal degree, though

she was pursuing an undergraduate degree in an online capacity. She was hoping to find

work in a Waldorf School. Without any formal assistance from her employer, much like

Thomas and his MATESOL, she would work on her own time with her computer in order to

develop herself as a teacher.

The initiative for the self-assessed and guided personal development that was

shown by Oliver working alone, Robert and his multiple jobs, Thomas working on an

MATESOL, and Helen trying to start a career in a related field, is not shared by everyone.

Nancy reluctantly summarized the lack of technology training provided by her school

sullenly as "You have to train yourself. And that's ok. I'm ok with that. But I haven't had a

ton of training in that regard." Unlike Oliver and Thomas who saw a shortcoming in their

repertoire and took the opportunity to independently pursue this, Nancy shrugged at her lack of training and moved on to other topics.

5.2.2.2 Career development

Promotions and advancement are uncommon in teaching, and this can create a reluctance towards CPD, as reactionary frustration, cynicism or an overt desire to leave teaching (See Table 4.14). This is not to say that such things never happen, indeed seven of the teachers interviewed, were no longer PLS teachers, but had advanced in their careers. It is important to note that PLSs do not have an inherent, linear, career path. This prompts teachers to accrue qualifications to reach those few opportunities or expand their searches in different directions. The disconnect between the Ideal and Provisional Future Professional Selves was a heavy emotional burden for teachers who would leave TESOL like Clive or Clio, or leave education altogether, like Oliver and Patricia. The spectre of the Feared Professional Self as a precariously employed teacher is present in this facet of self-motivation, but only as an implied item. Instead, the negativity often comes from investment without return, a failure to advance and ideal self-denied that becomes the Feared Future Professional Self.

One of the primary reasons why teachers are reluctant to engage in CPD is that they see little direct benefit them professionally (See Table 4.13: Reasons for Non-Participation). Courses and programs of CPD exist, but enrolment is low. Arthur, who works in the teacher accreditation board both provincially in Ontario and nationally within Canada, when asked about why this was, summarized the source of much of the frustration that teachers feel in terms of wasted effort when it comes to CPD:

> *"When TESL Ontario designed [the CPD] framework, they didn't really design accountability into it. So you get a certificate, or you get a line on your transcript of this course, and it was said that employers were looking for this type of certification for this course. But it was kind of assumed, but it was never on paper. […] It was never part of the contribution agreements*

for LINC programs, or for enhanced training programs. It was never said that teachers had to be certified by TESL Ontario or had to have certain PCTC courses. You know? So it was all up in the air, and I think that teachers did not see much return on the investment."

Arthur had assumed that for teachers to reach their Ideal Professional Selves, there would be a pathway and catering to that need would be his major project of PTCT for his institution. The market proved to be reluctant to react to this, and his project was eventually cancelled due to a lack of enrolment. This was a situation similar to that faced by England (2020. p 63) as she examined TESOL Leadership certificates by IATEFL.

For Clio, reactionary frustration at career stagnation, at an advancement that was always just out of reach, pushed her away from engagement in CPD for many years at her PLS, prior to pursuing her MA and finding work in the higher-paying university market. The negativity to which her CPD experience had driven her crossed a threshold into motivation when she found her career advancing. Her negativity was directed at the CPD experiences she held from working in PLSs, though she was hoping to take a leadership role in CPD at the more prestigious post-secondary institute that she later moved to. While she claimed that this was because she was working with more academically minded and hardworking colleagues, she also later claimed that "Uh, well, intellectually, some people just don't get it… They don't consider teaching as a career."

Like Clio, Clive found motivation from frustration. His career was to move from the classroom to teacher training and materials development. Both experienced a shift in their Ideal Professional Self from the role of the teacher of students, to the trainer of teachers. Both experienced frustration at the lack of vertical movement in their immediate position and were trying to raise their position independently of their organisations. And in follow up interviews three years later, both had moved out of PLS completely, and both had tried their hands at starting their own schools. Clive found his materials to be unsatisfactory and began

to produce his own IELTS-targeting material. He described the time as a dark period in his

life and career, though he went on to describe the positive eventual outcome of the

experience.

> *"[…] I got interested in materials development, because the school I was at*
> *had no materials. So when I got back to [Canadian PLS], for no other reason,*
> *I think that because I was re-energized, they actually gave me an opportunity*
> *to come back to [PLS] as a TESL instructor. So I actually became a TESL*
> *instructor. I got my TESL Canada instructor's certificate and I started*
> *teaching classes."*

Patricia on the other hand found her own "glass ceiling" too strong for her to

continue, and after only two years of frustration with teaching, began searching for work

elsewhere. She participated in IELTS training, so that she could fall back on private lessons

when she left her current school. Her frustration was quite palpable, and she declined

teaching IELTS despite her training. She wanted to work as lightly as possible at her PLS

and move on to a new career as seamlessly as possible.

> B: *Ok, but they haven't given you a chance to do IELTS at the school?*
> P: *Oh God no! I've never taught IETLS at [the PLS]. What are you on*
>   *about?*
> B: *Well, do you want to teach IELTS?*
> P: *No. I want to teach like the easiest classes possible. Because I just*
>   *want to have time to look for another job, to be perfectly honest.*

While she continued there for another five months, she did eventually find work

outside of TESOL, and acknowledges that teaching may have been the right career for her

mother but was not for her. Patricia's Ideal Professional Self was an inheritance from her

mother, and her Feared Self was being realised where she was. When that Ideal moved into

the Ought-to Future Self, the motivation to stay in the same career waned. A generational

difference could also be there as her mother's job was an auxiliary income, and Patricia's

own was a primary. Her frustration steeled her for what would seem to be a better career

choice.

Clive personally directed himself in terms of CPD, rather than relying on peers on management. Like Clio and Patricia, he also experienced resentment towards his career stagnation, which manifested as resentment to the peers that began their careers as teachers and then stayed there. Clive, Clio and Patricia all had personal acrimony with colleagues to which they acknowledged their own share of the blame. Clive dismissed participating in peer-driven CPD out of hand, simply saying that "You know, honestly, pre-Masters, I really didn't put a lot of stock in seminars. The main reason is because I didn't really see teachers as being a really good source of actual information. They were a good source of experience, and you could exchange war-stories and that, but I never really saw other teachers as being any sort of help in any way."

Nathan travelled with a friend to Korea (both NESTs with minimal qualifications) and discovered a love of teaching and maintained a positive attitude as his career stretched from a "*year abroad teaching in Asia*" to a decade-spanning career. His compatriot, on the other hand, had a less positive inclination to TESOL. "He wasn't really there to become a teacher… He hated the whole experience and wanted to get out of Korea and never return [laughing]."

In the above extract, Clive, Clio and Nathan all describe others as having negative attitudes, though not themselves, and there is an element of hearsay attached to their testimonies about their co-workers as well as survivor's bias. Since most of the teachers being interviewed are quite experienced, this would be predictable, as those with a long-term negativity would migrate outside of TESOL sooner rather than later, but they all incorporated an element into their personal teaching identity where '*I'm a real teacher, these others are just part-timers/back-packers/old-timers that aren't up to speck'*.

Lisa had also been directed in her CPD by frustration with TESOL in general. She had desired more training with pronunciation and phonetics, but her interest in actually

getting the training that she wanted had virtually disappeared as she was trying to secure

employment as what she called a "regular teacher" rather than an "ESL teacher." She was

hoping not to return to TESOL, as the trappings of primary and secondary schools were more

in-line with her Ideal Professional Self than were the perceived fruits of Babylon harvested in

TESOL.

Lisa had two professional selves that were in competition. Her Ideal Professional

Self was that of a primary or secondary school teacher, in this case a history teacher, which is

what she had trained to do and hoped to do in the future. Teaching ESL was something that

she did in order to remain financially solvent while she waited to find work in her field.

TESOL was still education experience for her CV, even if not the exact field that she wanted.

Lisa's Feared Professional Self was remaining in TESOL and not entering her Ideal area of

teaching History to children. That was why she was reluctant to engage in TESOL-related

CPD or accept a TESOL job when she and her newlywed husband moved to from Canada the

United States for his work, instead choosing to take the time to have a baby and only consider

working if a proper "real teacher" job was offered.

Lisa's frustration was less directly caused by a CPD experience, but more as a

reminder of her career development situation. She had six years of university education to be

a history teacher[11] and graduated at a time when local school boards stopped hiring, and she

then went into TESOL. When asked if she wanted to pursue further training, she replied that

> *"I think so, yeah. The problem is that it sort of cheats the kids in the sense*
> *that I was really, really bored with teaching ESL. Been teaching it for so long,*
> *I mean 'teacher's curse!' you never end up teaching what you learned in*
> *university, like what you majored in. You don't end up working with that stuff,*
> *so I'd been teaching for three years and I felt like I was just teaching the same*
> *course over and over and over again. It's very hard to bring any kind of*

---

[11] In her home province, a school teacher requires a 4-year undergraduate degree in subjects (in this case history, and a 2-year teacher's degree (BEd.)

novelty or freshness, or you know, excitement to a course like that. I felt it really hard, personally."

Her use of the term "kids" to describe her students was telling, as she had been teaching adults ESL for the previous year and a half, though considered teaching children to be her calling. Again, the proximity of her current job to her intended job caused stress for her, that eventually led to her leaving TESOL.

In these instances of Lisa, Clio, Clive, Nathan and Nancy, the negativity of the Feared Professional Self comes from the impending unmet Ideal Professional Self, with the pathway being obstructed by the stagnation of their current job restrictions.   Teaching being a "profession" is something that can often be a problematic assertion, as there are many teachers described above who entered the profession with minimal qualifications or other trappings of membership. Teaching keeps many of the traits of a trade including the accruement of skills to be reproduced, but there is also a gradation of admission into the profession, with a variety of expected educational qualifications. Teaching, particularly at PLSs, does not have the same degree of minimal training to begin, nor financial status once there, that is afforded to doctors and lawyers, and that diminished financial status is a contributor to the tension between the Provisional and the Ideal Professional Selves.

5.2.2.3 Portability and permeability

Teachers choose how to value their CPD in TESOL based on an expected return, and a consideration is that TESOL is a "permeable" job, with practitioners entering and leaving TESOL with ease (Johnston, 1997). The phenomenon of permeability is also present for jobs within TESOL, as horizontal movement was very common among those interviewed. This internally-driven and self-directed CPD is an opportunity for career development within an irregular career practice. With the frequent shifting of employment from one PLS to another, multiple part-time positions and even changing countries (see section 5.3.1

Migration), CPD training and specializations are portable qualifications that substitute for seniority in longer-term positions.

Horizontal career movement was common among questionnaire respondents and interviewees, moving from one school to another over the course of years. Although this phenomenon was not properly quantified in the questionnaire, it was certainly visible in the interviews, where all but three (Aaron, Robert and Arthur) of the nineteen people interviewed had experienced a move within the past three years. Migration between cities was attested in the questionnaire, with respondents moving an average of 2.82 times in the past ten years. This gives some insight into the life-stability of the teachers, but perhaps not the career-stability as they were not asked how many times they had changed jobs/positions in the past ten years.

Given the possibility of serial migration, Patricia independently pursued IELTS training as a portable skill in the event of leaving her current place of employment (mentioned in 5.2.2.2, she has since left). She described the situation of her manager offering IELTS-training "… it was a marketable skill, which is why I did it." Patricia had made the decision to pursue the IELTS training so that when she would move on from her PLS and pursue another career, either in the UK or in her native country, she would have an adjunct income opportunity. She knew that the experience and ability to teach IELTS was something transferable from one school to another, or for her to use as an independent tutor. The options that the IELTS experience granted her were not part of a plan to develop herself at her current school, but for her independent career development outside of it.

In describing another minor qualification, in this case his short-course experience, Nathan noted that the importance of the qualification in giving himself mobile employment, particularly at the entry-level teaching positions of PLSs in Canada, Korea or elsewhere. "[…] It got me started. It was nothing that I could really use professionally these days. It's

on my resume that I started somewhere, but it got me into language schools in Canada and a couple of jobs in Korea as well. And it was a good experience. I made some good connections there. And I came out with some techniques and ideas how to run a class." Nicole had also used her attendance at conferences as a networking opportunity as well as learning some additional techniques.

Nathan's short-course qualification had originally been acceptable for work in Canada, but the issuer of the qualification was later discredited by the administrative body of Languages Canada. Nathan had to recertify for the Canadian market five years afterward. This involved vetting the numerous options of TESOL short courses until he could find one that was both local and affordable. The onus on the teacher to seek out legitimate qualifications contributes to the need for multiple qualifications in order to secure and maintain employment across jurisdictions. Despite the later discrediting of the credential, it gained Nathan the experience that was certainly of more value to his current career prospects than the disqualified minor qualification or humble training that came with it. It was I that mentioned the discrediting of the initial credential, Nathan had been unaware of it, as the credential had been pushed off of his CV in favour of more valuable certificates, diplomas and experiences that had gradually migrated to the fore.

While both Patricia and Nathan acknowledge the value of the training for its own sake, they both emphasise the importance of seeking out mobile, trans-jurisdictional qualifications that would allow for employment in many different countries. The employability of the professional self was never dissociated from their ongoing training.

Patricia's and Nathan's experience were early- or mid-career (two and ten years of teaching experience respectively), but this pattern of accruing certifications was deep rooted in ITE, as Clive would touch on the field of acquiring qualifications when describing his introduction into TESOL. Clive entered teaching with very little preparation by way of

certification or training, describing his experiences thusly: "You didn't need any TESOL

training when I started teaching. All you needed was a degree in something."

Clive's entry into teaching included minimal training, a sentiment echoed by

Nathan when he began teaching in South Korea. He reported that he was teaching a book,

not a language and that without the support of a colleague his teaching career would have

been limited to teaching children in a village. His solution to this was not only learning the

trade from colleagues, but in acquiring qualifications and certificates that would serve him in

time. This included a later TESOL long-course, and as of the time of interviewing, he was

concluding a master's degree in Applied Linguistics.

Both Clive and Nathan would independently augment their lack of ITE by

consulting blogs, what print literature was available to them and cycling through the material

in order to refine their practice. Their ease of entry into TESOL required independent

augmentation, lest they remain teaching children in rural east Asia (Korea and Japan

respectively).

A third comparison can be drawn with Clio's experience when she entered TESOL

on the far west side of Asia in Turkey. When she was asked about her initial teaching

qualifications, she laughed claiming to have none. Like Nathan and Clive, she would begin

teaching with an unrelated BA and then pursue more micro-qualification as an ESL teacher,

eventually including an MA degree.

Clio was the only Non-NEST to report under-qualification at the beginning of her

career. Of the 66 PLS teachers on the questionnaire, only 2 reported having no qualifications,

and of the 140 respondents who answered the question, there were only 4 who lacked initial

teaching qualifications, all of whom were NESTs in Asia in a pattern similar to that suggested

by Rucker and Ives (2015).

Thomas' response to the question about his initial qualifications was quite similar to Clio's, noting that "Um, actually, believe it or not, I didn't have any for about five or six years. And to be honest, the only reason that I went back and did the TESOL certificate from TEFL International was that I intended to take a DELTA and I was interested in it."

Clive in Japan, Nathan in Korea, Clio in Turkey, and Thomas in Morocco all began their teaching careers with minimal ITE (holding Bachelor degrees a variety of subjects), yet despite that all four would go on to teach for many years, securing significant "initial" qualifications only after they had been teaching for multiple years, and then going on to complete graduate degrees. These degrees and certificates were often from differing countries and all but Clio had the advantage of being NESTs (though she was white, blue-eyed and blond), which is by itself an item in demand amongst many PLSs, particularly in East Asia (Ruecker & Ives, 2015).

Clio, who went on from her initial lack of teaching credentials to enthusiastically complete an MA in Applied Linguistics would then be derisive of others who failed to share her enthusiasm. In a section that would echo Burton's (1998) own frustration at teachers' unwillingness to engage in academia, Clio claimed that she felt that many of her colleagues were not academically interested in education or in language. Her professional identity had become a rebellion against her initial situation. She believed her theoretical and practical knowledge to ultimately be her most valuable and portable commodity. She had become disgruntled with those focussed on simply getting through a lesson, that their academic and theoretical understanding of TESOL was limited, and that the qualification-collecting nomadic NESTs were not real academics (See Figure 3.2: TESOL-specific Qualifications Held).

For most of the teachers interviewed, there was a consciousness of the fleeting nature of their jobs, and an awareness that they needed to command their own career

trajectory through ongoing training and movement. No one gave the impression that they would be teaching at their current school for the long term, and everyone saw their current teaching job as a passing component of their careers, rather than a permanent fixture of it. This consciousness of mobility must be included in any discussion of TESOL as a non-traditional career that operates outside of career development models in mainstream education.

5.2.2.4 Prioritising time

Without a clear career path, TESOL is subject to the economy of time where value is measured against commitment. Sometimes, that self-motivation moves teachers away from TESOL and in directions that are of greater perceived value. Rachel's lack of engagement in CPD was an incidental avoidance, rather than active rejection of CPD. As a single mother, working multiple jobs made finding the time to engage in CPD difficult. Particularly as the immediate return on investment was slight. Her primary income was from other sources and not teaching, so CPD became deprioritized. "I'm supposed to have [my] Ontario teacher's certificate. You're supposed to do ten hours a year, and I have had a tumultuous last three years, and I fell behind. And I am now without my TESL certification. Which is really bad, because I can't teach for any boards [of education]. I have to get that done. So it's lapse."

For Rachel, not being able to find time to engage in CPD was a problem she shared with 9% of respondents form the questionnaire listing a conflicting schedule, with 3% saying that they were not able to commit the time and 8% saying that their school did not offer CPD. These factors affected Rachel, in addition to being a recently-divorced mother of three, balancing two or more jobs at a time. Her case is emblematic of the difficulties of a "professional" style of job that offers only part-time work that fails to satisfy the financial requirements of a professional position.

Oliver expressed similar lack of time to pursue any form of professional development:

> *"Well, my reason for not doing anything outside of class time, is a lack of time. Because I don't… I leave the house at eight in the morning, and I get home like eight, nine at night. Four days a week. So I mean, there's like tonnes of shit I really, really want to do, but I can't. I'd love to go to some course, but you know, working two jobs. There's no time that way."*

Like many of the other teachers consulted, he struggled to advance in a single job, and rather than push against that wall found himself working in multiple jobs, hoping that one would open options of stability to him.

5.2.2.5 Teacher burnout

Clive experienced signs of depression when he first began teaching in Japan. He felt ostracized from the main course teachers. "They never saw me as being part of the work circle in any capacity. I was really just this weird thing that sat at a desk and was there, I was supposed to help students like speak and such. Yeah, honestly, two years, it was pretty lonely honestly. There were some schools that were better than others but for the most part it was pretty… it was difficult sometimes." His only motivation was his personally motivated Ideal Self, as he had found himself in a position without peers, or an actively-engaged supervisor. Clive's professional identity was not as a professional, but as a pale-skinned and blue-eyed language model. The divergence between his Ideal self and his Provisional self was stark.

When he returned to Canada after teaching in Japan, the feelings continued "… and it was at that time that I had, I think, I wasn't sure if I wanted to continue teaching, to be honest, so I stopped, so I had a really tough time for that three years, so I didn't [spend] any time developing myself at all."

Marx's description of alienated labour, "in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his

physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind (Marx, 1844, p. XXIII)," echoes here. As it does with Patricia, Clio, Beatrice and Rachel.

The solitary practice of teaching, or perhaps the feeling of solitude or career stagnation, can be a source of the frustration that so many of the teachers expressed. Many were hoping to find more regular or stable work, or work with more opportunities for advancement, and so they focussed on portable qualifications and CV-valued experience that would put them in a better position to find work at a later point. The failure of the professional situation to meet the expectations of the teacher was the cause of the motivation to develop, or the motivation to leave.

5.2.3   The Peer Group

The second major source of motivation with regards to CPD engagement is the peer group. Applied Linguistics has a history of incorporating the classroom peers into the success of the learner, and this phenomenon helps teachers to develop by the motivation of their peers (Dörnyei, 2020). The other teachers at the PLS represent the most immediate peer group to most teachers (Van Wyk, 2013; Woodfield & Lazarus, 1998), although there are professional associations and larger departments at some schools that present a variety of peers that are not direct co-workers *per se*. The teamwork discussed in Chapter 4 is presented here in a more solidified form, with the diversity of the different teams being represented in different facets of the peer group. Another of the earlier themes, that of a shift to the informal domain, is also present herein. This section divides into two major themes, those of a co-operative, if informal engagement with CPD, and its less positive inverse of workplace conflict.

5.2.3.1 Informal Engagement

There are some modes of CPD that would seem to lend themselves quite easily to the informal domain, reading literature, having chats instead of discussions at work, and

having or being a casual mentor. Lisa added classroom observation when she had guests

from Canada visit her in China (See 4.2.5.2). Nicole also felt that the support from

management was secondary to the support of her peers as she developed as a teacher. She

wanted her experience of peer-support noted, as she felt a great deal of gratitude to those

teachers who went out of their way to help her. The informal nature of peer-motivated CPD

provides hard examples as to the Ought-to Professional Self; walking, breathing role models

of what being a teacher in the immediate context represents on several levels. There is a

consensus that teaching as a team endeavour (to one degree or another) would be more

successful than a solitary work.

Nathan and Lisa both found the support of their peers to be of great value as they

went on working on master's degrees. While Lisa was teaching, she was also recertifying her

TESOL certificate, and would bring some of her required reading to the teachers' room to

share with her colleagues. "So we did circulate some readings…. I'd say that we more often

shared strategies and resources and lesson plans and things like that." This prompted some of

her colleagues who were working on master's degrees to do the same.

Nathan found his colleagues were also pursuing their education and were engaging

in research. He noted how helpful it was to discuss the logistics of research with them:

> *So there's two or three people who I do discuss research with socially,*
> *because, for example, I was walking down the hall with a survey that I was*
> *giving for a paper I was writing, and one of my colleagues stopped me and we*
> *talked about what she was doing and it was something similar to the survey I*
> *was conducting.*

The casual consultation and sharing of research were integral to the informal CPD

of Nicole, Nathan, and Lisa. Lisa's experience of classroom observation traditionally

performed by management took on an almost *sub rosa* aspect when she asked friends visiting

from abroad to take on the role.

When Clive was asked by management to guide and mentor new teachers, he took a very lenient approach to the practice. By his estimation, the organic impetus of the peer group was stronger than any planned formality by management. There seemed to be a distinction between the noun "mentor" as being a formal guide to the practice and profession, and the verb "to mentor" which is a lighter term, and more of a casual helper to NQTs. In the estimation of several teachers, particularly Katherine and Clive, all teachers were casual mentors, advisors and role models in their experiences.

For international TESOL, this casual mentorship also provided instruction for cultural induction particularly amongst those new to the country of practice (See 5.3.1 Migration). Other teachers were role models for teachers who were new to the country or new to teaching and were largely enthusiastic to help others to adapt to their alien environs.

Mentorship as a casual practice was the order of the day for many of the PLS teachers, but this was something that during the second interview, Robert noted at his Secondary School in the UAE. It was still a casual practice, helping new teachers where and when it was necessary, but this was done through teacher initiative, rather than school-directed.

Unfortunately, there is the possibility of a friendly work environment losing its professional aspect. Patricia, her initial enthusiasm for teaching notwithstanding, began to lose interest in her career, though she developed a network of friendships through teaching. As discussed in Section 4.2.4: Discussion Groups, informal discussion of TESOL issues is one of the most common aspects of CPD within PLSs. With Patricia's PLS, the hostility between management and teachers was such that many teachers would choose to not engage in CPD rather than allow "work" into their free time.

When she was asked about her regular social gatherings with her co-workers and if they bore fruit in terms of CPD, her answer was straightforward:

And you know, it's a nice day. What brings the larger group together, is that we all hate [Name of PLS]. What brings some of those people and me together is different. But the unifying factor is "I fucking hate [PLS]," every single one of those "group" [finger quotes] starts with a 45 minute shout about how fucked up [PLS] is. So, we bond over a common hatred.

Not everyone has access to the resource of co-workers. Rachel was working for a language training service, where she would go to offices and give training, rather than her students coming to a dedicated site. She was unable to meet her co-workers except at the annual Christmas party, making professional organization or discussion amongst teachers a difficult venture. She found practice rather isolating but appreciated the opportunity to meet colleagues to discuss work. Rachel suspected that the practice was employed to prevent unionization or any form of collective solidarity.

We just had this holiday party, and it's a mystery. And it's fun because I think they, and this might be the conspiracy theorist in me, but I think they like it that way. If we all banded together and shared notes, then they would have to deal with us. But they don't discourage it. Like we had a big holiday party and I met a lot of teachers, and we have each other's email, so I actually spoke with other teachers and we might be organizing a monthly get together to share resources and help each other."

Engagement with research goes on, as do observations and mentorship, but in many cases, these forms of CPD have moved into the informal domain for the PLS teacher, rather than being a part of school's training regime. That informal domain has advantages in terms of specialization of training, providing a more personal touch than a generalist's program. The disadvantages, though, include an irregular commitment of time, no schedule or delineated objectives, informal engagement with CPD has value, but that value is unpredictable and variable across schools. The localisation of CPD, nonetheless, promotes a localised future professional self within an immediate context.

5.2.3.2 Workplace conflict between peers

Peer group were not always positive and contained the potential to devolve into inter-personal conflicts. These could be generational (as with the case of Clive), cultural (as

with Clio), or have gendered overtones (as with Patricia). They can also be mired in competing Ideal Selves of the participants. Because the Peer influence on CPD is by its nature social, these conflicts can push teachers away from engaging in CPD, or from having the informal benefits of an environment that values it.

Clive came into conflicts with older teachers as he pursued his own PD. He was teaching on a zero-hour contract, as was the norm at his PLS and was trying to secure a stable, full-time position at the university where he was completing his MA. To this end he attended the university's language institute's workshop on changes to the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) to try and make networking connections to facilitate such a move. He described the experience as largely negative, in that many of his older colleagues were arriving to fulfil their contractually obligated PD-requirement and were derisive of the experience. He summarized the experience saying that "I think I learned more about being a union member than I did about the CLB".

Clive had a history of conflict with older, unionized teachers with stable work, when he completed his training course for TESL Ontario, five years into his teaching career. He found the course minimalistic in its outcomes, claiming "…And it was all run by LINC[12] teachers. You know, obviously in LINC they're just fossilized, old [people]."

Clive's conflict with LINC teachers was based on the situation of them having contracts with guaranteed hours, whereas Clive's employment was dependent on student enrolment. LINC teachers have a union with benefits, while Clive was effectively an independent contractor to his PLS. Clive's Ideal Professional Self would include the privileges and entitlements of that older generation, but this was in conflict with his Feared

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[12] Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada: A government-sponsored English class available to refugees and permanent residents in Canada.

Professional Self, as a permanent wage-labourer, lacking benefits and stability. The recurring

conflict was created by the irreconcilable status of Clive, when contrasted to the status of

what he considered to be the "ungrateful and entitled" LINC teachers, whom he felt had

attained his Ideal Professional Self and were refusing to share.

Another generational conflict in Ontario, Nancy also had difficulty interacting with

an older teacher, who was less willing to share materials and classrooms, than her previous

classroom neighbour, with whom she had shared a collegial relationship. Nancy missed the

comradery and opportunity for paired reflection that team teaching had provided her (Farrell,

2019). Like Clive, she experienced difficulty interacting with an older generation of teachers.

Clio discusses a similar divide when speaking about her full-time Turkish

colleagues in Turkey, where she also was working in a capacity similar to Clive's as an

independent hourly-wage contractor:

> *"The Turkish teachers here, at one point it was a career, but now their lives
> are at home. They teach and then they go home to their husbands and wives
> and their children. Why would, and another thing, at least in Turkey, their
> jobs are permanent. They are for life. There's no incentive."*

Clio's narrative construction of herself as the hard-working and marginal

professional, alone amongst the lazy and stable establishment of the Turkish teachers at her

school is reminiscent of Clive's narrative of himself as the hard-working and marginal

professional, alone amongst the lazy and stable establishment of the LINC teachers. It is here

that conflict exists as a manifestation of competing professional selves, of the Ideal and the

Provisional, where the conflict takes place.

For both Patricia and Lisa, there was a great deal of discomfort at their failed

mentorships. Understanding the value of a mentor added to the stress of not having one,

though that was a sacrifice that both women accepted because of personal conflicts. Patricia

found her supervisor to be overbearing beyond the limits of workplace propriety and Lisa

found her senior guide to be informal and overly-social.

Patricia was teaching at her first job in London when her immediate supervisor

took an interest in her through his role of academic support:

> P: *At that time, I was running around like a chicken with its head cut off.*
>   *I had no clue what was going on at all. And [Andrew] at that time was*
>   *very supportive. He gave me ideas, and was very encouraging, and he*
>   *seemed to have a lot of faith in me. And, dare I say, he did mentor me*
>   *for a bit.*
> B: *Really?*
> P: *[silence] then, [pause] there came a point where I kind of went "ok, I*
>   *hear what you're saying and this is a very good idea, but what if I tried*
>   *to teach it this way?" Which is different from your way, and that kind*
>   *of didn't go down very well. And… I think I completely lost my respect*
>   *for him, and he completely picked up on that, and then things*
>   *became… yeah. For various, various reasons which are not really*
>   *important to this. But, yeah, so that was the role of academic*
>   *support…*

When Lisa began teaching in China, her school assigned her a mentor that she felt

was not up to the task. "There was [laughing] yeah, this guy was something else. There was

a senior teacher in China, but he… I hate, I just… I don't know how to describe this guy.

Let's say he's just… wasn't really interested in mentoring anybody..."

She then asked to move along with the rest of the interview and I complied.

Patricia and Lisa both experienced failed mentorships at their respective schools in

the UK and the PRC bring an added dimension to potential conflicts between teachers, that of

a rebuffed affection. Both women had an older, male teacher try to assert the role mentor and

were rebuffed. Both subsequently left that teaching post. Neither wanted to go into details

surrounding their subsequent departure, though this topic would benefit from further

examination.

Thomas had a collegial relationship with his co-workers until he received a

temporary promotion, and the cohesion was lost. As acting group DOS, Thomas tried to

organize all teachers in a group of PLSs to share resources and lesson plans as a group

development activity. Despite the benefits of his plan, he was unable to bring the teachers

on-board in order to build that reservoir of resources. The reasoning for this failed attempt at

a discussion forum was "how do I put it… I still rub people the wrong way. And so

sometimes what I'm saying is lost in how I'm saying it. I've worked a little bit on trying to

be more diplomatic."

      Thomas' honest self-assessment on the failed attempt and a forum echoes a theme

that was present with Patricia and Lisa, that personalities rather than policies are important,

particularly in smaller schools, where the socialisation between teachers is so important for

informal PD.

      The notion of that kind of a pooling of resources would seem to be a positive step

by anyone, but Thomas ran into conflict with older teachers.

> *"But the things that I'm doing, while some people are intrigued by them, other*
> *people feel threatened. Because they see it as maybe weakening their power*
> *in the institution or changing radically what their perception is of what a*
> *teacher does in the classroom. And they find that threatening. And just the*
> *act of hey, I've been doing that for twenty years. Who are you to tell me? And*
> *so there's this real reluctance to change, and part of that has to do with the*
> *fact that it's never been encouraged from day one."*

Thomas tried to work with teachers to share knowledge and experience but found that many

of them were unwilling.

> *"...they're not doing anything in terms of sharing their knowledge. Uh, with*
> *the other instructors, and in my brief time as a director, that's what I was*
> *trying to do".. He would then recount his difficulty convincing the cliques of*
> *work to go along with his efforts. "if nothing's been established at the*
> *beginning, it's much easier for factions to develop among the staff and this is*
> *sort of regardless, it's disconnected completely from their actual ability, so if*
> *somebody relates to more of a personal problem that I've had…. So much of*
> *this work of getting people on board is making them feel good about*
> *themselves."*

      A problem for Thomas was that an established culture of non-engagement is hard

to dislodge. When teachers fall into the practice of non-engagement with CPD, the inertia

can be difficult to overcome. Rachel tried to gather her colleagues as a regular discussion group, as did Thomas, but to no avail. Jacob deliberately discouraged the practice; as an owner he was worried about teachers banding together to complain about work. Conflict affects teachers attitudes towards each other and their community, directly impacting on their level of enthusiasm for CPD.

5.2.4   The School

School management often has the largest role to play in the professional development of teachers. As employers, there is a broad spectrum of engagement with CPD for the schools themselves, ranging from having a positive impact, as described by most of those interviewed, to one of neglect. Unlike the Peer Group influence, School-motivated CPD can be either formal or informal, and take different forms at different times. While largely positive, the largest recurring issue for those interviewed was when the business model of the institution asserted itself too far over the academic veneer of the school, and that the management would cast its gaze upon teachers under the auspice of CPD, but performance evaluations and CPD tend to have overlapping and shared characteristics.

While there were many positive words spoken about the role played by management and particularly individual managers, there was a widespread apprehension about the role of management. While teachers work zero-hour contracts, the control over the teachers' livelihood represented by management is an omni-present issue. Every interaction between teacher and management would contain this undercurrent, regardless of how positive the interpersonal relationships between teacher and manager were.

More than any other load-bearing pillar that balances Professional Selves, it is the school that defines the Ought-to Professional Self. The school is the employer and judge, the delegator of responsibilities and the gate keeper of career development. Unlike the Self and the Peer Group, the School has a direct authority to accompany the more subtle pushes of the

earlier factors. The overt influence is when the school management facilitates or even orders

CPD activities, and the subtle, covert impact is from the many nuances that a school adds to

the environment that helps CPD to happen. The following section will be divided into the

areas of: (1) direct influence; (2) school expectations; (3) local training; (4) teachers in

business; and (5) institutional non-engagement.

5.2.4.1 Direct School Influence

Most teachers responded positively when discussing the role their employers

played in their professional development. Whether that was the policy of schools or the

practice of individual managers may vary, but the general reception was positive amongst

those interviewed.

Nancy spoke of some of the CPD options open to her through her employer, which

included a trip to the provincial capital for a TESOL Ontario conference, though most of the

opportunities for her were incidental. Two examples of the school providing CPD in an *ad*

hoc fashion would be for action research and practicum observation. The action research

involved the piloting of several chapters of a book being compiled by Languages Canada.

Neither option would have likely emerged through a casual self-determination or group

enthusiasm.

While that kind of passive, optional CPD is available to many, when people are

asked about CPD, the more common response involves something more actively enacted by

management, typically either observations or local workshops. When Aaron was asked about

CPD, his immediate answer was to discuss workshops attended and given, and how many

induction trainings he's given as a DOS, as was the norm from his experience. This was not

unique to Aaron, in that it was something that many other teachers have done during

interviews, and through casual conversation. This is the first example that comes to the

minds of many.

While working at a busy PLS (more than 200 students), Emily had access to a very active CPD program, also contributing to an expectation of Ought-to:

> *Where I'm working now, they have a CPD programme, with other teachers, and usually it's within the lunch hour. And then it's repeated at different times. Sometimes it's uploaded upon the website. Because people can't make it, they do certain lessons in the lunch hour as well. And they're – you're not paid for it, but you're given a voucher for the cafe at lunch.*

Jason, on the other end of the formality spectrum, found the most positive form of CPD by management to be from visiting experts delivering workshops. Those visiting experts would provide examples and advice to elucidate and advance the teachers' professional selves. In addition to the new ideas about teaching techniques or practices, they provided the model of a university teacher or independent businessperson as an Ought-to Professional Self, something transcendent to the daily life of Jason and his peers at the PLS.

5.2.4.2 School expectations

Management action influences teacher action in numerous ways. Teacher interaction influenced by management represents a hybrid of the Ought-to and the Ideal Professional Self. Management can attempt to coax elements of the Ought-to and into the internalised Ideal of the teacher. Two of the most frequently cited forms of CPD for PLSs were mentorship and workshops, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Over the course of his career in PLSs, Clive attended and presented workshops, was and had a mentor. He never took on the role of active mentor but tried to embody a casual resource to newer teachers. In the following extract, he interpreted the desires of his school's management in a suggestive way instead of as an instruction, a pattern that resulted in what he believed to be a more productive, if less formal, mentorship:

> B: *Have you ever mentored a new teacher? Taken someone under your wing and helped them out?*
> C: *Yeah, at [the school] we would sometimes be asked by the management to take them, the new teachers, and just sort of show them the ropes. I've done it more successfully than others. There's ways where you*

> *find out pretty quickly if someone wants a mentor or they don't. If not, then "see ya."*
>
> B: *But that was done at the suggestion of the management? Did you?*
> C: *Yeah, I think it's presumptuous if you just show up and say "Hi, I'm your guide." This person might have, you known, four years of experience that they feel touchy about and they don't want you jumping in.*

While Clive was reluctant to take on the role of mentor when asked by his supervisor, that was not so for Lisa. She was also asked to mentor a new, incoming teacher, in a context of training her replacement. Lisa was to be moving from her home city in Canada to the United States because of her husband's job. She was asked to train a new teacher to take over the EAP program at her school. Management asked her to briefly explain the job to her replacement a month prior to actual handover, but there was a gradual process that predictably evolved. The impetus was a request by management, though Lisa took over and involved herself with her replacement's training in a much more involved capacity. This was an example of mentoring as a short-term project, rather than of long-term positional relationships.

Oliver noted the several positive impacts from his supervisor, both in her direct action and in the passive facilitation of creating an atmosphere of CPD and setting an explicit standard of Ought-to, that the teachers might know what to expect. She nurtured an environment of cooperation when she "came into the rooms, and she made observations about what she thought were the strengths, she noted this and asked the teachers to share on their strengths and have other teachers take note of this and we helped each other. It's a very good community that way. We do share a lot." She would observe his classes twice a year and set aside time for teachers to share ideas and experiences about classes once a week.

The idea of CPD resulting from the prodding of management is a nuanced relationship, and notes that the boundary between informal, teacher-led CPD and formal management-dictated CPD are not wholly separate poles but represent a spectrum of

engagement. In the cases of Lisa and Katherine, the teachers were asked to take on a

mentoring role and did so, but when Clive was asked to do the same duty, he instead opted to

be less intrusive about it and simply make himself available. Thomas tried to motivate a

dynamic of sharing amongst teachers, though his hopes fell through based on the

personalities involved. The spectrum of practice is broader than these few interviews would

describe.

This factor interacts in complex ways with the variety of Ideal Professional Selves

espoused by teachers that include a senior pedagogue, or a teacher trainer, or the

administrator, or some teachers, reach the point where their Ideal selves are incompatible

with PLS teaching and choose to exit.

5.2.4.3 Local training

Despite the overall positive response, a recurring critique was that there was a

disconnect between what management perceived the needs of the teachers to be in terms of

CPD, and what the teachers themselves felt their needs to be. As discussed in 5.2.2.2: Career

Development, teachers spoke to a desire to acquire additional skills that fill a line on a

résumé and will benefit them as their work-life progresses. Training that has little value

outside of an immediate context is not of equal value. Several teachers felt that any

additional training that was made available to them was localised to the degree that it offered

very limited transferability outside of the immediate context using Freeman's metaphor of an

"egg-box" (1998). This illustrates that the Ought-to Professional Self as defined by the

employer is not as significant to the career development as the combined Feared or Ideal

Professional Selves that push the teacher to plan for contingencies.

Teachers' apprehension to localised training is a side-effect of the mobility and

permeability within TESOL. Since so few of the teachers are planning on long-term within

any particular institution, their focus of the Ought-to is to meet the threshold of adequacy,

and expansion is in the domain of the Ideal Professional Self. Clio dismissed her local

training as stop-gap training, that was eventually discontinued when a change in head-teacher

occurred:

> *Then we talked about what works, what doesn't work. You know. Complain,*
> *how we teach present perfect and such. But that stopped. The thing with*
> *[School Name] and I think with language schools, is discontinuity. They're*
> *not consistent with what they do. So it was discontinued.*

A contrasting example of this was that Patricia was given additional training on

dealing with students with special needs, despite she not being aware of any students with

special needs. The definition of "special needs" was in fact always a vague one to her. She

described the training as "… informative, but not necessarily useful, because we don't really,

like the school doesn't give us really detailed decisions as to what it is that this learner needs,

or kind of, I don't know how to explain this without being kind of, sounding like an asshole

really."

For Patricia, this training was a pro-forma exercise, a combination of school-led

and externally commanded Ought-to that had little to offer Patricia as a professionally mobile

teacher. At this point she was planning on leaving TESOL entirely, and the value of teaching

to special needs was simply not valued in her Ideal future self. Nevertheless, the training was

more general, and not as restrictively-locally relevant the way Clio's CPD's was. There is a

dichotomy of wants by teachers with regards to the locally and the generally relevant.

Katherine's school had seminars led by the writers of the textbooks that they were

using. This was positive for them because there was a very practical sense of how to use the

material as intended. "Yeah, so these two ladies whose book we used at the college, they

came and were actually telling us about the books, about the methods, systems. So they

shared the 'what and the how'. Which was good because they actually told us what they

meant and how they wanted us to teach. It was quite nice". She lamented that her younger

colleagues were being taught very specific techniques rather than a more general repertoire, though she recognised value in the immediacy of the training.

Unlike the example of Patricia, Katherine was no longer struggling for economic stability as a full-time teacher. Her husband made a comfortable salary, and teaching for Katherine was something that would get her out of the house. Her Ideal Professional Self did not need to provide a financial stability that any of the other interviewees needed. For her, the localised training was adequate for its own sake.

Helen was offered in-house seminars by her PLS in Taiwan, though she was discouraged from attending by her colleagues. In a sentiment that echoed Katherine's experience of being trained to teach a book as a product rather than developing general skills as a teacher that could be transported to other aspects of teaching, the seminars at her school were geared towards her immediate classroom without transferability. The lack of transferability, combined with the unpaid commitment of time, made it difficult for Helen to justify attending.

> *Apparently […] they had kind of a seminar. And you got paid the equivalent of two hundred NT for coming, which is like six dollars [Canadian Dollars], for like an hour to three of like a workshop. but according to the other teachers, this is like from the other pre-school, they were saying that they were not worth it at all. It was like, other people telling you like how to run your school, but they have no idea of anything about your school. Everything, I think, has to be little more "in-house" so like you work for the same company.*

A criticism of those experiences was that Katherine and the others were not being trained as general teachers, or even TESOL teachers, but as functionaries of their programs. While some schools are nurturing places of professional development, neglect of CPD certainly exists in the more business-oriented corners of the market. Many of the trappings of the business world, superimposed onto an education model, cast aside the professional aspects of PD.

5.2.4.4 Teachers in the business world

There is a perception among teachers interviewed that the decision-makers of many PLSs appear to be recruited from outside the field of education. This can include not only educational managers, but also directors, branch managers, and directors of studies, in addition to all manner of support staff, running the administration side of the school as they would any other business. This assertion seems to coincide with comments from the questionnaires and interviews, as well as my own experience, though I have been unable to find research data to confirm or contradict the experiential background of PLS staff. Based on the interview and questionnaire data, it appears to be a prevalent belief, though the veracity of the perception is unconfirmed. The only research to attest this that I found was a study by Menzarič (2011) examining PLSs in Slovenia that found 20% of her sample came from outside the field of education. It is an area for further study.

This has led some teachers to feel that decisions were being made that reflected a function-based business model, rather than a traditional education model for the institution. Clio complained that "[…] People who are in charge, at least in countries like Turkey, in Canada the people who are in charge are the people who have the money and open the school."

The inherent problem with this is with regards to the expected model of employees by management, the Ought-to Professional Self, is hard for teachers to relate to, as the professional selves of these teachers relate to education as an entity, rather than employees of a business. Assessing and acclimatising to an Ought-to in this context is stressful and difficult for many teachers. At the time of initial interviewing, Jacob was no longer teaching at a PLS, but had gone into business for himself as the owner of a language training service. Clio and Clive were both teachers, but by the time of the second interview, three years later, Clive had also started his own language training service, though it had since closed, and Clio

had started and was running her own business along similar lines, though she was running it

as a side-business adjunct to her teaching at a university prep-program as her main income.

She also claimed that this side-business now accounted for approximately half of her current

income. Clive lamented that going into business with other teachers as business partners was

a mistake, as teachers come with a skillset that is not overtly valued in the business world.

He derisively described his fellow teachers thusly:

> *Yeah, that project, we were trying to get it up and running, but I just had to*
> *pull the plug recently, I just didn't want to do it anymore. I think that what*
> *happened was I just think that teachers are not very good at… they're not very*
> *good businesspeople. I don't mean me as one of them, I mean just working*
> *with teachers and encouraging them to do something other than what they*
> *normally do that I think can be an uphill battle, and people aren't ready for it.*

The fear amongst many interviewed is that management comes from outside,

seeing teachers as employees there to serve a purpose, rather than as a professional who

builds the institution. Management may try to deflect the costs of CPD, resist unions or other

professional institutions and treat CPD more as a form of quality control than as an effort to

develop teachers as professionals. To the end of quality control, client satisfaction is a

benchmark for service industries that has migrated into PLSs, a "customer-is-always-right"

model more appropriate to restaurants, banks, or other such businesses than to education.

Conflict with management on grounds of a manager's lack of experience,

understanding or education is a common complaint of many teachers, and often comes to the

fore when discussing observations. Echoing Borg and Ochieng'Ong'ondo's notions of

performing plastic lessons for assessment rather than natural teaching for critique and

development (2011), Jason reported that his observations were compromised by the

assessment of his director: "They normally want to see the quality of teaching and normally

based on that observation, as well as being assessed by the students every month, you can get

a raise at the end of the year". An observation for PD purposes assumes that the observer

will look at the lesson with a critical eye and identify areas for improvement that the teacher

may develop. Jason trained his students to react positively to a lesson, so that he would get a

good review and raise. Given the stakes of the observation, this was perceived by Jason to be

a logical course of action, as the fear of displeasing management would carry sterner

consequences than not maximising the learning from a CPD activity. The classroom served

no PD purpose and resulted in no raise in Jason's hourly wage, making it a failure.

Continuing Jason's experience with management, he discussed a recent

observation that was not as positively received as he had hoped it would be.

> J: *Because I have been observed by three different people so far. So the*
> *managers have changed, the directors have changed. And this was the*
> *last one, and she was not so satisfied with my teaching. She had some*
> *suggestions, and of course I didn't agree with all of them. I tried to*
> *explain what the reasoning was myself. But she gave some*
> *suggestions.*
> B: *That's good.*
> J: *I think that maybe I have become fossilised in some skills. And*
> *strategies, and I need to refresh myself on them. On the other hand,*
> *she offered some of the issues, I had a reason for doing them, and I*
> *even asked some questions, but because they don't have just I can say*
> *knowledge like us, or background like us, in the field, coming from*
> *different backgrounds. So, for example, the last person couldn't reply*
> *properly. For example, I ask a simple question. Fluency versus*
> *accuracy, for example. Which one is important when teaching vocab?*
> *The students are making mistakes in pronunciation. Should I correct*
> *them right away? or no? And I asked which one is priority. Ok, this*
> *is IELTS, and we are teaching. Do I need to teach pronunciation or*
> *worry so much about the grammatical mistakes by giving examples?*
> *So she gave me questions like this. Maybe these are more technical,*
> *but they have their own experiences and their views.*

While acknowledging areas for improvement, Jason hardly responded deferentially

to the criticism, the legitimacy of which is external to this inquiry, but his immediate

supervisor's lack of credibility in the field of education was certainly felt by Jason.

Especially as a Non-NEST, having his teaching methods criticized by a native-speaker of

English without education qualifications added frustration to Jason's situation.

Jason's experience as a Non-NEST was an elaboration upon GP 10's earlier mentioned questionnaire comment in Section 4.2.5, "Being a non-native speaker woman from a minority group telling a white male what he could have done better is no easy task." Jason was not a woman or an obvious minority, but many of the issues surrounding GP 10's situation and his own were present. For both, the Ought-to standard was something adapting to which they found to be problematic and unwelcoming.

For many businesses, CPD is an added cost that should preferably be avoided, or alternatively deferred onto the participants themselves, to the predictable disapproval of the teachers. Clive and Jason both found themselves paying for their own professional development. Jason paid out of his own pocket to attend a multi-day seminar in the UK, and while an out-of-country seminar would certainly be costly and most schools would avoid this in favour of a more affordable local option, Jason found his school loathe to make a humbler contribution to the staff's needs as well.

> J: *They don't do anything. The only thing they do is the PD day, I think.*
>   *Those two hours or one and a half hour sessions.*
> B: *Ok, and do you think that if, why do they do those PD sessions if they*
>   *don't care about developing the teachers?*
> J: *I think this is the minimum they need to do. I don't know if there are*
>   *any regulations about it, I have no idea, but as you mentioned, why*
>   *only just three or four of them in a year? Why not more? Why not*
>   *more training? Why not send in the teachers to pass some courses? I*
>   *even asked them to send us to some of the courses that TESL Canada*
>   *or TESL Ontario is holding, they have some short-term courses, even*
>   *online. But the price is high, each course is around 400, 500[13]. That's*
>   *why they say no, we can't do such a thing.*

The hogwan [Korean cram school] at which Clive was working had their own textbook and their own system of levels and advancement. His summary of the school's attitude towards CPD was apt "We did absolutely nothing in Korea. The private hogwans are

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[13] $400 – $500 CAD = £232.78 – £290.98 GBP according to the exchange rate in August, 2020.

run fairly business-oriented. PD would be a cost they just wouldn't want to incur. They hire you as a professional, they hope you stay out of trouble. Don't come drunk".

Clive was working in Toronto and felt the need to upgrade his qualifications. Clive paid for his own qualifications for TESOL Canada and TESL Ontario, crediting financial assistance from his mother rather than his employer. Later, his employer was to put those qualifications to use when the laws of Ontario changed and all the school's teachers had to acquire TESL Canada certification, and Clive was a certified instructor. He described the scenario when his school had to begin training for existing teachers in order to keep their Languages Canada credentials:

> *"...so the [PLS] had to push about twenty-five teachers through the program (...) That took over a year and a half to push that many teachers through the program. With mixed reviews obviously. It was hard to teach, I think at the time, they all knew that it was free so they didn't put a lot of work into it. But the fact was is that [TLS] did offer free teacher training to their teachers, and I thought that that was pretty fair. Personally, I think that they should have paid a little bit, just so that, to kinda take it more seriously."*

Clive's PLS avoided paying for Clive's added qualifications, then took advantage of those qualifications to meet their own requirements. The distinctions between what school management believed to be adequate training and what was Clive's own project was present until changed by law. Clive's Ideal self was more robust than his Ought-to self as defined by school management, and the difference was carried by Clive. Rather than paying for twenty-five teachers to acquire the qualifications through external sources, Clive was paid a slight raise, though he stayed precariously employed on a zero-hour contract. Once the Ought-to standard was changed by external sources (See 5.2.5 External Motivation), the school reacted by bringing its teachers in line with the new standard, though according to Clive, his colleagues had little interest in pursuing the new standard, as it entailed ongoing classes for several months. While these classes cost the teachers nothing in terms of tuition and cost the

school the price of employing an additional teacher, the teachers paid in time, which may have been committed to other endeavours. Clive noted resentment about this.

This would suggest an externally-sourced ought-to self, where endemic underemployment pressures teachers to be constantly refining themselves in order to find meaningful employment for some and causes others to be resentful. Clive felt a constant struggle to make himself market-worthy to find enough work to satisfy his economic needs, and his colleagues felt resentment and the unending process.

Precarious employment is a common feature for many teachers, who feel beholden to employers with zero-hour contracts, casual employment, split-shifts, and part-time, non-unionized work. This is one of the defining characteristics of the Feared Professional Selves of several teachers interviewed. Rachel worked at language training service and felt that part of the reason that colleagues were not allowed contact with each other at her place of employment was fear of unionization, though there is no direct evidence of that claim.

Even when CPD is engaged in, there is an internalized threat of unemployment for some. When asked about recent observations, the respondents were swift to treat the experience as evaluative, rather than constructive. Oliver, in his recent observation, thought of it fairly strictly in evaluative terms with the constructive elements given as an afterthought:

> O: *My last observation was actually just a few weeks ago. Very positive.
> Very positive feedback. I don't have a copy here with me, but it was
> good… We were scaled on one to four. With various thing that you do.
> [The DOS] had a rubric if you will and we were scaled from zero to
> four in several different areas, and then at the end we were given
> feedback on strengths and areas that could be improved.*

The immediate assumption by Oliver (as described in 4.2.5: Classroom Observations) was that the observation was evaluative rather than developmental, and this was a pattern that occurred in most interviews whenever the topic of feedback was broached. Teachers were concerned about their evaluation and their stability in the office.

Beatrice, likewise considered observations to be employee evaluations, and feared her hours were at stake when her manager came to visit. She claimed that "Observations were only conducted if students had complaints about teachers," adding that they were a "negative and demeaning experience."

The experiences that were implied by Oliver and stated by Beatrice indicate a rather mercenary sense of the Ought-to Professional Self; that if the teachers fail to keep the students happy enough, the teachers will be replaced with someone more popular. Four of the single, female teachers who were older than 30 expressed fears that they would be replaced by a younger, prettier female teacher just of a CELTA, the connotations of which may go beyond the Feared Professional Self. It is impossible to say how well-founded these fears may be given the current data set, but some teachers felt the fears to be legitimate.

Nancy was working at a government-run school during the year, but then would teach at a PLS over the summer. She found that at the PLS, she was treated less as an independent professional than as a functionary than she was at her public sector position. Comparing the two, she noted that "I'm basically a long-term sub for the summer. So we never, and I will add to this the fact that we have less leeway into what we can do, because this particular course that I'm teaching now at […], it is highly proscribed. So, you're going through the textbook, you're not really doing a tonne of stuff like we did at [Government school], again, public sector."

The expectation of independent professionalism was much lighter at Nancy's PLS, and the notion of teachers as functionaries, rather than integral professionals was felt by many of the teachers interviewed. Student satisfaction was the hallmark of teacher performance when the experiences of Beatrice and Nancy are compared. Happy students mean happy management, means employed teachers.

Clio began her teaching career with a sense of the direct correlation between observations and student satisfaction, echoing Beatrice's and Katherine's complaint. "I was observed if there was a complaint, so if there was complaint I would be observed and get feedback, so not that often." Student/client satisfaction was an end to itself, superseding any notions of standardized performance assessments. As her career continued she noted this elsewhere:

> B: *Why is it so important to keep them happy, to keep them from*
> *complaining?*
> C: *Well, I think that's speculation, but I think that's management's*
> *attitude. Keep them happy, keep them entertained, and you know.*
> *Then everything is good. I think it comes from the management, I*
> *would say. Language schools are businesses. And the students, they*
> *are customers, after all. In Canada, I saw this distinction very clearly.*
> *My, when I was working at this school in [the city], I was self-*
> *employed at that school, as you know, the way you get around paying*
> *tax in Canada. And yeah, this is where I actually woke up to the fact*
> *that these people were not actually students, they were customers. So,*
> *they're customers. They have to be happy.*

This would add another externally sourced ought-to self. There is a standard of professionalism externally sourced to the direct employer, as mentioned by Jason, to the mercurial labour market, as illustrated by Clive or Nicole's serial collection of micro-qualifications, or by satisfying the wants of an ever-changing student population.

These unwritten regulations seemed to be felt by many of the teachers interviewed, and cross-nationally so. Beatrice's, Jason's and Clio's earlier assertions that observations were directly linked to student satisfaction would seem to imply that in their case, observations were not a form of CPD, but were in fact a combination of quality assurance, staff-discipline, and a public assuagement of student dissatisfaction. For anyone interviewed, observations seemed to be a balance between the two goals. In discussing her lack of observation at a PLS in Japan, Nicole summarized this by asserting that "Unless there was a

problem in the class. It was really, if the students liked the class [laughing]. If they re-enrol, and I think that was the bottom line."

That lack of oversight by management left Nicole in the position of self-assessing her own teaching. When asked about how she would assess her teaching and mark herself for improvement, she replied that "Well, the success of the class. Did they follow what you were saying, you would look at the eyes, the bodies." Internalizing the need for contented customers, her happy students meant that her class was successful, ergo her teaching was aqequate and not in need of audit. Recalling the neglect of adequately performing teachers also mentioned in 5.2.2.1 Self-Assessment and Self-Improvement, a recurring issue for Nicole throughout her interview was plateauing in terms of career and teaching practice.

As mentioned earlier, the rather mercenary "Ought-to," where the teacher is perceived as positive-enough to keep students happy and a teacher continuously employed represents a plateau in career development. This level of professional adequacy is a stop to the "Ought-to" professional self – a ridge over which no progress is needed, and without internal motivation on the part of the teacher, may well represent an end to their professional development.

5.2.4.5 Institutional non-engagement with CPD

In the context of this study, institutional non-engagement with CPD is a potential issue for the long-term development of teachers (Borg, 2010; Burton, 1998). It places the employers as negligent, or as a non-participant, in the professional development of their faculties. This non-engagement by teachers, both individually and in groups, has been discussed in 5.2.2 The Self and 5.2.3 The Peer Group, and has been hinted at coming from management by participants in both interview and questionnaire data. Professional development non-engagement can take many forms, including offering minimal assistance to NQTs, not offering time for professional development or relegating the time available to a

pro-forma exercise to satisfy external authorities. Teachers who meet a minimal standard might be hired as contractors, rather than faculty, and treated as already established professionals who do not need additional training or can be made to pay for their own professional development if so required.

Rachel and Jacob described no ongoing professional development in their respective language training services. For them, the training was so customer-specific that the teachers were simply there to provide the service to a client who was axiomatically always right. Jacob took a very business-like approach to personalised curriculum development:

> *So the company decides that "we need to have education for like three," then I have to go, they have to name these three people, and then we have a placement, like a written placement test. And then an interview, it usually starts with English and finishes with Turkish, and during this, what we do is we kind of like do a student assessment and evaluation for them to see what they really want, and we guide our courses towards their needs.*

Helen completed a short course in Canada and then found work teaching children in a Taiwanese buixiban (Cram-school). Her induction at the school was difficult and caused her a great deal of stress, especially considering that it was her first experience working abroad, without her family and friends as an emotional safety net. After two weeks of trying to find her feet, her DOS observed her class, which resulted in an emotional outburst.

Helen's lack of assistance or instruction into the local education culture as an NQT was hardly uncommon. Across the Taiwan Strait, Lisa began her TESOL career in Mainland China, and encountered similar issues. She dismissed the lack of training "To be honest, I think I joined that company at a time when they were in a bit of a transition. So I felt like a lot of the stuff that should have been done with regards to the teachers, in like professional development and sharing of resources and stuff, it didn't really happen as such."

Lisa, unlike Helen, had the advantage of a degree in education (Helen had not completed formal education beyond secondary school, though she was working on a two-year associates degree through distance education) as well as years of informal teaching and the mentorship of her mother who was a teacher with a career that spanned decades. For Lisa, the lack of mentorship or guidance by the school was not a serious issue because of her privileged background. She had a role model and guide to her Ideal Professional Self. Helen did not enter TESOL with those advantages and found herself in a much more vexing situation. Without the school taking an active role in her early training, Helen left the school at the end of her one-year contract and returned to Canada to pursue other projects.

Jason, as an experienced teacher, enthusiastically shared Lisa and Helen's desire for more PD, but his Canadian PLS was reluctant to spend money to bring in experts, to send teachers to seminars or even pay for online material. His PLS had three PD days annually, any less and the school would lose their accreditation. Any more would be a cost that he believed the school would seek to avoid. As the lead IELTS teacher at the school, he had difficulty getting the up-to-date material that an IELTS program demands. Extracting funding for anything not immediately imperative was a recurring challenge.

Jacob, as the owner and manager of a private language training service, called his teachers "freelancers," consistently referred to his students as customers and maintained that training his teachers beyond the level upon which they'd been hired was not his direct responsibility; however, if any of them were seeking additional training, he would provide them with advice. Though he was trying to seem magnanimous in his claim, the idea of teachers being hired as professionals would be stressed under the scrutiny of acknowledging that some of them lacked even the minimal requirement of a TESOL short-course, instead substituting his own self-taught, eight-hour training program.

Like Jacob, Arthur had moved up from teaching and was working more in administration. He was quite dedicated to CPD and developed Post-Certificate Training Courses (PCTCs) for national and provincial TESOL organization in order to help teachers with their CPD but because industry had never been consulted about their needs, the courses seemed more like vanity-projects to many teachers (although Jason had expressed interest in some specific PCTCs during his interview), since the success or failures of the teachers in these PCTCs had little impact on their career development. If employers, particularly PLSs, did not care about these micro-qualifications, it is entirely reasonable for teachers not to care about them either, when weighing the costs against the benefits.

Courses, like the PCTCs organized by Arthur and desired by teachers like Jason, experienced undervaluation by school managers like Jacob and were being dismissed by teachers as expensive[14] and unhelpful to career development. Arthur regretted that it was difficult to recruit more than a handful of students to a PCTC, even if the material was offered in an asynchronous, online format. The cost-benefit balance to teachers failed to positively value the process.

When teachers independently pursue CPD (See 5.2.2: The Self), the cost accrued can sometimes be partly or wholly subsidized by the school itself, as was the case with Clive's co-workers, or relegated to the teacher themselves, as with his own TESL Canada qualifications, Jason's conference in the UK or Nicole's conference attendance in Japan. The cost can certainly be prohibitive to teachers without subsidy (England, 2020)

As a counter-narrative to the demands upon PLSs to organize CPD, much of this context assumes a traditional school environment, where teachers would be hired on as full-

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[14] In the province of Ontario, where Jason and Arthur both reside, the cost of PCTCs offered by Arthur's institution range from $350-$500 Canadian Dollars, or £203.68 – £290.98 GBP based on August, 2020 exchange rates.

time faculty and build a career within the infrastructure of a school or larger board of education. When PLSs hire teachers, they may see themselves as hiring a person to do a service, not taking on a long-term investment in a professional who will grow and develop within the organization. This is the crux of Professional Neglect and lack of school-facilitated CPD. Not all schools view this as their responsibilities, and the variety positions taken by schools makes generalisations difficult.

5.2.5   External motivation

External pressures on PLSs (excluding the impersonal Ought-to of market pressures) can be divided into two major categories: governmental and non-governmental, both of which contribute to a standard of teacher engagement with CPD that is to be observed. England divided her external motivators into places of Employment (which I have dedicated their own section), and professional organizations (England, 2020. p. 51), which I consider to be a part of non-governmental. Unlike management, teachers will typically have no personal relationship with these organisations, or if they do, it would be less immediate.

Governmental organisations can have a more-urgent effect on numerous different aspects of a PLS, depending on jurisdiction. PLSs may be heavily regulated by ministries of education, such as in South Korea, or they may operate in a more laissez-faire capacity, such as in Canada. For PLSs, particularly in English-speaking countries that cater to international students, the school may be under added scrutiny if they are allowed to sponsor their students for student visas, like in the UK or USA, than if their students are expected to arrive and study on a tourist visa, like in New Zealand. Some countries, like Australia, require a special

horter-term ESL student visa, which is easier to obtain than a traditional multi-year student visa[15].

"Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)" is an umbrella term that describes all non-state operators. A formal definition would be that "A non-governmental organization is any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level (NGO.org, 2017)." Those NGOs that influence PLSs are most commonly professional organizations like the Languages Canada or TESL International that lobby businesses and regulators on behalf of TESOL as a profession, or else they are unions or other such organizations that lobby on behalf of teachers.

5.2.5.1 Government Influence

> *"I had moved to Toronto, and I felt nervous about teaching in Toronto without having some sort of certificate. You didn't need one at the time, you just needed, this is back in 2004, so you only needed a degree and some experience. So I had both. But, you know it's Canada, so I figured that eventually it would be mandatory, especially once the industry was increasing, so I thought I should do some kind of TESL thing."*

And with that, Clive began his Canadian training as a TESOL professional after teaching for three years abroad. Clive touches on an important issue in his preamble to TESOL certification that the threat of potential government regulation, while not actual, existing legislation, can cause people to make choices. Perception of government change can be a much of a motivation as formal regulation for teachers and PLSs alike. Perceptions of the external forces are very important, because few teachers showed any significant awareness of the roles played by these agencies. There was more of a vague understanding that external agencies represented larger forces that would pressure their workplace, but the details were not fully understood or absent.

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[15] These are based on a summary of laws in August, 2020, and are subject to change.

As it turned out, Clive's fears were well-founded and the Ontario government would two years later demand that teachers in PLSs have certification through one of two professional organizations, one federal and one provincial. Clive avoided the pitfall, and then his experience and credentials were put to use as he was engaged by his employer to train his colleagues to attain certification. Clive's professional development was spurred on by a perception, and that of his colleagues was so motivated by the actual later acts of government, all of which resulted in increased certification. The PLS where he worked was motivated by those official policies as well. The Ought-to professional standard of adequacy can be a moveable goalpost of professional development, and while Clive's "Aspirational Self" motivated him, it was the Ought-to standard set by government policy that pushed his colleagues.

The force of the administrative body of TESL Ontario was brought to bear rather quickly as Clive required only a bachelor's degree and a 50-training course when he started teaching, and at the time of interview would have required a 250-hour training programme and 30 logged hours of practicum in order to find work in an official government-accredited school.

Other examples of the influence of people's understanding of government change superseding actual government action would be articulated by Arthur, in describing what he believed would be the repercussions of a recent election in Canada (2015 election – interview conducted in 2016) to the TESOL industry there:

> *Well, things are turning around here, with the government and their commitment to social programs. With the refugees coming to Canada. So I think that things are going to start picking up in one or two years-time. I really hope so. Uh, I'm kind of more hopeful, because you know, with [the previous] government, we reached a really, you know, rock bottom. For the government funded programs, you know? So there was really nothing more to cut there. So I really hope that things are going to start to pick up.*

This interview was conducted prior to the new government's first annual budget and represented a hopeful attitude by Arthur. Were the interview conducted a year later, his hope for increased spending on social programs, particularly for Immigrant and Refugee Services, would be less sanguine.

Like Rachel, Arthur was working in the context of Ottawa, Canada, where much of the TESOL work was based on government contracts. Both he and Rachel were working in the private sector, and the government was not always their direct employer, but it was still considered the largest client. Government actions could result in a wide variety of ripple-effects that could shake the professional lives of teachers directly or indirectly and was a necessary consideration as teachers looked at professional development. The most popular topics of CPD were related to the Test of Second Language Competency[16].

While teaching in Turkey, Katherine had been reluctant to engage in CPD, instead relying upon her breadth of experience and her formal education as a teacher. She was participating in collective lesson-planning with her colleagues, a form of CPD which she opted not to describe as such because she felt that she did not need additional training. That practice came to an end when her school lost its Ministry of Education standing after the 2016 *Coup D'état* and subsequent fallout. The PLS where she worked was branded (rightly or wrongly is difficult to assess) as affiliated with exiled cleric Fetullah Gülen, the alleged mastermind of the coup, and was closed down in the immediate aftermath, cancelling the following (2016-2017) school year.

Despite her expressed confidence in her education and experience Katherine's Feared Professional Self began to manifest because of this government fiat, feeding off her

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[16] The Test of Second Language Competency determines eligibility for certain positions in government service and a high score qualifies the tester for the "bilingualism bonus" which entails an addition to salary.

lack of updated skills, particularly with technology. This has made finding a new job difficult for her as she could no longer count on the track record of her experience as that experience was from a poisoned well because of the alleged political undesirability of her previous employer.

One source of immediate pressure to a school was the threat of external observation but for many PLSs, this would become an exercise in minimalist bureaucratic compliance. Jason, Patricia, Emily, and Robert mentioned this practice by management. Jason described the minimal engagement of his school; Patricia claimed that lesson plans were required not for teachers or students but for an ISI inspection, as did Robert about an impending visit from the British Council. Robert claimed that observations would be scheduled just prior to an inspection, and then not again until the return of inspector for certification renewal. When schools only engage in or mandate CPD practices in direct response to external stimuli by government or NGOs, it would not be unreasonable for teachers to doubt the schools were doing this for the professional benefit of the teachers themselves, and this doubt was voiced loudly.

5.2.5.2 Non-governmental and professional organisations

The influence of non-governmental organisation is quite diverse. NGOs can mandate teachers to pursue CPD directly, as is the case with TESL Ontario, or pressure schools to mandate the practice, as with the ISI. NGOs can also have copacetic relations with government and industry, or those relations can be strained, depending on a wide variety of factors. A simple aphorism on the role of NGO influence remains elusive. This source of motivation was the least commonly referenced of the four (Self, Peers, Employer, and External), but still merits attention. Curiously, it was present with most Canadian respondents, but only peripherally mentioned by British teachers, and not at all by any others.

In the Canadian province of Ontario (where 9/19 of those interviewed had at one point taught), TESL Ontario demands that its members catalogue at least ten hours a year of CPD *per annum* (TESL Ontario, 2018). This applies pressure to teachers to engage in CPD, as was the case with Nancy, who had to search out any opportunity to accrue those hours. TESL Ontario membership is funded often by the teacher themselves, and in cases such as Rachel's membership, can lapse. Membership in the organization has a "fragmented nature […] in which funders, employers, schools, and teachers appear to work in isolation (Valeo & Faez, 2013, p. 13)." This model of encouragement for CPD encourages large employers to develop some kind of CPD plan for teachers, as reported by Jason and others teaching in Ontario. For part-time or self-employed teachers, the pressure of paying for CPD is placed on the teachers themselves, in the fragmented nature that Valeo and Faez refer to above.

On a more positive note, it was only pressure from TESL Ontario that forced Jason's PLS to provide any additional training, insofar as was his understanding of the situation. Jason believed that when a school meets the minimum standard allowed, the implication was that they would provide less if they could do so, but the punishment for doing so out-costed the cost of the training itself, making that pressure a welcome addition for teachers serious about CPD. Those same regional pressures forced Rachel to lose her certification as she was working zero-hour contracts and expected to maintain her own CPD schedule. This external NGO authority created and defined the Ought-to of unemployed or semi-employed teachers who were without the direct pressure of management.

Lisa had a bureaucratic disengagement with her training qualifications, as her initial TESOL qualification was an economical short-course that was valid at one point in time by the TESL governing body, and then as the TESOL industry in Canada became more regulated, lost its good standing. While working at one PLS, she had to retake a TESOL qualification at another school. Nathan had also done his initial qualification with that same

organization, though by the time of their disqualification by TESOL authorities, Nathan had already added more prestigious qualifications to his CV, and the removal of the initial qualification was of little consequence.

The pressure exerted by TESL Ontario as an industry monitor in that province is quite strong and dependent on its relationship with the Ontario Ministry of Education. An institution that wields similar (though not entirely parallel) influence in the UK is the Independent Schools Inspectorate (ISI). Patricia described three months of training seminars, observations, and instructions on how to prepare lesson plans, as an effort to prepare for an inspection by the ISI. When asked about why she was spending so much time on ILPs (Individual Learning Plans), she replied:

> *"Because the ISI wants to tick the box. [The manager] has come down to a meeting numerous times going "who's got a student in ILP?" and it's like [rolls eyes] you know. Everyone kind of raising their hands and confused about how the whole ILP works, and his response is "If the ISI comes and asks me how many students are on ILPs, I really need to know. I should know. Because then they will have my head. This is my head on a platter." Everyone else is like "please please please." [finger's crossed] Like wishful thinking. But it's just box ticking."*

For Oliver, after teaching English and science for years in secondary schools in the United States, he found himself in Canada without the qualifications to teach English in the unionised, publicly-funded schools, and was relegated to the less lucrative PLSs. While there, he spent much of his free time working on acquiring the necessary qualifications to meet the standards of main-line education and public schools, thereby leaving PLSs.

5.3   Other Motivators

ESL teachers have several pressures on them coming from different notions of their own Future Professional Selves, sparked on by themselves, their peers, their schools or other external factors. Three themes that have pushed the currents of teacher careers beneath the surface have been discussed as 1) the importance of teamwork, 2) an apprehension

towards the role of management, and; 3) a gradual shift from the formal to the informal domain. In addition to these three undercurrents, there are also issues of serial migration, duties and renumeration, and economic stability, that deserve mention.

5.3.1   Migration

While Johnston (1997) wrote about the permeability of TESOL, with teachers entering and leaving with ease, movement was not limited to schools and positions. Of those interviewed, only Emily, Robert, Jacob, Aaron, Patricia, and Katherine (6/19) were in the city same city as a decade ago. And of those, only Aaron was native to the city where he currently worked.   Clive, Nancy, Rachel and Beatrice were domestic migrants within Canada, changing cities within their own countries, Oliver immigrating to Canada from the United States, and Lisa to the United States from Canada. Emily and Robert were domestic migrants within the United Kingdom, Patricia arrived there from her native Greece. Jason migrated to Canada from Iran, Arthur from Russia and Clio was born in Romania, before moving to Turkey, migrating to Canada, acquiring citizenship and then returning to Turkey. Jacob was a Jordanian citizen, long-term resident (and now citizen) of Turkey but was born in a Palestinian refugee camp in North Africa. Helen and Nathan were both Canadians residing in East Asia alongside their partners and Thomas is an American doing the same in Morocco. The variety of migratory experiences is very difficult to encapsulate within a simple aphorism and the arbitrary ten-year cut-off does not do justice to the complicated national identities of the participants.

Many of the experiences repeat themselves, particularly amongst the educated, white, middle-income-family, NEST participants. Clive, Emily, Helen, Beatrice, Lisa, Robert, Thomas, Nicole, Nathan and Nancy began their teaching careers as young people (25 or under) teaching English abroad, typically in East Asia, although Emily and Nicole started

in Europe. Travelling and teaching was a prospect of a short-term adventurous experience that turned into a career.

Clive, Helen and Nathan all began their careers in East Asia (Clive in Japan, Nathan in South Korea, Helen in Taiwan) with minimal training or experience. For them, CPD and ITE were intertwined and Clive would speak about the training he did not receive in Japan but had to acquire upon his return to Canada, a story retold by Nathan, although he considered himself lucky, having received informal guidance from other expatriate teachers. Helen was having difficulty in Taiwan and has since returned to Canada to complete her education.

Jason's movement from Iran to Canada as an immigrant was part of what he intended to be a permanent resettlement, like Clio, although his position at a PLS in Canada lacked the gravitas of his university post in Iran, and the quality of life balance was not as advantageous as he had first hoped. He has since left teaching and begun an immigrant settlement service, helping newly arrived people to Canada find work, housing, and other legal and social services.

Clio was born in Romania, taught at a PLS in Turkey as a Non-NEST for many years before migrating to Canada, becoming a citizen and earning a Master's degree. She has since returned to her pre-immigration position in Turkey under a more lucrative passport with her new MA and NEST qualifications.

That diminishment of status and standard of living for a teacher who returns to "The West" from some parts of the world, weighs on the decision-making process of many Westerners abroad. While Jason and Clio were English teachers in their respective countries of origin, they were unable to find work giving them a respectable standard of living when they migrated to Canada, a life choice that they had expected would lead to an increased standard of living. The reality for returning westerners and migrating non-Westerners is that

TESOL does not typically provide the economic standards in Western countries than it does abroad, especially when the teachers are employed in PLSs rather than more stable institutes.

Nathan began working in a PLS, before returning to Canada, and building his credentials, though he found that he had to return to Korea in order to make the kind of respectable living needed to begin a family. At the time of the interview, he was working on a Master's Degree in the hopes of someday returning to Canada with his family.

Thomas had likewise left Morocco in order to try and resettle in his hometown in the USA, only to find the market incompatible with anything but the humblest of living standards, despite working full time at a prominent University. Like Nathan (to Korea), Thomas then returned to his partner's country (Morocco) and was in the process of beginning an MA degree to increase his prospects for a future return to the United States. Migration for many represented a flight from a Feared Professional Self, towards an Ideal Professional Self. As England noted "The need for money often drives us in TESOL to take risks." (England, 2020, p 88)

More than physical migration, moving from one city or country to another, is the goal of professional migration. Of the eighteen teachers to whom I spoke, none intended to stay teaching in a PLS for much longer. Three years after the original interviews, seven teachers had moved on. This was a part of the career trajectory, but never a planned stage. Of those interviewed, few had any plans to remain in a PLS, and many have since left for other work, either within or outside of TESOL.

Perhaps the most striking example of professional and physical migration would be by Robert, who had left his zero-hour, part-time PLS in London with its 22.5 km daily commute, in favour of a full-time position teaching English at an Emirati high-school, for better wages and benefits. The benefits of free housing and transportation (especially attractive when compared to his London situation), along with insurance, sick-pay, and paid

summers off, for him represented a significantly more stable environment once his daughter

was born. This allowed him to save money while his family could survive on a single

income, something difficult to do working at a PLS.

Of the nineteen teachers interviewed, only five had children, and Robert's arrived

between the first and second interview. Clive's wife was pregnant at the time of the

interview, as was Nathan's. Both men were working at universities at the time. Arthur,

Oliver and Jason both had children prior to migrating to Canada from Russia, the United

States and Iran respectively, Jacob had a child after leaving teaching and getting his language

training service off the ground. Nancy had just quit teaching because of a child, and

Katherine had left teaching for several years after the birth of her first child, had returned

part-time, but was again not working outside of the home. No one was supporting a family

while actively teaching at a PLS.

5.3.2   Duties and Remuneration

Table 5.1
Mandatory and Unpaid Tasks (n=66)

Is the following mandatory at your school…			Yes
…lesson planning?			68%
…administrative work?			79%
…CPD activities?			50%
…staff meetings?			52%
Are you paid for the following…	Yes, normal wage	No	Yes, reduced rate	Incl. with salary
…lesson planning?	13%	56%	9%	22%
…administrative work?	17%	57%	11%	14%
…CPD activities?	23%	49%	18%	10%
…staff meetings?	25%	45%	14%	16%

Lesson planning was mandatory amongst 68% of respondents and paid to varying

degrees amongst 44%. Administrative work is expected of 79% and paid to 43%. CPD is

expected of half and paid to the same percentage with strong overlap. Staff meetings are

expected of 52% and paid for most of those as well (See Table 5.1: Mandatory and Unpaid

Tasks).

With all of these unpaid or underpaid duties that fall upon the teacher, it is perhaps

not a surprise that only 6% (n=4/66) of respondents identified themselves as being members

of a union. In several contexts, unions can be either rare, non-existent or dysfunctional, but a

lack of engagement in professional associations is still worth noting, even if the co-relation is

tenuous. Only 36% (n=24/66) are members of professional organizations.   Union

involvement, for purposes of collective bargaining and contract enforcement is generally

absent, although given the variety of countries of practice (see Figure 3.1: Countries of

Practice), it is difficult to make any estimate as to the reason for this.

Approximately two-thirds of respondent (n=41/64) reported having more than one

job (See Figure 5.3: Teachers with other sources of income). Having multiple sources of

income is a common aspect the modern neo-liberal economy, particularly amongst the

precarious labour involved in the hourly-wage struggle (Standing, 2011), though this was not

appreciated when the questionnaire was originally designed.

Figure 5.3: Teachers with other sources of income (n=66)
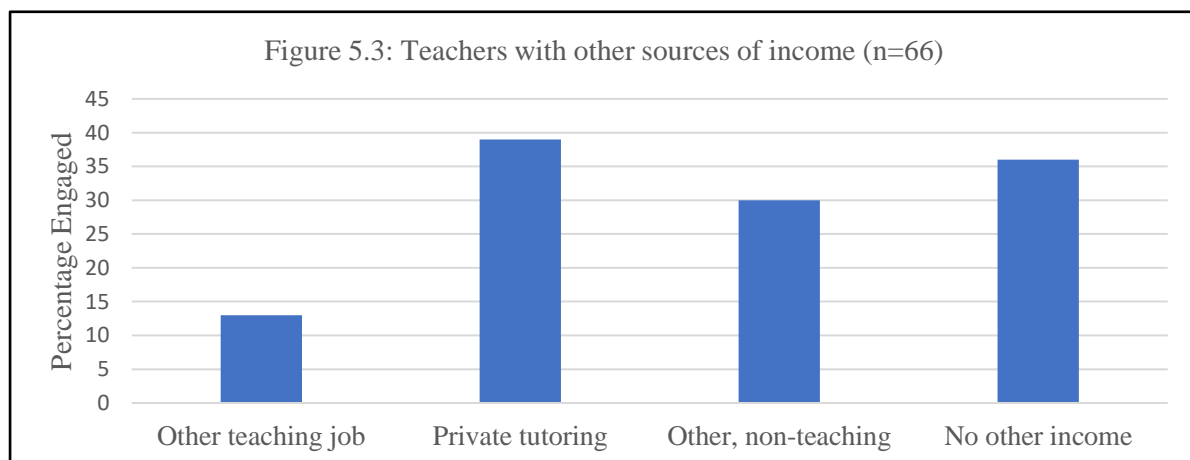
A quarter of Canadian respondents also work as private tutors, compared to 3/19 from the UK, or all three teachers from France. Other (non-teaching) encompassed nearly a third of teachers in the UK (6/19) and Canada (5/15). The nature of these other jobs is not attested in the questionnaire, nor is the number of jobs, nor is the proportion of their working hours to each job. This theme of multiple forms of employment is important and precipitated data gathering from the ensuing interviews.

Given the prevalence of other jobs, of unpaid and underpaid work, the willingness to migrate into other professions, the lack of union representation or membership in professional organizations, there is enough to imply that TESOL in PLSs is more marginal and less stable than other forms of full-time employment, in the main.

To address that, respondents were asked about their future plans for the next five years. This broke down between career plans and education plans. Only 44% of those responding (Table 4.14) intend on staying in the profession of teaching. Almost a quarter intend on leaving education entirely.

As earlier stated, one of the weaknesses of self-selection is that any given sample would be composed of the most enthusiastic of participants. Because the sample population is self-selected, caution is important. Most of those who answered were solicited from public social-media forums or were personally responding to an email request by me as a friend or colleague. And yet, 22% (13/59) do not know what they'll be doing in five years, 24% (14/59) hope to be outside of education completely, 22% (13/59) intended on leaving the profession to pursue a new line of education.

5.3.3   Economic stability

Judging the financial stability of the respondents is a difficult task given that the sample size is neither large nor specialised, but some key indicators would be that more than one in five teachers live with other people, not including family. Admittedly, there is a bias

here that people would prefer to live alone or with family than live communally with friends

or flatmates. Another issue with this statement is that "non-family" could be understood

differently by respondents. Of the seven men who lived with others, six of them were located

in the UK (the other being in Canada), as three of the women were (the other four being in

Canada, Turkey, Italy and China). Few (less than 20%) of the respondents were married, and

the sample data would indicate that parenthood is less common for men than for women,

based on total numbers or on proportion of population.

Table 5.2
Indicators of Stability based on Question 12 (n=66)

Statement	Agreement among Males	Agreement among Females	Agreement Overall
I share my home (non-family)	7 (27%)	7 (17.5%)	14 (21%)
I could remain stable if I didn't work for three months.	10 (38%)	16 (40%)	26 (39%)
I am married.	5 (19%)	6 (15%)	11 (17%)
I have a child.	5 (19%)	11 (27.5%)	16 (24%)
I feel financially stable now.	10 (38%)	23 (57.5%)	33 (50%)
There are 26 (39%) males and 40 females (61%).			

5.4   Conclusion

Continuous Professional Development in Private Language Schools appears to be

a largely informal enterprise with the individual agency of teachers playing a central role.

The variety of experience of CPD within PLS contexts is certainly broad, but that breadth

only serves to reinforce the similarities. A combination of short-term labour-relations and

market driven decision-making contribute to this but are not the exclusive causes. Teachers

are motivated by intrinsic factors, but also by extrinsic pressures from peers, employers and

external agents.

The informality of CPD, in terms of mentorship, or sharing reading lists with co-workers, though the frequency of the practice would seem to be limited, is a testament to this, as is the sharing of teaching material, the induction process to new teachers and the *ad hoc* discussion schedule identified through the questionnaire and reinforced in the interviews, all seem to point to a much more casual notion of professional development than would normally be expected within larger professional communities.

Much of the motivation for CPD seems to be more of a residual sense of "ought" as part of the shadow cast by notions of educational professionalism, internalised to teachers and school managers alike, rather than an imperative sense of what will benefit the individual teachers, schools or profession as a whole.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1   Chapter Overview

This chapter is a discussion of the major findings of the study, putting those findings into the context of the existing available scholarship, and examining some of the new questions arising from the research. The first major section of the chapter (6.2) describes how teachers engage with CPD in a practical context. Next discussed are the motivational and professional context of PLS teachers (6.3), followed by practical motivation (6.4). Section 6.5 looks at what defines a private language school and teacher, and how they are different from ELT teachers in other facets of the TESOL industry. The subsequent section (6.6) is the conclusion of this discussion chapter.

6.2   Practical Engagement

Generally, PLS teachers engaged in CPD but on their own terms. When teachers would engage in CPD, two key attributes sought were practicality and portability. Owing to the mobility of the population, with teachers frequently entering and leaving TESOL (Johnston, 1997), or migrating position within a single market (as was common with interview data), CPD needed value to the participant in order to gain the commitment of time.

In the interview data, consulting research was respected as a proper form of honing expertise but lacked participation. While there was a greater attestation of participation amongst the survey data, one of the findings of the interview data was that teachers who claimed to participate were often taking a very liberal interpretation of the term "research". Often, this consisted of blogposts, teachers' discussion forums, Wikipedia or Google™. When teachers would weigh the commitment of time to the outcome of the enterprise, engagement with research was poorly received.

Record keeping on the other hand, had a direct and measurable value. Teachers could reuse lesson plans and cycle through weekly outcomes, so preparing documents for that

initial class would entail the frontloading of effort the first time around, but then minimise the effort upon later rotation. Lessons could also work their way onto job applications as teachers would move on to newer horizons.

Discussion groups were an informal activity that were positively received across the questionnaire and interviews. While teachers viewed these as less formal than researchers did, discussions allowed teachers to focus their inquiry to the practical experience of others and lead to the most direct success in the classroom.

Many of those interviewed described themselves as mentors to their neophyte colleagues. When they described their own experiences with having a mentor, the experiences that they described were often short term, with their mentors serving more as local guides than as long-term career consiglieres. As mentioned earlier, "mentor" as a verb was a more appropriate concept than "mentor" the noun. Teachers were grateful for the mentoring, even if the experience was informal and of a limited duration.

Teachers were often apprehensive about being observed, but also welcomed direct constructive feedback. Knowing that successful observations and positively receptive classes were avenues to long-term employment, teachers took this opportunity for direct feedback as an opportunity to directly improve their practice.

Workshops, seminars and conferences were not common venues of practice for PLS teachers, and when teachers would participate in theses, it was usually locally-oriented for direct, daily issues of the current school, or focussed on the more general and easily extrapolated skills and credentials, for example IELTS training or computer knowledge.

Given these scenarios, how can teacher engagement in CPD be promoted, and what kind of a practical role can management play? For myself as a manager of an English foundation program at a university (not a PLS, though there is structural overlap), I look at these different forms of CPD as ways to mobilise self-reflection and RP among the faculty.

In order to promote interaction with research, I have built connections with both the education and applied linguistics faculties, and there are several MA thesis students who have used the ESL students and faculty as populations. When the project is completed, the researchers come back and present their findings at the monthly ESL meeting for an hour.

Record keeping and discussion are encouraged, particularly as I write this during the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020-2021 where all programs have migrated from in-class to online. The program coordinators, teachers and I meet at the end of each term to evaluate the efficacy of the program, the assignments, and rubrics. Content, timing and pacing are also being constantly refined and altered as the medium of delivery moves from a temporary stopgap to a more normalised mode of learning.

Observations go on of every teacher in every term. For this, I simply log into the digital classroom (facilitated on Microsoft Teams™) with my camera and microphone off so as not to disturb the class, but with the teacher's and students' knowledge. I then ask the teacher for a lesson plan and we meet for thirty minutes afterwards to discuss how the learning objectives were met. It is made clear to the teachers that this is for program and teacher training and development and not evaluation, and the teachers are responsive to the constructive feedback, along the lines of Yurekli's suggestions (2003).

6.3   Motivation and Professionalism

The major themes identified in the questionnaire and interviews here represent new roads on the landscape of professional reflection first mapped by Donald Schön's seminal 1983 examination of "The Reflective Practitioner". His discussion of professionalism and its relevance to a modern practitioner had three major themes that were present among the teachers interviewed: the importance of peers and colleagues, a gradual shift towards the informal domain, and an apprehension towards the role of management. The teachers interviewed were generally enthusiastic to consider themselves professionals but found

themselves falling short with regards to Schön's trappings of professionalism. In addition to those recurring themes, there were two minor themes though no less persistent, that also bear mentioning, those including specialisation within TESOL and de-professionalisation.

Several of the interviewees found themselves trying to specialise their career trajectories either within EAP or as IELTS experts. They believed that self-positioning as experts, or the "knowledgeable" subset of Farrell's professional roles (2014), to distinguish themselves within a field of generalists. Some would consider themselves to be "professional" teachers based on their education and history, by which they meant generalist teachers, currently in the TEFL market. Those in that role were struggling to find gainful employment at the time of interviews. CPD represents an opportunity to specialise which has the potential to lead to more stable employment.

While Schön spoke of the rights and privileges of professionals, none of teachers interviewed felt that they enjoyed any such accoutrements. They felt that the old paraphernalia of a professional educator were absent in their career trajectory. EFL Teachers lacking even the most basic professional standing appears to be increasingly accepted as the norm among their peers (Breshears, 2004).

The de-mystification and de-professionalization of a profession is something that Schön warned about prophetically in 1983, seeing it a future possibility. For the teachers in this study, this was a daily reality that was discussed quite openly. Several bemoaned their situation as the lumpen proletariat of the academic world. One of the education managers interviewed was not interested in the training of teachers, seeing them as interchangeable functionaries to be inserted into classes on a timetable. Others were encountering frustration at trying to re-elevate TESOL into the professional realm, while more still were both trying to self-elevate their own careers into proper academia. Throughout the interviews, only a few believed TESOL to be a professional endeavour.

Marcus and Nurius added to Schön's notions of professionalism (1986) with the theory of Future Professional Selves, adopted throughout this research project. Central to their understanding of future professional selves was the link between cognition and motivation, and the conflict between how the professional is now versus how they should be in the future.

> *Possible selves represent individuals' ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming, and thus provide a conceptual link between cognition and motivation. Possible selves are the cognitive components of hopes, fears, goals, and threats, and they give the specific self-relevant form, meaning, organization, and direction to these dynamics. Possible selves are important, first, because they function as incentives for future behavior (i.e., they are selves to be approached or avoided) and second, because they provide an evaluative and interpretive context for the current view of self (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 954).*

Teachers have future professional selves in mind, and these images are multi-faceted and change over time. This was particularly demonstrated by the four teachers who were interviewed a second time, but even among those that were not, the expression of a positive future identity, as opposed to a dim present, was never far from the forefront. Clio and Clive in particular, underwent radical changes in the three years between their first and second interviews. That idea of a professional identity as part of a story told to others is part of why the subjects of this study lack singular identities, much like the subjects of Johnston's study (1997, p. 681), but instead contain multitudes, as teachers, professionals, subject matter experts, aspiring writers, etc.

Kubanyiova added Markus and Nurius' future professional selves to the discussion of TESOL professionals (Kubanyiova, 2009), and she stated that the dissonance between the actual and desired professional self was the key catalyst to change. That dissonance echoed in the actions of some teachers interviewed who began teaching at PLSs, and would then go on to do MAs and two of whom were at different stages of doctoral studies when I spoke to

them. The dissonance pushed others to leave education. It is also what propelled at least one (Jacob) to leave teaching and start his own school, where he could see the money being made. Like Marcus and Nurius, Kubanyiova noted that the future self was a product of extrapolation and imagination, rather than social reality. This fed into the frustrations of teachers leaving a higher status job in the non-English-speaking world and finding themselves working in a wage-labour situation in the PLSs of Canada, the United States or United Kingdom. The choice between stagnancy or downward mobility became a manifestation of their Feared Professional Self.

That fear of a localized career ceiling was common, and it helped to identify with the Ought-to Professional Self. Teachers would reluctantly engage in CPD when instructed to do so, and the structure was given respect only insofar as it represented the minimum standard of maintenance for employment. The lack of dissonance once that minimal standard had been achieved produced a Feared Self of never developing or advancing keenly felt by participants.

One of the recurring issues for teachers in PLS that affected their professional standing, was the issue of permeability (Breshears, 2004; Johnston, 1997). Teachers move from one school to another, one country to another, and one job to another (See Section 3.4.6 – Economic Stability). Teachers enter and exit TESOL with relative ease, and they have a career path that was not envisioned by any professional forecast. Often, they would have multiple jobs or income streams. This makes the population in question beneath the radar of much of the academic literature for professional educators.

6.4   Motivation in action

Based on the research collected in the previous chapters, teachers engaged in many different forms of CPD, motivated by attaining a future professional self in its Ideal, or Ought-to aspect, and avoiding the Feared. These underlying motivations to engage in CPD

were given impetus from several directions, including the Self, the Peer Group, the School itself, and also factors External to the immediate practice. While the motivation and impetus are important to answer the question of why teachers engage in CPD, how they engage in that CPD is also of import. The most common forms of CPD include consulting research, keeping records, mentoring, participating in discussion groups, classroom observations, and attending or presenting workshops, seminars and/or conferences. Based on Table 4.1: Teacher attitudes towards research, the types of CPD will be reviewed in order of decreasing popularity, rather than their initial ordering. Because of the complexity of the reaction to Workshops and Seminars as a type of CPD, and because of an ambivalent understanding of the terms, the category has been relegated to the last on this list, due to the difficulty of assigning it a specific number.

6.4.1   Mentorship

The most enthusiastically received type of CPD was mentoring. Mentors are at their core role models for developing teachers, and unlike devotion to an ideal form of "The Pedagogue," mentors can be interacted with, and may present an ideal that is more vivid, and including of both successes and failures. Marcus and Nurius (1986) advocated for this kind of role-model to help novices develop their ideal future professional selves, and the teachers interviewed in this study shared that sentiment. Walsh & Mann criticised Reflective Practice as being "dominated by written forms of reflection" (2015, p. 352), but as seen in this and shortly in Discussion Groups, this was not to be the case among PLS teachers.

Mentorship is often the peer-support of teachers made flesh, and an element of spontaneous teamwork that operates within a closed community of teachers. This phenomenon is unfortunately not well represented in the literature,

And therein was the problem with mentorship in the literature and for many of the teachers that responded to questionnaires and to interview questions. The assumption of

mentorship was that this was for teachers who were both new and young (Ronfeldt & Grossman, 2008). Hobson et al. (2009) defined NQTs as having been in the profession for less than three years, though there were several teachers interviewed who had been teaching for more than five years before a proper mentor presented himself. Contrary to most of the literature, there are also several EFL teachers who entered teaching as a second, or third, career option (England, 2020; Shin, 2017), and for whom mentorship would be a complex subject as their life experience and teaching experience would be on two distinct tracks.

The experience of the mentors interviewed was different than the roles described by Crasborn et al (2011), where it was reported that the most positively held role of a mentor was that of a reactive and corrective figure. The teachers that were interviewed in this study seemed to gravitate more naturally to mentors occupying the role of the *Acculturator* as described by Farrell (2014), where the mentor takes on the role of socialising the NQT into the new realm of teaching, or a denomination (in this case TESOL) within that umbrella. A major distinction between Crasborn et al's study and my own is that the former was looking at teachers in a K-12 situation, rather than PLS TESOL. The mentors in their study were long-term, stable elements in a steadier work environment

Most of the literature mentioned (Arnold, 2006; Crasborn et al., 2011; Hobson, 2009; Haigh 2014; Maltas, 2006; Wyatt, 2016; Yuan, 2017) assumed a stability of work, or more specifically of a single workplace, that was simply not present in the lives of PLS teachers. Management would sometimes ask PLS teachers to step in and mentor new teachers, though their experiences with the practice were less positively considered than their experiences as mentees earlier in their own careers.

Gender became an issue in my data, though this was unexamined in the research background. The experiences of three female NQTs in the study was that they entered a new PLS, either in the teachers' home countries or abroad, and an experienced (and in every case

described in the interviews) older, male teacher would present themselves as being there to help their new peer. Without direct supervision of mentorship from the school management, the potential for predation in such a situation should be considered high, and was an issue touched on by three respondents (3 out of the 10 women interviewed mentioned this without the subject being asked). The issues of foreign women in a male-dominated office was touched upon by several writers (Glomb et al, 1997; Gutek & Koss, 1993; Kobayashi, 2014), but overt sexual harassment of female teachers within PLSs was not directly addressed.

Curiously, male and female interviewees (with one exception) described their experiences with mentors as being male. This is despite a prevalence of women in the questionnaire and interview data. This raises a question of whether or not the term "mentor" is gendered, or understood to be so. Clio was the exception, who had a female mentor when she began teaching in Istanbul.

For the men, the experience of being mentored came after they had been teaching for several years and had proven themselves to be willing to give their career in teaching a serious effort and had displayed talent and enthusiasm. Mentors came along in a seemingly more grudging manner and helped the newer teachers, though the male teachers, unlike their female colleagues, were not NQTs at the time of their mentorships.

6.4.2   Record Keeping

The second most popular form of CPD was record keeping. This had more motivational factors at play than mentorship, in that there were teachers who kept records in order to chronicle and fine-tune their practice for intrinsic reasons, but unlike the laissez-faire attitude of management towards mentorship, schools were more apt to demand records of teachers in the form of ex-ante lesson plans, or at the least outlines. The defining attribute of Mann's description of this as a "productive form of reflection, introspection and self-evaluation" (2006, p. 109), as what distinguished record keeping. This was a part of the

standard practice that schools would commonly evoke, with this responsibility being

commanded and unpaid at many schools (see Table 5.1: Mandatory and unpaid tasks).

For self-motivated teachers, record keeping was the key to moving forward from

NQT into the status of a stable, full-time teacher. Keeping a teaching diary was a practice

from ITE that some carried over into early practice and was the focus of reflection. These

teachers could look at their lesson plans, reflect on what was or was not successful and

theorise why that was the case. The practice is heavily attested in the literature for NTQ and

ITE teachers (Gilar, Martinez-Ruiz, & Costa, 2007), but while the practice seems to generally

drop off as careers develop in the research literature, it was not necessarily absent amongst

those interviewed.

Unattested in the literature, experienced teachers noted that within the context of

their PLS, textbooks and content cycled through on a fairly regular and swift basis, usually

once every two or three months. This gave teachers the options of iterative lesson planning.

They would often teach the same lesson to two different classes in the same day, giving them

the opportunity for quick reflection and implementation of material. These short-term cycles

may exist outside of PLSs, but they are so commonplace within those interviewed that this

may be one of the defining characteristics of this style of institution. For them, logging,

augmenting, testing, and repeating lesson ideas as an iterative model was central to their

practice, despite years of experience as teachers. Record keeping as a tool of refining

practice was alive and well outside of the sole domain of the NQT that was so often imagined

by researchers. PLS teachers would be an ideal population for examining this phenomenon

for later researchers.   These iterative lesson plans were an informal version of what had been

considered a formal type of CPD.

One of the gaps in the interview data was that only two teachers maintained

teacher's portfolios. For them, the portfolio was an online entity, and intended more as a

living CV than as an attempt at CPD, though nonetheless, creating a CV involves self-reflection and qualification of experience in line with reflective practice and document production. Among the other interviewees there was ambivalence and a lack of knowledge about the activity, which cast doubt on the data from the questionnaire with regards to portfolio construction and maintenance.

Most respondents in PLSs claimed to agree with the statement that they are interested in reading published research (Score of 3.02). This contrasts to the well-tilled field of research into teacher apathy towards research engagement (Allison & Carrey, 2007; Borg, 2007). Allison and Carrey listed the reasons for apathy as being a lack of time, a lack of encouragement, expertise or direction, and a fundamental consideration that being a researcher and chronicler of research is not a part of the role of a language teacher (pp. 68-72). Some of the contrast between Allison and Carrey's and the respondent data presented above could be due to a difference in sampling; Allison & Carrey gave a questionnaire to 22 language-teaching (Not exclusively English) colleagues at a Canadian University, whereas Borg was working with 50 respondents at a British institute. In contrast, the sampled data in this study came from anonymous questionnaires via email or web posts, representing a less focussed sample population. The self-selected nature of this population also contrasts the population. In the above-mentioned research projects, there was more room for those unenthusiastic on the topic to simply not respond to the questionnaire. For both Borg and Allison and Carrey, the authors were co-workers and personally known to the respondents, whereas my sample was almost exclusively strangers. Allison and Carrey and Borg had smaller sample sizes than my questionnaire (Allison and Carrey's 22 or Borg's 50 to my 66), though their results would represent a broader spectrum of their respective communities (40% for Allison and Carrey and 80.6% participation for Borg), than my 66, whose breadth cannot be attested.

Borg warned of ambiguity in an understanding of research (Borg, 2007; 2010). Also, as Allison & Carrey, and also Borg were questioning staff at universities, the price of access to journals and other scholarly texts would not have been an issue for them, while for teachers at PLSs, the cost of access to services like Elsevier, JSTOR, EBSCO, or others could certainly affect attitudes towards content[17]. This is not necessarily the primary cause, but money is often a contributing factor to decisions and the price of professionalism. With the high price of access to scholarly journals, and the difficulty in accessing them on a regular basis, only (12/66; 18%) of respondents reported any kind of published material at their place of work.

6.4.3   Discussion Groups

The third most popular form of CPD was discussion groups. More than any other type, it was in discussion groups where teachers' Ideal, Ought-to and Feared Professional Selves were put on display, and it was also where there was one of the most stark divisions between the formal and the informal. Teachers assert their identity amongst their peers and glean role-models from among the assembled. Some were quite overt about using the opportunities presented by groups to present themselves in one of the roles outlined in Figure 2.3: Taxonomy of experienced ESL teacher role identity.

Unfortunately, the understanding of discussions within the academic literature was not what the teachers were engaging in. Wilson and Berne (1999) imaged the phenomenon as much more organised, throughout institutions, and this was simply not what teachers were experiencing. Instead, they were engaging in discussions in small groups, amongst peers that had built up trust, rather than an open platform among all colleagues at the local institution.

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[17] The prices of individual packages from these three services range from £153-460 GBP per annum each as of the September, 2017 prices. Google Scholar and ERIC have several free resources, however.

This micro-team engagement comes back to a recurring disconnect between the small-scale institutions of PLSs being fundamentally different from their primary, secondary and post-secondary counterparts.

The understanding of discussions as they pertain to PLS teachers was also outside of the expectation of general TESOL literature on the topic when examined from a pragmatic perspective. In more established schools, discussion groups should have a longitudinal aspect and a greater element of organization (Clair, 1998; Paran, 2016), though like most CPD engagement at PLSs, this manifested in an ad hoc capacity.

One of the problems with discussion groups is maintaining the coherence and longevity of the group itself (Clair, 1998; Wilson & Berne, 1999). This is especially true for PLS, where the attrition rate of teaching staff is already higher than typical. This issue was of minimal concern to those interviewed, as most moved the idea of discussion groups away from the formal magisteria of Critical Friends Groups and Language Teacher Associations, and into a less formal area that had significant overlap with mentoring. Many of those interviewed were a part of large organizations, such as IATEFL or TESOL International, though were not active within the organizations.

Discussions were highly praised by interviewees when they occurred as impromptu coaching, rather than as formal table events organised by management. Informally, discussions were valued by everyone interviewed. Conversely, formal discussion groups were described derisively as pro-forma events with limited or no value.

6.4.4   Engagement with Research

Engagement with research was a curious typology because it yielded the largest distance between the survey data, the published literature, and the subsequent interviews. In the anonymity of an online questionnaire, respondents could assert their Ideal Selves where consulting literature was integral to the academic pursuit of their professional status. Table 4:

Teacher attitude towards research, identified a groundswell support of reading and engaging in research as a part of a regular CPD regimen.

This represents an overlap of findings with those of Borg (2007, 2009, 2010, Borg & Alshumaimeri, 2012). The teachers in his studies (which were also conducted with the MMR model of interviews informed by questionnaires) expressed reverence for research but reluctance to engage in or consult research on their own time. Borg examined the phenomenon of research reluctance in more detail than I will, but as for questioning the reason for this, my study expands on Borg's observations. A likely reason for functional apathy towards research is that teachers show respect for research as being something that stable, professional teachers do, a role that the respondents hope to one day occupy, but do not feel that it yet applies to them, again hinting at the disconnect between Provisional and Futures Selves.

When the topic of consulting or engaging in research came up in the interviews, it presented a fairly blurred line between the Ideal and the Ought-to professional selves. Teachers believed that they should respect academia, and be as academically-minded as they could be. Teachers ought to be paragons of education. Most of this population, however, felt themselves to be falling short. With one exception, the only reason given by any teachers for engaging in or consulting research was in order to accrue an additional credential, most commonly part of an MA program.

Despite the professed respect for published material and research as something that a "professional teacher" should do, no one interviewed who was not an active graduate student at the time admitted to reading formal research. This is despite the 3.02/4.0 rating of enthusiasm when asked if they agreed with the statement "I am interested in reading research." The conclusion that emerged from the questionnaire and interview data was that engagement with research was something that teachers felt that they should do but do not

want to, identifying the practice with a near dictionary-definition of the Ought-to professional self.

6.4.5   Classroom Observations

Using Yürekli's taxonomy, the four purposes of classroom observations: support novice teachers, monitor performance, help teachers with problems and identifying the needs of staff (2013) are important, because it demonstrates the diversity of motivations and reactions by teachers to being observed. Supporting novice teachers was not a demonstrable priority for teachers in this study, and identifying staff needs and problems are looked upon suspiciously because of the shadow of an evaluation as the motivation by management.

For more experienced teachers, the Feared Professional Self would come to the fore as the observation bring the eye of management to turn upon the teacher. Even among experienced teachers, there was an apprehension about observation by management, as this had an impact on hours and wages, and was often seen as a compliance observation rather than CPD, as outlined in Section 4.2.5.4 Observations without CPD. In the previous chapters, there were several novice teachers who appreciated the council of their seniors. Those senior teachers felt hostility and judgement from management, carrying a perception of being more concerned with business than with education, and as age and experience would often go together, some felt that there was a desire to replace them with younger teachers. Appreciation of observations broke down along an axis of experience level, and this brought the data into conflaction with the research data, as most of those writing about and researching the role of observation (Borg and Ochien'Ong'Ondo, 2011; Hammersley-Fletcher, & Orsmond 2005; Gün, 2011, 2012) were focussed on novice teachers. The availability of a data set that focusses on CPD for more experienced teachers is a frustration when looking at classroom observations, but for CPD on-the-whole, as well.

There are many who benefit from the observations, as described in the literature review, particularly by Gün (2011, 2012). The observed teacher benefits, the program benefits, the observing teacher benefits as does the program when the manager observes (2015). Several of the teacher interviewed had little trust in the management, and perceived classroom observations (rightly or wrongly) to be teachers' evaluations. The strategies evoked by Borg and Ochieng'Ong'ondo (2011) of teaching "plastic lessons" in order to secure the approval of the observer rather than teaching a natural lesson in order to receive constructive feedback, were in full operation among the interview population.

Despite the positive opportunities presented by this type of observation for the personal development of the teacher to reach an Ideal future professional self, the potential gets lost in the implementation, and the Ought-to emerges as observations leave the purview of CPD and enter the field of performance appraisals. This is where the negative comments from the questionnaire and interview responses converged. The Ideal Future Professional Self of the teacher became conflicted with the Ought-to expectation of the employer.

6.4.5   Workshops, Seminars and Conferences

As mentioned in Chapter 4: Teacher attitudes/practices towards specific forms of CPD, there was ambivalence in the interviews about the distinctions between workshops, seminars, conferences and other related events. Much like mentorship and discussion groups, many of the respondents interpreted the terms with their own meanings and their own distinctions, sometimes ignoring distinctions completely. While those differences could be assimilated into the conversations of the interviews, the limitations of the questionnaire were such that categorisation became elusive.

Ignoring the non-uniform distinctions of the different types of direct training, there were widespread and assumed behaviour by professionals. There was not much soul-

searching in the literature as to the efficacy of this style of CPD, as there seems to be few alternative options when discussing how to enhance teacher skills.

6.5   PLS Exceptionalism

There are many differences between ELT teachers at private language schools and those who work in more established schools, including salary, status and stability, and they must be considered when their sense of professionalism is discussed. These differences directly influence the motivations and practices of CPD among PLS teachers. Saatcioğlu noted that those who were the most persistent in teaching, and least likely to leave were men, the unmarried and older teacher regardless of experience (Saatcioğlu, 2020. pp 103-4). The abundance of literature about teacher identity fails to incorporate these economic variables, as much of the literature available is focussed upon teachers at K-12 schools, or at post-secondary language institutes. The prevalence of data about the more mainstream schools is such that only Breshears (2004) and Johnston (1997) had any particular focus on PLSs and their teachers.

This difference was noted in many of the interviews, because of the multiple-income-stream realities of the participants, where the interviewees could not help but compare PLSs to other teaching experiences. These included teaching multiple subjects, at multiple schools, seasonal work, private tutoring, music performances and one aspiring stand-up comedian. PLS teaching is different enough from mainstream education that teachers in PLSs should be treated as a unique group within education, though one that experiences overlap with other sub-groups.

Beneath the surface, PLS teachers are motivated to engage in CPD not as a temporary activity, but with an eye to the horizon, towards that Future Professional Self (Markus & Nurius, 1986). CPD is a way of moving towards a Future Self that is more advantaged than the current state of the individual teacher. Teacher Identity is based not on a

static self (or if not static then slowly evolving self), but upon a fast-changing notional future professional self (Kubanyiova, 2009).

Identity shift was commonly expressed in the interviews, as many of the teachers were hoping to be something other than English teachers, particularly at PLSs. Their motivation was strong, and focussed on a major change, not minor course-correction. None of the 19 interviewees identified primarily as a PLS-based TESOL teacher. Teaching in a PLS was part of the past, a minor part of the present, or a stage in a life's journey and never a destination.

PLS teachers are motivated towards CPD as a part of their serial movement from one workplace to another. Based on the preceding questionnaire and interview data, PLS teachers seem to be a much more mercurial population than the majority population of teachers. They change workplaces regularly, not only within the same local market, but globally. They often have alternate income streams that need as much attention and effort as teaching. This vocational multi-tasking requires that their effort at self-improvement to be the widest net possible. It also results in the accumulation of multiple minor certifications instead of a smaller number of major qualifications. They accumulate a broad variety of "soft skills" that can have value in multiple settings, but find themselves often at pains to settle in any particular environment.

These teachers found themselves working as precarious labour in a global marketplace where the stability of previous generations can no longer be expected (Standing, 2011), and education is no longer a stable vocation, but one which has lost its status and merged into the proletarianized labour pool (Ellis, McNicholl, Blake, & McNally, 2014).

These reasons motivate teachers to engage in the most portable forms of CPD, casual mentorships and discussion groups, and direct observations. When they have stability,

they engage in iterative cycling through material in order to limit the amount of time needed for lesson planning. Workshops and conferences are uncommon.

This research can help PLS teachers and administrators by contextualising CPD and RP to the needs of teachers at these institutions. CPD can be an engine for career development when mobilised in favour of the precariously employed teacher. First, CPD needs to focus on the needs of the teacher in acquiring those universal qualifications that enable specialisation. Knowledge and experience of standardised tests like IELTS or TOEFL, of benchmarking like the CEFR or CLB, or of marketable skills such as online classroom management or spontaneous speaking activities. Developing those skills should be the purpose of CPD forms in which teachers engage. Discussions and observations can be directed by management to nourish these objectives. As a manager, I promote these, as well as assign new teachers to experienced teachers as mentors that their mentees be inducted into the practice of teaching. While PLSs lack much of the formal structures of other more traditional schools, the principles remain the same.

6.6   Conclusion

In this chapter, the four sources of motivation, the Self, the Peer Group, the School and External agency were discussed insofar as they had a direct effect upon teachers and their attitudes towards CPD. The methodology was reviewed to assess the strengths and weaknesses for the model of answering the two research questions of what are the attitudes and why are they felt, and then that motivation was summarised in how it manifested itself in different types of CPD. Elements of the Future Professional Selves of PLS teachers were used to categorise aspects of teacher motivation. PLSs received a less nebulous description than they had received in the literature review, having taken the available literature on the topic and advancing this by the experiences of the participants in the questionnaire and interviews.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1   Chapter Overview

This chapter concludes the examination of teacher attitudes toward CPD within

private language schools, in terms of what these attitudes are, and why teachers carry such

sentiments. The summary answer to those questions is that PLS teachers engage in limited

CPD insofar as they think that it will improve their future possibility of stable employment.

When they do engage in CPD, there is a preference for informal activities that aim for

measurable improvement on practice, rather than less palpable theoretical work as the

practical is more focussed on immediate results which would lead to employment stability.

They are motivated by future possibility as a teaching professional, rather than an immediate

sense of professional responsibility. When teachers are not motivated to engage in CPD, it is

often because that future horizon does not include TESOL.

The first content section of this chapter (7.2) deals with the context of the data

presented in this study, and how it contributes to the current fields of research that it touches

upon. After this, in Section 7.3, practical recommendations are made as to how individual

teachers, groups of teachers, schools and other agencies might improve the PD situation of

PLS teachers. 7.4 focusses on the limitations of this study, and 7.5 makes recommendations

for further research.

7.2   Contributions of the Study

The preceding study makes contributions to the broader field of Continuous

Professional Development, but more particular to CPD in TESOL. To the focus of CPD in

TESOL, the underlying reasons for motivation in CPD engagement is built upon a teacher's

desire to fulfil a future role.

Using the framework of Future Professional Selves allowed for the extrapolation

of reasoning for how and why teachers engaged in CPD (Kubanyiova, 2009; Markus &

Nurius, 1984). It allows for goals to be contextualised over the course of a career, rather than as an immediate event with a start and end date. The overlying, direct stimulus to engage in CPD comes from one of four directions: The Self, the Peer Group, the School or Other External Agency, but it is the underlying motivations that interact with these stimuli to balance how CPD takes form.

The literature on the professional lives of teachers is rich (see 2.4 Professional development and professionalism), but PLSs are particular institutions that require nuance away from the more general education field (see 2.5: Private language schools and 6.5: PLS exceptionalism). The professional lives of PLS teachers involve a break from the widely accepted understanding of teacher in a school and requires the researcher to think of these teachers not as perennial figures within a stable institute, so much as independent contractors working at several different venues over the course of a career. Like bees whose honey comes from the pollen of many meadows, these teachers work for more than one employer, and migrate vast distances in search of work over their career. The relationship between the institute and the teacher is temporary, just as the relationship between students and the institute is more short-lived, rarely progressing past a single year. PLSs operate as entities more at home in the so-called "Gig economy" than would be a traditional school. This is a large portion of the TESOL market, but one which has been largely ignored by current research.

The mobility of teachers in this model is important, as CPD is to be understood as a project that develops teachers over their career, not simply where they are now, as there is little guarantee that their current position will remain constant in subsequent years. CPD at PLSs should target the needs of the teachers over the immediate needs of the institution itself, and this is one of the reasons why it is so important for teachers together to set their own

CPD agenda, rather than hoping to receive one from their school's management. For this, teacher agency must be promoted by the community of teachers themselves.

Insofar as CPD in TESOL is concerned, the wealth of literature about training novice teachers is a testimony to the value that TESOL places upon training (see 2.7 Types of CPD), but the lack of data for CPD of teachers after their first five years of teaching also speaks volume to the undervaluing of the practice once a teacher has hit a threshold wherein the needs of their Ought-to Professional Self have been met. When there are examples of long-term CPD among more experienced teachers, these examples are usually found among programs within larger-scale institutions, commonly with state support (Gao & Chow, 2014; Yuan et al., 2016).

While the preceding study has looked at the setting of PLSs and example methods that would apply predominantly within the context of TESOL, many of those examples can extrapolate into other professions in a practical manner. Reading and conducting research on professional matters, particularly examination upon the locality of practice is good advice for any professional in any context. Mentorship, group discussions, shadowing/observing, are all useful techniques that could be replanted in any field with only minor variations. Discussions amongst peers should be fostered, observed feedback is important for course correction, and access to additional training in the form of seminars, workshops or conferences also has value. Professionalism is an ongoing process, not a uniquely accrued qualification.

7.3   Recommendations for practice

The onus for CPD engagement is split across the four motivators of the Self, the Peer Group, the School and other External agencies. Each of these four pillars carry a portion of the load of PD, and each has varying degrees of understanding of the teachers' contexts, the market in which they operate, and possessing differing levels of ability to organize a CPD

regimen. Because of the different positions and roles for those stakeholders, their ability to evoke CPD takes on different contextual roles.

The lone teacher has a limited, but situationally variable, ability to self-develop, particularly if they are employed in a limited capacity, or in a position of multiple external income streams. While engaging in the lofty version of research that was advocated by Borg's subjects and others, might be problematic for reasons of access, following blogs, social media and discussion fora are not. There are several online communities that can help with discussions and keeping up with current research, as well as introducing new technology platforms. The single most useful tool for the lone teacher to use while pursuing CPD is a simple notebook to chronicle their lessons, to log what was and was not successful, and to reflect upon how they might improve next time. Consulting that record will refine current practice and keeping abreast of developments online will add to the repertoire. The solitary teacher is not helpless when taking command of their own CPD.

The Peer Group is a mercurial entity because it exists at one institute but has members with a broad range of experience from outside that particular institute. Overlapping different schools, countries, and lines of work, teachers stand the most chance to learn from their peers than from any other sources throughout their careers. Peers have the opportunity for discussion and mentorship for teachers struggling with material and routine at a school. They can provide not only insight into subject-matter and teaching, but also into career and financial planning, something that is traditionally lacking in teacher development. They can observe each other's classes and provide useful feedback and share research findings. Importantly, they can also keep each other aware of available seminars and conferences, training opportunities and professional organizations. The Peer Group shares the interests of the individual teachers, unlike the employer or other external agencies.

The school or institute where teachers work has a responsibility to develop the teachers it employs. This responsibility is for both moral and practical purposes. The management of the school has a longer reach than the teachers, either individually or as a group, and has the power to invest money in the training of teachers, by bringing in external expertise for training, or by subsidising training activities initiated by teachers. Assigning novice teachers to experienced ones in order to provide NQTs with the experiential learning opportunities of others is also something that schools are in a prime situation to engage in. Informal mentorships can take years to develop spontaneously, but with an engaged manager, this resource is automatically available to those who need it most. Management has a responsibility to engage in classroom observations of teachers, and while teachers are apprehensive about observations by management, management has the right and responsibility to look in on classes to ensure that the teacher is performing within the norms of the institution, as well as for reasons of professional development. The panopticism of management is important for keeping the faculty in a state of professionalism. When Foucault noted that "Surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action" (1975, p. 201), he was warning of grander threats than concerned management. Regular observations let teachers know that the school is concerned about the teachers' professional development and also about their performance and reinforce professionalism.

External Agencies have a variety of responsibilities for improving the practice of PD within TESOL. The variety of different entities within this category means that the options will apply to some but not all of the dramatis personæ in the category. As mentioned in the 5.2.5 External motivation, external agents fall into two categories: regulatory agencies usually associated with a state operator, and teacher organisations. Regulatory organisations have a responsibility to enforce compliance, and pressure PLSs to offer PD. While many PLSs do, there are some that have no interest in the accrued cost of provide training for

teachers, as this is a costing item with no direct revenue attached. Regulatory agencies such as the ISI or Languages Canada can advocate for standards of professionalism where teachers' voices are not strong enough to bring direct pressure, particularly where there are no teacher organisations to do so.

Teacher organisations may not be as overtly strong as regulatory bodies, but they advocate for teachers in the cause of professionalism. Organisations like TESOL International or local regional chapters thereof can offer and organise training projects on a scale that individual teachers cannot. To this extent, the organisation of conferences and the mandating of CPD hours to be logged by members are already a part of their general practice. Where the practice of externals could expand is as they relate to networking options and providing online discussion fora. For a group as disparate at PLS teachers, this online community building, involving social media, is the natural step to engage further with teachers in need of support and PD.

A recurring topic in this thesis is the disconnect between the academy and PLSs, and to that end an academic text on the topic of CPD for PLSs would struggle to find a reading audience. With that in mind, it is my intention to write a book on the topic of CPD for PLSs, to specifically target this population of teachers and administrative personnel. Marketing CPD as a professional issue instead of an academic one is important, though in education the difference between academic and professional is a thin one.

7.4   Limitations of the Study

Obviously, the results of the questionnaire data are limited to the sample itself, and while there are several quantitative studies looking at similar issues (particularly in Borg, 2007 & 2010 which looked at similar issues and had a similar total number of population), because this study is attempting to look at an aspect of a global industry that is hitherto unassessed, there would need to be more individual responses in order to reach that goal.

However, one of the defining features of PLSs is the mobility of teachers. One teacher may work for many different language schools over the course of a decade, and in the interviews, most teachers compared where they were teaching now to where they had been before, either within the same city or on the other side of the globe. Despite the small number, the mobility of this study's sample in terms of their professional histories still produces a robust representation of PLS teacher experience.

In addition to the total number of responses, for looking at a global industry, the data collected was disproportionately from Canada and the UK, as shown in Figure 3.1: Countries of practice. This was a result of the snowballing procedure for gathering interview prospects, and questionnaire respondents as well as the limitation of my own networking. Mobility of nationality was also a topic felt in the interviews, but unassessed in the anonymous questionnaires. There were several New Canadians in the interview data, and Britons from other homelands. The prevalence of migration, and the national claims of the respondents in the questionnaire can only be guessed at.

Another limitation upon the study is the diverse models of Private Language Schools in existence. The breadth of models has meant that this study has had to deal with generalities over specifics. Most interview data deal with the experiences in brick-and-mortar schools, though some with an out-call language training service, and others of language-training contractors within more regular institutions. Despite the variety of business models, none have been found seriously examined in academic literature.

The methodology of a series of interviews based on a preceding questionnaire held as a useful model. Cresswell's description of the "collection and analysis of quantitative data followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data" (2003, p. 215) was well-suited to answering both research questions. There were, however, two issues in the implementation of this model in this study; the first by design and the second by happenstance. The first

weakness was brought about because of the limited and unattested overlap between the respondents of the questionnaire and the interviews. Dörnyei (2007) recommended not using anonymous testing so that there could be a certainty to having the questionnaire and interview populations be representative of each other. Because of the perceived reluctance to answer questions by teachers when they were to be asked about working and pay conditions, I decided to keep the questionnaire anonymous in order to bring in larger numbers. There is no way for me to attest how many of the 65 useable responses would not have been included without the promise of anonymity, though the number of responses is small enough that any loss of responses would have been unfortunate. Everyone that was interviewed had been asked to participate in the questionnaire, though the participation of any specific individual in the questionnaire cannot be verified. Since the instruments were different, this issue does not result in any significant loss of credibility, so Dörnyei's warning is not a significant limitation on the data.

The second issue with the methodology was the interview process began after a preliminary analysis of the questionnaire data but prior to a final crystallisation of it. The purpose of the MMR was that the interview data would be informed by the preceding questionnaire. This was largely successful in that the preferences of teachers were largely understood, as were the basic demographics of the target population. The analysis of the quantitative data did not, however, come to an end when the interviews started, but continued on for over a year. The plumbs of which included relationships between participation and gender, number of qualifications and initial qualifications, as well as some other minor nuances. These could not be questioned directly of the initial interview participants, though they were asked of the respondents during the follow-up interviews.

Despite these issues, the model managed to follow Strauss and Glasser's (1967) path of collecting broad data, and then honing that body of data until a useful understanding

of the emerging trends could be rigorously examined Charmaz (2008) was a productive one. The emerging tends were the sources of motivation discussed above in Chapter 5: Teacher motivation toward CPD.

One of the hazards of the model was presciently described by Riazi as "conducting two mini-projects, reporting the two projects in parallel, but not necessarily integrating the two at different stages in the research process in favour of a whole rather than a collection of individual parts" (2016, p. 36). This could have been better avoided by a more in-depth analysis of the questionnaire data prior to the beginning of the interviews, thereby more tightly braiding the stages. This would have offered the opportunity for interview data to be more targeted at the future selves and four motivators, though those data were more successfully targeted in the later, second-stage interviews.

7.5   Future Research Recommendations

The next step in developing a fuller answer to the research questions of how PLS teachers feel about different types of CPD and why they feel that way would be three-fold. The first would be to conduct a research project on PLSs as economic models, so that this important sector of the TESOL community could be better understood in order to be more fully examined. The second would be to look at teacher mobility within TESOL, as this was one of the defining characteristics of economic life for PLS teachers. From there, the third direction for further investigation would be to look at the role of gender participation in CPD within this corner of TESOL. While gender was not a major aspect of this research, it cast a shadow onto different areas of peer and management relations.

Private Language Schools exist on the margins of educational consciousness, despite their ubiquity across markets. Even among teachers and administrators at language institutes attached to universities or other systems, PLSs add to the memory of résumés and CVs of those no longer in the employ by them, as it was in these PLSs where formative

teaching habits and attitudes were first crystallised. Understanding the lives of educators, and the professional roadways for modern TESOL professionals involves building an understanding of the industry in which they operate, which is thus far lacking in the general or academic literature. PLSs are a difficult entity in terms of the discussion of TESOL, and this is to the detriment of all given the numerical significance of this venue. More research into PLSs in terms of professional histories and attitudes about education is required, and the fact that such data is missing, is a surprise.

Another factor attesting to the import of PLSs is not just the restriction to PLSs as stand-alone schools, but how the business model functions within the public square of education and training. While this study started with an assumption of PLSs as brick-and-mortar institutions, there were out-call centres that featured prominently among two interviewees, where there was no central school, but the teachers were sent out to the clients to have lessons at their places of work. There were also other teachers that had worked for language institutes that were private companies but were operating within a post-secondary institute, synchronistically masquerading as the institute itself. Block examined the theme of Neo-liberalism in applied linguistics (2012), Breshears (2004) and Johnston (1997) both looked at teachers in PLSs, but the influence of private capital and neo-liberal models of education was not explicitly examined a TESOL market.

Another window for research that appeared in this study was the irregular trajectories of careers for PLS teachers. In other literature that looked at the professional lives of language teachers, there was a narrative assumption of ITE, then novice teacher, then experienced teacher. This linear progression was not something that carried through for many of the teachers interviewed or answering the questionnaire. Teachers would start with an initial qualification and then teach, and then go back and get another qualification and continue teaching. Then get another qualification as they continued to teach. Qualification

collection, or at least expertise collection, was an ongoing process for teachers as their careers went on. Even the assumption of a teaching career beginning at ITE is problematic, as Shin (2017) outlined in her study of second-career teachers in the United States.

In addition to an unpredictable start, TESOL also has an unpredictable end. Johnston (1997) called the profession permeable, meaning that it was a career that was easily entered and easily abandoned. Most of the teachers interviewed spoke about their desire to leave PLSs, but there was also a high proportion that wanted to leave TESOL, and sometimes education altogether. This was present among the survey data and interviews. Much of the experiential learning that is to be facilitated by reflective practice as CPD depends on the presence of more experienced teachers to help with their newer comrades' development as mentors or in discussions. With teachers arriving and leaving at unpredictable intervals, the practicality of learning from the experiences of peers greatly diminishes.

Unpredictable beginnings and ends are tied together with a mercurial middle. The PLS teachers in this research have found themselves changing jobs frequently, often changing cities and even countries, meaning that workplace seniority would typically not be in the same vein as it might be in more established schools. While this study has shed some light onto the professional lives of these particular teachers, it is far from the type of holistic examination that would be required for such a large population.

The third major area for further examination is that of gender within TESOL. Approximately two-thirds of the respondents to the questionnaire were women, and this was an approximate proportion that repeated in other research (Borg, 2017, Wilson & Dewaele 2010). This raises questions about why most of the managers spoken about were men when the majority of the workforce were women. This issue is hardly unique to education, with similar gender divides appearing in other workplaces, but the dynamic that was typically discussed was management being men coming from a background in business and

management, overseeing women coming from a background of education. This is a dynamic with a gender, class and motivational divide.

The gender divide was significantly present when mentorship was discussed. A quarter of the women hinted or suggested at a situation of harassment by an older teacher who was trying to assert a role as a mentor, or other helper-figure over the less-experienced female teacher. Women were happy to describe workplace discussions between colleagues as helpful to their professional development, but not when it came to large group discussions, which were situations that they were less enthusiastic about. Gender affects the career development of PLS teacher, the manners in which they seek out professional development, and the types of CPD in which they engage themselves.

These topics are touched upon in this research project, but not examined in the detail that might be. The ramifications are hinted at, but further research could bring fuller answers to those questions. As discussed earlier in Section 7.3, these topics should be brought up as professional issues in professional literature and settings. Career development and sexism in the workplace are hardly unique to education, TESOL or PLSs, but they should not be considered absent issues there either.

7.6   Conclusion

This study represents a unique addition to the field of applied linguistics, looking at the ongoing careers of proletarianized teachers working the periphery of the field of language education. This economic marginalisation is not unique to TESOL, but sheds light on the de-professionalised corners of education.

Many of the respondents to my questionnaire and the interviewees during the second phase of my data collection were not actively teaching in PLSs. They had done so for many years, as this was their qualification for data collection, but many had eventually moved on. The idea of making a career in these institutes was so difficult that no one

intended to this. Teachers either began their careers there before moving on to better teaching positions, or other non-teaching jobs, or were working in local PLSs after a move or some unplanned life event. CPD is often the only venue that teachers have for self-elevation into the K-12 or post-secondary market.

Private Language Schools represent a stage in a career for a teacher, rather than the career itself. To the school, teachers represent employees fulfilling a job, rather than a faculty integral to the school's operation. This relationship is the professional entrance for many teachers, and many students on their progress of language acquisition. For those reasons, and the other reasons described in this project, this is a subject that requires further examination.

Appendix I – Social Media Post to Solicit Questionnaire Responses

My name is Brendan Ray and I am a PhD candidate in Applied Linguistics at the University of London, Birkbeck college. My PhD is focusing on teacher attitudes towards professional development in the private sector, particularly within private language schools.

To this end, I have designed a questionnaire that I would like to give to as many ESOL teachers as possible, and I was hoping that I might be able to convince some of you into answering it.

The questionnaire takes 10-15 minutes to complete and the data is anonymous.

Here's a link to the questionnaire itself:

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1ngbovYxIe_Yk15jH_ETHXfnAmL6Ke5sa_owbh9k805M/ viewform?usp=send_form

Thank you for any help you an offer. If you could answer this, that's great, If you could pass this along to someone you know who's teaching ESL/EFL/ESOL in the private sector, that's even better.

Sincerely,

Brendan Ray

Appendix II - Questionnaire

This is a reproduction of a digital format document.

Teaching English in the Private Sector
This questionnaire is intended to look at teacher attitudes towards Continuous Professional Development (CPD) within the private sector, examining non-state schools, contractors and private language schools. This is a part of a PhD research project currently entitled "Teacher attitudes towards CPD in the private sector." The questionnaire has been approved in its current form by the University of London - Birkbeck College Ethics Committee. The first part of the questionnaire will ask about your general biography as a teacher. The second part will ask about your experiences with CPD, and the third on teacher working conditions and professional engagement.

Statement of Confidentiality
The purpose of this questionnaire is to examine the attitudes and motivations of teachers towards CPD as they continue their professional development. The data will be used for research purposes only, and will be stored off-line under secure conditions. Every opportunity is taken to keep the answers anonymous and preserve the privacy of the respondents. If you are uncomfortable answering any questions, please feel free to click on "no comment" or "do not wish to answer." If at the end you find yourself uncomfortable with the answers you have given, your answers will not be recorded until you click "submit" on Page Five. You can stop the test at any time and your answers will not be recorded. Once you have submitted your answers, because there is no way to identify your responses as yours, they cannot be selectively removed from the database. If you are comfortable with this, please continue to the questionnaire. If not, then thank you for your time and I fully understand.

Biography
Information about you and your teaching situation and history.
1. How many years have you been teaching?
    Years in total, minus time in full time employment in other fields.
    _____

2. How old are you?
    o   Under 25
    o   26-30
    o   31-35
    o   36-40
    o   41-45
    o   46-50
    o   51-55
    o   56-60
    o   61-65
    o   66-70
    o   Over 70
    o   Decline to answer
    o   Other: _____

3. What is your gender?
    Mark only one oval
    - o Male
    - o Female
    - o Do not wish to answer

4. Do you self-identify as a Native Speaker of English?
    Choose the option that best describes how you describe yourself.
    Mark only one oval.
    - o Native English Speaking Teacher
    - o Near Native English Speaking Teacher
    - o Non Native English Speaking Teacher
    - o Do not wish to answer

5. In which country do you currently teach?
    _____

6. In what context is your primary teaching job?
    Tick one or more if applicable, but it should represent a significant percentage of your time.
    Tick all that apply
    - o Public School / State School
    - o Private Technical / Trade College
    - o Private Language School
    - o Higher Education – Sessional contract
    - o Higher Education – Yearly contract
    - o Higher Education – Permanent Faculty
    - o Private Tutoring
    - o Other: _____

7. What is your highest level of formal, institutional education?
    This does not need to be directly related to the teaching of English.
    Mark only one oval.
    - o Secondary School / High School
    - o Community college or trade school
    - o University – undergraduate
    - o University – graduate degree
    - o University – doctorate
    - o PGSE (Post graduate certificate in education)
    - o Do not wish to answer
    - o Other: _____

8. What English-teaching qualifications do you hold?
    Tick all that apply.
    - o Cambridge TESOL Certificate
    - o CELTA
    - o DELTA
    - o Bachelor of Education
    - o Bachelor of Arts – English Language and Literature

o Bachelor of Arts – English, Linguistics, TESOL or Applied Linguistics
o Master of Education
o Master of Arts – English, Linguistics, TESOL or Applied Linguistics
o Other TESOL short course (<110 hours)
o Other TESOL long course (>6 months)
o None
o Do not wish to answer
o Other: _____

9. If you have an undergraduate degree, which term best describes it?
   If none of the options seem appropriate, or you have more than one undergraduate degree, click "other" and briefly identify.
   Mark only one oval.
   o Bachelor of Education (BEd)
   o Bachelor of Arts – Education (BA)
   o Bachelor of Arts – TESOL, Linguistics or Applied Linguistics
   o Bachelor of Arts – Other
   o Bachelor of Arts – English Language and Literature
   o Bachelor of Science (BSc)
   o Bachelor of Fine Arts (BFA)
   o Bachelor of Laws (LLB)
   o Bachelor of Engineering (BEng)
   o Associate's Degree (AD)
   o Do not wish to answer
   o I do not have a university degree
   o Other: _____

10. What is your current position?
    Select one.
    Mark one oval only.
    o Teacher
    o Senior Teacher / Lead Teacher
    o Head Teacher / DOS
    o Owner
    o Do not wish to answer.
    o Other: _____

11. How often does your regular schedule change?
    This means your classes taught, levels or hours, as scheduled by the school where you work.
    Mark only one oval.
    o Annually
    o Seasonally
    o Monthly
    o Weekly
    o Daily
    o Do not wish to answer.

12. Which of the following statements about you are true?

Click all that apply.
- o   I live in a house.
- o   I live in an apartment.
- o   I share my home with others (non-family).
- o   I own my home.
- o   I rent my home.
- o   I have enough savings to remain comfortable if I find myself unemployed for three months.
- o   I am married.
- o   I have a child.
- o   My parents both went to university.
- o   Only one of my parents went to university.
- o   Growing up, I felt financially stable.
- o   I feel financially stable now.

13. How many times have you changed cities in the past ten years?
    _____

Continuous Professional Development

In this section of the questionnaire, you are asked about different aspects of Continuous Professional Development. Answer within the context of your experience. Please try to think o current experience. Unless otherwise indicated, try to answer within the limits of the past five years.

14. Engaging with and consulting research
    To what extent do you agree with the following statements? In this context, "research" refers to published articles or data. "Informal research" refers to data collected for personal or local use.
    Mark only one oval per row.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No comment
I read current published research.					
I am interested in reading research about TESOL.					
I am interested in participating in research as a data collector, interpreter of findings, assessor, or other capacity					
My employer encourages me to engage in research.					
I discuss research articles with my fellow teachers.					
I do informal research to assess specific materials (textbooks, websites, etc.)					

I find current research useful to apply to my teaching context.					
I find current research easy to read and understand.					

15. Does your school provide teachers any of the following material?
    Tick all that apply
    - o   Peer reviewed journals (TESOL Quarterly, Applied Linguistics, etc.)
    - o   TESOL newsletters and magazines
    - o   Trade publications (for IELTS, ETS, Cambridge Exams or others)
    - o   My school does not provide any such material.
    - o   Do not wish to answer.
    - o   Other: _____

16. If yes, which titles?
    _____

17. Record Keeping, Teacher Journals and Diaries
    To what extent do you agree with the following statements?
    Mark only one oval per row.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No comment
My employer expects me to submit lesson plans.					
I keep my lesson plans for later use or consultation.					
I keep a record of successful activities and classes.					
I re-examine my lesson plans to think of what could be improved.					
I keep a formal record of my teaching for later reflection.					
I keep a personal record of professional development events and/or activities.					

18. Mentorship
    To what extent do you agree with the following statements?
    Mark only one oval per row.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No comment
I am happy to accept advice from someone more experienced than myself.					
I try to help new teachers benefit from my experience.					

I like sharing a class with a teacher LESS experienced than myself.				
I like sharing a class with a teacher MORE experienced than myself.				

19. Mentorship experience
    Mark only one oval per row.

	Yes	No	Do not wish to answer
When I began teaching, a senior teacher mentored me in a FORMAL capacity.			
When I began teaching, a senior teacher mentored me in an INFORMAL capacity.			
I have mentored a new teacher in a FORMAL capacity.			
I have mentored a new teacher in an INFORMAL capacity.			

20. Discussion Groups
    How often do the following occur at your current school?
    Mark only one oval per row.

	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Yearly	Never	Do not wish to answer
The teaching staff and management have formal discussions about classroom management issues at my work.						
I participate in discussion groups about TESOL issues.						
My employer facilitates open discussion about classroom issues						
I discuss TESOL issues with my co-workers in an informal capacity.						

21. Observations
    How frequently does the following happen?
    Mark only one oval per row.

	Annually	Seasonally	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Never	Do not wish to answer
The manager of my school observes my classes.							
The head-teacher/dos/lead instructor of my school observes my class.							
Senior teachers observe my class.							
I observe the classes of junior teachers							
I observe the classes of senior teachers							
Junior teachers observe my class.							

22. Observation follow-up
    After an observation, how would you describe the follow-up discussion between observer and observed? Tick all that apply
    - o Brief
    - o In-depth
    - o Redundant
    - o Constructive
    - o Stressfull
    - o Comfortable
    - o Confrontational
    - o Co-operative

23. Are there any other ways that you would describe the follow up discussion of classroom observations?
    _____
    _____
    _____

24. Continuous Professional Development (CPD) Seminars and Workshops
    Tick the box if the following happens at your school.
    Tick all that apply.
    - o My school offers me regular, optional CPD seminars and/or workshops
    - o My school has mandatory CPD seminars and/or workshops
    - o My school organises participation in external CPD seminars and/or workshops

- o My school expects the teachers to lead INTERAL CPD seminars and/or workshops.
- o My school expects the teachers to lead EXTERNAL CPD seminars and/or workshops.

25. In which topics would you like additional training?
    Click any that apply.
    - o Technology – use of classroom hardware (Interactive white boards, A/V equipment)
    - o Technology – use of computer programs (CALL lab tutorials)
    - o Technology – use of online environments (Moodle, Blackboard, Dashboard, Wiki)
    - o Subject matter – grammar
    - o Subject matter – Phonetics
    - o Subject matter – Test and exams (IETLS, TOEFL, etc.)
    - o Pedagogy – Teaching reading
    - o Pedagogy – Teaching writing
    - o Pedagogy – Teaching speaking
    - o Pedagogy – Teaching listening
    - o Pedagogy – Classroom management
    - o Student cultural background
    - o None of the above

26. Are there any other topics of CPD that you think would be helpful to yourself?

    _____
    _____
    _____

27. If you don't regularly engage in professional development activites, why not?
    Tick all that apply.
    - o I don't have the time for Professional Development.
    - o I'm not interested in Professional Development.
    - o Professional Development is not done at my school.
    - o My colleagues are not interested in professional development.
    - o My school officially discourages Professional Development
    - o I do not plan on staying in TESOL, so the time would be wasted.
    - o The Professional Development offered does not relate to my personal teaching situation.
    - o I regularly engage in Professional Development activities.
    - o Do not wish to answer.

28. Are there any other reasons that would prevent you from participating in CPD?

    _____
    _____
    _____

29. Which of the following forms of professional development do you think benefit you as a teacher?

Select. While it is ture that sometimes the same medium can have radically different value, please answer in a way that you believe to be the most typical of the medium. Mark only one oval per row.

	Very beneficial	Fairly beneficial	Not very beneficial	Not at all beneficial	N/A haven't tried	Do not wish to answer
Reading research						
Performing research						
Keeping a teaching diary						
Keeping a teacher portfolio						
Being mentored by a senior teacher						
Mentoring a junior teacher						
Participating in discussion groups						
Feedback from being observed						
Observing other teachers						
Attending seminars and/or workshops						
Giving a seminar and/or workshop						

Professional Engagement
This section of the questionnaire deals with issues of professional engagement, how you engage with your career in general and with your fellow teachers.

30. Approximately how large is your current school?
    Answer to the best of your knowledge. Ignoring high and low seasonal change, give the answer that would generally be the case.
    Mark only on oval
        o   Less than 50 students
        o   50-100 students
        o   100-200 students
        o   More than 200 students
        o   I have no idea

31. How many ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) teachers are at your school?
Answer to the best of your knowledge, you do not need to be 100% certain. If more than 38, please estimate.
Mark only one oval.
   - o   6 or less
   - o   7-12
   - o   13-18
   - o   19-24
   - o   25-32
   - o   33-38
   - o   Other: _____

32. How long is one lesson at your school?

   _____

33. How many lessons in a week do you typically teach?

   _____

34. How many hours per week do you spend on lesson planning?

   _____

35. How many hours per week do you spend on administrative (non-teaching related) work?

   _____

36. Are you paid for the following?
Mark only one oval per row.

	Yes	No	Yes, but at a reduced rate	I am paid a fixed salary that includes this.
Lesson planning?				
Administrative work?				
CPD?				
Staff meetings?				

37. Are the following mandatory at your school?
Mark only one oval per row.

	Yes	No	Do not wish to answer
Lesson planning?			

Administrative work?			
CPD?			
Staff meetings?			

38. Are you personally a member of any TESOL associations or organisations?
Organisations such as TESL Ontario, IATEFL or other national, regional or
international ESL/EFL groups.
Mark only one oval.
    o Yes
    o No
    o Do not wish to answer.

39. Are you a member of a trade union?
Mark only one oval.
    o Yes
    o No
    o Do not wish to answer

40. Do you hold any other jobs?
Tick all that apply
    o Other teaching job
    o Private tutoring
    o Other: non-teaching
    o Do not wish to answer
    o No

41. What are your career plans for the next five years?
Tick all that may apply.
    o Teaching English to speakers of other languages.
    o Education management – TESOL
    o Teaching: Non-TESOL
    o Education management – Non-TESOL
    o Unrelated to education
    o Not sure
    o Other: _____

42. What are your education plans for the next five years?
Mark only one oval.
    o None
    o Continuing formal education (degree) – TESOL related
    o Continuing formal education (degree) – Non-TESOL related
    o Professional development within TESOL

43. Is your school certified by an outside body? If so, which one or ones?
This could include the British council, Languages Canada, EQAUALS or others.
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

_____

Any other comments?

So far, I thank you for answering my questions. I'd like to give you an opportunity to add anything that you think might be relevant to your own experience with CPD, or any problems that you may have had with the questionnaire. In the space bellow, please feal free to add any comments you would like.

44. Additional comments?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix III – Interview Guide

Introduction:

Hello there, my name is Brendan Ray and I'm a PhD candidate at the University of London, Birkbeck College. I would like to thank you for your time.

If you're uncomfortable with any question, or line of questioning, please just leave it blank and move on. If you change your mind at about answering the questions, just let me know and I'll delete the file.

In the text that I keep, you'll have a pseudonym, which will be randomly assigned based on a list of popular baby names for 2014. After that, the documents are going to be stored on an external drive under lock and key. They won't be accessible to anyone. This is to assure you of the confidentiality of the interview. You don't need to mention the names of individual people or schools, you can use terms "my co-worker/colleague/manager" at "That school/this language centre/one place I worked at/etc."

If you have any questions about a question, please feel free to email me at pray01@mail.bbk.ac.uk and I'll try to clear it up as quickly as I can.

Self-motivation

If you could improve anything about your teaching practice, what would it be?

How do you identify what needs to be improved in your practice?

How have you gone about improving your practice?

Why are you doing this?

Peer-motivation

What do you value most in a fellow teacher?

How often do you discuss practice with your fellow teachers?

What do you feel that you offer a teachers' room in terms of expertise?

Institute-motivation

What does your current school offer you in terms of CPD?

Is there someone for whom CPD is included in their portfolio?

Have you spoken to your employer about your professional development?

External motivation

Where are you teaching?

Are you a member of a union? If so, do they organise PD?

Appendix IV – Informed Consent Form

I,_____, consent to have my information used for the purpose

of P. Brendan Ray's PhD research into continuous professional development (CPD) in the c

sector of language education at the University of London, Birkbeck College. This may

include a video-recorded or audio-recorded conversation that will be stored under secure

conditions, as well as notes taken on the conversation, and I may be quoted in Brendan Ray's

doctoral dissertation. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the project at any

time, and to demand that any quotations, notes or video that would be sourced to me be

destroyed with the assumption that this will be done and confirmed at the earliest

opportunity.

The data is for the purpose of qualitative research into teacher attitudes towards CPD within

the commercial sector for the purpose of Brendan Ray's doctoral dissertation and no other

purpose I will participate in this project with no expectation of monetary reward or later

favour.

I understand that my name, and the names of others that I mention, including institutions and

schools, will also be changed to pseudonyms in order to protect my anonymity. The only

record of the pseudonyms and their true names will be stored on a secure and encrypted drive

in the possession of Brendan Ray.

Signature: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

Appendix V – Example of Initial/Open Coding

This extract is from Interview 1 with "Clive". The text is on the left as a conversation between "B", Brendan Ray, and "C", for Clive. The text on the right are notes that would eventually become open codes.

what I wanted to teach, and then working without teaching aids. So I would start going to textbooks, taking their ideas, and then, try to internalise it and be able to do it spontaneously in the class. It kinda turned into a pretty good skill, so I kept doing that. Uh, yeah. Do you want me to continue?

Materials development as a way out of the classroom. Professional escape | P

B: No, ah, you've answered a lot of the… you've answered the entire first page, actually. Uh hello, right now you're at [University English Institute], which is associated with [Metropolitan Canadian University]. Is it actually part of the university or is it a private company that's… operates at the university?
C: That's a good question, the status of [University English Institute] is, uh, changing. So it was it's own stand alone institute, institution, and from what I understand, it was created with a mandate.

Convoluted corporate structure of ESOL institute | P

B: Ok.
C: And it was, it has it's own really small union which isn't connected to the other unions, which is unusual. It's like 55 people.

Uncertainty about union membership and status | P

B: That is unusual.
C: But it's been apparently integrating with the Continuing Education Program, here, which is uh for the university to exert some control over it and get a part of its profits. The success of the programs that it's using. And they want to administer it as well. So a huge amount of change going on.

School corporate structure | P

B: So well, in that case, since that's in flux, let's talk about your experience in Japan, Korea and at [TLS]. Do those schools have any CPD programs? Continuous professional development programs? For their current teachers?
C: Well the one in Japan, the JET Program, they would a have yearly, bi-annual, no sorry, two -seminar/conventions per year, one for the local city that you were in, and one for the outlying assignment, the teachers who were assigned to the outlying places, and I was asked, one year I was asked to do a seminar, on cultural differences, culture shock. We, and then every year there was a trip to Tokyo to do a seminar there. And then it was basically the same thing. There was people exchanging games, talking about different issues. I don't know if it was professional development, but not in the sense that it was, yeah, it was more like cultural development, or trying to get you to integrate properly into the school. It was pretty, I mean being in Japan was pretty tough. Honestly, even though I don't think these seminars were pedagogically sound, they were pretty useful in terms of giving you some coping mechanisms and trying to get you through the day.

Attending program-wide seminars and workplaces | P

School determines topics | P

School attempting to correct bad behavior of teachers | P

B: Well, that sounds useful.
C: We did absolutely nothing in Korea. The private Hogwans are run fairly business-oriented. PD would be a cost they just wouldn't want to incur. They hire you as a professional, they hope you stay out of trouble. Don't come drunk.

School rejecting CPD | P

Teachers are professionals and don't need additional training | P

B: Always hoping.
C: [TLS], just to finish up my history a little bit, I got back from the second time, in Korea, after a hiatus from teaching, I shouldn't say hiatus, I went back to Vancouver, not to teach, but to do other things. I ended up missing it, going back to Korea for my brother's wedding, and taught there under the table for six months, and I realised that I really liked teaching. At that point, I got interested materials development, because the school I was at had no materials. So when I got back to [TLS], for no other reason, I think that because I was re-energised, they actually gave me an opportunity to come back to [TLS] as a TESL instructor. So I actually became a TESL instructor. I got my TESL Canada instructor's certificate and I started teaching classes. And during this time a TESL Canada certificate became mandatory, so the [TLS] had to push about 25 teachers through the program, and I think you probably remember because you came at the tail end of that. That took over a year and a half to push that many teachers through the program. With mixed reviews obviously. It was hard to teach, I think at the time, they all knew that it was free so they didn't put a lot of work into it. But the fact was is that [TLS] did offer free teacher training to their teachers, and I thought that that was pretty fair. Personally, I think that they should have paid a little bit, just so that, to kinda take it more seriously. It was pretty tough. You know what's funny? I think it was at that time that I also started thinking about doing the TESL Ontario, too. So two, three years in, I actually did my TESL Ontario, because I felt like I needed to know more. So I paid for that by myself, and it was really expensive. I shouldn't say that i paid for it. My mom helped me. I said I'd pay her back, and then she gave it to me as a wedding present.

Brother was teaching in Korea, now owns a school | P

Motivated to develop materials by a lack of proper materials | P

Professional re-energizing, leaving environment of professional depression - Anomie | P

School trying to qualify existing teachers | P

Other teachers were unmotivated to engage in PD, didn't care | P

Expanding on training without being forced to | P

Paying for his own training | P

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Appendix VI - Categories and Codes

Part 1 – Open/Initial Coding

After the Open/Initial coding of twenty interviews, there was a large collection of 311 codes. These codes generalised around 10 categories. Six of the initial categories diffused their data into the remaining four categories or were incorporated into the later-developing themes of the three Future Professional Selves.

1. Self-Motivation

    No other options for training

    Creating their own materials

    Formal training was not appropriate for classroom

    Materials development as a way out of the classroom

    Family tradition

    Lack of appropriate materials prompts development

    Rejecting peer complacency

    Paying for their own training

    Pro forma activities can be treated as learning opportunities

    Stopped engaging when felt the need no longer

    Using peer discussions to establish status

    Self-identifying strengths and weaknesses in practice

    Self-addressing issues of practice

    Following mainstream education, not TESOL

    Fine-tuning of practice

    Fine-tuning of existing material

    Giving a workshop

Lack of time to pursue CPD

Specialised searches for immediate solutions

Take path of least resistance

Lesson planning as a personal reflection

Desire training with technology

Voluntary attendance of conferences

Record keeping

Casual, informal reading

Meeting successful examples of TESOL

Getting involved in research is a motivator

Heavy reliance on the internet

Intrinsic motivation can be sated

Onus of responsibility

Teachers must self-asses

2. Peer-Motivation

Developing a sense of professional self through mentorship

Uncertain about union membership

Teachers unmotivated to engage in CPD

Rejecting peer complacency

Previous generation of teachers had radically different experience

Trying to motivate co-workers

Frustration with co-workers

Planning needed to keep partner teachers abreast

Struggle for inclusion as a novice teacher

Asked by management to mentor newbies

Mentoring new teachers on their own accord

Reluctance to mentor NQTs

Guiding NQTs

Provide informal guidance

Reluctance to see peers as sources of knowledge

Mood of teachers' room affected by management

Internal workshops

Using peer discussions to establish status

Observing peers

Giving a workshop

Wage reduction for sharing responsibilities

Desiring help from experienced teachers

Learning from experienced colleagues

Observing peers plan lessons

Overcrowded staff rooms make discussions difficult

Sharing classes

Informal sharing of knowledge and experience

Seeking advice from co-workers

Shared lesson planning

Senior teachers take on the role of induction

Emic knowledge comes from peers

Teachers voluntarily take on the role of mentors

Helping others with specialised areas

Many temporary workers

3.   School-motivation

OJT was unsound

Schools unwilling to train novices

School provides funding for PD

Schools practicing local methodology

School-centered workshops

School-group workshops

School determines topics of CPD

CPD as a way of correcting practice of teachers

Rejecting CPD

School hires professionals, doesn't build them

Lack of appropriate materials prompts development

School trying to qualify existing teachers

Mandatory workplace CPD

CPD as pro forma, School doesn't care

School apathy to PD

Asked by management to mentor newbies

Top-down approach to CPD

School unwilling to pay for CPD

Manager facilitating discussions

Management consults with teacher, giving a sense of pride

Mood of teachers' room affected by management

Internal workshops

CPD unvalued by school

CPD paid at admin rate

CPD mandatory

Guest-run workshops

School paying for external events

Wage reduction for sharing responsibilities

Training as a seasonal event

Positive relationship with management

Acrimonious relationship with mgt

Mgt support when students complain

Observation feedback

Teachers not consulted

Unpaid extra work

No interest by school in CPD

Workshops were unproductive

4. External-motivation

Changes in industry

School trying to qualify existing teachers

Mandatory workplace CPD

CPD as pro forma, School doesn't care

Lesson plans demanded by LC/BC

Minimal PD

LC/BC demand CPD programs

Workshops runs by BC

CPD motivated by threat of inspection

Quals are required for employability

Different organizations feud

No planning into credentials

IRC and language sponsorship

Governments change, standards change

Membership standards

Membership activities

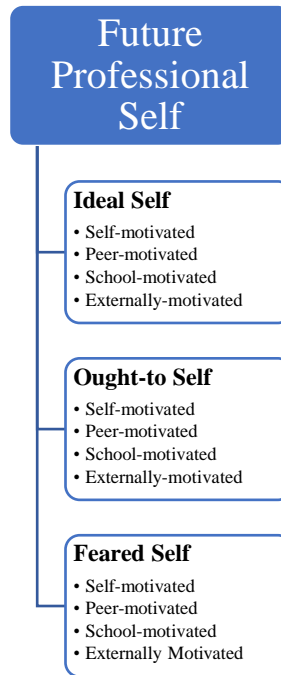Organizations targeting govts rather than teachers

Voluntary vs. required membership

School standards are inconsistent

Regulating bodies not concerned with PLSs

Part 2 – Focused/Thematic Coding

        After the Initial/Open coding, the four categories of motivation emerged. Those four categories were all present but had different manifestations as they were applied to the three themes of the Future Professional Self (Marcus and Nurius, 1986; Kubanyuova, 2009).

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                    ┌──────────────────┐
                    │     Future       │
                    │  Professional    │
                    │      Self        │
                    └──────────────────┘
          ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
          │ Ideal Self                        │
          │ • Self-motivated                  │
          │ • Peer-motivated                  │
          │ • School-motivated                │
          │ • Externally-motivated            │
          └──────────────────────────────────┘
          ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
          │ Ought-to Self                     │
          │ • Self-motivated                  │
          │ • Peer-motivated                  │
          │ • School-motivated                │
          │ • Externally-motivated            │
          └──────────────────────────────────┘
          ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
          │ Feared Self                       │
          │ • Self-motivated                  │
          │ • Peer-motivated                  │
          │ • School-motivated                │
          │ • Externally Motivated            │
          └──────────────────────────────────┘
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