

**The Motivation of EFL Teachers at Armenian Universities: Teacher
Selves in Context**

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own, except where work which has formed part of jointly authored publications has been included. The contribution of the candidate and the other authors to this work has been explicitly indicated below. The candidate confirms that appropriate credit has been given within the thesis where reference has been made to the work of others.

The following is the writer's publication which has drawn from this PhD study, and completed whilst thesis writing was being undertaken.

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This publication is based on this study and I used some of its sections in this thesis (mainly findings and discussion chapters). I am directly responsible for authoring the sections of the publication which I included in this thesis.

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Abstract

Although teacher motivation has been researched through the lens of numerous theories (e.g. self-determination, expectancy-value), its various conceptualisations do not seem sufficient to provide an in-depth understanding of how individuals' motivation to teach evolves during their career and how it is socially constructed in day to day contexts of work. To address this issue, I employ the possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and the 'person-in-context' approach (Ushioda, 2009) to draw together the psychological (self) and the social components of motivation (context) in a study of six Armenian university teachers of English.

Data were collected in three phases over a period of six months using semi-structured interviews, journal writing and unstructured classroom observations followed by post-observation interviews. Despite their different ages, diverse teaching experiences and varied socio-cultural backgrounds, the data suggest certain commonalities in the participants' ongoing motivation to teach. They do not possess distinct ideal, ought-to and feared selves but, instead, they appear to have developed a 'feasible self' which is a unity comprising the components of all those selves interwoven and complementary to each other which can be realistic and attainable in their context. The feasible self emerges from representations within the teachers' social environment and experiences and is influenced by and co-constructed with significant others. The findings of the study suggest that there is a need to develop specific strategies which will help teachers build and attain their context-specific feasible selves.

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List of abbreviations

EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
TEFL	Teaching English as a Foreign Language
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
FIT- choice	Factors Influencing Teaching Choice
CELTA	Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

Chapter One: Introduction

[...] teaching tugs at the heart, opens the heart, even breaks the heart – and the more one loves teaching, the more heartbreaking it can be. The courage to teach is the courage to keep one's heart open in those very moments when the heart is asked to hold more than it is able so that teacher and students and subject can be woven into the fabric of community that learning, and living, require.

(Palmer, 2007: 3)

1.1 Background and rationale of the study

My interest in teacher motivation initially sparked from my own teaching experience. I was born in a family of teachers and since childhood was determined to become a teacher. This desire strengthened in a secondary school where I was captivated by my teacher of Russian Language and Literature and, not surprisingly, decided to become a teacher of Russian. Because of my admiration of my Russian teacher, I always loved the Russian language and, especially, literature and would spend hours reading both classical and modern works. By contrast, I never enjoyed English classes; all my English teachers were boring, strict and lacked a sense of humour. This negatively affected my attitude towards the English language as well – I was never eager to master English when I was at school. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 (see section 2.2 for a brief history of Armenia) nobody needed the once powerful Russian and I was advised to specialise in English which was becoming a new fashion in Armenia (see section 2.4.1). Although naïve and inexperienced (I entered the university at the age of sixteen), I could notice the growing importance of English and eventually decided to select both English and Russian as my majors (I could not imagine abandoning Russian). I graduated from the university with a teaching qualification in both languages.

After receiving my degree, I was offered a teaching job at a secondary school in a small town where children had not had a qualified English

teacher for two years. This was at the end of the 1990s when the economy of Armenia was still catastrophic following the collapse of the Soviet Union. As a result, teachers' salaries were very low and many of them left their profession attempting to find better paid jobs. Trying to make most of finally having an English teacher, the headteacher asked me to teach 28 hours a week – 10 hours more than the normal full-time teaching timetable. As an inexperienced teacher, I obviously did not have any idea what 28 hours implied and naively agreed thinking that people normally worked 40 hours per week and 28 hours would be very easy to handle. I was so wrong! Since the students had not had any English instruction before and could not follow the state curriculum, I was asked to develop new curricula for all year groups I was teaching. In addition, similar to all teachers, I had to develop lesson plans and mark my students' papers but, unlike them, I had to do that for fourteen different classes – I was teaching all students from year seven to ten (year ten was the final year at the time). However, the most challenging part was managing the students' behaviour which was especially difficult because of their teenage attitude and my age (I was twenty-one and students initially did not take me seriously). I felt I was thrown into the sea without knowing how to swim and my goal in the first two terms was just to professionally survive. Gradually, I earned my students' trust and respect which I realised on the Women's day¹ when I received so many bunches of flowers from my students that I could not carry them on my own. This was the moment of joy and happiness and I finally felt that I was turning into a 'real' teacher. I started enjoying some of my lessons but teaching still required an excessive amount of effort – I was still overloaded with work. Although I was able to develop a good rapport with my students, by the end of the school year I felt exhausted and decided to leave the teaching profession and attempt other careers.

¹ It is an official public holiday inherited from the Soviet era which is celebrated on March 8th.

My return into teaching occurred seven years later after I received my master's degree in Teaching English as a Foreign Language. Although this programme aimed to train teachers, my primary goal was to boost my English proficiency rather than to improve my teaching skills. It was one of the best universities in the country and the majority of the lecturers/teachers were native speakers of English. Being a top student, I received an offer to teach English at one of the departments of the university which I happily accepted (All my classmates were dreaming about that job!). I was teaching General English courses to adults of different ages who usually were very motivated. This time I was better equipped and enjoyed teaching from the very first day. I could spend hours on searching for interesting materials and felt happy when students were engaged in lessons. However, once a friend of mine who was teaching elsewhere mentioned that my enthusiasm and motivation were inspired by my salary and I would not put the same effort into teaching in her institution. I could not agree with her, not only because I recognised that the quality of my teaching was not linked to money (I was definitely putting no less effort when I was teaching at school) but also because I witnessed many inspiring teachers in different disadvantaged contexts. In addition, I observed demotivated teachers in my privileged university who were just going through the motions. This aroused my interest in teacher motivation and I began reading literature attempting to understand what could potentially motivate and demotivate teachers.

Gradually my practical interest turned into an academic enquiry and I found out that teacher motivation is a complex but under-researched area (Kaplan, 2014; Richardson & Watt, 2010) which is surprising considering the importance of the teaching profession for a society:

It was puzzling to realize that there had been little dialogue between the teacher education literature on the one hand, and the literatures concerning teacher motivations and occupational choice on the other. These literatures had developed independently of one another, and much of what we know about career choice across the range of careers had not influenced the

research concerning teaching. Concordantly, the wealth of research within the motivation literature concerned students; teachers had not been studied in the same way as individuals, having their own motivations, expectations, goals, and aspirations. (Richardson & Watt, 2014: 5)

Teacher motivation has been linked to different constructs such as achievement of goals (Butler, 2007), enthusiasm (Kunter et al., 2011), self-determination (Roth et al., 2007) or self-efficacy (Holzberger et al., 2013) among many other concepts, yet, it has not received sufficient attention. I believe that it should be a major issue for our society, especially, for education policy makers and researchers because teacher motivation influences teacher behaviour which, in turn, impacts on learner motivation and achievement. Motivated and enthusiastic teachers might motivate their students and even ignite love for subject (Chambers, 1999; Lamb & Wedell, 2015) while unmotivated and unenthusiastic teachers might do the opposite - demotivate their students (Atkinson, 2000). In addition, teacher motivation is important with regard to the teachers' own job satisfaction, psychological well-being and their persistence in the profession (Watt & Richardson, 2008). Finally, motivated teachers are probably more supportive of and engaged in educational reforms because they often aim to professionally develop and, therefore, they are more likely to contribute to educational change (Jesus & Lens, 2005).

In spite of all these well-known factors, it has been indicated that teachers worldwide are among the least motivated of professions (e.g. Jesus & Lens, 2005; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2011; Richardson et al., 2014). This is especially prominent in societies facing economic and/or political challenges such as the countries where teachers lack essential resources to perform their work (Bennell & Akyeampong, 2007) or countries, like Armenia, which are in the transition stage and where the curriculum content and goals are transforming and teacher status is being undermined. Therefore, I decided to explore and understand what motivates English language teachers in the context I am most familiar with – Armenian universities. Exploring teacher

motivation in Armenian higher education settings is especially important considering the lack of research in this field – I have not been able to locate a single study examining teacher motivation in this context.

1.2 Aims of the study

This study aims to explore the motivation of English language teachers in the university context in Armenia in order to understand the nature of their motivation to teach and shed light on key factors affecting it.

As stated, teacher motivation is not a sufficiently studied construct and the literature review chapter will illustrate that teacher motivation has been mainly researched quantitatively, usually concentrating only on a few predetermined constructs (Richardson et al., 2014). To address this gap, in this study, I adopt a more holistic approach to examining teacher motivation and designed a *Teacher motivational self framework* joining possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986) with a ‘person-in-context’ approach (Beltman & Volet, 2007; Ushioda, 2009). Consequently, I aim to gain an in-depth understanding of the teacher motivation phenomenon by looking into the development of teachers’ possible professional selves and considering the various complex factors which impact on it. Therefore, the study aims to answer the following main research questions:

- *How have the participants’ possible teacher selves evolved throughout their career so far?*
- *What contextual factors have influenced the evolution of the participants’ possible teacher selves?*

1.3 Overview of the thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters.

Chapter One is an opening chapter where I introduce how my curiosity in teacher motivation originated and has grown into a research interest. I also

point out that there is a gap in teacher motivation literature and stress the importance of researching teacher motivation.

Chapter Two describes the Armenian context starting from a brief introduction of the Armenian history and higher education followed by examining the shift in the role of teachers in Armenia which took place after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Chapter Three situates the study in the context of relevant literature associated with teacher motivation. It looks into various teacher motivation theories recognising their advantages and limitations. The chapter also identifies the gaps in the literature which leads to the proposition of the *Teacher motivational self framework* as a theoretical basis for this study.

Chapter Four discusses the research design and methodology. It explains my ontological and epistemological stance and justifies the rationale for the qualitative case study rooted in an interpretive paradigm. The chapter specifies how the participants were recruited, what data generation tools were employed and how the data were collected and analysed. It also addresses the ethical and trustworthiness issues and elaborates on the impact of the study on the participants.

Chapter Five presents the findings emerging as a result of the analysis explained in the previous chapter. The findings are presented in the form of three cases followed by my interpretations of the cross-case analysis.

Chapter Six discusses the main findings of the study identified in the cross-case section situating them in the existing literature. First, it introduces the participants' main motives to start a teaching career. Then it looks into how the participants' teacher selves evolved throughout their teaching career and what factors influenced their evolution. In this chapter, I also revisit the *Teacher motivational self framework* taking into account the findings of the study.

Chapter Seven is a concluding chapter which summarises the key findings of the study and suggests its contribution and possible implications as well as the potential for further research. It also identifies the limitations of this project.

In this chapter, I have introduced the background and rationale of the study explaining how my personal interest in teacher motivation turned into an academic enquiry. I have also explained the aims of the study and provided a brief overview of the thesis.

Chapter Two: Armenian context

*Ճանաչել զհմաստութիւն եւ զհրատ, իմանալ զբանս
հանճարո՞ղ²:*

[To know wisdom and instruction; to understand words of insight.]

(Koryun, 1979: 30)

2.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapter the present study was conducted with university teachers in Armenia. To understand the background of the study, the aim of this chapter is to situate it contextually by introducing the historical, political, cultural and educational developments which have impacted all spheres of the Armenian society including higher education and, needless to say, academics and teachers. I will begin the chapter with a brief historical introduction with particular reference to recent political changes in the country. Then I will examine the current state of the higher education which will be followed by the discussion of English teachers' status in Armenia.

2.2 Armenia: a brief history

Armenia is a landlocked country located in South Caucasus on the border of Europe and Asia. Throughout its history, it has experienced complex historical, political and cultural turmoil which has undoubtedly had an impact on the nation. The country was periodically under the rule of its powerful neighbours and, by the 19th century, the remaining territory of historic Armenia was divided between Russian and Ottoman Empires known as Eastern and Western Armenia respectively (Curtis, 1995). However, due to

² This was the first sentence written in Armenian by Mesrop Mashtots after he created the Armenian alphabet in 405 AD. It is a translation of Solomon's proverb 1:2 from the Bible. It is argued that he chose to translate this sentence to stress the importance of education.

the periodic massacres of the Armenian population and the genocide carried out by the Turkish government in 1915, Western Armenia ceased to exist. The constant invasions threatening the existence of Armenians as a nation led to the formation of the national goal - to resist blending with the invader nations and to maintain Armenian identity which was mainly linked to preserving the language and Christian faith (Payaslian, 2007).

Unlike Western Armenia, its Eastern part was relatively safe. It continued to be under the rule of Russians and later became one of the republics of the Soviet Union. During the Soviet period, Armenia was finally given an opportunity to develop an effective infrastructure and diversified its economic base from agriculture more into industry. To increase the productivity and industrial advancement, a special emphasis was placed on the development of education, science and technology (Bournoutian, 2006).

Despite numerous positive changes specific to the Soviet era, Armenia perceived the period of *glasnost* and *perestroika* announced by Gorbachev as an opportunity to regain its sovereignty and was among the first republics to initiate a separation from the Soviet Union in the late 1980s (Milovanovitch et. al., 2015). Independence became a reality in 1991 after the Soviet empire collapsed. This was a unique period with a promising start when both the government's and people's visions of the development of the country were in harmony. However, shortly afterwards, the collapse of the economy and a military conflict with neighbouring Azerbaijan followed by the shocking economic reforms and emerging authoritarian politics triggered social frustration and political indifference. During that period, the standards of living drastically declined, prices hiked and economic collapse doubled unemployment; according to the official statistics, approximately 90% of people lived in poverty (Curtis, 1995). This period was labelled by people as 'dark years' associated with the shortages of energy and hardship. Experiencing an embargo from Azerbaijan and Turkey, the country's access to the supplies of energy, fuel and even food was limited. As a result, the heating systems did not function and basic necessities like electricity were available for only two hours per day. In the 2000s the

situation has significantly improved, yet, Armenia is still in the transition stage and its economic condition remains challenging. Understandably, all spheres of the society, including higher education, have been affected by these developments.

2.3 Higher education in Armenia

Armenian higher education sector is regulated by the Ministry of Education and Science of Armenia and involves 63 universities which is a substantial number considering the small size of the country and its population³. Education has continued to be highly valued in Armenia and the number of students enrolled at universities is higher than in several former Soviet Union republics (Milovanovitch et. al., 2015).

During the Soviet period, the educational system developed significantly. Education (including higher education) was considered a fundamental right and was free for all Soviet people; the common slogan at the time, 'bringing education to the broad masses' (Prokofiev et al., 1961: 5) promoted accessibility and equality in all sectors of education. This approach gave remarkable results – before the Soviet era the literacy rate in Armenia was below 50 percent (Darden & Grzymala-Busse, 2006), in comparison by 1960 the literacy rate in Armenia was almost 100 percent (Curtis, 1995). In addition, the state promoted and financed research activities which resulted in numerous technological and scientific advancements.

Unsurprisingly, the catastrophic economic situation of the post-Soviet period had a major negative impact on the education sector as well. The limited resources provided by the state were acutely insufficient and negatively affected both teachers and students; even in 2011, Armenia spent only 3.1% of GDP whereas EU countries spent 5.8% on average (Milovanovitch et. al., 2015). Expenditure allocated to higher education was even scarcer; in 2013 public universities received only 8% of public

³The population of Armenia is 3.1 million and its size is 29,743 km².

spending whereas EU countries - 23%. As a result, universities have to heavily rely on student fees in order to meet the discrepancy between funding from the government and the costs which causes a lowering of entrance qualifications and quality of teaching/learning. Because students are associated with income teachers are frequently instructed not to fail students and tolerate their poor performance.

Yet, financial challenges are not the only ones the higher education institutions have faced. Since independence they have been subjected to a number of reforms, the latest of which has centred on implementing new curricula, changing the grading and admission systems aiming to get rid of the remnants of Soviet education and improve the overall effectiveness of education (Budaghyan et al., 2010). To achieve that and integrate into the European Higher Education Area, in 2005, Armenia joined Bologna agreement and adjusted its educational standards and degree structure to align them with the European system. However, the postgraduate degrees still remain the Soviet ones – a candidate of science and a doctor of science. Following the Bologna agreement, Armenia was also required to put into effect European Credit Transfer System which meant amending the programs, implementing award of credits and providing a range of elective modules.

Despite setting high goals and aiming to transform the whole approach to education including both managerial and fundamental aspects of teaching and learning, all these initiatives appear to be de-contextualised from the Armenian reality and disconnected from each other. For these reasons, the reforms seem to have been taking place at the surface level (Matasyan, 2012). Due to the lack of guidance from the Ministry of Education, both university management and academics do not seem to internalise these changes and frequently do not even understand how they can be fitted into their practice. Consequently, teachers and lecturers feel 'in a limbo between tradition and progress' (Milovanovitch et. al., 2015: 28) and often do not envision how new approaches can be implemented in their classrooms, preferring to cling on to the Soviet methods. In this reality, it is not surprising

that the dominant teaching method at universities is still lecturing, with a stress on memorisation and reproduction of the material rather than critical thinking and problem-solving (Gabrielyan, 2013). Obviously, these kinds of perceptions cannot be changed within a short time frame, quite the opposite, they require long lasting step by step mechanisms involving both incentives and appropriate professional training (Karakhanyan & van Veen, 2011).

The ineffectiveness of the reform implementation is also striking considering that one of the key functions of universities as research institutions has vanished. Both the government and university management do not fund or seem to encourage research activities (World Bank, 2011); academics who are professionally active - carry out research, present at conferences, publish both in local and international journals - do not receive any kinds of rewards or career advancement. This, undoubtedly, demotivates university lecturers and negatively affects both the quality and quantity of research (Milovanovitch et. al., 2015).

To sum up, similar to other spheres of Armenian society, higher education has been experiencing radical reforms and is still going through a transition stage. All the reforms it has been exposed to and the manner in which they have been implemented do not suggest that the government has a clear vision of the mission of higher education. It seems that its main goal has been to ensure that Armenia rapidly becomes a member of the European Higher Education Area in the hope that it would benefit the country (Budaghyan, 2010; Gabrielyan, 2013). However, the top-down nature of the reforms and failure to take into account the contextual peculiarities, prior experiences and perceptions of higher education staff might negatively affect the success of the reforms.

2.4 English teachers in Armenia

This section aims to introduce the role of English teachers in Armenia. However, first of all, I would like to clarify why I refer to people teaching

English courses at Armenian universities as ‘teachers’ when usually academic staff in the higher education setting are expected to be called lecturers. The New Oxford Dictionary of English (1998) defines a lecturer as ‘a person who gives lectures’ which also implies multiple academic activities, such as conducting research, applying for grants and presenting at conferences. Whereas this is the case with many subject areas in Armenian universities, the language teachers’ role is distinct and is linked to the requirement of the Ministry of Education to improve students’ foreign language proficiency. All undergraduate students regardless of their degree programs must take foreign language (usually English) courses in their first two years; some universities make these courses obligatory even in the following years. Consequently, the responsibilities of language teachers at universities are very similar to those of language teachers at schools and do not involve the pressure of applying for grants, conducting research and publishing in refereed journals. Language teachers at universities and schools are also similar in terms of the salaries they receive and challenges they face which are mainly linked to a lack of funding and resources as well as the imposition of new teaching approaches. Considering these peculiarities, I refer to them as teachers rather than lecturers throughout this paper (though see section 2.4.2 on Armenian definitions of ‘teacher’). The literature on English teachers in Armenian higher education is very scarce, therefore, taking into account the similarities of English teachers at schools and universities, I will occasionally refer to the relevant literature on school teachers in Armenia.

Having explained the reasons behind my decision to refer to language lecturers as English teachers, in the following sections I will discuss two key points essential for understanding the position of English teachers in Armenia: the linguistic shift and the changing role of English as well as the transformation of the teacher status in the post-Soviet period.

2.4.1 Linguistic shift

During the Soviet era, the long-term state policy was to promote Russian in an attempt to assimilate non-Russian nationalities and develop a new ethnographic entity, the Soviet people, with shared Soviet culture, identity and shared language – Russian (Abrahamian, 1998; Blauvelt, 2013; Pavlenko, 2013a). Consequently, it was imposed as a second language, enjoyed a special status and was exploited as lingua franca across the Soviet empire (Kreindler, 1997; Pavlenko, 2008a; Pavlenko, 2013a; Pavlenko, 2013b). Because of the Soviet policy of Russification and numerous privileges linked to Russian, the native languages of the republics were considered inferior in the Soviet hierarchy and were associated with lower social status (Fierman, 2012; Pavlenko, 2008b; 2009). Despite this, the status of the titular language in Armenia was one of the strongest in the Soviet Union and, together with Georgia and Azerbaijan, Armenia managed to maintain the official status of its native language, though the native languages of all three republics did not enjoy the same status as Russian. Having Russian education always implied access to better employment opportunities and obtaining a higher position in the Soviet society (Pavlenko, 2013a).

Expectedly, after the collapse of the Soviet hegemon in 1991 the situation drastically shifted. Armenia, together with the other republics, initiated the process of derussification which was an integral part of desovitasation (Khachikyan, 2001). This implied a removal of Russian from official use and public signage, closing Russian schools and reducing the number of Russian hours at schools as well as eliminating teaching through the medium of Russian at universities (Pavlenko, 2008a). The public perception of Russian similarly altered; it started being viewed as a language linked to the aggressor state and Armenians, who throughout the history were frequently on the brink of physical annihilation and had to fight to preserve their identity and culture, welcomed anti-Russian language policies emphasising their Armenian identity (Abrahamian, 1998). The government promoted this language policy and passed a language legislation stressing

the unique status of the Armenian language in the country and disapproving the official use of Russian (Kreindler, 1997). Attempts to eradicate Russian were an outcome of nationalistic discourse popular in the Armenian society in the 1990s which aimed to revitalise the national culture and 'expel the foreigner in one's self' (Abrahamian, 1998: 11) implying discarding Russianness and cultivating Armenianness.

The collapse of the Soviet empire inevitably accelerated globalisation processes in the region which led to the spread of English in the newly independent countries (Chachibaia & Colenso, 2005; Pavlenko, 2013b). Armenia, being exposed to western policies, started integrating into the global society. As a result, the roles of Russian and English began to shift; while the former was losing its power, the latter was gaining momentum (Kreindler, 1997). Gradually English has become 'the hottest selling commodity' (Rajagopalan, 2005: 283) occupying a wide range of spheres including education, business, technology and intercultural communication. It has become a dominant foreign language taught at schools replacing other foreign languages such as French and German (Hovhannisyan, 2016). Though the Ministry of Education has provided a choice of different foreign languages to be taught from year three, acknowledging the growing importance of English, 85% of primary and secondary schools have favoured English many of which start teaching it from year one or two (Hovhannisyan, 2016).

It is important to note that the linguistic repertoire in Armenia is not fixed and is still undergoing changes reflecting the political developments in the region. Although, in the early 1990s, similar to other post-Soviet republics, the government of Armenia attempted to minimise the role of Russian in the country's linguistic repertoire hoping English would become a new *lingua franca* and would be a substitute for Russian. Yet, it mainly has obtained a symbolic function and is considered 'the language of prestige, internationalization, sophistication, and global values' (Pavlenko, 2009: 258). Gradually, the public and government attitudes towards Russian changed and it was re-installed as a mandatory foreign language in schools

(Pavlenko, 2008b). Despite the initial downgrade of Russian, it still remains an influential language in the region and the population's competence of Russian largely surpasses their English proficiency (Aleksanyan & Ter-Arakelyan, 2001; Pavlenko, 2013a). The Russian Centre of Demographics and Human Ecology report (Arefev, 2006) states that 31% of Armenians are active users of Russian and 69% consider themselves competent in Russian. Russia is still a key player in Armenia; it is one of the major importers and exporters as well as a shareholder in main strategic companies. Hence, Armenia is highly dependent on Russia at a number of economic, military and political levels (Hovhannisyanyan, 2016). After the recent Russia's return to the global scene, the attitude towards Russian has been changing; it is again started to be perceived as 'the language of a major political, military, and economic superpower of the geopolitical region, its main energy supplier, and an important cultural, informational and academic centre' maintaining its lingua franca status in the post-Soviet region (Pavlenko, 2008: 27). Therefore, considering the local power of Russian and global power of English, the current official language policy in the country is to achieve competence in three languages: Armenian, Russian and English (Pavlenko, 2013b; Zolyan et al., 2008).

Despite the return of Russian to the Armenian linguistic scene, younger generations still prioritise English and majoring in English is in high demand at Armenian universities (Zolyan et al., 2008). This is not surprising considering that English has turned into 'fashion' inspiring Armenian companies to adopt English names (e.g. Grand Candy, In Style, Best) and leading to English borrowings (e.g. OK, full, you know) despite the fact that English is not used for communicative purposes in the country (Galstyan, 2012). Its popularity has turned English into an essential skill for many work positions, even for those where its necessity could be questioned (e.g. a sales assistant in a local shop).

2.4.2 Shift in the role of teachers

Interestingly, Armenian has three words associated with teaching: *mankavarzh* (pedagogue), *dasatu* (teacher/someone who gives lessons) and *usutsich* (teacher/educator). All these concepts are crucial in understanding the teacher's status and their role in the Armenian society. They imply that the teacher is not someone who just teaches subject knowledge but is an individual who brings students up, gives lessons and educates. All these concepts were successfully employed by the Soviet system to determine the professional function of a teacher; they were responsible for 'intellectual, moral, social, political, aesthetic, physical, and vocational training, and guidance of the future Soviet citizens" (Zajda, 1980: 227). Because of the value associated with the teaching profession, teachers were perceived to be a part of the societal elite. This attitude created an image of a teacher as an exemplar individual and an 'all-knowing figure' (Cirocki & Farrelly, 2016: 32) and it was unimaginable to query him/her. Obviously, in that environment the lessons were very controlled and teacher centred. Memorising facts, rules and even chunks of texts was fundamental to learning and students were encouraged to reproduce knowledge rather than practically apply it.

The disastrous economic situation of the 1990s obviously had an impact on the teaching profession as well. Because of the severe energy crisis, teachers had to teach in unheated classrooms where in winters the temperature occasionally was slightly above zero degrees Celsius. Their salaries decreased from \$200 USD a month in the 1980s to \$10 USD a month in 1993 (Perkins & Yemtsov, 2001). Even that ridiculously small amount was often unpaid for several months. Being unable to financially support teachers, the government allowed and even encouraged them to give private lessons (UNICEF, 2011).

Although the situation has significantly improved since 2005 and the current salary for full-time teaching is approximately \$280, the state spends only 3% of its Gross National Product on education which is the third lowest in

the Commonwealth of Independent States (UNICEF, 2011). The salaries of teachers in Armenia are only 70% of the average national wage which makes the profession less attractive for both novice and experienced teachers and does little to encourage them to remain in the teaching profession (Perkins & Yemtsov, 2001). University teachers' salaries are similarly very low and they often have to teach in several universities which increases their workload; consequently, they do not have sufficient time and energy to properly prepare and implement their tasks (Milovanovitch et. al., 2015).

As discussed above, in addition to financial challenges, teachers have been required to modernise their curriculum and alter their teaching methods. The top-down educational reform did not consider teachers' needs and viewpoints and appeared to be ineffective. Even the limited training sessions have been imposed from the top and considered neither teachers' context nor background and resources. Subsequently, the imposed teaching approaches have been perceived with resistance (Khachatryan et al., 2013) and many teachers prefer to use familiar Soviet methods rejecting innovative approaches (Cirocki & Farrelly, 2016).

Due to these challenges the level of appreciation of the teaching job has decreased; teaching stopped being considered a highly respected job and many teachers eventually left the profession and even the country. The ones who stayed tend to be less enthusiastic about their job, undergo insufficient professional training, and hold lower status in their communities (Karakhanyan & van Veen, 2011). However, despite the decline of the status in comparison to Soviet times, teachers are still valued in the society and are considered vital in educating young people.

2.5 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have introduced the context where this study was conducted - Armenia. To familiarise the reader with the specifics of the context, I have touched upon the Armenian history as well as the political,

economic and social changes taking place in the country after it gained the independence. I have considered how the collapse of the Soviet Union and the first post-independence challenges led to the failure of the Armenian economy which has severely affected all layers of the society including higher education. In an attempt to modernise and correspond to the European system, Armenian higher education has been undergoing radical reforms imposed by the government which are still not internalised by the key players of the higher education – university management and academic staff.

The chapter has also examined how the downfall of the Soviet Union has caused a shift in the roles of Russian and English lowering the status of the first one and empowering the latter language. The political and economic changes have also affected the way teachers are currently perceived in the Armenian society. Although teaching is not a prestigious job anymore and teachers do not have the elite status Soviet teachers used to enjoy, they are still appreciated and valued.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

Motivation has been one of the success stories of educational research, featuring a substantial accumulation of theoretically elegant and practically applicable bodies of work. However, [...] its scope is limited to a relatively small portion of the potential big picture.

Brophy (2009: 147)

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I aim to discuss the key teacher motivation literature to introduce the field and situate the study. One would expect that the chapter should start with a definition of motivation but this is not a straightforward task. Motivation originated from the Latin word *movere* (to move) implying that its definition should be linked to movement. Yet, there have been disagreements about its source, nature and characteristics resulting in a remarkably large array of definitions varying both across the fields and within them (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011; Pinder, 2008). More than three decades ago, Kleinginna and Kleinginna (1981) identified around 140 definitions of motivation in various disciplines – probably this number is even larger now. The difficulty to have a singular definition of motivation is mainly related to its multifaceted nature and what perspective it is being examined from:

Some theorists deny the usefulness of the concept altogether, and concentrate primarily on the consequences of behaviour as its causes. Some writers view motivation from a strictly physiological perspective, while others view human beings as primarily hedonistic, and explain most of human behaviour as goal oriented, seeking only to gain pleasure and avoid pain. Others stress the rationality of people, and consider human behaviour to be the result of conscious choice processes. Some thinkers stress unconscious or subconscious factors. (Pinder, 2008: 10)

Researchers in applied linguistics and education have similarly pointed out the lack of agreement in defining the concept, indicating that it frequently depends on one's theoretical orientation (Dörnyei, 2001; Richardson et al., 2014). Therefore, I will provide the definition of motivation I adopt in this study by the end of this chapter after having explained my theoretical stance on teacher motivation.

The chapter will start with a concise history of motivation research to create an overall understanding of how the field has developed. Then I will scrutinise the key theories of teacher motivation followed by the theory I adopted in this study - possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Dörnyei, 2009; Kubanyiova, 2009). After that I will introduce the *Teacher motivational self framework*, a synthesis of possible selves theory and a 'context-in-person' relational view (Ushioda, 2009), which I have designed in order to explore teacher motivation in this research project. This will lead to the research questions which will be presented in the concluding section.

3.2 A brief history of motivation theories

Motivation has been acknowledged as a key construct driving people's behaviour and researchers across a range of fields have linked it to multiple psychological and cognitive processes which resulted in a variety of theoretical perspectives regarding motivation as a reaction to stimuli, satisfaction of needs, goals, values, efficacy among other factors. Motivation studies in the first half of the 20th century have been considered atheoretical, though they were mainly driven by behaviourism (Latham, 2012). During this period experimental psychology concentrated on examining how particular stimuli influenced human behaviour. In terms of job motivation, the popular view suggested that money was a key motivating factor determining employees' behaviour at work. The assumption was that one would put effort into accomplishing the task in order to receive money (Pinder, 2008). Later research looked into employees' attitudes in the workplace and demonstrated that, although money was an important factor,

it was just one of the multiple aspects affecting people's motivation at work (Kanfer et al., 2012).

The second half of the 20th century witnessed a rise of numerous theories attempting to gain an understanding of the nature of motivation and explain its roots. This period commenced with prominent theories indicating that motivation is a product of people's desire to satisfy their needs (Alderfer, 1969; Herzberg, 1968; Maslow, 1943). In his hierarchy of needs, Maslow (1954) classified needs into a number of categories: physiological and safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem and self-actualising needs. According to Maslow, the lower level needs should be satisfied in order to move to the satisfaction of the next level of needs. He labelled the low level needs (physiological, safety, belongingness and love) as deficiency needs since, when being unsatisfied, they could lead to deficiency, whereas higher order needs (esteem and self-actualizing) could affect people's personal evolution and, therefore, were identified as growth needs. Despite being criticised for the proposed order of needs (his hierarchy was not empirically supported by many studies) and focusing extensively on the innate needs while ignoring the impact of culture and environment on individuals' development (Neher, 1991), Maslow's hierarchy of needs was considered a breakthrough in psychology and resulted in a number of follow-up theories.

Adapting Maslow's needs theory, Herzberg (1968) puts forward a motivation-hygiene theory (also called two-factor theory) which is regarded fundamental in work motivation. It suggests that there are two sets of factors having an impact on job satisfaction. The first set is labelled satisfiers or motivators (achievement, recognition, responsibility, advancement and the work itself) and is related to the job content. The second set is labelled dissatisfiers or hygiene factors (e.g. salary, work conditions, supervision) and is mainly related to job conditions rather than job itself. According to Herzberg, satisfiers provide a sense of growth and, therefore, lead to job satisfaction and enhance motivation while hygiene factors can cause dissatisfaction. Importantly, the absence of satisfiers implies not satisfaction

rather than dissatisfaction and the satisfaction of hygiene factors implies absence of dissatisfaction rather than satisfaction. Although Herzberg's theory has been considered seminal, yet, it has been criticised for a biased methodology, overreliance on a single study and inconsistent use of terminology (Sachau, 2007).

After the cognitive revolution in psychology, motivation scholars shifted their focus from needs satisfaction to people's cognition highlighting how multiple mental processes and information processing mechanisms impacted on human behaviour (Latham, 2012). This approach has led to the surge of multiple motivation theories many of which can broadly be grouped into two categories: expectancy theories and goal theories. The key feature of expectancy theories is the emphasis on how people's *expectancy* of positive or negative outcomes when performing a task influences their behaviour:

- Expectancy-value theory – expectancy of success and task value motivate people to act (Brophy, 1999).
- Achievement motivation theory – expectancy and need for achievement and fear of failure stimulate people's actions (Atkinson & Feather, 1966);
- Self-efficacy theory – self-evaluation of abilities to carry out a task creates expectancy of success (Bandura, 1997; Bandura & Schunk, 1981);
- Attribution theory – evaluation of past achievements and failures determines expectancy of one's future failures and success (Weiner, 1994);
- Self-worth theory – expectancy to achieve a sense of personal value and worth generates motivation to act and save face (Covington, 2009).

The second major category, goal theories, focuses on another key aspect having an impact on people's behaviour - humans' aspiration to achieve their *goals*:

- Goal-setting theory – setting specific and reasonably difficult goals motivates people to achieve them and leads to high performance (Locke & Latham, 2006);
- Goal-orientation theory – two types of goals inspire individuals' actions; while mastery goals stimulate improvement and growth, performance goals enhance performance and recognition (Ames, 1992).

Another influential theory explaining people's motivational behaviour is self-determination theory proposed by Deci and Ryan (1985). They identify competence, relatedness and autonomy as three basic human needs essential for individuals' development and well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2000) (see section 3.3.2 for the detailed discussion of self-determination theory).

The abundance of motivation theories illustrates how motivation has grown into one of the central research areas in psychology enhancing scholars' desire to explore, analyse, understand and explain what triggers humans' actions and leads to motivational behaviour (Latham, 2012; Locke & Latham, 2004; Pinder, 2008). This range of motivation theories has inevitably diffused into other fields including applied linguistics and education generating hundreds of studies, though a vast majority of them have examined learner motivation. Only in recent years has teacher motivation attracted researchers' interest resulting in attempts to understand what instigates teacher motivation and how it can be sustained and boosted. Therefore, the following sections will focus on research linked to teacher motivation and key teacher motivation theories.

3.3 Research on teacher motivation

Similar to work motivation studies, initially teacher motivation research was affected by needs satisfaction approaches giving rise to a number of studies employing motivation-hygiene theory (Herzberg, 1968). This has been followed by a surge in teacher motivation studies which have mainly utilised theories prevalent in learner motivation studies - an area widely researched

through the lenses of diverse approaches and theories (Butler, 2014). To demonstrate how teacher motivation research has advanced, I will start this section with a brief discussion of the initial tendencies in teacher motivation research which at the time mainly focused on specific key aspects linked to teacher motivation (e.g. teacher job-satisfaction, self-efficacy) rather than motivation per se. Then I will examine currently prominent teacher motivation theories, such as achievement goal theory (Butler, 2007), self-determination theory (Roth et al., 2007) and expectancy-value theory (Richardson & Watt, 2006; Watt & Richardson, 2007; 2008). These theories have distinct conceptualisations of the nature of motivation and, consequently, adopt different standpoints when exploring it.

3.3.1 Initial research linked to teacher motivation

At the outset of teacher motivation research, there was a lack of studies scrutinising teacher motivation as such, instead, the studies concentrated on teachers' job satisfaction, self-efficacy, stress and burnout (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; Richardson et al., 2014). Not surprisingly, needs satisfaction theories were especially prevalent resulting in a number of studies using motivation-hygiene theory (Herzberg, 1968). One of the major studies employing this theory was conducted by Dinham and Scott (1998, 2000). In their project, they surveyed 2000 teachers from England, Australia and New Zealand and proposed a three-domain model of teacher satisfaction (Dinham & Scott, 1998). Dinham and Scott suggest that teachers' job satisfaction is mainly related to intrinsic rewards associated with self-development (e.g. improvement of professional skills, mastery of subject) and students (e.g. good relationships with students, student achievement, positively impacting students' behaviour and attitude). Expectedly, teacher dissatisfaction is connected to extrinsic factors – matters linked to societal attitudes and governmental policies rather than schools. These involve negative image of teachers in the society, an assumption that teaching is an easy job in addition to the pressure and workload put on schools and teachers. However, while supporting Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory, Dinham and Scott propose a third

domain affecting teachers' satisfaction - school-based factors which concern the atmosphere, governing and decision-making in a particular school. Their findings illustrated that, while intrinsic factors were most satisfying and extrinsic ones were most dissatisfying, the level of satisfaction/dissatisfaction in the school-based domain varied which implied that this domain could be prone to change.

Obviously there have been other studies employing a similar approach and connecting teacher motivation to job satisfaction. Nias (1981) similarly refers to Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory stressing that, although it partly supports her findings, it is overly simplistic and does not reflect the teaching reality. The teachers in her study desired not only to teach but also professionally develop. Their job dissatisfaction emerging from contextual factors such as salary, school conditions and career structure appeared to be relatively low. Yet, they were highly concerned about a lack of job satisfaction. Acknowledging Herzberg's distinction of satisfiers and dissatisfiers, Nias proposes one more element - negative satisfiers referring to the absence of satisfiers. She stresses that absence of satisfiers is 'an active component in dissatisfaction, especially when the expectation of receiving particular satisfiers was a major reason for becoming a teacher' (Nias, 1981: 236). Many of her participants highlighted that their decision to teach was driven by their expectation of high job satisfaction and, when it was not met, this had negative consequences for teachers. To tackle that, Nias concludes that school management should create appropriate conditions for them to teach effectively as well as offer an opportunity for development.

Evans (1998) similarly looked into Herzberg's theory and conducted a study with UK teachers linking motivation to job satisfaction and morale. She indicates that in the work context 'individuals are interested to participate in activities that appear to them to be oriented towards job satisfaction' (Evans, 1998: 40). Based on the results of her study, she arrives at the conclusion that out of five factors (achievement, recognition, responsibility, advancement and the work) identified by Herzberg (1968), achievement is

a key job satisfaction factor and the other four just contribute to it. The teachers in Evans' study also identified school related factors as the most significant with regard to job satisfaction and motivation.

In addition to job satisfaction research, another group of studies has been linked to teacher self-efficacy which, in terms of motivation, is associated with perceived rather than real efficacy (e.g. Tschannen-Moran & Woolfolk-Hoy, 2007; Woolfolk-Hoy & Burke-Spero, 2005). According to Bandura (1997), self-efficacy beliefs affect people's motivation to take action and persist with it in order to achieve their goals. He proposes four factors affecting self-efficacy beliefs: mastery experiences, social persuasion, vicarious experiences as well as physiological and emotional arousal. While mastery beliefs concern teachers' perceptions of their ability to perform their work successfully, social persuasion is related to feedback teachers receive from significant others (e.g. supervisors, colleagues). Another element, vicarious experience, is associated with people's role models. The extent of role models' impact on the individual depends on the degree of identification with them. For example, if a role model succeeds in teaching a particular topic, observers' perceived self-efficacy might increase because of their assumption that they will similarly succeed in it. Finally, the degree of arousal (e.g. anxiety, excitement) impacts on one's perception of competence. Despite the importance of different types of beliefs, Bandura (1993) states that mastery beliefs are the most influential. When making judgements about their teaching abilities, teachers assess both their competence and the task considering all the factors which might affect its execution (e.g. resources, students' abilities, context). It has been also argued that teachers' beliefs about their abilities to influence their students' achievements and motivation have an impact on the effort they put into teaching, persistence and behaviours (Tschannen-Moran & Woolfolk-Hoy, 2007). For example, teachers who believe that they cannot successfully teach in certain classes may discontinue their attempts and put less effort into their teaching.

Teacher self-efficacy is frequently linked to teacher burnout, a condition associated with long-term occupational stress and emotional exhaustion (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2010). It has been suggested that low self-efficacy beliefs might lead to depression and anxiety and, eventually, burnout, while higher perceived self-efficacy may act as a protective mechanism helping to cope with stress (Schwarzer & Hallum, 2008). In the latter case, teachers are more likely to perceive stressful situations as less threatening and, consequently, will adapt to them and develop strategies to successfully manage the situation (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2007).

Undoubtedly, all the discussed constructs are closely related to teacher motivation and represent some of the factors influencing teachers' behaviour, yet, they do not explicitly address the concept of teacher motivation as such. Even job satisfaction which has been frequently associated with motivation is, nevertheless, a distinct concept connected to one's ongoing feelings and emotions about the job (Locke, 1969). By contrast, motivation directs human behaviour and is in charge of what affects people's choice of actions, their efforts and persistence (Dörnyei, 2001; Locke & Latham, 2004) and is frequently considered to be a concept with a future orientation (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Oyserman et al., 2015). Acknowledging this, researchers started to apply various motivation theories to teacher motivation research and the next section will scrutinise the most prominent of these theories.

3.3.2 Key teacher motivation theories

In the last decade there has been a dramatic shift in teacher motivation research – scholars have recognised that teacher motivation has been an understudied area and previous studies were not 'grounded in one or another coherent theory of motivation' (Butler, 2014: 21). To address this lack of studies on teacher motivation, some of the experts of learner motivation shifted their focus and started to apply robust learner motivation theories into examining teacher motivation. Though many of the theoretical frameworks discussed above have been tested in relation to teachers,

achievement-goal theory, expectancy-value theory and self-determination theory have emerged as more central teacher motivation theories (Kaplan, 2014; Richardson et al., 2014). In the following three sections, I will consider what the key propositions of these theories are and what their arguments entail in terms of teacher motivation.

3.3.2.1 *Achievement-goal theory*

In achievement goal theory, school is considered to be 'an achievement arena' not only for students but also for teachers (Butler, 2014: 22) who desire to achieve their goals in order to succeed in their profession. In her study of Israeli teachers, Butler (2007) transferred goals proposed in achievement goal theory into the teaching context and developed self-report measures of goal orientations for teaching. She identifies four main orientations: (a) *mastery orientation* linked to developing professional competence; (b) *ability approach* connected to demonstrating superior teaching ability; (c) *ability-avoidance* associated with ability to avoid displaying their low teaching ability and failures; (d) *work-avoidance* related to the desire to put minimal effort into work. Butler (2007) concludes that the participant-teachers strove to develop professionally and showed superior teaching abilities while at the same time attempting to avoid high workload and display their inadequate teaching ability. This measure has been successfully tested in other contexts (Nitsche et al., 2011; Retelsdorf et al., 2010). However, later, Butler (2012) acknowledges that goals for learning and teaching are distinct and the direct application of learner motivation theory to examining teacher motivation could introduce concepts of doubtful relevance. Therefore, taking into account the interactive and social nature of teaching, Butler (2012) adds the fifth category to her framework - *relational achievement goals* which highlight teachers' desire to achieve and maintain close relationships with students. When testing the new measure, the results demonstrated even greater importance of students for their teachers than had been anticipated:

[...] even if teachers are not fully aware of how they behave in the classroom, aspiring to embrace challenge and teach more effectively and aspiring to create caring relationships with students seem to be such central aspects of teachers' identities that they orient teachers to teach and interact with students in ways that reflect their basic goals. (Butler 2014: 28)

To conclude, achievement-goal theory has contributed significantly to the field of teacher motivation revealing teachers' perceptions of their abilities, competencies and willingness (or lack of it) to put more effort in their work. Butler's (2012) most significant contribution is probably related to acknowledging the importance of students for their teachers considering that mainstream research has mainly addressed the other direction of this relationship neglecting its reciprocity (Butler, 2014; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). Nevertheless, achievement goal theory (Butler, 2007, 2012) focuses mainly on the teachers' desire to achieve their goals by demonstrating their strengths and avoiding displaying weaknesses, leaving out numerous other factors (e.g. potential for intellectual growth, feelings of autonomy, value systems) that might impact on teacher motivation. Expectancy-value theory, which is discussed in the next section, attempts to address this gap.

3.3.2.2 Expectancy-value theory

Another theory frequently applied to researching teacher motivation is expectancy-value theory which indicates that people's achievement choices are affected by both their perceived value of task and expectancy of success linked to their abilities and beliefs (Wigfield, 1994; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). The value element consists of individuals' enjoyment of the task (intrinsic value), its perceived usefulness (utility value) and its importance in relation to their goals (attainment value). The proponents of this theory also propose a negative element – cost value which refers to one's 'sacrifices' (e.g. time, effort, money, psychological issues).

Based on self-expectancy theory, Watt and Richardson (2007) developed an integrated framework - Factors Influencing Teaching Choice theoretical

framework (FIT-Choice) - aiming to address the gap in teacher motivation research and understand the motives of people selecting a teaching career. In particular, FIT-Choice framework proposes that teachers' choice of a profession is influenced by their self-perceptions of teaching abilities, values and fallback career. Values are divided into two groups: personal utility values (job security, job transferability and family concerns) and social utility values (work with children and shape their future, contribute to society, enhance social equity). Importantly, Watt and Richardson (2007) consider social influences and prior teaching/learning experiences as factors influencing teachers' career decisions. Finally, their framework also contains task demand (expertise and difficulty) and task return (social status and salary) which are also regarded influential. FIT-choice framework has been extensively tested not only in Australia, where it originated, but also in diverse socio-cultural contexts such as Germany, U.S. and Norway (Watt et al., 2012). The samples from these contexts identified ability beliefs and intrinsic values as the most frequent motive to enter a teaching profession, followed by social utility values (e.g. contribute to society, work with children) and prior teaching/learning experiences. The lower rated motives appeared to be personal utility values and fallback career. While teaching was recognised as a challenging task in all samples, the perception of task return differed across countries - ratings for salary and social status appeared to be diverse. Interestingly, the German sample where the salary was rated highest and status lowest demonstrated that monetary incentives are not sufficient to maintain teachers' motivation and engagement (Watt et al., 2012). FIT-Choice model has also been tested in a range of diverse national contexts including Croatia, Turkey and China (Watt & Richardson, 2012) leading to different findings across contexts. For example, in collectivist cultures (e.g. Turkey and China) ability motives and intrinsic values were not highly rated suggesting that career path is less dependent on one's individual desires and abilities. The authors have arrived at the conclusion that teachers' motives to start a teaching career can be distinct in various cultural environments, nevertheless, they might share certain core motives (e.g. personal utility values). In addition, FIT-Choice

framework has been used to develop teachers' professional engagement and career development aspirations in order to investigate pre-service teachers' initial motives and views of teaching as well as their career satisfaction along their teaching education which might predict their persistence in teaching (Watt & Richardson, 2008). Although FIT-Choice framework takes into account a number of aspects providing a robust and reliable framework for generating instrumental knowledge about what is behind teachers' motivations. Yet, it primarily offers insight into motives of teachers' career choices leaving out their ongoing motivations throughout their teaching career (Richardson & Watt, 2010; 2014; Watt & Richardson, 2008).

3.3.2.3 Self-determination theory

Self-determination theory is probably the most widely known motivation framework largely employed in learner motivation studies. It is usually associated with intrinsic and extrinsic motives, yet, the differentiation of motivations in this theory is not that simplistic. According to the proponents of self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985; 2008; 2011; Ryan & Deci, 2000), a driving force to perform an action depends on people's desires to feel competent, to be autonomous and act according to their values and principles as well as to feel accepted and supported by others (relatedness). Deci and Ryan (1985) place a special emphasis on autonomy and postulate a continuum starting from amotivation and progressing through extrinsic motivation towards intrinsic motivation. They associate amotivation with lack of motivation resulting in disengagement and inadequate performance and intrinsic motivation with people's internal desires and interests. The concept which originates from external sources - extrinsic motivation - appears to be more complex consisting of four regulations: external, introjected, identified and integrated. External regulation stems from external pressures such as punishments and rewards whereas introjected regulation is based on people's desire to receive positive evaluations and avoid negative ones. Although introjected regulation seems to depend on people's internal desires, it is still controlled by social acceptance of behaviour – the

individual's actions are determined by other people's judgements and their perception of obligations. In case of identified regulation, people's actions are determined not only by the value of task but are also in line with their values and goals. The last regulation is 'integrated' which, despite its similarity with identified regulation, has a key difference - its elements are fully internalised. Although this regulation might seem similar to intrinsic motivation, it is still considered extrinsic because the action is dependent on societal values rather than performed for enjoyment. Along with the motivation continuum, Ryan and Deci (2000) suggest an autonomy continuum where external and introjected regulations are most controlled and intrinsic motivation is most autonomous. The regulations between these two extremes - identified and integrated regulations – have some degree of autonomy. One of the central points of self-determination theory is its emphasis on internalisation of regulations which leads to greater autonomy in behaviour.

The success of self-determination theory in motivation research across numerous fields (e.g. organisational psychology, health care, education), including learner motivation, has triggered its application to scrutinising teacher motivation. In their study of Israeli teachers, Roth and his colleagues (2007) suggest that autonomous motivation to teach is negatively linked to feelings of exhaustion and positively to feelings of personal achievement which implies that autonomously motivated teachers exert more effort on their work leading to satisfaction, personal growth and well-being as well as students' autonomous motivation to learn (Roth, 2014; Roth et al., 2007). Importantly, autonomous teaching stimulates students' autonomous motivation to learn. A number of other studies have demonstrated similar results stressing the importance of autonomous motivation for teachers' sense of efficacy and well-being (Assor et al., 2002; Reeve, 2002).

Despite the fact that self-determination theory attempts to connect multiple factors regulating teachers' behaviour, the claim that competence, relatedness and autonomy are universal needs without taking into

consideration the socio-cultural aspect could be challenged. There is a growing body of evidence suggesting that various cultures engender distinct values and beliefs (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman et al., 2002) which might differently affect people's perceptions of autonomy, competence and well-being.

3.3.2.4 Final thoughts on the discussed theories

The key motivation theories discussed above have been a valuable endeavour in teacher motivation research, however, they tend to prioritise and emphasise specific motivational processes. As pointed out, achievement goal theory (Butler, 2007, 2012) stresses that teachers strive to achieve their goals by focusing on their strengths and avoiding demonstrating weaknesses neglecting multiple other aspects influencing teacher motivation. FIT-Choice framework attempts to adopt a more inclusive approach and takes into account multiple aspects providing a robust and reliable framework generating instrumental knowledge primarily about what is behind teachers' motivations. Yet, it primarily offers insight into motives of teachers' career choices leaving out their ongoing motivations throughout their teaching career (Richardson & Watt, 2010; 2014; Watt & Richardson, 2008). Self-determination theory, likewise, aims to be more comprehensive, however, as pointed out, the concepts considered vital for individuals' well-being and motivation in western cultures (e.g. autonomy) might have different degree of significance in other socio-cultural contexts.

Undoubtedly, all aspects identified in the above mentioned theories have an impact on teachers' motivational behaviour and are crucial in understanding teacher motivation. Nevertheless, the predominantly quantitative research methods and focus on theoretically preordained factors mean that the complexity of the concept might be overlooked. This problem has been identified by a number of motivation researchers. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011: 4) state that 'no existing motivation theory to date has managed – or even attempted – to offer a comprehensive and integrative account of all

the main types of possible motives'. Kubanyiova (2012) goes further and stresses that the complexity of teachers as individuals and their interactions have not been examined:

We have tended to focus on measuring isolated constructs in an isolated manner without setting them in a bigger picture of who the teachers are, what they are striving to accomplish in their interactions with their students, colleagues, and parents and why. (Kubanyiova, 2012: 23)

Arriving at this conclusion at the beginning of my doctoral journey, I decided to try to gain a holistic and multifaceted understanding of teacher motivation rather than learn about specific, occasionally disconnected elements which do not portray the wider picture. This implies understanding teachers' feelings, beliefs, expectations, worries, concerns, fears as well as their interactions and relationships among many other facets. Having considered the key teacher motivation theories and being aware of the limitations of each approach I turn to possible selves theory as one of the theoretical approaches which could provide the scope for inclusiveness.

3.4 Possible selves theory

The notion of future selves is not recent and is rooted in William James' seminal work 'The consciousness of self' (2011) which was originally published in 1890. James argues that the concept of self involves multiple components including 'the remote and potential' selves (James, 2011: 316). Although James' concept of future selves triggered researchers' attention (Dunkel & Kerpelman, 2006), it has gained more recognition after Markus and Nurius' ground-breaking article (1986) on possible selves as people's future guides directing and regulating their behaviour. In the next sections, first of all, I will introduce possible selves theory which will be followed by the discussion of how it has been applied in teacher motivation research. Then I will consider some aspects of possible selves theory which cause me concern.

3.4.1 Introduction of possible selves theory

According to Markus and Nurius (1986) people possess images of themselves in the future, namely, possible selves. They are a part of a larger self-concept and represent people's hopes, fantasies and fears which emerge from their experiences and are embedded in a particular socio-cultural and historical context. Although Markus and her associates (Cross & Markus, 1991; Markus & Nurius, 1986; Markus & Ruvolo, 1989) do not explicitly classify various facets of possible selves, they suggest that possible selves can have a number of dimensions: selves which one would like to attain (e.g. 'me as a famous singer'); selves which one feels he/she is expected to become (e.g. 'me as a college graduate') and selves which one is avoiding turning into (e.g. 'me being unemployed'). Despite the assumption that possible selves are future oriented constructs, they are interconnected with one's past and current selves. This implies that people's past selves can be activated in certain circumstances and create a context for evaluating and understanding not only their current being but also have an impact on the formation of their future self images (Oyserman et al. 2012; Oyserman et al., 2015). Hence, possible selves are not disconnected future states, instead, they are representations developed based on individuals' reflections on their past as well as on-going experiences and knowledge which are then evaluated and projected into future.

Probably the key value of possible selves is that they not only act as a bridge between different self states but also have a motivational potential – they can function as guides directing one's actions towards his/her goals (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Markus & Ruvolo, 1989; Oyserman & Markus, 1990; Wurf & Markus, 1991). The extent of the motivational power of possible selves depends on their salience and perceived feasibility; more salient and plausible selves are frequently more elaborate and, consequently, they regulate, direct and empower one's behaviour. In this case, people are more likely to develop specific strategies to achieve their desired selves (Leondari, 2007; Markus et al., 1990). The motivational effect might be

further enhanced if possible selves are sensed by people as real and specific rather than dreamlike (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

Further developing the possible selves concept, Higgins (1987) explicitly defines three distinct self components: *actual self* which represents the attributes an individual (yourself or others) believes he possesses; *ideal self* related to the qualities an individual (yourself or others) would ideally like to have (e.g. aspirations, hopes, wishes) and *ought self* representing the qualities a person (yourself or others) ought to possess (e.g. obligations, responsibilities, duties). Based on these self concepts, Higgins introduces self-discrepancy theory, highlighting that when there is a discrepancy between people's actual and ideal and/or ought selves, they are motivated to reduce the incongruity to achieve their desired image which is not necessarily the ideal one. The central assumption of self-discrepancy theory is that, although people desire to reduce the discrepancy between their both ideal and ought states, they are driven by different motivational forces which create diverse psychological situations resulting in application of different strategies (Higgins, 1996; 1998; 1999). Ought selves function as bottom-line goals and might be perceived as 'must' states implying that a failure to achieve them is associated with negative outcomes, whereas their attainment represents absence of negative outcomes. On the contrary, the attainment of ideal selves is associated with the absence or presence of positive outcomes (Brendl & Higgins, 1996). Furthermore, the achievement (or failure to achieve) of ideal and ought selves creates various degrees of emotional vulnerability; failure to reduce ideal self discrepancy stimulates emotions connected to dejection (e.g. sadness, frustration) and ought selves – emotions related to anxiety (e.g. fear, threat). Therefore, an ideal self has a promotion focus related to progress and growth, while ought self has a prevention focus controlling the existence or absence of undesirable consequences in case of not meeting expectations at various levels (Higgins, 1998).

Importantly, people's motivational behaviour is regulated not only by their inspirational desired selves but also by their feared selves which usually emerge from their negative experiences:

Some possible selves stand as symbols of hope, whereas others are reminders of bleak, sad, or tragic futures that are to be avoided. Yet, all of these ideas about what is possible for us to be, to think, to feel, or to experience provide a direction and impetus for action, change, and development. (Markus & Nurius, 1986: 960)

Clearly, desired selves have a positive impact on one's performance (Higgins, 1997; Markus & Ruvolo, 1989) and feared selves are linked to undesirable, occasionally even harmful, effects such as guilt, depression and dissatisfaction (Leondari, 2007). It is anticipated that people aim to reach their positive selves and stay away from feared selves. When these two desires (achievement and avoidance) occur simultaneously, they create a balance and boost the motivational power of the desired self increasing the likelihood of its attainment (Hoyle & Sherrill, 2006; Oyserman et al., 2012).

As pointed out, the major impact of possible selves is in their capacity to instigate motivational behaviour, though it is important to note that not all possible selves trigger an action. In order to cause behavioural changes possible selves must be *available* and *accessible* (Ericson, 2007; Hamman et al., 2013; Higgins, 1987; Norman & Aron, 2003; Oyserman et al., 2015), however, availability and accessibility can have both cognitive and social implications. It has been argued that possible selves are motivational when they are available (stored) and accessible (activated) in the working memory (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Norman & Aron, 2003). Yet, importantly, the activation occurs when possible selves are contextually cued (Oyserman & James, 2011) which implies that desired selves must be perceived possible to achieve in a particular social context. To sum up, possible selves

researchers emphasise that desired selves are sensed as available and accessible if they are:

- *Congruent and connected with one's current self.* Desired selves should be in harmony with people's actual selves (as well as other possible selves) and, obviously, should not be perceived opposing them (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; Oyserman et al, 2006). Also, if desired selves are temporarily linked to one's current self, in other words, they are not distant, they tend to be more detailed and specific (Kivetz & Tyler 2007; Oyserman & Destin, 2010; Peetz et al., 2009). In this case, desired selves are more likely to be felt and envisioned as real initiating realistic judgements, well-defined action plan leading to planned effort (Oyserman & James, 2011; Ryan & Irie, 2014).
- *Concrete and contextually situated.* Desired self should be specific and relevant to one's immediate context rather than abstract (Conway & Clark, 2003; Erikson, 2007; Fletcher, 2000; Hamman et al., 2013). In that case, their attainability is less likely to be perceived excessively difficult. Otherwise, perceived difficulty associated with the realisation of desired selves might create an assumption that these images are 'not for people like me' (Oyserman et al. 2012: 88). Perceived ease of access might similarly imply that desired selves do not require any effort. Consequently, both perceived difficulty and ease might have negative motivational impact and impede actions (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014).
- *Balanced against feared selves.* As noted, the existence of feared selves in the same domain with desired selves enhances the motivational effect because people simultaneously attempt to avoid their negative images and attain positive ones (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; Hoyle & Sherrill, 2006; Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006).

Having introduced the key propositions of possible selves theory, in the next section I will discuss how it has been applied to teacher motivation research.

3.4.2 Possible selves in teacher motivation research

The introduction of possible selves theory in personal psychology has initiated an intensive discussion and further development of the theory leading to its expansion into other academic fields including education and applied linguistics. In applied linguistics, possible selves theory was introduced by Dörnyei (2005; 2009) in an attempt to explain learners' motives to study a foreign language in a rapidly transforming world. He adjusted Higgins' (1987) three-dimensional self-domain to the language learning motivation field and proposed *L2 Motivational Self-System* where the ideal L2 self symbolises the learner's aspirations to become an efficient L2 user and the ought-to L2 self is connected to the attributes learners believe they ought-to have. Acknowledging the importance of the immediate learning experience and environment in language learning, Dörnyei includes one more component in his model - L2 learning experience.

While possible selves theory has been more broadly used in examining learners' motivation (e.g. Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Islam et al., 2013; Lamb, 2011; Oyserman et al., 2006; Taguchi et al., 2009), only a small number of studies have adopted it to gain insights into teacher motivation (e.g. Cardelle-Elawar *et al.*, 2007; Hamman *et al.*, 2010; 2013; Hiver, 2013; Kubanyiova, 2012). The majority of these studies examine novice or pre-service teachers' desired and feared selves at different stages of their teaching practice. For example, Fletcher (2000) explores how student-teachers' possible selves are influenced by their relationships with mentors and how visualisation techniques can help them approach desired and avoid feared selves enhancing their professional development. Hamman and his associates (2013) focus on the changes in the novice teachers' possible self images as a result of gaining experience, of reflection and of the input of mentors, as well as revealing the ways these selves regulate their behaviour.

In language education, the number of studies examining teacher education through possible selves lenses is very scarce and has mainly been

employed to investigate teacher development. Kubanyiova (2009, 2012) examines Slovakian EFL teachers' possible selves with regard to conceptual change as a result of their participation in the teacher development course. To explore language teachers' responsiveness to the course and willingness to change, Kubanyiova (2009) adapts Dörnyei's L2 motivational self-system and proposes *Possible Language Teacher Self* model where ideal teacher self refers to teachers' aspirations and desires and ought-to language teacher self reflects teachers' representation of responsibilities and duties related to their job. Kubanyiova (2009) incorporates one more constituent in the language teacher self system, the feared self (Markus & Nurius, 1986), referring to the teacher image one avoids becoming. This is an important addition because, as indicated above, salient feared selves can be similarly motivating considering people's desire to avoid their feared self representations (Hamman et al., 2013; Hoyle & Sherrill, 2006). In addition, successful avoidance of these negative images creates positive feelings which might likewise have an impact on motivation (Ogilvie, 1987). Based on her findings, Kubanyiova (2012) argues that teachers' specific ideal teacher selves lie at the heart of their motivation to teach, profoundly influencing their choice of methodologies and their responsiveness to professional training. Her findings suggest that the success of conceptual change depends on multiple factors: (a) new ideas should be in harmony with teachers' already possessed ideal self images; (b) there should be a discrepancy between teachers' actual and desired selves; and (c) the desired self should not clash with other, more salient, future selves.

White and Ding (2009) similarly turned to possible selves theory to look into language teachers' change as a result of an e-learning course. They confirm the motivational role of teachers' desired selves for a change to occur stressing the social nature of the selves; possible selves are 'socially constituted, dynamic, evolving representations of not just the individual self but of others, and of what it may be possible to be or become' (White & Ding, 2009: 347). The fact that teachers' selves and motivation are social

constructs, formation of which is influenced by important others also emerges in Kumazawa's (2013) study of four novice English teachers. She points out that her participants' early teacher selves conflicted with each other initiating self-reflection and gradual adjustment of these self images. The gap between their actual and desired selves was substantial and, consequently, hindered their motivational impact. Kumazawa also indicates that the teachers' initial ideal selves derived from their experiences as learners and were disconnected from real-life teaching.

Another study looking into the relationships between teachers' possible selves and their involvement in professional development was conducted by Hiver (2013). He found that Korean teachers' ideal and ought-to teacher selves, especially in relation to their mastery of English, provided the main motives for voluntary engagement in professional development. Importantly, his participants' desire to develop professionally was excessively self-oriented and did not seem to involve significant others (e.g. students).

The key conclusion to emerge from all these studies is the complexity and dynamism of teachers' possible selves – any individual teacher seems to have multiple, often competing visions of themselves which derive from both the individual himself/herself and the others. In addition, teachers' willingness to put effort into achieving their desired teacher self images depends on whether or not they perceive them as possible in their contexts.

3.4.3 Final thoughts on possible selves theory

In the sections above, I have considered the main theories in teacher motivation research and have argued that they adopt a fragmented approach to exploring the concept. My argument has demonstrated that these theories concentrate on only a few predetermined components which form the basis of each theory. While achievement goal theory (Butler, 2007, 2012) focuses on teachers' desire to achieve their goals, self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985; 2008; 2011) emphasises one's competence, relatedness and autonomy with the assumption that these are desires

common to all cultures. Finally, the FIT-Choice framework looks only into motivations to start a teaching career and does not explore in-service teachers' continuous motivations to teach (Richardson & Watt, 2010; 2014; Watt & Richardson, 2008). My discussion of possible selves theory has illustrated that, unlike these theories, it is more flexible and inclusive; it is not restricted by a narrow set of predetermined categories and can be combined with other approaches unlocking a large array of possibilities in terms of researching teacher motivation. This has been indicated even by the proponents of expectancy-value theory, Richardson and Watt (2010), who point out that possible selves theory is a more encompassing approach which might offer a new perspective on teacher motivation comprising multiple facets including 'teachers' perceived goal achievement, perceived demands and stressfulness, satisfaction and liking, and planned effort and persistence' (p. 161).

Despite all the potential benefits adoption of possible selves theory might entail for researching teacher motivation, it, nevertheless, has key issues which are linked to the ambiguity of the term 'possible selves' and insufficient (or lack of) emphasis on the social nature of possible selves.

Since the introduction of possible selves theory it has been extensively utilised across multiple fields, though researchers used various terms to refer to these representations: possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986); ideal and ought selves (Higgins, 1987); desired and undesired selves (Ogilvie, 1987); fantasy selves (Bybee et al., 1997), hoped-for selves (Hamman et al., 2013) and many other future self terms (Oyserman & James, 2011). This range of expressions highlights the multiplicity of future selves which seems to contrast with a widely accepted concept of the self as an overarching and unifying entity involving multiple identities (e.g. Day et al. 2006; Oyserman et al., 2012; Rogers & Scott, 2008). Baumeister (1998) stresses the holistic nature of the self and argues that the concept of possible selves creates misunderstanding because it suggests that people have multiple representations of themselves (e.g. successful self, parent self):

[...] the concept of self loses its meaning if a person has multiple selves [...] The essence of self involves integration of diverse experiences into a unity [...] Different people have different perspectives on the same self, and so there may be variations among the cognitive representations of the self (e.g. Higgins, 1987), but it is the same self. (Baumeister, 1998: 682)

Considering this differentiation, Oyserman and James (2011) further this argument and propose that the more accurate term would be possible identities rather than selves. Specifying that research on possible selves explores specific social and personal future identities (e.g. successful student, better daughter) rather than self as a multifaceted and holistic entity (e.g. Kerpelman & Dunkel, 2006; Oyserman & James, 2009), they conclude:

Identities are the traits and characteristics, social relations, roles, and social group memberships that define who one is. Identities can be focused on the past – what used to be true of one, the present – what is true of one now, or future – the person one expects or wishes to become, the person one feels obligated to try to become, or the person one fears one may become. (Oyserman et al., 2012: 69)

Although I do agree with Oyserman and James' argument, in this thesis, I will continue using the term possible selves (along with other widely accepted future self terms) rather than identities for practical reasons; it is the concept widely accepted and used across disciplines and, therefore, my usage of other terminology would be improper and might create confusion. However, I would like to stress that my use of possible selves term will imply possible identities 'as projections as well as projects' of a larger self-concept (van Lier, 2004: 96).

The second point I would like to address is the social nature of possible selves. Recent works have highlighted that possible selves are socially shaped constructs and situated in a particular socio-cultural context (Erikson, 2007; Hogg & Smith, 2007; Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006), yet,

originally they have been mainly viewed as a psychological concept with an overreliance on individualism and emphasis on the ego (Harvey, 2014; Oyserman & James, 2011). It has been argued that human development is dependent on socialisation which is affected by two seemingly polarised functions (Adams & Marshall, 1996). The first one, individual function, aims to enhance people's uniqueness and individuality promoting their ego aspect – feeling significant and important. The second one is a social function which represents people's need to belong and matter to others, especially significant others. Although these two functions seem to be opposing, yet, they are intertwined; it has been repeatedly demonstrated that the self is relationally rooted in context and 'context is an essential feature of the self' (Adams & Marshall, 1996: 437) which suggests that the self is 'constructed through a person-in-context'. Acknowledgement of the context in self formation has been quite commonplace in recent years (e.g. Dunkel & Kerpelman, 2006; Mercer, 2017a) and a 'person-in-context' approach has been identified across multiple fields (Beltman & Volet, 2007; Ushioda, 2009) stressing that individuals and context are mutually dependent and are in a 'dynamic, complex and non-linear' relationship (Ushioda 2009: 218). In language education, this approach emerged as a reaction to the dualistic perspective on learner motivation, for example, integrative versus instrumental or intrinsic versus extrinsic (Clarke & Henning, 2013) focusing on linear cause and effect relationships in order to arrive at generalisation and generate motivational patterns. Instead, as Ushioda (2009, 2011) argues, it is crucial to understand the relationships of various contextual components and consider motivation as a process deriving from multifaceted interrelations. Sadly, this appeal for a 'person-in-context' relational view has been primarily associated with learner motivation; it emphasises that a learner is not an abstract notion and researchers should consider him/her as a whole and not just as a constellation of certain learner attributes:

[...] the individual person as a thinking, feeling human being, with an identity, a personality, a unique history and background, a

person with goals, motives and intentions’ as well as on the interaction of the self and ‘the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, experiences and multiple micro- and macro-contexts in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently part of. (Ushioda, 2009: 220)

Undoubtedly, this quote can similarly be applied to teachers – they are human beings with their experiences, goals, successes, concerns and fears rather than teaching robots with specific job responsibilities, knowledge and skills. They likewise influence and are influenced by heterogeneous, complex and multi-layered relationships they are a part of. Linking this argument to possible selves implies that the repertoire of possible self images emerges from interactions with *others* (Marshall et al., 2006); they are co-constructed with *others* (Frazier & Hooker, 2006) as well as adjusted, reshaped and/or abandoned based on their relationships with *others* (Oyserman & James, 2011).

To link the above argument to this research, I would like to point out that, in this study, I intended to address the gap in teacher motivation research and explore possible selves as a part of “socially situated, dynamic, interactive and multidimensional” motivational phenomenon (Volet, 2001: 328). For this purpose, I developed a *Teacher motivational self framework* (see section 2.5 for detailed discussion) combining possible selves theory with a ‘person-in-context’ approach (Beltman & Volet, 2007; Ushioda, 2009) which does not impose any fixed theoretical frameworks and, as Ushioda (2009) argues, can be combined with various theories. The fusion of these two approaches will provide a more cohesive and wider perspective on teacher motivation and, consequently, will enhance the study:

[...] approaching the scientific project of theorizing teacher motivation from the angle of distinct theories may not provide the integrative perspective that would address the vast and complex universe of phenomena of interest in this domain of inquiry. What is needed is a scheme that will draw on the complementarity of

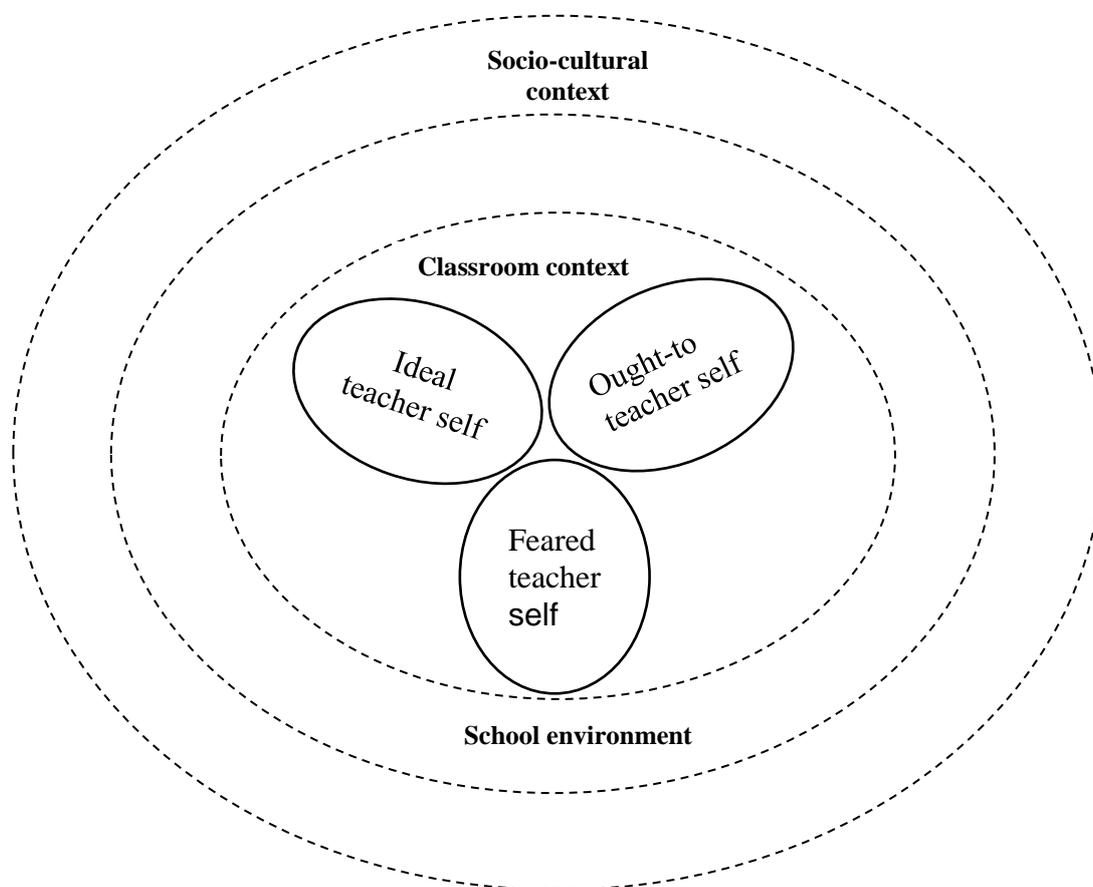
the different theories' assumptions and emphases. (Kaplan, 2014: 54)

3.5 Teacher motivational self framework

As indicated, *Teacher motivational self framework* (see figure 1) is a synthesis of possible selves theory and 'person-in-context' approach which aims to bridge seemingly opposing approaches (individualistic and socio-cultural) in teacher motivation research. Similar to Kubanyiova's classification (2009), the self components (three small circles) of *Teacher motivational self framework* represent ideal, ought-to and feared teacher selves serving as teachers' visions of their images which they attempt to approach and/or to avoid (this has been discussed in detail in section 2.4).

The self elements are placed into bigger circles representing various layers of the context. The common meaning of context is identified by Cambridge English Dictionary (2017) as 'the situation within which something exists or happens, and that can help explain it' which might suggest that context primarily refers to a spatial dimension. Yet, the etymology of the word provides a more inclusive understanding; 'context' derives from the Latin 'contextus' where 'con' means 'together' and 'texere' represents 'weave'. In Latin 'contextus' is defined as 'coherence', 'connection', 'continuity' and represents 'weaving' and 'joining together' (Oxford Latin Dictionary, 1982). This suggests that a context can be viewed as a multifaceted construct which involves not only a physical setting but also multiple social, relational and temporal dimensions. Therefore, in this study, I identify context as a space where relationships originate, grow and are continuously shaped and reshaped giving meaning to actions and creating coherence within that space. From this perspective, context is 'multidimensional' and inclusive comprising entangled relationships as well as 'activities, events, time, and the cultural and social environment' (Beltman & Volet, 2007: 314).

Figure 1: *Teacher motivational self framework*



Since the framework was created with the aim to explore teacher motivation, I identify three layers of context recognised in educational research (Dinham & Scott, 2000; Layder, 1993): *classroom context*, *school environment* and *socio-cultural context*. The terms ‘context’ and ‘environment’ here represent similar concepts and I use them interchangeably throughout this thesis.

The first layer refers to the *classroom* as the context most associated with teacher-student interaction and development. It is a space where every day processes of teaching and, hopefully, learning occur impacting on both teachers’ and learners’ behaviours, experiences and relationships (Chambers, 1999; Dörnyei, 2001; Hobson et. al., 2007). Not surprisingly, the studies focusing on teachers and/or learners frequently involve a classroom component in an attempt to capture multiple real-life processes

and to understand their causes and impacts (e.g. motivation, classroom management, learning outcomes, achievement). In terms of teachers' possible selves, research suggests that classroom context is probably the space where their selves engage in ongoing motivational (or demotivational) processes and experiences leading to continuous questioning, evaluating and re-examining of their actual and possible teacher selves (Hamman et al., 2013; Kubanyiova, 2012).

The second layer represents *school environment* which comprises elements beyond the classroom and are linked to a wider context - educational institution and its community (e.g. school, university). The school level context has been frequently associated with studies focusing on educational administration and work atmosphere (Fraser, 2012), yet, it is more inclusive than that and, with regard to teachers, this layer involves factors like curriculum and workload as well as a large array of relationships: teachers with colleagues, supervisors, administrators, principals and heads of departments among many other members of the educational organisation (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011; Fraser, 1986; Hobson et al., 2007). Although in many studies classroom context and school environment are considered as separate constructs (Dinham & Scott, 2000; Fraser, 2007), in this framework they are organically interconnected; classroom context is situated and embedded in a more global school environment.

The largest layer represents the *socio-cultural context*. It has been argued that our experiences are "socioculturally patterned" (Markus & Kitayama, 2010: 422) and the development of individuals' selves are affected by their engagement with the environment, suggesting that people and their socio-cultural environment are mutually dependent and complement each other. This dependence is reflected in the way people socialise in a given socio-cultural community and how they regulate their behaviours to match them with the characteristics of their socio-cultural context (Kitayama et al., 2007). Consequently, human beings are continually shaped by their environment and their thinking and behaviours are determined by culture specific norms

(Shweder, 2003). Therefore, in this framework *socio-cultural context* represents the environment where cultural and societal norms are shaped and developed. With regards to teachers this is linked to societal attitudes towards teachers, cultural expectations of the qualities teachers should possess, state educational policies among many other factors (Dinham & Scott, 1998; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). The impact of socio-cultural factors on the development of teachers' values, beliefs, emotions, experiences and motivations has been acknowledged by many researchers (Borg, 2006a; Cooper & Olson, 1996; Watt et al., 2012; Zembylas, 2003); 'proper' teaching and qualities of a good teacher in one culture might be dissimilar to those in other environments (Borg, 2006b; Clarke, 2008). The socio-cultural impact on teacher selves might be especially significant in case of EFL/ESL teachers who frequently teach in different parts of the world; being born, raised and educated in historically, socially and culturally diverse contexts and having different experiences might lead to having diverse concepts about teaching/learning which might affect their perceptions of desired teacher selves.

Having introduced all three layers of context, I do not intend to claim that this conceptualisation will allow me to accurately depict the complexity of contextual developments. By contrast, I would like to emphasise that this division is symbolic and is not clear-cut; that is why the boundaries of the layers are interrupted rather than solid lines. Obviously, multiple other meaningful micro-contexts (e.g. a context of an activity) emerge, evolve and co-exist within and in between these dimensions. However, I still opted for distinguishing the layers to highlight that teachers are influenced not by an abstract notion of context, but they are immersed in and affected by the factors at diverse environmental levels in which actual and possible teacher selves evolve. I would also like to highlight that despite having distinctive features all the layers of the framework are interconnected implying that each of them both affects and is affected by the other components.

3.6 Chapter summary

In the literature review chapter, I have introduced the theoretical developments in the motivation literature with a particular focus on teacher motivation research. I have provided a brief history of motivation research in psychology, the field it originated in. Initially, understanding of motivation was rooted in behaviourism implying that people behave in certain ways depending on the stimuli they receive. After this approach a number of needs satisfaction theories (Alderfer, 1969; Herzberg, 1968; Maslow, 1943) became popular proposing that humans are driven by their desires to satisfy various levels of needs and their feelings of satisfaction/dissatisfaction depends on that. This was followed by a cognitive turn in motivation research; the scholars' attention was now drawn to mental processes and information processing mechanisms resulting in multiple theories focusing on goals, achievement, expectancy of success, self-efficacy, self-worth among many other constructs. Considering all these theories, I turned to possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986) as the one which offers a more holistic and inclusive approach to teacher motivation and allows to view teachers as individuals with all kinds of complex experiences, relationships and feelings instead of concentrating on only a limited number of restricted aspects of their behaviours. To stress the importance of relationships with others and the embeddedness of selves in context, I combined the possible selves theory with a 'person-in-context' relational approach (Ushioda, 2009) and put forward *Teacher motivational self framework* merging the possible selves components and multiple layers of context.

This chapter has demonstrated the complexity of the phenomenon of motivation and how researchers have attempted diverse approaches to gain an understanding of its nature and what might affect people's motivational behaviour. It has also highlighted that in spite of the fact that motivation studies have flourished across different disciplines, surprisingly, teacher motivation is an under-researched area which suggests that there is a need

for studies which could shed light on understanding of teacher motivation. This enhanced my initial curiosity in this area and led to the formulation of the research questions.

3.7 Introducing the research questions

I began this chapter by arguing that the ambiguity of the motivation construct results in abundance of definitions across and within various fields and adoption of one or another definition depends on one's theoretical standpoint. Having introduced the theoretical framework I adopt for this study, I can now present the definition which will reflect it. Motivation is frequently defined in terms of what instigates and directs certain behaviour and how that behaviour is maintained (Kleinginna & Kleinginna, 1981), Linking this definition to the *Teacher motivational self framework*, I suggest that:

Teacher motivation is a driving force emerging from the individuals' desire to maintain and fulfil their desired teacher selves which are shaped and reshaped in ongoing negotiations with others at multiple contextual levels.

Consequently, the research questions of this study are connected to this definition:

1. *How have the participants' possible teacher selves evolved throughout their career so far?*

- What were the participants' motives to become a teacher of English?
- How did the participant-teachers envisage their ideal, ought-to and feared teacher selves at the beginning of their career?
- How do the participant-teachers envisage their current ideal, ought-to and feared teacher selves?
- How do the participant-teachers' current teacher selves affect their motivation to teach English?

2. *What contextual factors have influenced the evolution of the participants' possible teacher selves?*

- How has the classroom context influenced the participants' possible teacher selves?
- How has the school environment influenced the participants' possible teacher selves?
- How has the socio-cultural context influenced the participants' possible teacher selves?

The next chapter will discuss the research design and methodology which I adopted to answer these questions.

Chapter Four: Research design

Qualitative research is kinda like meat loaf: ever'body got their own way of makin' it. But if we're all doin' stuff our own way, then how do we know if we hit the nail on the head? Some folks call it "credibility" or "trustworthiness." I just call it "the real thing." When I'm talkin' 'bout my findings, and I see other people's heads noddin' or - even better - hearin' 'em say out loud, "That's right!" then I know I got the bull by the horns and caught the real thing.

(Saldaña, 2014: 978)

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will introduce my methodology and research design as well as will reflect on the reasons informing my decisions at various stages of the data generation process or, referring to Saldaña's (2014) metaphor, my way of making meat loaf. First, I will discuss my research stance demonstrating how my ontological and epistemological assumptions have informed my research. Then I will introduce the methodology I adopted for this study – a case study approach. The next sections will detail my research design. In the section devoted to participants, I will explain my sampling decisions and recruitment process followed by a brief introduction of the teachers and ethical issues I had to consider. The data generation section will involve details about the tools I employed to collect the data (interviews, classroom observations, post-observation interviews, reflective journal and research journal). In the following sections, I will elaborate on the pilot study and illustrate how I collected and analysed the data. Finally, the concluding sections will illustrate the impact of the study on the participants and the measures I have taken to ensure trustworthiness. To be transparent, I will also reflect on the challenges I faced at various stages of the data collection and analysis.

4.2 My research stance

In the literature review chapter, I have presented the *Teacher motivational self framework* with the aim to explore and understand teacher motivation as a holistic phenomenon. As indicated, the framework allows to consider teachers as human beings with their concerns, worries, feelings, experiences and relationships. The development of this framework has been informed not only by the literature I have read but also by my perceptions of reality and being (ontology) as well as the construction of knowledge (epistemology).

The previous sections have demonstrated that I do not intend to find an absolute truth or arrive at generalizable conclusions in this study. The aim of my study is to explore and understand the participant-teachers' motivation through the lenses of their possible teacher selves and, therefore, the paradigm corresponding my viewpoints is interpretivist. It postulates that there is no one objective reality, on the contrary, there are multiple realities because the reality is perceived differently by different people (Creswell, 2013; Mack, 2010; Merriam, 2009). Considering that, in this study, the participants interpret and reflect on their experiences, beliefs and relationships in the process of their teacher self evolution, I position myself within the constructivist dimension of the interpretivist paradigm which stresses that human beings construct their reality through their interpretations of what surrounds them or happens to them (Gray, 2013). In this case, my role as a researcher is to 'understand, explain, and demystify social reality through the eyes' of my participants (Cohen et al, 2007: 19) which I have attempted to do when conducting the study.

Obviously, my philosophical stance has affected the decisions I have made throughout all stages of the research design and methodology. This is discussed in the following sections.

4.3 A case study approach

Considering the aims of the study and my ontological and epistemological stance, I adopted a case study approach as the most appropriate methodology. A case study is a type of research focused on a single instance of real people in their context which might be employed 'to expand and enrich the repertoire of social constructions' (Donmoyer, 2000: 51). It enables to explore 'the complex dynamic and unfolding interactions of events, human relationships and other factors in a unique instance' (Cohen et al., 2000: 181). A case can involve people, programmes, institutions, organisations and other units provided that it comprises a single entity rather than a sum of disconnected parts (Cohen et al., 2000; Merriam, 2009). Since I am exploring individual teachers' experiences and perceptions in this research, I consider each participant to be a case.

Despite various definitions of a case study, many scholars stress its singularity, importance of context and boundaries as well as multiple sources of data collection and in-depth analysis (Lichtman, 2012). Yin (2014: 16) defines a case study as an empirical inquiry which investigates a contemporary real-life phenomenon (the "case") in depth and in its entirety. He suggests that case study research can be used especially when (a) the research is centred on the phenomenon in its real-life context; (b) the study involves 'how' and 'why' questions and (c) the researcher has little control over the explored phenomenon. Obviously, teacher motivation is a real-life phenomenon which I explored in its natural environment – university setting in Armenia. I have argued above that it cannot be considered detached from the context and the *Teacher motivational self framework* stresses the embeddedness of teachers in multiple layers of context. The research questions of this study also fit into Yin's characteristics; most of them are 'how' questions because I focus on understanding and exploration of teacher motivation by combining the possible selves and person-in-context perspectives which is quite an uncharted approach. Finally, I did not have any control over the participants' teacher self development and

motivation and my aim has been just to uncover and understand their perceptions and behaviours.

The classification of case studies differs as well. Stake (1995) identifies three types of case studies: intrinsic case studies (to better understand the particular case), instrumental case studies (to provide insight into the issue or theory); and collective case studies (to compare cases and to gain a more thorough understanding). Stenhouse (1985) suggests four types of case studies: an ethnographic case study (single in-depth case study usually conducted by means of observations and interviews), action research case study (to bring a change in the case), evaluative case study (to evaluate a program) and educational case study (to enhance the understanding of educational action). Finally, Yin (2014) proposes another distinction: exploratory case study (to explore the phenomenon), explanatory case study (to test theories), descriptive case study (to provide narrative accounts) and multiple case study which is similar to Stake's (1995) collective one.

Initially, I was inclined to conduct an ethnographic case study. Ethnography is an approach particularly used when the focus is on the local context and cultural understanding (Merriam, 2002). It aims to make social behaviour comprehensible by drawing out socio-cultural knowledge from participants and is related to the full array of social behaviours in the particular setting (Pole & Morrison, 2003). Ethnography 'gives voice to people in their own local context' (Fetterman, 2010: 1) which provides an opportunity to uncover the link between individuals' beliefs and practices, and their environment. However, ethnographic research implies long-term presence in the field in order to become familiar with participants' everyday life and gain understanding. This appears to be the main reason to reject this approach because, due to my family commitments, I was not able to spend a prolonged period of time in the research field to be fully immersed in the context. Consequently, I had to select another approach.

Considering that the aim of my study is to explore and understand teacher motivation phenomenon, I opted for an exploratory multiple case study. An exploratory approach provides 'flexibility and openness' in researching the topic (Swanborn, 2010: 30) which increases the possibility of uncovering interesting developments. Although in this approach researchers usually do not have a predetermined hypothesis, they often have a theory in mind (in this case a *Teacher motivational self framework*) to guide throughout the research process which later may be developed, altered or replaced with a new one.

Similar to other research methods, a case study approach has its advantages and limitations. One of the main advantages is that it allows observing the phenomenon in its real context and discovering its causes and effects. In addition, a case study research methodology involves multiple sources of data collection such as interviews, documentation, questionnaires and artefacts which add breadth and depth to data, allows triangulation and contributes to the validity of the research (Yin, 2014). Furthermore, case studies can provide a complete, in-depth analysis and shed light on concepts leading to the creation of new hypotheses which can be later examined using various research designs. This method is especially beneficial for exploring uncharted research areas and providing an understanding of longitudinal processes (Duff, 2008).

Despite all the benefits the case study approach offers, it also has its limitations. One the main concerns related to case studies is its lack of generalisability which is a key issue with qualitative research in general (Cohen et al., 2000; Dörnyei, 2007). However, the goal of case studies is not to generalise but to obtain in-depth insights into complex phenomena and issues rooted in particular socio-cultural contexts (Hammersley et al., 2000; Duff, 2008). Interestingly, some of the case study advocates state that a certain type of generalisation can be applied to case studies as well. For example, Yin (2014) argues that case studies aim to expand and generalise theories which implies analytic rather than statistical generalisation. Other researchers propose to substitute the term generalisability with

transferability which entails the degree of similarity; if there is a 'thick description' of context, the reader will be able to determine whether there is a link between the study context and their own context (Lincoln & Guba, 1990). However, it is argued that in some cases not the transferrable similarity but rather differences help enrich understanding (Donmoyer, 2000). This means that qualitative research 'can facilitate understanding of one's own as well as other's contexts and lives through both similarities and differences across settings and cases' (Duff, 2008: 52). As mentioned above, I do not intend to claim that the findings of my study are generalizable, although the *Teacher motivational self framework* might be applied to other contexts and the findings emerging from this study might similarly resonate with teachers in other contexts.

An additional limitation of case studies is claimed to be its subjective nature. The researcher might possess preconceptions and be biased which might have an impact on the whole process of data collection, analysis and interpretation (Merriam, 2002), yet, this can likewise be applied to other research methods, especially the ones used in social sciences (Duff, 2008). Stake (1995) opposes the claim that subjectivity raises questions about the reliability of findings in qualitative research and argues that subjectivity enriches qualitative studies and is 'an essential element of understanding' (p. 45). At the same time, he emphasises that the researcher should be cautious and take measures to avoid misunderstanding. Bearing this in mind, I provide detailed information and reasons with regard to coding, analysis and interpretations to reduce the degree of subjectivity and increase the reliability of this study (Duff, 2008).

Another criticism of case study research concerns manageability of data. There is a risk to cover a broad area leading to gathering enormous data which might be difficult to manage, analyse, interpret and report (Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 2001). To avoid this problem a case should be bounded by time and space (Creswell, 2012b; Yin, 2014) as well as be well planned, organised and methodologically clear (Duff, 2008). Therefore to reduce the limitations of my study and to make sure the data was manageable, I

followed the advice of case study researchers (Duff, 2008; Yin, 2014) and restricted the study by:

- space – the participants are teachers from three universities in Armenia (see section 4.4)
- time – the study was conducted within a specific time frame (see section 4.8)
- number of participants – I recruited six teachers to participate in this study (see section 4.4)
- type of data to collect – I selected interviews, observations and reflective journals as my main data generation tools (see section 4.6).

Having discussed my research stance and methodological approach, in the next sections I will elaborate on the methodological details of the study starting from the participants.

4.4 Participants

In this section, I will present my sampling approach for this study as well as how I accessed and recruited the participants and what informed my decisions. I will also reflect on the challenges linked to the recruitment process. After that I will introduce the background information about the participants and, in the final section, I will reflect on the ethical considerations I have dealt with throughout this project.

4.4.1 Sampling

My decision to conduct the study with language teachers at the university context was threefold. Firstly, there has been a lack of studies with teachers of English at higher education environment; most of teacher motivation studies have been conducted in school settings (Sahakyan et al., 2018). This is the case in spite of the fact that universities are becoming increasingly concerned with teaching quality to gain a higher position in tertiary sector league tables (Dill & Soo, 2005). This lack of research in this area is especially striking in Armenia; I am not aware of any studies looking

into teacher motivation in Armenian higher education setting. Therefore, conducting a study in this context could uncover interesting developments and contribute to the research body.

Secondly, Armenian higher education is the context I am most familiar with which implies that I am aware of the peculiarities of both the environment and the teaching profession within that context. Finally, it was easier for me to obtain access to the Armenian higher education; a researcher needs a permission only from the authorities of the university while in the school context one has to get an approval from the Ministry of Education, headteachers and students' parents (even if my study did not focus on students, I still would have had to obtain parents' consent because I intended to observe the lessons).

Given that the main goal of sampling in qualitative research is to locate participants who can 'provide rich and diverse insights into the phenomenon under investigation' (Dörnyei, 2007: 126), I employed the purposive sampling method to recruit the teachers. The logic of purposive sampling implies selecting the participants who can provide cases 'from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research' (Patton, 1990: 169). The main disadvantage of purposive sampling is subjectivity which I minimised by identifying clear criteria for participants' selection. I determined these criteria as the participants' socio-cultural background and an experience of teaching English at the university level in Armenia. Considering the social and historical developments in the country, I intended to have a heterogeneous sample: local teachers with Russian and Armenian educational experiences as well as native speaker teachers. Recruiting the participants with various backgrounds and teaching experiences could enable me to gain insights into teachers' behaviours, experiences and beliefs from different angles and capture a wide range of perspectives related to teacher possible self evolution and motivation.

After making a decision about the recruitment criteria, I had to determine how many participants would be sufficient for the aims of my study. While

scholars agree that qualitative research focuses on meaning making which implies that its sample should not be as large as in the quantitative studies, yet, there seems to be no consensus about what number is enough or how to determine the sample size (Mason, 2010). When debating on the issue of the sample size, qualitative researchers (e.g. Glaser & Strauss, 1999; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) insist that saturation, a point when no new concepts/ideas are revealed, should be the main criteria determining the number of participants in qualitative research. This implies that the research should be open-ended and decisions about the sample size, the amount of data collected, the length of the study should not be restricted. Nevertheless, saturation can be an issue with studies like this one when there are clear restrictions in term of time frame and resources. Some researchers state that there are no detailed guidelines for establishing saturation and, consequently, it is frequently claimed after superficial analysis (Bowen, 2008; Guest et al., 2006). Dey (1999) even argues that it is a controversial concept and there is always a potential to uncover something new if researchers explore phenomena in more detail. Guest and his colleagues (2006: 59) conclude that 'although the idea of saturation is helpful at the conceptual level, it provides little practical guidance for estimating sample sizes for robust research prior to data collection'. Therefore, some scholars argue that, instead of focusing on saturation, the size of the sample in qualitative studies should be determined by study aims (Mason, 2010; Guest et al. 2006; Ritchie et el., 2003). The sample size should be sufficient to be able to collect rich data and properly analyse it in order to reveal the key insights of the researched phenomenon (Charmaz, 2006; Mason, 2010). Ritchie et al. (2003) identify several factors which could be influential when making a decision about the sample size. I used the following ones to determine the sample size in this study:

- Heterogeneity of population
- Number of selection criteria
- Types of data collection
- Budget and resources available

As explained above, in order to detect and uncover a range of factors linked to teacher motivation, I intended to have heterogeneous sample and identified two selection criteria (background and teaching experience of English at higher education). My decision to use multiple data collection tools – interviews, observations, post-observation interviews and a reflective journal (see section 4.6 for detailed information about the data generation tools) was similarly driven by the aim to gain in-depth understanding of teacher motivation phenomenon. These two factors suggest that the sample size had to be small (Ritchie et al., 2003): fewer selection criteria require smaller sample and multiple data collection tools imply generating more data which might become unmanageable with larger samples. In addition, as a doctoral project, this study was temporarily bound and had limited resources and budget which similarly restricted the sample size. Therefore, I recruited six teachers to ensure the diversity of sample, manageability of data and resources.

4.4.2 Access and recruitment

Initially I planned to conduct my study at department X of university A (the real names of the universities and departments are not provided to protect the participants' identity) where I taught for several years; I was familiar with the staff and aware of the idiosyncrasies of the context. In addition, it was one of the few (if not the only) universities in Armenia where I could have access to teachers who were native speaker of English. Being aware of the gatekeeping issues (Richards, 2003), I met with the dean of the department when on holiday in summer 2014 and introduced the aims of my research and expressed my desire to conduct it at department X. She agreed and requested me to send her my research proposal after I passed the transfer viva. However, when I arrived to start my research in November 2014, she rejected my access to the teachers stating that she could not allow them to participate in the study because of their busy schedule. I felt frustrated and this transpires in one of my reflections:

I feel so angry...She is such an unpredictable person! Whoever I met from the department complained about her but some of them did not dare to say that at the university....I wonder why she does not want me to conduct my study there. Her official version is the teachers' busy schedule but I worked there and I know the schedule perfectly. Besides, the teachers are the people to decide whether they can or cannot participate in the study. Even the way she talks about the teachers is shocking – 'my teachers', 'I can't give you the teachers' – as if they are her possessions. (An extract from the field notes - November 7, 2014)

I met with several teachers and members of the administrative staff who revealed the tensions and complicated relationships in the department. The dean probably assumed that the teachers might complain about the management in the department and tried to prevent my access to the teachers. After the initial shock and understanding that gaining access involves not only strategic planning but also persistence and luck (Feldman et al., 2004), I met with the lecturers from another department and a former colleague of the dean to seek advice on how to deal with this issue. I was informed that in the dean's case everything depends 'on her mood' and I was advised to approach her again. After the second meeting with the dean, she agreed to allow the teachers to participate in the study but set several restrictions which could ruin my study:

After the second meeting with the dean and explaining the aims of the research and the method, she sent me an email stating that I could conduct my study in June and July (who teaches during these months?!) and she could give me 3-4 teachers but not a native speaker. That's ridiculous! The whole purpose of conducting my research at the university A is having native speaker teachers as well. (An extract from the field notes - November 12, 2014)

Subsequently, I decided to contact a person higher in hierarchy still persisting to obtain an access (Shenton & Hayter, 2004). I electronically

contacted the vice-president of the university and met with him explaining the aims of my research and how it could benefit the teachers and the university. I also shared my unsuccessful attempts to gain a permission from the dean of department X. The vice-president seemed to be genuinely interested in the study and assured to discuss the issue with the dean and find a solution. Although he seemed fully supportive, I was wasting my time while waiting for the official permission to start the study (which I eventually gained).

Meanwhile, after experiencing the gate-keeping challenges, I decided to look for other possibilities trying to 'knock on doors until some of them open' (Feldman et al. 2004: 8) drawing on the networks I developed when teaching in Armenia. I decided to conduct a few preliminary interviews with teachers from other universities; the data emerging from these interviews appeared to be rather interesting and rich. Considering that participant requirement is about 'finding the right people to learn from' (Feldman et al. 2004: 8), I made a decision to continue the study with them rather than recruit all the teachers from the same university as had been initially planned. In addition, having teachers from different universities would shed an additional light on understanding teacher motivation as it is also affected by the layer of school environment such as management, relationships with colleagues and workload among many other factors (Dinham & Scott, 2000; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). Therefore, I decided to recruit teachers from three universities which will be addressed as A, B and C to protect the participants' anonymity.

These universities differ in their status in the Armenian higher education landscape. University A is one of the top universities in the country and offers state-of-the-art facilities and has all the necessary equipment to ensure quality education (see Appendix A for the classroom photos). University B similarly enjoys a high status, although it is slightly behind university A in ranking. Both universities offer higher remuneration packages to teachers in comparison to other universities but teachers' salaries in university A are the highest in the country. By contrast, university

C is considered to be an average university which does not set high entrance requirements for students and has out-of-date and minimally equipped classrooms. For example, in the languages department, only one classroom had a projector which the teachers needed to book in advance if they wished to use it. It is also important to mention that the status of English courses was different in the universities. In university A, the courses were not a part of the degree program and were offered by department X which was open to public, while in universities B and C they were compulsory EFL/ESP courses for all undergraduate students.

One of my former colleagues who participated in the pilot study (see section 4.7 for the pilot study details) invited me to visit the university where she was teaching in (university C) ensuring that the authorities in her institution were very supportive. I was introduced to the head of the English department who immediately granted a permission and I finally could start my data collection. Similarly, I was welcomed to conduct my study in university B, which I contacted following the suggestion of another colleague. While waiting for the response from university A, I started conducting interviews in universities B and C. I recruited three teachers from university C two of whom (Nelly and Lara⁴) were my former colleagues when I was teaching at university A. At the time of my data collection, Nelly was teaching both at universities A and C and Lara, who used to teach at both universities, was teaching only at university C.

I was aware of the fact that being former colleagues could negatively affect the study (Seidman, 2013), however, we were not friends and had sufficient distance which could minimise undesirable consequences. When I worked in university A, they both were temporary employees and we met occasionally during staff meetings which were held once in three-four months. Moreover, the relationships among teachers were very formal at the department because of the stressful atmosphere and competitiveness

⁴ All participants' names are pseudonyms to protect their identity and ensure anonymity.

created by the management. Although I have acknowledged the fact that having shared experiences could have undesirable consequences for my research, I also realised that it could help me create rapport and generate rich data (Garton & Copland, 2010) (see section 4.4.4.1 for details about developing rapport with the participants).

In addition to Nelly and Lara, I recruited the third participant from university C - Marine Grigorevna⁵. She belonged to the older generation of teachers who was educated and spent a large portion of her teaching career in the Soviet Union. Considering the Soviet past of Armenia and the fact that numerous Armenian teachers had gone through similar experiences, I really wanted to have a participant with that background. When I approached her and explained the aims of my research and how I intended to collect the data, she agreed to participate but stated that she did not want me to observe her classes (the issues with observations are discussed in section 4.6.2) which I, of course, consented to protect her welfare.

Similarly, I received a permission from university B and recruited two teachers from that institution – Anna and Shushan. By the time I was finally granted an access from university A, I had already conducted the preliminary interviews with other teachers which seemed to provide interesting data and I decided to recruit only a native speaker teacher from university A in order to have the participants from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds. This participant was Tom.

After being granted access from the university authorities, I called the teachers and arranged a meeting with them at their universities to discuss the study. I introduced myself, my teaching and research experiences, the reasons for my interest in the topic, its importance and distinctiveness from

⁵ Marine Grigorevna is a Russian way to politely and formally address people where Marine is the first name and Grigorevna indicates her father's name, Grigor. This was the only way I addressed her throughout the study.

similar studies in the field. I also gave the teachers the information sheet and explained what the participants would be expected to do during the study. Bearing in mind that in Armenia confidentiality is frequently not preserved, I emphasised its importance and even mentioned the possible consequences I would face in case of information disclosure. Before the first interview, the participants were given the Participant Information Sheet (Appendix B) and Consent Form (Appendix C) to read and to sign if they wished to take part. Eventually, I recruited Tom (university A), Nelly (university A and C), Marine Grigorevna and Lara (university C), Anna and Shushan (university B).

4.4.3 The teachers

In this section, I will provide a brief background information about the participants of the study. The table below introduces the participants' pseudonyms, their age at the time of the study, sex, first and second languages, origins, education, number of years teaching as well as the universities and courses they were teaching.

Table 1: The participants' background

Parti- pants	Age	Sex	1st and 2nd languages	Origin	Education	Number of years teaching	Universities and courses taught
Anna	30	female	L1- Armenian L2 - Russian	Armenian from Armenia	English school; BA, MA in English and Spanish; Master's degree in Communication & Administration of Cultural Affairs; 4 th year PhD student	9	University B (EFL/ESP courses)
Tom	55	male	L1- English L2 -Armenian	Armenian from the UK; moved to Armenia in 2005	Boarding school in the UK; Bachelor's degree in Mechanical Engineering (UK); CELTA	5	University A (EFL courses)
Nelly	36	female	L1- Armenian L2 - Russian	Armenian from Armenia	Russian school; BA in Linguistics; MA TEFL; 2 nd year PhD student	10	University A (EFL courses) University C (EFL/ESP courses)

Lara	34	female	L1- Armenian L2 - Russian	Armenian from Armenia	Russian school; BA in Roman and German languages; MA TEFL; 2 nd year PhD student	8	University C (EFL/ESP/Linguistics courses)
Marine Grigorievna	64	female	L1- Russian L1- Armenian ⁶	Armenian from Armenia moved to Armenia at the age of 10 from Georgia	Russian school, MA in Russian and English Languages	40	University C (EFL/ESP/Linguistics courses)
Shushan	31	female	L1- Armenian L2 - Russian	Armenian from Armenia	Armenian school, BA, MA in Linguistics; PhD (completed in May 2015)	7	University B (EFL/ESP courses)

Tom is an Armenian who was born in Iran. At the age of six he moved to the UK with his family where he attended, as he stressed, a ‘really good’ boarding school near London. After earning his bachelor’s degree, Tom started a motorcycle business which he successfully managed for 22 years. In 2005, he decided to move to Armenia with his family where he initially tried to establish a new company. However, after this unsuccessful business attempt and finding out that his nativeness gave him an advantage of speaking ‘really good English’, Tom decided to pursue a career as an English teacher. He completed a five week CELTA course in London and returned to Armenia where he immediately was offered an EFL teaching position at university A. At the start of the data collection, he was teaching there for five years. Although Tom had an Armenian origin, he was not fluent in Armenian language; he could communicate in Western Armenian but did not feel comfortable speaking it. He preferred to use English which was his first language.

Nelly was sent to a Russian school where both the materials and the language of instruction were Russian. However, in 1991, after the collapse

⁶ Marine Grigorievna considers both Russian and Armenian as her first languages although she is more confident in Russian.

of the Soviet Union following the national movement of independence and emphasis on Armenianness (Abrahamian, 1998), Nelly's parents moved her to an Armenian school where she struggled with Armenian as the language of instruction. Eventually, she returned to her initial school and, after completing it, entered one of the newly opened universities majoring in English. During her last undergraduate year, Nelly met a friend who fervently shared her experience of studying at university A, and this affected her desire to pursue her master's degree there. After completing her studies, Nelly was offered a job at university C where she was teaching for approximately ten years when I recruited her. She was occasionally offered a short-term employment at university A to teach various EFL classes. At the time of data collection, Nelly was in the second year of her doctoral study. Similar to the other participants who were pursuing a doctoral degree, Nelly's main motive was to secure her teaching position at the university.

Lara was born in Armenia and, similar to Nelly, attended a Russian school because of the assumption that Russian schools provided better education. When the Soviet Union collapsed, her school had to switch to Armenian causing numerous problems both for teachers and pupils who had difficulties teaching and studying in Armenian. After leaving school, she entered one of the most prestigious universities in the country majoring in English. Although she excelled in the entrance examination which tested mainly grammar, her spoken proficiency, she pointed out, was very low. After the graduation, she started working at a tourist agency where she was constantly nervous due to still persisting lack of English communicative skills and the temperamental manager. Eventually, Lara resigned and, following her mother's advice to pick a 'female job', entered an MA TEFL programme at university A. While studying, she received an offer to teach at university C which she accepted after certain hesitations. Simultaneously, she occasionally taught English at university A for approximately two years. At the time of the study, she was teaching various

English courses at university C for eight years. Together with Nelly, Lara was pursuing a doctoral degree.

Marine Grigorevna belongs to a family of Genocide survivors; her father's family fled the massacre in Turkey in 1915 and resided in Georgia where Marine was born. At the age of ten she moved to Armenia with her family where she attended a Russian school. After leaving school with merit, she unsuccessfully attempted to enter a top university in Moscow and then returned to Armenia missing an opportunity to enter the university that year⁷. She worked in a factory and the next year Marine Grigorevna entered one of high ranking universities in Armenia with a major in Russian and English languages. As one of the best students, she was offered a teaching position in her university which was very uncommon for that period. During the Soviet times, after graduation teachers were usually given a position in remote areas where they had to teach for approximately two years and only after that they could obtain a job in their preferred area. Marine Grigorevna had an extensive teaching experience of forty years in different universities. She was teaching various English courses at university C when I recruited her to participate in this study.

Anna was born in Armenia and received her education in Armenia. Realising the growing importance of English, her parents sent her to a specialised English school. Interestingly, unlike Russian schools, the medium of instruction in other specialised language schools was Armenian but the number of language hours (e.g. English, French) was higher in comparison to other schools. Anna was very ambitious and was always striving to achieve the best possible results. She completed her university studies majoring in English with a distinction, won a scholarship and participated in a two-week programme in South Korea. Anna excelled even in Seoul and the local paper published an article about her. Later she was

⁷ In Armenia, people can apply to the universities only in summer; this was established during Soviet times and is still a common practice in the country.

offered a job in the South Korean consulate in Armenia and then administrative and teaching positions at her university. She was open to different possibilities and tried various career paths. In addition to teaching, Anna worked as an interpreter simultaneously completing a master's degree in management at university B. In 2012, she began to teach English at university B where she also was a representative of the English language sector which involved doing administrative work, organising and attending meetings. Anna was teaching English for nine years and was in her final year of doctoral study in English.

Shushan was born in Armenia and similarly attended an English school. At the age of fifteen, she participated in the Access program sponsored by the U.S. Department of States and spent a year studying in a high school in the United States. This experience significantly improved her English skills and broadened her horizons. After leaving school, she majored in English. Shushan worked in a number of places: a bank, a tour agency and a museum. Then she was offered a teaching position at her university which she happily accepted. Later, she received an offer from university B where she started teaching various EFL/ESP courses. Shushan was teaching English for seven years and earned her doctoral degree in the last phase of this study.

4.4.4 Ethical considerations

When conducting research it is crucial to consider ethical issues in order to protect the rights of the participants (Patton, 1990; Silverman, 2013). I followed the code of ethical practice for research in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Leeds and obtained an approval from the Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (ethics reference AREA 14-031) (see Appendices B, C, D, E for copies of the ethics approval letter, information sheet and consent forms). To protect the participants' interests and rights, I employed the following measures: (a) permissions were obtained from the respondents before conducting the interviews; (b) the research aims were explained to the participants so that they could

understand them fully; (c) the participants were provided with an explicit description of how the data would be used and stored; (e) the participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time.

The mentioned measures were the macro-level ethical procedures I had to follow, yet, I had to also deal with micro-level issues which involved making not abstract but situated and 'on-the-spot' ethical decisions throughout the project (Kubanyiova, 2008: 506). This implies that the researcher should prioritise the wellbeing of his/her research participants over his/her research interests (Dörnyei, 2007). Bearing in mind that the participants' wellbeing is of key importance, some researchers propose to consider the concepts of virtue ethics and ethics of care as elements to address microethics dilemmas (Haverkamp, 2005; Kubanyiova, 2008). While virtue of ethics highlights the researcher's morality as well as capability and willingness to deal with microethical issues throughout the research process, ethics of care focuses on the relational nature of research and requires the researcher to be sensitive to participants' feelings and experiences (Helgeland, 2005). Both virtue of ethics and ethics of care entail that the researcher should be guided by 'doing good' and 'avoiding harm' principle when making decisions on ethical dilemmas (Haverkamp, 2005: 150).

Therefore, my ethical decisions were guided both by my initial considerations originated from the requirements of the university ethics authority and by my own ethical choices and desire to tackle ethical problems emerging while conducting the study. In both cases my aim was to minimise or, if possible, to avoid the harm the participants could face. In the following sections, I will address the main ethical dilemmas I encountered throughout this project: (a) my position as a researcher; (b) ensuring confidentiality and anonymity and (c) language issues.

4.4.4.1 My position as a researcher

Before conducting a study, researchers have to determine how they intend to position themselves in the study. This, together with the role given to the participants, determines the level of engagement of both parties and has an

impact on how the data is created (Haverkamp, 2005). Since qualitative research is relational (Kubanyiova, 2013), developing rapport and trust are considered essential in order to be able to obtain 'a window into insider perspective' (Rinke & Mawhinney, 2014: 5). However, this might be quite challenging considering the power imbalance in the researcher- participants relationship. While some scholars state that the power should entirely belong to the researcher, others argue that it should be shared with participants. Another perspective on this issue (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009) proposes that the researcher's and participants' power relationship can be viewed as a continuum as it constantly fluctuates during the various stages of the research process. At the recruitment and data collection stages both the researcher and participants seem to share power. While the researcher makes decisions about the research agenda, selects questions and leads interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005), participants might determine the degree of collaboration in the discussion, alter the direction of the interview or even terminate it. It is argued that during the data analysis process the researcher is in total control of data and, therefore, regains the power (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). He/she is the person who interprets the participants' stories and decides how to present them to the research community. This obviously entails additional responsibility towards the participants. Considering my epistemological stance and the nature of this study, I tried to reduce my power and engage the participants in the process of making sense of data. Although to some extent research is always a co-produced product because participants are involved in the project by sharing their personal experiences and, therefore, are inseparable from it (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009), I felt that it was not sufficient and decided to give them an opportunity to reflect on my interpretations of their experiences and be involved in the co-construction of meaning (Harvey, 2014; 2015) (see section 4.8 for the particularities of the data collection and analysis process).

It is important to mention that, as a novice researcher, I had not considered to involve the participants in the sense-making process at the beginning of

my doctoral study when I was designing the project (although I had intended to minimise my power to establish rapport). I arrived at this decision after the second phase of the data collection when I already established good relationships with the participants and felt that they were genuinely interested in my research. At this point, I realised that their insights into my analysis and interpretation could be invaluable both for myself as a researcher and for the participants who could probably see themselves from another angle (see section 4.9 for the impact of the study on the participants). This was a situated ethical decision which indicates not only my desire to give the participants more power and voice (Doyle, 2007; Harvey, 2015) but also demonstrates my development as a researcher.

Another issue emerging from my positioning as a researcher was linked to being able to build good relationships and trust with the participants in order to have greater depth of interaction and assure trustworthiness (Pitts & Miller-Day, 2007). In the attempt to achieve that, I situated myself as an insider which I hoped could help establish rapport more rapidly and could lead to openness (Kanuha, 2000). I also hoped that my positioning as an insider would reduce my power in the eyes of the participants. This was an important decision and the participants perceived me as an insider at both cultural and professional levels.

First, belonging to the Armenian culture, I was familiar not only with its peculiarities but also how to approach people (Smyth & Holian, 2008) and was aware of the conversational styles specific to various generations of teachers in Armenia which affected my decision to use distinct conversational styles with different participants. With younger teachers, I employed a casual conversational style and spoke informal Armenian which is typically used with people who one knows well. In addition to using informal language, I frequently employed the word 'jan'⁸ with their names

⁸ It is very common to use 'jan' together with a name when addressing people in Armenia (e.g. Anna jan). It has a meaning of 'dear' and is often used in informal setting.

and offered to use singular 'you'⁹ when referring to each other trying to minimise my power as a researcher. This worked really well, helping avoid formality and creating a more relaxed atmosphere. After the first interview, Nelly even commented that she liked my use of 'jan' when addressing her. However, with the older participant, Marine Grigorevna, I employed only a formal style: addressing her with plural 'you' and constantly employing standard vocabulary rather than casual one. Those are the means of showing the respect and also indicating that I was aware of the norms of communication in that environment. In Armenian culture, it is considered rude to address older people informally and I could ruin our relationships if I had employed the casual conversational style with Marine Grigorevna.

Second, I was perceived an insider as a teacher who taught in the same context and was aware of the issues existing in the Armenian educational system. I felt that the participants viewed me as 'a fellow teacher' (Richards, 2003: 125) and, when sharing their experiences, they mentioned 'you know it', 'I'm sure you've experienced the same' and other similar phrases. Perceiving me as someone who probably had similar encounters, some of them even revealed sensitive information about their experiences. It also appeared that Anna, Shushan and Marine Grigorevna studied at the same university as me and, when recalling their student experiences, they mentioned their lecturers' names assuming that I had come across them as well. Having these shared experiences additionally benefited me as a researcher and helped to create an atmosphere of trust and openness.

The way I positioned myself similarly affected the level of the participants' engagement in the study. At the beginning, the teachers seemed to participate in this research mainly because they were willing to help me. Marine Grigorevna even mentioned that she was happy to help an Armenian who was pursuing the highest scientific degree in the United Kingdom (this

⁹ Armenian language has both singular and plural 'you'. The latter one is used not only to indicate plurality but also to signify respect. It is usually used to address new acquaintances and people higher in status and age.

was perceived as a very important accomplishment by the local participants):

I realise that I am a small screw in this big process of my compatriot's becoming...and receiving a [doctoral] status. I am very glad that I can be involved in it. (MI3¹⁰)

Gradually this attitude changed; the participants became genuinely involved in the study and started disclosing information about their negative experiences, even the ones they felt embarrassed about. It seemed that they started perceiving it as an opportunity of being heard and share their experiences, ideas and feelings with someone genuinely interested in.

Despite the benefits my closeness to the context implied, it is important to acknowledge the pitfalls of being an insider and try to maintain authenticity, objectivity and reflexivity of the study (Kanuha, 2000). When the researcher is too close to the study context and similar to the participants, it may result in mixing his/her own feelings, assumptions and perceptions with those of the participants (Asselin, 2003) which might have an impact on objectivity and be considered as bias (Hewitt-Taylor, 2002). Being aware of these limitations, I tried to separate my own experiences and views from those of the participants and minimise the negative consequences of insider research. I also attempted to occasionally have an outsider perspective on the study context which was possible due to my physical distance from the research setting; I was residing in the United Kingdom for almost four years.

However, inevitably, there were a few occasions when my perceptions of the developments in the country influenced what I probed into. For example, when discussing the motives of becoming an English teacher, some of the local participants did not elaborate on why they wanted to major in English and I omitted to seek clarifications to uncover the reasons behind that. Being

¹⁰ This represents 'Marine, Interview 3'. See section 4.9 for the explanation of indexing references to the data.

aware of the privileged status of English in the country and employment opportunities its mastery could offer (Zolyan et al., 2008), the participants' motives seemed so obvious to me that I preferred to probe into the part of their response related to reasons of selecting a teaching career. I realised this only when the role of English emerged from all the cases as an important factor impacting on their decision to select a teaching profession.

To conclude, the way I situated myself as a researcher throughout the research process had a significant impact on my relationships with participants and on the quality of data I collected. Importantly, my decision to present myself as an insider was supported by the participants which was probably the key determinant in establishing rapport and gaining the participants' trust, and this in turn resulted in richer and more in-depth interactions. My awareness of both the advantages and limitations of being an insider researcher helped me minimise its negative impacts and make use of the benefits it entailed. I was also aware that obtaining trust also implied that as a researcher I had even greater responsibility to protect the participants' interests (Haverkamp, 2005). This was especially crucial because occasionally the participants were disclosing sensitive information and I had to be more careful to protect their identity and ensure confidentiality (Smyth & Holian, 2008). The issue of safeguarding the participants' welfare is discussed in the next section.

4.4.4.2 Anonymity and confidentiality

Being able to protect participants' identity and provide anonymity and confidentiality is one of the requirements of ethics committees and the researcher needs to address this when applying for ethical approval (Haverkamp, 2005). This can be especially crucial when the study involves sensitive topics (Cohen et al., 2000). Anticipating that sensitive issues might emerge during the data collection process, I adopted the following measures to safeguard the participants' identities (Wiles et al., 2006):

- Replacing the participants' names with pseudonyms and anonymizing the universities;
- Preserving confidentiality of the data by using pseudonyms when storing the data;
- Not disclosing the issues emerging from the interviews with others in ways that might identify the participants;
- Not disclosing the information the participants did not want to be shared (e.g. Lara revealed some sensitive information and then added 'this is between us'.).

I also ensured that the participants could not identify the identities of the participants from other universities. In addition, I avoided commenting on the participants' lessons even when some of them asked me to evaluate their lesson in comparison to the other participants' classes. This also helped me protect their self-esteem and reduce the impact of research procedures which could be perceived as face-threatening by the teachers (see section 4.6.2 for issues related to classroom observations).

Being familiar with the context, I was aware that confidentiality was a very sensitive issue and was frequently not preserved in Armenian educational setting. For instance, one of the participants shared her negative experiences of being observed and pointed out that the observer later shared the details of the observation protocol with other teachers in her department. To ensure the importance of confidentiality in the UK academic institutions, I provided a detailed explanation of what confidentiality entailed and the measures taken to ensure the participants' anonymity and confidentiality. I also explained the consequences that I might face in case of disclosure. This probably was one of the reasons the participants chose to be open and to reveal their sensitive experiences.

4.4.4.3 Language issues

Since the participants of this study had different native languages and were also highly proficient English users, before starting the data collection I had

to make a decision about the language of interviews and reflective journals. Selecting the language of the interview can have an impact on the quality of data and researcher-participant relationships. Tsang (1998: 511) stresses that communicating in participants' native languages creates a relaxed atmosphere and encourages participants to 'fully express themselves', build 'good rapport' and a feeling of connection as well as gain 'cultural understanding' when interpreting the data.

In addition, the language of interview can also impact on the power relationships between the researcher and participants; when the researcher uses the participants' mother tongue, it minimises or even neutralises to some extent the power of the researcher (Welch & Piekkari, 2006). Considering all the advantages the use of participants' native languages entails, I decided to offer them to conduct interviews in the languages they felt most comfortable with which they agreed to (see table 1 for the participants' first language details). Therefore, I ended up conducting interviews in three languages all of which I felt confident to use; I have a native proficiency both in Armenian and Russian¹¹ and high proficiency in English. With Lara, Nelly, Anna and Shushan I conducted the interviews in Armenian while with Tom and Marine Grigorevna the interview languages were English and Russian respectively.

Similarly, I gave them a choice of language to write in their reflective journals so that the participants would feel more comfortable expressing their thoughts and feelings and also would feel linguistically competent to provide the depth of detail. All of the teachers wrote the reflections in the languages the interviews were conducted in: Tom – in English; Marine Grigorevna – in Russian; Lara, Nelly, Anna and Shushan – in Armenian, though Anna and Shushan had the initial journal entries in English and then switched to Armenian. Their early use of English could result from their desire to demonstrate their English proficiency (they switched a few times to English

¹¹ I lived in Russia for ten years and received my primary and secondary education there.

during the interviews as well) and a later shift to Armenian could probably signal that they became more genuine and intimate after we established good rapport (Anna switched to Armenian at the end of phase two and Shushan - in phase three).

It is important to note that, although the interviews were conducted in the participants' first languages, all of them, except for Tom, were constantly translanguaging by employing Russian and English phrases and words. Garcia (2009: 140) characterises translanguaging as 'the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential'. Although translanguaging involves code-switching, it is more inclusive and spreads beyond that involving people's multiple practices in the process of sense-making. The example below demonstrates the participants' use of translanguaging (the words originally used in Armenian are in Arial; the Russian phrases are in *Arial Italic* and English - in *Comic Sans MS* fonts¹²):

I wonder...how another person sees it...It would be very interesting, just for myself, for my self-reflection...it is very important for me...if you want to grow, you need to have self-criticism, take into account what people surrounding you say...
(L13)

Considering Armenia's Soviet past, it is not surprising that the participants were frequently employing Russian phrases. As discussed in section 2.4.1, Russian enjoyed a special status and was the second official language in Soviet Armenia for more than 70 years leading to high level of Russian language proficiency among the population (Hovhannisyan, 2016; Pavlenko, 2013a). All the local participants of the study were fluent in

¹² I will use these fonts in other extracts as well to indicate the participants' use of different languages.

Russian and three of them attended Russian schools (see table 1 for the participants' background information). On the contrary, the local participants' use of English vocabulary was mainly related to subject-specific terminology (e.g. communicative teaching, grammar). There were also occasions when the participants seemed to use English to display their mastery of the language. For example, during one of the interviews Marine Grigorevna asked whether my supervisors were listening to the interview recordings and, although I replied that I was the only person with the access to the recordings, she switched to English saying 'let them see how good our English is'.

Obviously, there have been a number of benefits associated with gathering the data in the participants' first languages, yet, I had to deal with a 'cocktail of languages' (Welch & Piekkari, 2006: 426) when transcribing and analysing the data. This caused certain difficulties when I started the transcription process. Because I had not had an extensive experience of using Armenian and Russian keyboards (both languages have distinct scripts), the transcription of the interviews in these languages was more time-consuming. In addition, the participants' traslanguaging made the interview process even more laborious - I had to constantly change the language of the keyboard.

Another challenge I faced after I collected the data in Armenian and Russian was related to translation. Being bilingual and having a high-level sociocultural competence as well as significant background knowledge, I decided to translate the data myself. To prevent a loss of meaning and stay close to the data, I transcribed and analysed the dataset in the languages they were produced in but developed the codes and themes in English. Therefore, I translated only the quotes I intended to employ in this thesis to support my interpretation of the data and to contribute to trustworthiness of the research (Chidlow et al., 2014). Since interpretation of meaning is a key aspect of qualitative research it is important to maintain conceptual equivalence in translation (Squires, 2009), in other words, the intended contextual meaning. Occasionally, diverse linguistic translations were

possible for the same expression and I had to make sure I used the one contextually and linguistically closest to the intended meaning. I paid a special attention to translation of metaphors and idioms in an attempt to decrease the potential loss of meaning. As idioms give a special flavour to the data and I was trying to use equivalent English idioms wherever possible but, in many cases, I had to just provide the closest possible meaning. This was even more complicated considering frequent translanguaging. For example, the literal translation of the phrase ‘Ու երբ որ ընկար էդ միջավայրը, որտեղ քեզ անընդհատ ժոլբիտ[ե] են անում, ոնց ա պետք սովորել’ is ‘and when you fell into that environment where you were always chiselled how you have to study’. However, this translation does not clearly represent the intended meaning and is not clear to English speakers. Hence, I translated this phrase as ‘and when you got into that environment where you were constantly told how to study’.

To validate my translation, the samples of the Armenian and Russian interviews were sent to a certified translator. Although it is very common to use back translation technique for a validation purpose (Chidlow et al, 2014), I preferred to have the original extracts translated into English. Back translation was proposed by Brislin (1970) as a quantitative tool to approve the translation of questionnaires for cross-cultural studies. This means that the source is a well-thought and designed written sample rather than an authentic spontaneous interaction full of collocations, idioms and other informal features suggesting that back translation would most likely be distant from the original source (van Nes et al., 2010). Therefore, the translator and I translated the same pieces of data and then compared our translations. The conceptual meanings in both versions were similar, however, there were several phrases linguistically translated differently which we discussed to explain why we chose that particular phrase. I contacted the same translator a few times when I wanted to receive a second opinion on idiomatic expressions.

4.5 Data generation tools

Case study research usually utilises multiple data collection tools as the phenomenon being under investigation is usually complex and is influenced by a number of contextual factors (Yin, 2014). Therefore, to generate different types of data in order to gain a better understanding of the teacher motivation phenomenon, I employed multiple data collection tools, such as semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, post-observation interviews and reflective journal together with my research journal. Generating data from multiple sources additionally benefits the study acting as triangulation and ensuring trustworthiness (e.g. Bryman, 2012; Cohen et al, 2011; Creswell, 2013; Duff, 2008; Yin, 2014). In the following sections, I introduce in detail the data generation tools and how I prepared and conducted them.

4.5.1 Interviews

Interviews are one of the main types of data collection in qualitative research which give an opportunity to obtain detailed information from the participants (Creswell, 2012a; Richards, 2003; Turner, 2010) and, obviously, that was one of the main tools providing in-depth data for answering the research questions. In order to reduce the possibility of receiving the answers the participants could think I desired to hear (Creswell, 2012b; Kvale, 2007), I emphasised to them that I was genuinely interested in their own ideas and experiences and I was not looking for 'good' or 'bad' answers. I also tested the recording equipment in advance, to avoid technical problems during the interviews.

The data obtained from the interviews provided information about their motives to start a teaching profession, how they envisioned their ideal, ought-to and feared selves at the beginning of their career as well as how and why these selves transformed and evolved (see section 4.7.1 for pilot interviews). The semi-structured interviews involved a prepared in advance interview guide or themes rather than fixed questions; unlike structured interviews they allow the interviewer to be flexible and follow emerging

topics and directions elaborated by the interviewee (Dörnyei, 2007; Kvale, 2007; Mason, 2002; Mears, 2009). Due to this flexibility and openness, the knowledge is co-created with interviewees. In addition, this allows the interviews to be more situated and contextualised. Richards (2003) argues that an interview is a special type of conversation with an aim to elicit 'the richest and fullest account possible' (p. 50). Bearing this in mind, I developed a set of topic-centred questions for the teachers (Appendix F) grounded in the previous research on teacher motivation research and *Teacher motivational self framework* (see sections 3.4 and 3.5). The rest of the questions emerged during the interview following the interesting incidents and themes in participants' responses. Prior to the study the interview schedule was piloted (see section 4.7.1 for the discussions of pilot interviews). The core interview schedule of all the interviews consisted of three main phases: (a) the opening phase which was used to create a relaxed atmosphere and encourage the participants to talk; (b) the main phase which focused on eliciting the target information (e.g. beliefs, concerns and attitudes with regard to teaching, teachers' possible self images, teachers' past experiences); and (c) the closing phase to finalise the interview. In each research phase, I conducted one main interview with the participants although with Marine Grigorevna I conducted two interviews in the first phase because I did not manage to ask all the prepared questions within the time frame we allocated for the interview and we arranged another date for that. Similarly, Anna received an important phone call during the last interview and we had to terminate it and meet later to finish it. The interview schedule for the second phase of data collection was developed after preliminary analysis of the data obtained in the first phase. For the last phase, I analysed the interview data collected in the first two phases, developed a diagram with themes for each participant which also had extracts from the interviews (see section 4.8 for details).

All interviews, with the exception of two, were conducted at the participants' universities, usually in the classroom or the common room. For the first interview, Lara invited me to her home because she was not teaching that

day. Similarly, the last interview with Shushan took place at her home because the preliminary arranged date and time appeared to be inconvenient for her and she asked me to have the interview the next day.

4.5.2 Observations

Although interviews provided in-depth data, they elicited only teachers' views and perceptions, which could not be sufficient for gaining a holistic understanding of the teacher motivation phenomenon. Observing the participant-teachers in the classroom environment provided direct access and insights into their behaviours and interactions in the classroom which helped me better understand what might have an impact on their possible teacher self formation and motivations to achieve these selves. First of all, observations provided an opportunity to see what was happening *in situ* and gather authentic data in its natural environment (Cohen et al., 2000) which supplemented the data collected via other tools and helped to triangulate (Briggs et al., 2012; Cowie, 2009). Having this source of natural data also allowed me to obtain a more holistic and contextualised perspective on the participants (Patton, 2002; Simons, 2009). In addition, by observing the participants' lessons I wanted to 'demystify what is actually going on' as opposed to what one [the teachers] might hope or assume is happening' (Anderson et al., 1994: 129) (see Chapter Five). The incidents occurring during the classroom observations also helped the participants open up and speak about their underlying beliefs and values, voice their concerns, fears and challenges they had to face in their day to day teaching. For example, there were situations when the teachers had to react to their students' improper behaviours in class and then they elaborated on this issue explaining how they felt about it and how they tried different approaches to tackle this challenge. Some of the teachers even went further and reflected on the incidents I observed in their reflective journals. Similarly, during the observations there were several occasions when the students were not familiar with the meaning of certain words/expressions and asked the teacher who did not know the meaning either. Because I witnessed these situations, the participants reflected on them and explained how their

reaction to similar episodes transformed throughout their career (this is discussed in the participants' cases in Chapter Five).

Although observations are a useful tool to witness people's real behaviours, they are considered prone to bias because they are selective in terms of the reasons and ways of observing as well as people, places and time selected for observations (Simons, 2009). They also largely depend on the observer's attention, opportunity to observe and the observational instruments. To reduce these limitations, before starting observations, I considered their focus, the type of observation I intended to use and the mode of recording (Simpson & Tuson, 2003). After piloting both semi-structured and unstructured observations (see section 4.7.2 for the pilot observations, and Appendix G for the semi-structured and unstructured observation protocols), I decided to employ the latter one which would allow me to notice interesting developments in the classroom rather than focus on specific points and miss the ones of interest (see section 4.7 for the pilot study implications).

To reduce the observer's paradox, I aimed to conduct non-participant classroom observations where the observer is not involved in the activities of the participants; he/she only observes and records the researched phenomenon (Creswell, 2012; Richards, 2003). However, it appeared impossible for me to be a 'fly on the wall' in the classroom. Occasionally the students asked me questions about the life in the UK (e.g. Is it true that everybody drinks tea at 5 o'clock?) or the teachers involved me in the lessons by enquiring about the British culture or the English equivalents of certain words (although this happened after we established good rapport). Inevitably, I became an observer as participant trying to have minimal involvement in the class activities (Cohen et al., 2000).

Being a teacher myself and knowing the amount of work teachers are required to do daily, I anticipated that writing reflections might lead to certain resistance from the participants as one of the tools requiring more time investment. However, it became apparent that the observation was a tool

which caused certain degree of discomfort, nervousness and even refusal at the early stage of data collection (Marine Grigorevna's case) even though I decided to use field notes rather than record the lessons to minimise pressure both on the teachers and students. Only Tom seemed comfortable with observations, the other teachers were cautious probably suspecting a hidden agenda (this gradually diminished as we established rapport). Even my note writing initially seemed threatening to a few teachers (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995); they were nervously looking at me, approaching and trying to have a glimpse of what I was typing. In Armenia, teachers are accustomed to evaluative observations and usually consider them as a threat rather than a tool to learn more about their teaching. This is explicitly expressed by Lara:

When the observations started, they started digging...very unpleasant talks began...when they want to run you down...when they observe you for 15 minutes and based on these 15 minutes when you just managed...And they try to disseminate false information about your teaching and present that on a paper to your manager... (L1)

However, after the first two observations the non-judgmental tone of our discussions and the growing rapport with the teachers reduced the teachers' worries and the participants felt more relaxed and open. They also started asking me to give them constructive feedback in order to improve their teaching. Considering the aims of the study and being aware of the possibility that evaluative comments could ruin our relationships I avoided giving such feedback.

While observing, I used descriptive field notes to document the events and reflective field notes to record my emerging thoughts, ideas and questions which were used for the post-observation interviews (Creswell, 2012):

Why did she interrupt the exercise and started asking the meaning of words? What's the point of it? It doesn't seem that

the students care about her or the lesson. (An extract from my reflective notes on Shushan's observation 2)

The students stood up when I was leaving. I felt I was back in my school years - reminded me a Soviet classroom. I haven't seen anything like that for more than 15 years. (An extract from my reflective notes on Marine Grigorovna's observation 1)

4.5.3 *Post-observation interviews*

All the observations were immediately followed by a brief (10-15 minutes) interview. I did not have a fixed schedule for these interviews since I intended to base my questions on the observations as well as to see what teachers thought about the developments taking place during the lessons and their reflections on them. In the post-observation interviews, the teachers mainly reflected on the lessons in general and specific episodes, explained what the reasons behind their behaviours were, how they perceived themselves and their students during the teaching/learning process. The post-observation interviews mainly took place immediately after the lesson in the same classroom or in the teachers' common room if it was available. On a few occasions, the teachers had two lessons in a row and I was offered the opportunity to observe both. In these cases, we had only one post-observation interview covering both lessons.

4.5.4 *Reflective journals*

Reflective journal writing was an invaluable tool to understand how the teachers perceived their practices as well as to gain information about the incidents which motivated and demotivated them and, of course, to notice what feelings were triggered by these incidents and how the teachers reacted to them. Holly (2002) identifies three types of reflective writing: logs, diaries and journals. She categorises a log as an objective documentation of information (e.g. activities performed) and a diary as one's personal thoughts, ideas and feelings related to everyday experiences. A journal combines both subjective and objective dimensions; it is a document that

contains both an objective record of information and personal reflections, interpretations and analysis. Journal writing has been used widely to gain insights into teachers' understanding of their practices and cognition, to document their development and to stimulate reflection on teacher development courses (Borg, 2006a). In the journal, the writer can have a dialogue between himself and his experiences by questioning his/her roles, behaviours, analysing facts, looking for explanations and reasons. Jenesick (1998) stresses that journal writing allows an individual 'to reflect, to dig deeper if you will into the heart of the words, beliefs and behaviours' (p.10). Therefore, journal writing gave me an opportunity to gain the teachers' reflections on their own behaviours and experiences which add another level of depth to the study. I provided clear instructions about journal writing and gave examples. I asked the teachers to write down their ideas, feelings and experiences about their motivation at the end of every week they taught. In order to make their reflections more focused, I provided the following questions to reflect on:

- At what point was your motivation highest this week? Why?
- At what point was your motivation lowest this week? Why?

I did not set a strict word limit for journal entries; however, I suggested that the participants write entries of approximately 200 words. Similarly, I gave them a choice of language and format to write in so that the teachers felt more comfortable expressing their thoughts and feelings. As stated above, all of the teachers wrote the reflections in the languages in which the interviews were conducted: Tom – in English; Marine Grigorevna – in Russian; Lara, Nelly, Anna and Shushan – in Armenian, though Anna and Shushan had the initial journal entries in English and then switched to Armenian. In terms of format, Tom, Anna and Lara preferred to have a word-processed format of reflections, while Nelly, Shushan and Marine Grigorevna chose a handwritten one.

Although I did not anticipate issues related to not understanding this task, I highlighted that the teachers could always ask for clarifications if there was any misunderstanding.

4.5.5 Research Journal

Throughout the data collection and analysis process, I recorded my activities in the research journal. I also wrote down my reflections, comments and feelings about the interviews, observations and other research related activities. In the second phase of the data collection, I started to audio-record my reflections instead of writing; I commented not only on the interviews and observations but also on my casual conversations with the participants and their colleagues who became used to my presence in the common room and started sharing their experiences. The following is an extract from one of the recordings:

I feel that...at the beginning they [participants] were cautious, now they're not. Probably not all of them have this kind of...100% trust but definitely more than at the beginning of this phase.
(March 2, 2015)

These reflections were very useful and helped me to make sense of the data. During the data analysis process I used my reflections to reconstruct the participants' immediate context and to better understand the participants' behaviours and experiences. Because I was also recording my impressions and feelings of the interviews and observations, the reflections helped me to be aware of my bias and reduce subjectivity (Shenton, 2004).

4.6 Pilot study

The pilot study took place in November 2014. To test the data generation instruments, I contacted two of my former colleagues. The data of the pilot study was very rich and I offered them to become my participants after the pilot study. The problem with including the participants of the pilot study in the main study usually concerns the fact that participants have been exposed to the intervention which might affect their further participation in

the study. It also might cause issues if the tested instrument needs significant adjustments (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2002). However, both these problems are usually less of a concern in qualitative studies which are frequently based on interviews and which could frequently benefit from including rich pilot data in the study (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2002). The teachers involved in the pilot study were Nelly and Lara both of whom were teaching different English language courses to adult learners in university C (Nelly was also teaching in university A). I conducted one interview with each of them and observed three lessons - two lessons with Nelly and one lesson with Lara. The purpose of the pilot study was to examine the interview schedule and observation protocol. I also wanted to develop my interview conducting skills and practise observation skills.

4.6.1 Interviews

The pilot interviews aimed to ensure that the questions were easy to understand and did not cause ambiguity in meaning. First, the goal of the pilot study was explained and oral consent was obtained from the interviewees. I conducted one interview with each teacher prior to observations testing the interview questions; they lasted 52 and 65 minutes. The interviews were conducted in the teachers' mother tongue - Armenian. The interviews were transcribed and analysed which led to reflection on the interview questions and procedures. The pilot interviews revealed several issues:

- Although I introduced the aims of the study when contacting the teachers via the phone, it appeared that the purpose of the study was not clear and the teachers still had several questions about the aims of the study before the interview. To avoid this, I decided to provide the information sheet in advance and then meet with the participants to explain everything in detail. I also gave them an opportunity to ask questions and only after that, when everything was clear for the participants, I conducted the interviews.

- The interview log had too many questions; I reduced the number of questions intended for the first interview in order not to overload the participants with questions.
- A few of the questions were not easy to understand and required re-wording. For example, the questions *Do you remember any examples of inspiring teaching from your learning experience?* caused confusion. Both interviewees asked me to clarify what I mean by 'inspiring' because this word has different implications in Armenian and is not commonly used with regard to teaching.

Pilot interviews were also useful for practising and improving my interviewing skills. I noticed that I was occasionally interrupting the interviewees to probe into what they had mentioned. Being aware of this, in the consequent interviews, I was noting down the questions as they arose letting the interviewee to continue talking. I also learned that even the voice, tone and specific vocabulary could create a more comfortable and relaxed atmosphere for the interviewee. At the beginning of the interviews, both interviewees were quite reserved; their intonation, choice of vocabulary and even postures indicated that they were cautious and a little nervous. In order to reduce the interviewees' nervousness and create a more relaxed atmosphere, I started using informal Armenian which appeared to be important in establishing rapport.

4.6.2 Observations

I observed three 90-minute lessons piloting both a semi-structured and unstructured observations. The first observation was semi-structured; the main categories I focused on were teacher enthusiasm, self-efficacy and students' behaviour. However, when observing the lesson I realised that when focusing on some specific points I was missing interesting developments in the lesson. For example, during one of the observations, a student asked the teacher the meaning of a word which the teacher could not recall. First, the teacher tried to ignore the question but, after the student repeated it, she gave a synonym. Later, when again a similar incident

occurred, the teacher referred to me. During the first episode the teacher was feeling uncomfortable and did not want to show her 'incompetence' while the second episode took place after the break during which we were just chatting and she probably felt more relaxed.

After piloting a semi-structured observation, I realised that focusing on the points specified in teacher motivation research would not help obtain data which might contribute to in-depth understanding of teacher behaviour. Because of that focus I was failing to spot other developments happening in the classroom. Therefore, I decided to pilot an unstructured observation to ensure which type of observation would be more suitable for the research aims. It was a lesson with the same teacher and students. I recorded the activities happening in the classroom in a narrative manner in one column and noted down my thoughts and questions about the points of interest in another column (see Appendix G for observation protocols and H for sample observation notes). This type of observation allowed me to notice and record interesting events which affected the teacher's behaviour in the classroom. For example, several students were late for the lesson and the teacher did not react when they entered the classroom. It seemed that the students' lateness was acceptable for the teacher. However, later when the topic of the lesson was imaginary holidays she asked one of those students to speak about a Being-Late-Day and then questioned whether being late was considered a proper behaviour.

4.7 Data collection and analysis

This section introduces the process of data collection and analysis (the details of the collected data are provided in table 2). In total, I spent 71 days on the research site: phase I - November 11-30, 2014; phase II – February 18 – March 15, phase III – April 26 – May 20. In addition to time spent on the actual data collection process (interviews and observations), I immersed myself in the context spending as much time as possible at the universities to learn more about the context, people and relationships as well as to build rapport with the participants and their colleagues. I frequently was in the

teachers' common rooms involved in informal talks and discussions related both to their classroom practices and events happening in the country (e.g. commemoration of 100 years of Armenian genocide). The teachers not involved in the study even started sharing the challenges they were facing in the classroom in my presence, occasionally asking about my experiences in the UK.

Table 2: *The details of the data collection*

Participants	Phases	Interviews	Observations	Post-observation interviews	Journal entries
Tom	Phase I	Interview 1: 62 min	0	0	7
	Phase II	Interview 2: 55 min	3	2	
	Phase III	Interview 3: 98 min	2	2	
Nelly ¹³	Phase I	Interview 1: 44 min	2	1	14
	Phase II	Interview 2: 45 min	2	2	
	Phase III	Interview 3: 111 min	2	2	
Lara	Phase I	Interview 1: 65 min	1	1	11
	Phase II	Interview 2: 59 min	2	2	
	Phase III	Interview 3: 98 min	2	2	
Marine Grigorevna	Phase I	Interview 1: 47 min Interview 2: 39 min	0	0	5
	Phase II	Interview 3: 61 min	2	2	
	Phase III	Interview 4: 114 min	2	2	
Anna	Phase I	Interview 1: 31 min	0	0	10
	Phase II	Interview 2: 29 min	2	2	

¹³ As explained above, Nelly's and Lara's pilot data was included in the main study.

	Phase III	Interview 3: 43 min Interview 4: 19 min	2	2	
Shushan	Phase I	Interview 1: 52 min	0	0	15
	Phase II	Interview 2: 49 min	2	2	
	Phase III	Interview 3: 119 min	3	3	

After obtaining access from the deans of the departments in November 2014, I met with all the participants in their universities and we arranged their first interviews. The first interviews lasted 45-55 minutes on average with an exception of Anna (31 minutes) whose interviews were always shorter than the other participants' interviews probably because she was a fast speaker and she rarely diverted from the topic discussed. All the interviews were audio recorded using Sony ICD-PX333 voice recorder. In the first phase (November 2014), I conducted interviews with all the participants to obtain information about their backgrounds, past experiences, beliefs, concerns, possible selves as well as what generally motivated and demotivated them. During the first phase of the data collection, I also asked the participants to start reflecting on their experiences in journals at the end of every week they teach over the period of the study (approximately six months). They were provided with the detailed guidelines about journal writing (see section 4.6.4) and encouraged to provide sincere reflections on their motivations and reasons to be motivated or demotivated. After completing the first phase, I returned to the UK and embarked on the preliminary analysis of the gathered data.

Upon my arrival in the UK, I carefully listened to the interviews to familiarise myself with the data. I then started to transcribe them into Nvivo and copied into Microsoft Word. I did not intend to use the transcripts for conversation analysis or other types of detailed linguistic analysis, therefore, I used a simple set of conventions for transcribing. Lengthy pauses, the expression of emotions (e.g. smiling, chuckling), emphasis made by the participants were also written down in order to maintain the authenticity of the data (Duff,

2008). As soon as I completed the transcription, I listened to the interviews again to ensure accuracy and began the preliminary analysis of the data with a purpose of identifying questions for the second interview.

For the data analysis, I employed a thematic analysis approach for 'identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79). Although it is a widely used method in qualitative research, there is no clear agreement on what exactly constitutes thematic analysis and how it should be done (Tuckett, 2005). Braun and Clarke (2006) stress that frequently researchers do not provide sufficient detail on the process of analysis which may bring into question the quality of research. To avoid this and contribute to the transparency of the analysing process, below I explicitly explain the procedures, choices I made with regard to analytical tools and the reasons behind these choices.

Although my analysis was mainly inductive (emerging from the data), occasionally it had certain deductive (influenced by the theory) elements. In order to foster trustworthiness and achieve rigour in data analysis, I combined both manual and electronic analytical tools, namely Nvivo 10 (Davis & Meyer, 2009), though initially I planned to use only Nvivo assuming that as a sophisticated electronic tool it would be sufficient. However, later (especially after finishing all three phases of data collection) I realised that it does not 'provide 'automatic' solutions to problems of representation and analysis' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995: 203) nor does it allow one to see the whole picture and interconnectedness of codes at a glance (Welsh, 2002). Consequently, I decided to benefit from both manual and electronic coding using manual coding to interpret the data, identify themes and relationships between them and employ Nvivo to categorise and sort the data effectively, making this process less time-consuming,

After the first phase of data collection, I did not aim to generate themes but I highlighted the interesting extracts and noted down the initial codes emerging from the data (see table 3 for the highlights of Lara's first interview).

Table 3: The highlights of Lara's first interview

Initial codes	Description/explanation	Examples from the data
Motives to become a teacher (negative previous work experience)	Never wanted to be a teacher; after a bad 'office' work experience, did MA TEFL and then received a teaching job offer.	I just had a bad experience...I felt there was no space for growth. You have some kind of a director who shouts at you, I don't know...he has issues with his business and he gets mad at you because of that.
Learning experience	The lessons at school were boring mainly consisting of grammar and reading.	I mean read-translate, read-translate...I don't know, we were taught grammar in such a boring way. The most absurd thing was that they were dictating grammar, no explanations.
Ideal teacher self	An actor performing on the stage (enthusiastic and charismatic)	I am an actor who has gotten on a stage to play in a performance for 3 hours. And after the performance she comes home, falls down dead and completely drained out of energy because she has given a lot of energy.
Importance of students	Communication with students; seeing students' achievements; excitement and enthusiasm. Feels demotivated when students are indifferent and do not appreciate her.	When I see their excitement, that's the whole world for me ...and plus the sparkle in their eyes. Honestly, when you enter the classroom and...their eyes start sparkling... I feel very excited. And in that case, no matter whether you're sleepy or not, you just somehow wake up [laughs].
How English should be taught	The teacher should light students up, create an enjoyable atmosphere; students should enjoy learning, 'get high' from the process of learning.	If the teacher enters the classroom, she should spark everyone off...she should give energy. If I don't do that, I am losing them...that day is a failure.
Difficulties in teaching; concerns	Giving too much energy, unmotivated students	By the end of the day you can feel exhausted because you constantly give energy. It's like playing on the stage for many hours. I was looking forward to the end of the lesson because there was no feedback...These students' level is very low and they don't really work...they are interested in other things.

While reading, coding and highlighting the extracts of interest and making notes on the margins, I also wrote down a list of questions emerging from the interviews which I later refined for the second phase of data collection. The list involved clarification questions, probing questions and questions aiming to elicit more in-depth responses. Below are sample questions rising from Lara's first interview:

- *Last time you mentioned that teaching was a female job? What makes it a female job?*
- *You mentioned that initially you didn't want to be a teacher. You said 'for sure not a teacher'. Why 'for sure not'?*
- *I remember that last time you said that you liked it when students admired you. Why is it important for you? How do you achieve that? Could you please give an example?*
- *You have mentioned many problems that teachers face. What makes you stay in teaching?*
- *Are you the same person in the classroom and outside it?*

For the second phase, I developed a set of similar questions stemming out from each participant's initial interviews as well as questions in order to gain insight into their experiences. Although I obtained the basic background information (e.g. age, education, work experience) during the first interview, I preferred to elicit more personal information at a later stage after establishing rapport with the participants. Therefore, during the second phase I also asked the participants to elaborate on their background (e.g. families, the place they were born in, the type of school they attended and why).

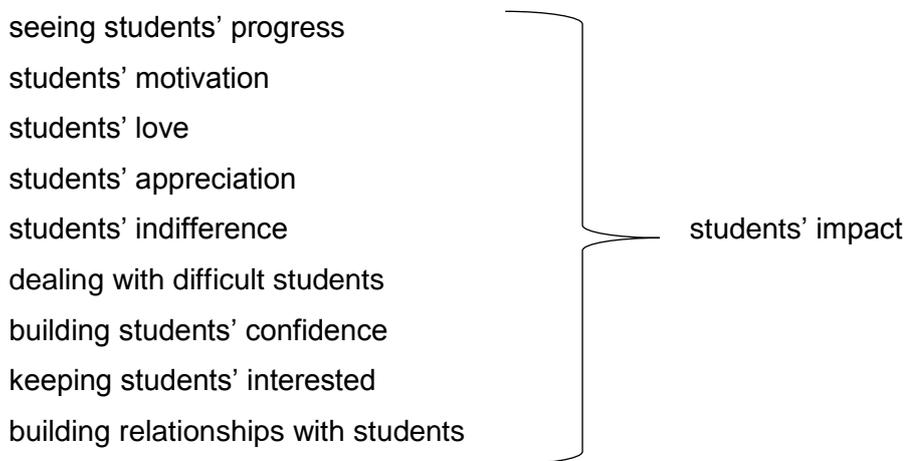
In addition to one main interview with each participant in the second phase, I observed each participants' two lessons (in case of Tom - three lessons) after which I conducted 10-15-minute post-observation interviews. Before the observations, I explained the aims of my study to the students, distributed the information sheets and the student consent forms¹⁴ (see Appendix E) to sign to confirm that they were happy to be observed. I sat at

¹⁴ I had a copy of the information sheet and consent form both in Armenian and English and gave the students the version they preferred. The majority of students chose an Armenian version.

the back of the classroom and was writing my notes using the laptop (see Appendix H for sample observation protocol). Later, usually the same day, I read and refined my notes. The second phase of data collection also involved gathering the teachers' first reflections (see Appendix I for the sample reflections). Nelly, Anna, Lara and Shushan managed to reflect on their teaching most weeks they taught while Marine Grigorevna and Tom mainly wrote their journal entries after being gently reminded.

After collecting the data in the second phase, I followed the above procedures: transcribed the interviews highlighting meaningful sections and writing notes on the margins. At this stage I also started generating initial codes and looking for patterns to form sub-themes which involved constant moving back and forth within data. Then these sub-themes were grouped into themes. Figure 2 demonstrates how I assigned codes to the category of 'students' impact'.

Figure 2: *An example of grouping codes into categories*



For the last phase of data collection, I decided to engage the participants more in the research process giving them an opportunity to interpret and reflect on the themes emerging from the data (Harvey, 2014; 2015). Similar to Harvey (2015), I felt dissatisfied with the conventional interviewing and member-checking procedures:

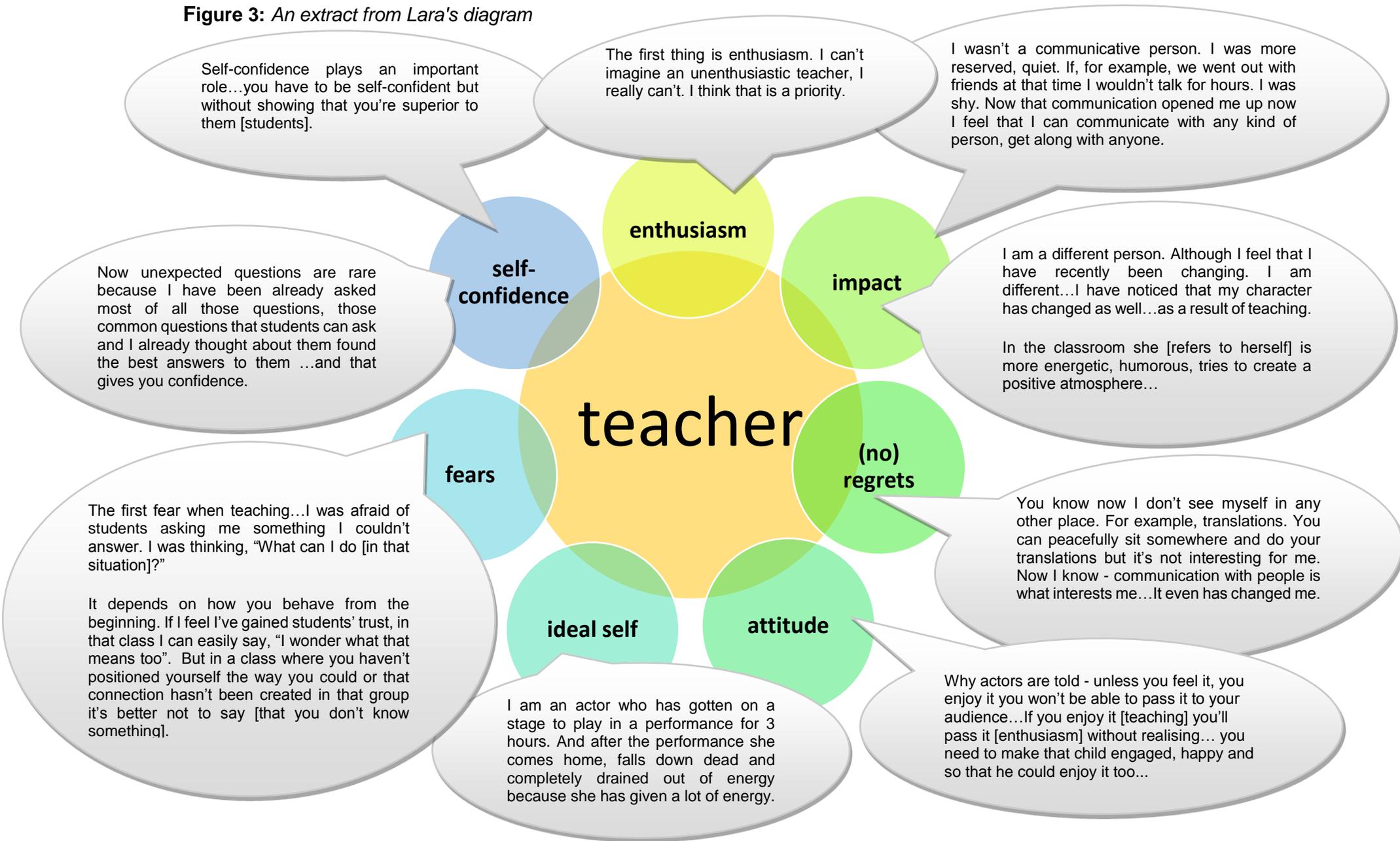
I felt if I was to genuinely see the people I am working with, and myself, as responsible, thinking agents, I had a responsibility to

give them the opportunity to theorise their own experience.
(Harvey, 2015: 34).

As explained above, I intended to co-construct the meaning with them rather than be the only person interpreting and theorising their ideas. For each participant, I developed a diagram (see figure 3 for the extract from the diagram and Appendix J for the Armenian and English versions of the sample diagram) with themes and sub-themes which evolved from the data emerging from the previous two phases. I also included extracts from their interviews to support each theme. As mentioned in section 4.4.4.3, I did not translate the interviews and analysed them in the languages they were produced in. However, I recorded the codes and themes in English because my work was intended for an English audience.

Therefore, the interviews of the final phase of the data generation were based on these diagrams. I showed these diagrams to the participants, explained how they were developed and then the participants were asked to read and reflect on the themes, sub-themes and their interview extracts. For each participant, I also developed a set of questions some of which emerged from the previously collected data, others were the questions related to the diagram or the ones I did not manage to ask before. This approach enriched the research in multiple ways. First, it involved member checking to enhance the credibility of the study (Carlson, 2010) (see section 4.9). Second, it helped develop a greater sense of trust and create deeper rapport with the participants which led to more transparency and sincerity during the reflection on the diagram. As a result, the data obtained during that phase had another level of depth and provided more enriched information. Finally, the diagram allowed the participants to have a better understanding of their own motivations and teaching practices and see the pieces of their puzzle as a whole (see section 4.10 for the impact of the study on the participants). Not surprisingly, all the participants' interviews conducted in the last phase lasted longer, 90-110 minutes on average except for Anna's interview (62 minutes).

Figure 3: An extract from Lara's diagram



Arriving at this stage, I realised that my Nvivo analysis was superficial and I could not see the big picture. I had to dig deeper to obtain the essence of the data. I returned to the manual analysis and started inductively generating the themes. Similar to the first two phases, I used manual coding (see Appendix K for the sample) to identify the main strands and sub-topics within them which later developed into themes. I used mind mapping techniques to identify the relationships between codes, categorise them into sub-themes and themes (see appendix L for a sample of making sense of codes and themes). After this stage I was able to see the whole picture and used Nvivo to organise the data according to the developed themes and codes. By employing both manual and electronic (Nvivo) tools to analyse the data, I benefited from the advantages of both methods and attempted to minimise their weaknesses achieving rigor and trustworthiness in the data analysis process (Davis & Meyer, 2009).

The codes were reviewed and refined multiple times. Obviously, not all the codes and subthemes were connected to all the participants and after analysing each case I carried out cross-case analysis to understand how the cases were different and similar.

While performing the analysis, I was attempting to understand how the codes and themes were related to the research questions, *Teacher motivational self framework* and literature on possible teacher selves. Tables 4 and 5 demonstrate the final categories, sub-categories and themes that emerged from the data.

Table 4: Categories and sub-categories of the teachers' motives to enter a teaching profession

Sub-categories	Categories		
Consequences of the collapse of the Soviet Union Diminishing role of Russian Growing importance of English	Shift in the role of Russian and English	}	Motives to enter a teaching profession
Parents Teachers Neighbours Family	Impact of significant others		
No desire to become a teacher Love for teaching vs. accidental start	Getting into teaching		

Table 5: Categories and sub-categories for the participants' teacher self evolution

Sub-categories	Categories		
Past experiences Own teachers	Initial ideal teacher self	}	Teacher self evolution
Too idealistic	Compromising on the initial ideal teacher self		
Not internalised			
Conflicted with other self images			
Temporarily proximal	Feasible teacher self		
Context specific			
Holistic			
Students Colleagues Managers	Impact of significant others		

4.8 Indexing references to the data

In order to present the data efficiently, I have employed an adapted version of Borg's (2006a; Webster, 2015) coding system (see table 1):

Table 6: *Codes for data presentation*

Teacher	Type of data	Number
Tom=T	Observation=O	1-5
Lara=L	Interview=I	3
Shushan=S	Post-observation interview=PI	1-5
Marine Grigirevna=M	Reflective journal=J	1-15
Nelly=N		
Anna=A		

When references are made to the participants' data, after the quote, I provide the initial of the participant's pseudonym (e.g. T for Tom) followed by the type of the data (e.g. I for the interview) and the number of the data (e.g. I2 represents the second interview). For example, TI2 refers to the second interview conducted with Tom while SPI3 refers to Shushan's third post-observation interview.

4.9 Impact of the study on the participants

In the last phase of the data collection, I asked the participants to reflect on their participation in the study. I was surprised by the level of their engagement and the benefits the participants pointed out. They all emphasised that being involved in this study helped them develop a better understanding of their teacher selves:

When I'm reading this I understand that it's about me. At the beginning I was reading and thinking, 'This is my thought, yes, I think like that.' Sometimes it happens when you say something and the next day you think, 'It was wrong, I shouldn't have said that'. But now when I look at this [the diagram], I understand that whatever I really am is this. This characterises me... (NI3)

All of the participants also mentioned that it was very stimulating to reflect on their diagrams which involved the categories and sub-categories emerging from their data together with extracts associated with these categories. It has been argued that member checking can have a therapeutic effect when participants read what they have reported as 'the depth of their narration hits them like a bolt of lightning because they are now faced with their perspective of the experience' (Harper & Cole, 2012: 3). Some of the participants noted similar impacts. For example, Shushan mentioned that writing reflections helped her reduce her anxiety:

When I was writing the reflections my anger was disappearing, at some point [in the past] I was writing letters to myself...when I got mad I would start writing a letter then I would rip it off. Can you imagine? It helped me a lot. It was a good *relaxation* method. (SI3)

Lara especially emphasised the importance of the diagram as a means to gain a holistic picture of herself as a teacher:

It's very interesting, very...Now I'm looking and thinking how rightly you organised everything. I mean, for example, *reasons to enter a profession*, if somebody asked me maybe I wouldn't say this. But, look, you may just speak, and speak, and speak and someone extracts from that the key things and when I read this I think, 'Yeah, that's right...Clearly seeing, seeing [myself] systematised because my thought are sometimes incoherent...' (LI3)

Importantly, the teachers pointed out that participating in the study helped them analyse and evaluate their past and current experiences as well as learn from their negative experiences in order to progress. The next two extracts from Anna's and Nelly's data demonstrate this:

T: Has the participation in this study had any impact on you?

A: Yes...the questions around which you normally don't think when that question is asked, even when at that moment you give a spontaneous answer then you start going deep...even about those methods, when I answered then I thought, 'OK, just say any method you use'. Then I understood that I'm doing something, maybe I just don't know how it is called... (A13)

You know what's interesting. Whatever I was doing at that time I didn't analyse it but now after all this...I've started to analyse...I've started thinking...looking at it from another perspective...There have been many things, things that came out of hidden places that I would never think...Today when I recalled my deficient past lessons which sometimes come into my mind - it was so embarrassing. Why did I make such mistakes? Why did I prepare for that lesson like that? I start...now I'm analysing it. I think it [participating in the study] has been a good stimulus, a person can move forward by analysing. (N13)

The participants also pointed out that their participation in the study helped them see their development as teachers:

Yeah, it's quite interesting ...yeah, this is me, I suppose, this is what I think about teaching but I guarantee you if you come and see me again in five years, this will be different [laughs]...I hope it will be different because it will show that I've developed and changed. Some of it is my history which won't change but some of

my thoughts and ideas might change, perhaps how I conduct my teaching might change...I don't know. (T13)

When conducting studies, researchers frequently do not realise the extent of impact they and/or their studies might have on their participants (Lamb, 2017). Similarly, at the beginning of this project I did not anticipate that it would have such effects on the teachers. As I pointed out before, being a teacher myself, I was aware of the amount of work the teachers were obliged to do and tried to make the participation in the study less stressful. Therefore, I was really glad that all of the teachers stated that the study had a positive impact on them. Understanding this I managed to 'avoid harm' and 'do good' for them (Haverkamp, 2005: 150) which had an ethical importance for me.

4.10 Trustworthiness

Similar to Saldaña's experiences cited at the beginning of this chapter (2014: 978), when presenting my findings at the conferences, I frequently noticed people nodding and exclaiming - "That's right!" Nevertheless, in this section I will discuss the concept of trustworthiness as means to assure credibility of qualitative research which is linked to persuading the reader that the findings are justifiable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004). Qualitative researchers suggest several techniques to achieve credibility. Below I will identify and discuss the ones I employed to ensure credibility in this study:

- Prolonged engagement refers to spending sufficient time in the research site in order to establish trust and gain information about the researched culture (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This also helps to examine information provided by the participants to avoid distortion. The study was conducted over the period of six months and consisted of three phases. As noted before, I spent a lot of time at the universities to familiarise myself with their culture and contextual specificities. In the teachers' common room, I was often involved in informal conversations with teachers (not only the participants) about both professional and

general matters (e.g. local elections, life in the UK) and even participated in the birthday celebration. All this helped me gain insights into the relationships and culture of the English language departments at the universities. My frequent presence and the way I positioned myself as a researcher had a positive impact on building rapport and trust with the participants.

- Triangulation implies using multiple sources of data to validate the findings (Bryman, 2012; Duff, 2008; Creswell, 2013; Cohen et al, 2011). In section 4.6, I have discussed all data generation tools (interviews, observations, post-observation interviews, reflective journal and research journal) and provided the rationale for using each of them. The findings were based on the evidence generated from all these tools. Collecting data from various sources occasionally provided different perspective on the same issue enriching the findings.
- Member checking is another tool to assure credibility of the gathered data (Doyle, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Usually the researcher sends the transcripts of the interviews or their summaries to participants to validate their accuracy (Creswell 2012b; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Another kind of member checking involves giving the participants the analysed data or findings and ask the participants to comment (Creswell, 2012b). In this study, I preferred to ask the participants to comment and reflect on my interpretation of the data (Harvey, 2015). Although I have already discussed multiple benefits of using the diagrams, I would like to stress their methodological value. The participants had an opportunity to validate, reject and correct my interpretations. This also enabled them to provide additional details about the points they perceived important.

4.11 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have detailed the methodology and research design of this study. I have also clarified that all my methodological decisions were driven by the research aims and, of course, by my ontological and epistemological

stance. To ensure trustworthiness, I have attempted to be transparent and have reflected on the challenges and dilemmas I faced throughout the data collection and analysis process giving explanations to justify my decisions.

To summarise, in order to explore and understand the nature of the participants' motivation using the *Teacher motivational self framework*, I recruited six English teachers from three universities in Armenia each of whom were considered a case. Data were generated in three phases over a period of six months employing semi-structured interviews, journal writing and unstructured classroom observations followed by post-observation interviews. The data was then analysed using both manual and electronic tools which benefited the study and reduced the flaws of each method. As a result of the analysis, several themes emerged as the key findings of the study which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Research findings

Change is unavoidable and is, in fact, what is most characteristic about selves and identities.

(Danielewicz, 2014: 181)

In this chapter, I will discuss the findings of the study which will be presented in the form of cases followed by a section based on the cross-case analysis. Although all the cases are thought-provoking and contain information-rich data, due to the word constraints I will introduce only three of them. When selecting the cases, I aimed to present the teachers with distinct experiences offering contrasting perspectives on the research questions. I also wanted to ensure that all three universities are represented. Hence, the cases to be introduced are: Tom - a native speaker teacher whose perceptions, beliefs and behaviours were drastically different from other participants (university A); Lara whose initial high aspirations vividly conflicted with the teaching reality (university C); and Shushan - a teacher-‘director’ whose desired teacher self seemed difficult to attain due to her inability to build a rapport with her students (university B). The data from other cases will be used in the discussion of the cross-case section which will consider similarities and differences across the cases. Each case will be introduced in relation to the main research questions which are:

- *How have the participants' possible teacher selves evolved throughout their career so far?*
- *What contextual factors have influenced the evolution of the participants' possible teacher selves?*

To discuss the evolution of the participants’ teacher selves, first I will consider their motives to become English teachers and then will look into how their teacher selves formed and developed. I will also examine the factors affecting the participants’ motivation with regard to the three layers of context: socio-cultural context, school environment and classroom context. To ensure

credibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004), I will make extensive use of primary data to demonstrate how my understanding of data developed.

5.1 Tom

As was briefly mentioned in section 4.4.3, Tom is an ethnic Armenian born in Iran in 1960. When he was six, his family moved to the United Kingdom to provide better opportunities for their children. Several months after arriving in London, Tom and his younger brother were sent to a prestigious boarding school near the capital. He enjoyed having fun in the boarding school but not the studying process. After leaving school he was not certain about his future career and life and decided to enter the university to continue having an 'easy life'¹⁵. Tom completed his university study in Mechanical Engineering and, with his father's support, he established a motorcycle business which appeared to be successful. At a certain point, after managing his business for 22 years, Tom reached the conclusion - "I wasn't achieving anything. I wasn't really going anywhere with it" - and decided to radically change his life and follow his parents who moved to Armenia once the country gained its independence in 1991.

5.1.1 Tom's motives to start a teaching career: 'I had no plans to be a teacher...'

5.1.1.1 Moving to Armenia: 'We were happy; we liked the life here...'

After the country gained its independence in 1991, Tom's parents moved to Armenia to pursue their dream of living in their homeland. Tom visited them in the winter of 1993 which was one of the most challenging times in the modern history of Armenia. As was discussed in section 2.2, the country was struggling to survive after the collapse of the Soviet Union; it was experiencing remarkable political, economic and social changes (Johansson, 2008). In

¹⁵ Since Tom's interviews were conducted in English, I use Comic Sans MS font to demonstrate it.

addition, the country was involved in the war with neighbouring Azerbaijan over its historic territory of Nagorno-Karabakh which resulted in economic blockage and an unprecedented energy crisis. Needless to say, Tom's first impression of Armenia was not pleasant:

It was desperately poor and really really friendly but uninviting I'd say. The people were friendly but there was nothing to make you stay here - no food, no electricity, nothing...life at its worst¹⁶. (T11)

Despite these challenges, Tom and his family continued visiting his parents every summer and were witnessing positive social and economic developments in the country. Tom mentioned that gradually they started enjoying their stays and, in 2005, the family made a dramatic decision to move to Armenia. Following his friends' advice, Tom bought a factory aiming to manufacture motorcycle equipment in the country. Despite his efforts and attempts to promote the business, the factory did not make any profit and he eventually had to close it. Tom stressed that, regardless of the business failure, he and his family felt happy in Armenia and did not intend to return to the United Kingdom:

So then ... the factory wasn't working, my wife and I... we didn't want to go back. We were happy, we liked the life here. (T11)

Moreover, Tom's determination to stay in Armenia led to the decision to sell his UK-based motorcycle business to his business partner. He emphasised that this was the point when he realised he was not enjoying his 'selling' job:

I was tired of it, you know. I've had enough, 22 years selling motorbikes. Selling and servicing motorbikes, it was great fun

¹⁶ Tom's interviews were conducted in English. To indicate that I use *Comic Sans MS* font.

but it wasn't fulfilling at all. Selling is not a fulfilling ...job, you know. You're just passing on, you know. You make it. I sell it - big deal [with sarcasm]. (T11)

Although inspired to enjoy his new life in Armenia, Tom was unemployed and his biggest concern at that time was to find a job. He started exploring employment opportunities in Armenia and, without being certain what kind of work he was eager to engage in, Tom was open to new possibilities.

5.1.1.2 The native speaker advantage: 'I speak really good English...'

In an attempt to find a job, Tom made a list of his skills and abilities to figure out his potential work possibilities in Armenia. The final skill on his list was his ability to speak English and, realising the importance of English in the country, he decided to give a teaching career a try:

And I crossed it all [other job possibilities] out until to the bottom one which was English - I speak really good English...and I thought, "OK, all right, let's ..." You know, it's a possibility. I looked around and I considered everybody wanted English teachers. (T11)

Tom became even more convinced about starting a career of an English teacher after he approached several colleges and was immediately offered a job. He stressed that the management did not even require any evidence of teaching qualifications when they noticed he was a native speaker of English. To his surprise, being a native speaker appeared to be sufficient to be hired as an English teacher:

Tom: Native speakers in Armenia obviously have a big advantage because if you walk into any college, any language college and you

...speak like an Englishman or an American fluently, you have an advantage over...

Tag: Why?

Tom: ...because I think we are rare. So, you know, there is an assumption, and I think it's a fair assumption that the language from the native speaker should be at a higher level than the language from someone who's learned his language through academic institutions...And you've got, I don't know, a thousand English speakers from Armenia and maybe a hundred or 50 native speakers, so we're rare. And our language....by definition should be better. So, I think you have that advantage...but you shouldn't assume that that automatically gives you the right to be a great teacher. (T13)

Even though Tom was immediately offered a teaching position and became aware of what the 'rarity' of being a native speaker of English in Armenia entailed, he recognised that English fluency did not imply being able to successfully teach the language. Acknowledging the importance of teacher training, he decided to enter the classroom only after receiving professional training in teaching methods and techniques:

I didn't do CELTA necessarily for colleges. I did it for myself because I didn't know how to teach English. I can speak English but teaching is not the same as speaking...It's no good having perfect English if you can't teach it. (T11)

5.1.1.3 Teacher training: 'It was a terrifying moment...'

After making a decision to enter the teaching profession, Tom was determined 'to do it properly'; he researched the teacher training courses on-line and returned to London to attend a CELTA course. Tom was very open when reflecting on this experience and referred to his training course as both 'the most exciting' and 'the hardest thing' he had experienced in his life. He shared both his positive and negative feelings and emotions associated with the course. Tom reflected on the challenges he faced during the practicum when he was required to teach real students in the presence of his peers and a trainer. When sharing his first teaching experience, he recalled his fear of teaching and how his nervousness made him physically sick before the lesson. When Tom was sharing this episode, he was so emotional that I could sense the extent of nervousness he went through:

It was... I mean the most exciting... perhaps one of the most exciting moments in my life but also one of the most nerve-racking. It was a terrifying, terrifying [emphasises] moment...And I remember before I went to my lesson I was sick in the bathroom and then I came out and I had to do my lesson. And after the lesson, I thought I was shaking, very nervous...
(T11)

Tom highlighted the importance of the CELTA course not only for obtaining teaching skills but also for building his self-confidence. For example, he referred to his fear of teaching grammar and explained that he had managed to avoid teaching it until his teacher explicitly pointed that out and required him to teach the present perfect tense. Tom again went through similar uncomfortable emotional states and even could not sleep the night before the lesson but, nevertheless, he searched for materials and attempted to prepare an engaging lesson. When sharing the negative emotions he experienced

before the class, Tom also pointed out his positive feelings and satisfaction after it when he received an encouraging feedback both from his trainer:

I didn't know the terminology and the reasons why...so I avoided grammar... The last lesson I had to give, my teacher came to me beforehand and I prepared reading, you know, easy stuff - I thought it was easy - and she said, "You have to teach grammar". I said, "No, I don't, no way..." [imitates his trembling voice and laughs]. "If you wanna pass you gotta do a grammar lesson, so far you've avoided [imitates his teacher's serious voice]. You've done talking, you've done this, that, you've avoided grammar."...It had to be the present perfect... So, I was really sick. I was very ill. I didn't sleep that night but I did go to the library and I found a great little book and a little game on the present perfect... So it gave me a couple of games which I did and she gave me a distinction, she gave me a plus for that lesson... (T11)

Tom emphasised that his trainer's professionalism who had insisted on teaching the topics he had constantly avoided and her attitude helped him not only overcome his first fears of teaching grammar but also realise that it can be an enjoyable process:

She was a very clever woman because if she hadn't forced me to do grammar, I would have avoided it for years after that. But she forced me to do grammar and I realised...actually it's really good fun. If you can make grammar interesting, it's great, you know. (T12)

To sum up, Tom was a successful businessman in the UK and did not have any intention to be involved in a teaching profession. However, his decision to move to Armenia drastically changed his career, and, in his mid-forties, he made a decision to engage in a teaching career. This was driven by his desire to stay in the country and realisation that he could benefit from his status of a native speaker of English. However, despite being offered a teaching position without having any teaching qualification or experience, Tom wanted to be professional and attended a CELTA course in London after successful completion of which he returned to Armenia determined to start his teaching career.

5.1.2 Tom's teacher selves: 'I am a completely different animal [in the classroom].'

Upon his arrival, Tom approached several colleges and immediately was offered a job; he accepted a teaching position at university A. When Tom started his teaching career, he clearly possessed feared and ideal teacher selves, which derived from his salient past experiences and were closely linked to his own teacher images as seen in the following two extracts:

I definitely did not want to be like my teachers at school [laughs]...just what you would expect, you know, a stereotypical teacher. "Please open your books and read this. Tom, would you please read this paragraph? Thank you. Would you read this paragraph?"

He was a History teacher, he fought in World War II. He was a tank commander. He would sit there and he would talk about his war experiences and things. It was wonderful... I really enjoyed it and all the kids were like...we would sit there in awe at this guy. He would tell us his stories...we would join him and ask him questions and things. So, occasionally he would say, "OK, open

your books on this". But he would actually bring it all to life which was great. (T11)

Recalling his school experiences, Tom wanted his students to enjoy his lessons and, striving to earn similar admiration from his students, he initially developed an abstract ideal self image - 'teacher loved by his students'. He did not have a clear vision of how it could be achieved through teaching and, as a result, Tom preferred a route of 'being a showman' and pleasing his students instead of engaging in 'real teaching':

Tag: You said when you started teaching...that you avoided 'real' teaching, you tried to entertain the students.

Tom: Yeah.

Tag: Why do you think you had that in this ...first period?

Tom: I think because you want to be loved. You want students to want to come to your class and at first that's an easy root to do it.

Tag: Don't you want to be loved now?

Tom: I was doing games for the sake of doing games. There was little reason for doing the game...I think it's important to be liked but it's not the most important thing. You also have to get them to grasp the language. So, it's great to be liked, they think, "Oh, great! We like Tom." But what are they getting from it? So I think you have to be aware that being liked...doing things just to be liked is not the objective. And I learned that. (T13)

However, inevitably this image conflicted with Tom's emerging ought-to self; the students had to pass exams and eventually his supervisor indicated the flaws in his teaching assigning him to teach students with lower levels of English proficiency:

I taught some speaking classes and things which I enjoyed and then she [supervisor] ...said, "Perhaps you should go to the middle levels because you're not very good at explaining your grammar and so on. You don't really understand it." And she was right... (T11)

Tom, who was still insecure about teaching grammar, realised that his avoidance of grammar negatively affected his students' learning. Acknowledging his limitations, he aimed to shape a new teacher self representation - a 'competent teacher'. Unlike the local participants for whom competence was largely linked to language proficiency, for Tom this image was related to his knowledge of linguistic terminology and ability to teach grammar. At the early stages of his career he seemed especially concerned with tenses and shared how hard it was for him to deal with this challenge:

I had a lot of fears about mistakes but it was mostly worries about terminology. If somebody said, "Oh, that's the infinitive, isn't it?" And I was like, "What the hell is infinitive? What is that?"- you know. "Oh, you used the past participle for the present perfect" "Really?" Those fears...So what I did was I would say to my students right in my first lesson, "Look, I know how to speak English, OK? Trust me. But I may not know the terminology. It doesn't mean I don't know what to teach. You just have to bear with me. Trust me." And they would trust me because they know my background. (T13)

When reflecting on similar experiences, Tom seemed eager to demonstrate to me how his teacher self developed and how he overcame his initial fears of teaching grammar by identifying a certain grammar element to work on which he called his 'weak points'. Tom mentioned that after mastering each 'weak point' (e.g. tenses), he identified his other weaknesses and tackled them gradually attempting to attain his competent teacher representation. For example, in the second phase of the data collection he mentioned that his aim at that time was to learn how to teach articles:

I'm having trouble with articles at the moment because I know...if you read a paragraph, the easiest way to know if a person is a competent English speaker is to look at the articles because it's a nightmare and ...but how do you teach it? It's almost impossible... And I was trying to do that the other lesson and it was madness. They were all saying, "But it was this, but you said this and it's not this and it's..." And then I said, "Look guys, I'm sorry, it's me, I'm the problem. I know what's right or wrong but I'm having trouble telling you. Give me a couple of weeks and I'm gonna try and figure it out how to get it across".

Impossible at the moment but it can't be impossible. There must be a way. At the moment that's my goal. So I think if you can test yourself like that it keeps yourself motivated and interested. (T12)

As a result, Tom eventually overcame his fear of teaching grammar and started enjoying it constantly trying to find more creative ways of teaching it:

Tag: I remember you told me that you avoided grammar. You didn't like teaching grammar.

Tom: Oh no, I love it.

Tag: Now you love it...

Tom: I love it.

Tag: How did you come to that point?

Tom: Maybe through a book which I bought...I got some ideas from this book and I started using them and they were so effective, so enjoyable in class that I thought actually this sort of activated my grammar side of teaching and I thought, "It's really good. I enjoyed this". So now I expand on it and I feel I'm getting quite creative now. (T12)

Tom stressed that his professional self-development was his driving force which helped him not only enhance his teaching skills and grow into an effective teacher but also maintain his motivation, which he realised might diminish because of the repetitive nature of the work:

So I think you might get to the point where you stop learning and the reasons for stopping learning could be motivation, could be energy, could be... because you're repeating the same lessons, so why bother to change it. It's easier not to. You create a blueprint for your level 4 or level 5 and you can just regurgitate it every time. So, really you need no preparatory work for your lessons, lesson plans and things. And you just can do it. And when you do that, it shows...it shows in yourself. You're not excited, the students grasp that immediately. (T13)

In addition to the image of a competent teacher, Tom perceived his ideal teacher self as someone who was not bound by restrictions and was completely autonomous in his decisions about what to teach, how to teach and where to teach. For Tom, effective teaching involved teaching in real life situations outside the classroom environment which would make teaching/learning more relevant and context-specific as well as would help maintain students' motivation. However, after voicing this view, Tom acknowledged that it was not feasible in his current context and he had to compromise and adapt, considering both institutional requirements and his students' expectations:

I would like to be able to go out of the classroom environment...We could go to the zoo. I don't know go to a cafe, go to a restaurant, we could go for a walk in the park, look at the plants....We could go to the hospital. We could go to a university. If you look at all the units - environment, health, communication - all...many of these things could be taught in their true environment and not in the classroom. But as a teacher, we don't have that and I'm not sure whether the students are ready for that or whether the administration is ready for that. (T12)

Obviously, Tom had to accept the contextual limitations and find other ways of effective teaching and sustaining his students' motivation; he incorporated an element of fun in his lessons (e.g. writing poems, role-play). For example, during one of the observations after introducing new words and having a reading comprehension activity involving these words, Tom reinforced the newly learnt vocabulary with a game:

The teacher divides the class into two groups. One person from each team sits in front of the board facing his team. Tom writes the

newly learnt words on the board and the students explain it to their teammate sitting in the hot seat. Whoever guesses first gets the point. Students are very excited and involved, they enjoy every minute of it. The students on the hot seat change. Everybody is laughing and happy. (TO1)

In contrast to his initial lessons, Tom convinced me that now all his activities aimed to develop certain language skills and were connected to the lesson topic:

For example, I did something which really worked well the other day. I was teaching...quantifiers: hardly, any, some, much, many, too much, too many, a little, little - teaching that...and then I thought, "Ok, how am I gonna make this interesting?" I then wrote...made a little eight-line poem and I put my little poem on the board like:

I don't have enough friends.

I have too many enemies.

My wife spends too much money,

So I have hardly none.

I have a lot of kids,

Some of them are girls, blah-blah-blah - really simple poem.

So I did this little poem and then I told the class, "Right, homework. You've all gotta make an eight-line poem using quantifiers". And it was amazing what they did...they created some fantastic poems and...the poems were so good that I was putting them on the board and we were analysing them...So I'm finding a lot of new ways to teach grammar and the more I teach it the more interesting it gets. (TI2)

Starting from the very first interview and observation, I noticed that students had a special significance for Tom (this was also vivid in his initial ideal teacher self image), probably the most influential factor affecting Tom's teacher self evolution. Students seemed to be a priority in all his decisions when he was planning a lesson and probably it was students who made his job 'wonderful'. Consequently, building good relationships with students was vital for Tom and he gradually developed several key principles to achieve that. The first principle concerned 'breaking down barriers' and gaining students' trust which he was accomplishing by being genuine and open with students. This emerged during one of the observations when Tom was openly sharing his negative qualities with his students:

The students start saying positive and negative personality qualities and the teacher writes them down on the board. He is very relaxed, smiles and gives examples. He speaks about his own qualities to demonstrate that people possess both positive and negative ones. He mentions that he is lazy, not organised and slow. (TO3)

In the following post-observation interview, he asserted that he initially tried to impress his students but gradually arrived at the conclusion that one needs to be genuine to gain students' trust:

Tag: I also noticed...you're so open with your students...you speak about your negative stuff... "I'm very lazy. I'm not organised"...How can you be so open with your students? Generally people praise themselves, they don't like talking about negative...

Tom: I don't need to impress my students. I would prefer...rather than trying to impress them...I would rather they felt I was genuine and you can only be genuine by being genuine. You can only pretend to be genuine for so long [shows

with fingers] and eventually you get found out. When I first started teaching I said some things which weren't me. And later you get found out because they listen...So if you tell them that you're really energetic and whatever person and then you tell them a story...you forget about what you've said and the lie comes out. So I find it much easier to be straightforward with them [laughs]. I've tried lying. I'm a very bad liar. So I just tell them the truth... (TPI3)

Another principle was related to ensuring students' engagement and maintaining their motivation. It was important for Tom to be able to teach his students in a way that would reinforce their desire to learn English. He even identified students' yawning as his key motivational indicator signalling that he needed to find more engaging methods of teaching a particular topic:

Tag: OK, what motivates you in the classroom?

Tom: I can tell you exactly what motivates me in the classroom. I am terrified of people yawning [smiles]... If I see students yawning...I know it's a silly thing to say but it's probably the biggest motivational factor. I will spend hours creating a lesson where I know that people are not gonna yawn...So that [students' yawning] is what motivates me... sort of my guiding ...guiding main criteria when I'm creating a lesson is to make it so they [students] don't get bored. And if I think it's boring then I will have to review the lesson and that task and make it interesting somehow...(T11)

If I sit here and I'm saying now let's turn to page 68 [says in a monotone voice], this is how the past perfect is, let's try this exercises here. You know, within 10 minutes they will all be asleep, guaranteed. I would be sleeping. So, especially evening lessons, it's very easy for them to loose concentration. And once they've lost concentration, you've lost them. And I keep an eye out...I think it's really important to keep it moving and interesting. (TPI1)

Tom's final key principle was related to helping students gain self-confidence and express their opinions which Tom achieved by not correcting students' errors when they were speaking and accepting their opinions:

I won't correct if they're in the middle of a discussion, you know, or if they're having an argument or a discussion about something and I will not correct them. And some students start, "Oh, no-no. It's a he that's a she, that's not a he". You know, and they're correcting and I'm telling them, "Just don't, it doesn't matter". (TI1)

This I think is one of my strengths, I will accept any opinion and will help support it if I think the person needs my support, and this perhaps gives people the courage to say what they think. (TJ6)

Following his principles, Tom frequently developed a special bond with his students which was noticeable during the lessons I observed. He mentioned that frequently both he and his students did not want the course to finish. The following extract is from his journal entry:

A sad week, my great level 5 class came to an end. This was an all adult class with many strong characters and it became a really good learning environment.[...] I hate saying goodbye on these occasions, when nobody, even the teacher, wants a course to finish. You sort of know it's the end of a very strong bond and trust that has built up over the two months. There is this period when people are individuals, they express their feelings openly, disagree with others but know that their opinions will be respected even if not agreed with. (TJ6)

Although students were very influential in Tom's teacher self formation, another factor affecting it was his relationships with colleagues and managers. Tom stressed that the relationships among teachers were not warm and mentioned that there was a tension between younger and older generation teachers:

I've never liked that attitude of the older teachers...if I ever sat with them in the coffee shop and discussed...it was always negative, negative, negative, you know. They're doing the job for the sake of it, for the money. They worked the way up to...whatever they were getting...and it was all really...there was no interest in what they were doing. All the younger generation are completely different, they're motivated, they wanna do things differently, they wanna make their classroom atmosphere interesting, new methods, new things, interactive. They are brilliant. (TI3)

Tom stressed that the tension between these two generations emerged from the competition – teachers had short-term contracts and were paid per hour.

Consequently, more experienced teachers were not supporting the novice ones, preventing them from having more classes. When discussing this issue, Tom acknowledged that, as a native speaker, he was privileged to have a sufficient number of hours and was not involved in the competition:

Perhaps there is...perhaps for me there isn't a lot of competition, I don't know. I'm happy when one of the younger teachers gets level 5 or level 6 [levels taught by Tom] if they're confident to do it. I like it. I don't think, "Oh, why didn't she give me that level?" I get enough work. Maybe if I was getting only one class, I would then change my opinion. It's a two-edged sword. It's easy to be gracious when you've got enough work but if you haven't got enough work then maybe I will start saying, "Who is that young girl? She's got my level? Why is she doing my level 5 and I'm sitting at home?" (T13)

Tom highlighted that these relationships and attitudes were developed because of the manager's unfavourable policies. He described her autocratic behaviour as 'above what is acceptable with normal human manager-staff interaction' creating tensions in the department. In addition, the manager did not take into account teachers' opinions and ignored their suggestions. Tom mentioned that eventually the teachers stopped attempting to change anything in the department realising that it might lead to negative consequences:

Well, the problem with suggesting is that it will definitely... won't be accepted and she will...It is totally impossible, completely impossible to approach her with a suggestion because the suggestion will be wrong, it won't be feasible, unnecessary, unwanted or whatever...So, she will shoot you down with a hundred different reasons why your suggestion is...and I

have in the past tried to make suggestions, I haven't made suggestions for years now because it's completely pointless...

(T13)

As a result, Tom preferred to be minimally involved in the departmental activities; he just followed the requirements and fulfilled his administrative obligations as a teacher. As a colleague, he collaborated mainly with novice teachers supporting them and trying to minimise the difficulties they were facing in the department.

Interestingly, Tom's teacher self had another facet – a teacher who had a mission to contribute to the development of Armenia. Similar to other diasporic Armenians, Tom's return to Armenia had a special significance for him; he was gaining connection to his historic homeland and this emerging Armenianness appeared to be an important factor affecting his behaviour. As mentioned above, it had an impact on his decision to be involved in teaching and it continued to be influential throughout his teaching career. Tom explicitly emphasised the importance of living in Armenia and teaching in his homeland:

Well, I could probably go to a lot of places to teach but...the fact that I have Armenian roots and I'm teaching in Armenia to me it seems...it fits...I like the feeling that I'm here teaching and not in Dubai or China or whatever. I get more kick, more buzz, more excitement out of teaching Armenians and...not teaching Armenians but being with Armenians than I was with Chinese or Arabs or whatever...I have nothing against them but to be able to do this in your homeland is a privilege in some way, I think. (T12)

Acknowledging the challenging political and economic situation in the country and attempting to reduce the negative impact of the Soviet past, it was

important for Tom to contribute to the development of the Armenian society. He believed that he was not only teaching English but was also helping broaden his students' horizons by initiating controversial discussions:

Tag: I think, if I got it correctly, you feel good that you kind of have your endeavour here...Is that right?

Tom: Absolutely, yeah. It's a very important part of my motivation and...Not only does it give me a buzz but I feel it sort of ...maybe I've got it here [is reading the diagram]...A lot of my friends from abroad who are living here are trying to help the community one way or another. I've got a very close friend who is a very strong women's rights activist. My wife works for a company which organises festivals around Armenia for women's empowerment and things. A lot of my friends are in that type of field. They all are trying...and I sort of feel what I do is also...it's sort of useful...At a basic level I'm teaching them English; they all feel they need English but at another level I initiate discussions which are maybe a little bit controversial and...I wouldn't say they open their eyes but it gives them an opportunity to express their feelings...We talk about things, quite serious things and I think it's good... (T13)

In addition, considering that Tom grew up and was educated in the United Kingdom, which was a drastically different socio-cultural environment compared to Armenia, his perception of the role of teacher was distinct from the one existing in the Armenian society:

It's so funny that teachers here ...the perception by students of teacher is so, so different than in England. So, when we were

kids teachers were just geeks. All they knew was a subject they taught...They were just geeks who'd spend all their lives studying history or geography or biology...And they were one dimensional, you know. And therefore, they didn't really have a good place in the society, teachers in the West. I don't think I was unique in that, most of my fellow students felt the same way. Here we have this opposite thing with teachers where they are like demi-gods and...I think both are wrong. I think a teacher is nothing...no more than just another person who is in the classroom with fellow people. (T12)

Interestingly, only Tom expressed the viewpoint that in Armenia the teacher was perceived as a 'semi-god' or 'god', as he mentioned in another interview. By contrast, the local participants complained that the teacher's role in the society was diminishing. Tom's perception, expressed in the above quotation, affected his behaviour in the classroom. During the observations I noticed that Tom was constantly walking around, drinking coffee, kneeling and chewing a gum – all of which were not typical of Armenian teachers. He highlighted that with his behaviour he desired to stimulate his students' open-mindedness and demonstrate that teachers could be 'at the same level' with students trying to dismantle a society-imposed image of a teacher -'god':

Tag: Is it easy to be at the same level with students?

Tom: Well, I don't have any problems...I don't put up any barriers between myself and the students. I will ...quite often I'm kneeling. I'll go around and I'll kneel in front of them. I won't stand over them. So I'll be at their level. I'll go and sit next to them. I get students to come and do presentations and I'll sit with them and so on. I try to be one of them as much as

possible...I don't allow them to stand up when I walk into class. I allow them ...very informal setting. I create a really informal atmosphere and ...for me it works. It might not work for everyone...It can be shock for the first couple of lessons but I think it evaporates, disappears very quickly and I don't have a problem with it. (T12)

To demonstrate that he was just 'a normal guy' rather than a 'god', Tom occasionally asked students to help him spell a word or openly admitted his mistakes without worrying that his behaviour could damage his teacher image in the eyes of his students. On the contrary, he wanted to reduce his authority as a teacher and empower them:

Occasionally, I'll ask I'll tell, "I don't know how to spell this, help me". You know, and they'll help me and so on and it gives them a lot of encouragement when they feel they can contribute...the teacher ...I don't think the teacher ...it is a bit like that in Armenia, isn't it? The teacher is someone like a little god and they have to know everything, otherwise they're not a teacher. But I don't believe that's teaching, I don't...that's just knowledge...I think there is a big difference...(T11)

It [his behaviour] gives the students, I think, some sort of confidence to feel that they are a part of the classroom and part of the environment, an important part, and in many ways their opinions are just as important as the teacher's opinion. And that gives them ...they have a freedom and the right to express their opinions openly in the class. (T13)

By his 'unusual' behaviour Tom was trying to expose students to a different classroom experience demonstrating that teachers were 'normal' people who could make mistakes, struggle to explain grammar and learn from students. Tom considered that as a part of his endeavour in the development of a democratic Armenian society.

In conclusion, although Tom's initial teacher selves transformed from being someone who entertained students to a teacher who is competent and effective, the key component of his initial ideal self - ensuring that students were not bored was still a part of his teacher self image. Consequently, his teacher self evolved from 'teacher loved by his students' to the teacher who simultaneously possessed the components of his ought-to self – a competent teacher who had to provide sufficient knowledge so that students could successfully complete the course and his ideal teacher self – a teacher who could teach entertainingly, while simultaneously avoiding being his feared teacher self – a boring teacher who was unable to teach grammar. All these selves were interconnected and formed a holistic self which was feasible in his context. The development of that self and, consequently, his motivation to achieve it was influenced by several factors: his desire to contribute to the democratic growth of the country, the university atmosphere and his relationships with his manager and colleagues as well as his most influential trigger – students. In the classroom, Tom highlighted that in the classroom he transformed into a 'different animal' who was acting 'from the heart' and sometimes could look 'stupid' trying to motivate his students:

Tom: I'm a different animal...this is amazing really. I sort of come alive in the classroom. I'm a very different person in the classroom...

Tag: What's the difference?

Tom: I just come alive. I just [laughs]...I don't know. It's hard to explain. I don't wanna say...I know you could start thinking, "Well, it's an act". And in a way it is like an act but it's not an

act ...superficial act. It's an act from the heart. So I would like to...if there is such a thing...you know, I suppose it is an act you are a bit of a showman in the classroom and I make myself look stupid and I do stupid things because I want them to feel that I'm not some god or whatever but...although it's an act as I said it's an act from the heart rather than superficial thing that I put on. (T12)

5.2 Lara

Unlike Tom, Lara was born and raised in Armenia. Her parents sent her to a Russian school considering the existing assumption in the society that Russian schools were more prestigious and receiving Russian education could provide better opportunities:

During that time Russian schools were considered more elite and provided better education. It was true, it was exactly like that. We [her family] watched Russian programs a lot. Newspapers were Russian – we never had any Armenian newspapers at home. So, it seems that my main language was Russian. (L12)

As was mentioned above, unlike other specialised language schools where the language of instruction was still Armenian, in Russian schools both the materials and the language of instruction were Russian. When the Soviet Union collapsed, her school had to switch to Armenian which was challenging both for pupils and teachers who were used to teaching and studying in Russian only. Despite receiving the rest of her education in Armenian and the decreasing status of Russian in the country, Russian always remained an important language for Lara. During the interviews Lara's use of translanguaging was probably the most extensive; her Armenian speech was constantly spiced with Russian words and phrases and that way of speaking

seemed very natural to her: “Russian is close to me, it is nevertheless close...and the most accessible language for me” (LI2).

When speaking about her school years, Lara highlighted that she did not receive a proper education because of the ‘dark and cold’ years associated with the beginning of the 1990s in Armenia. As mentioned previously, there were shortages of food, gas and electricity supplies resulting in complete absence of heating during freezing winters and only two hours of electricity per day. Lara recalled having wooden stoves in the classroom and stressed how difficult it was both for teachers and pupils to concentrate on learning in such conditions when people were just trying to survive. Realising the growing importance of English, her parents hired a private English tutor for her and encouraged Lara to major in English:

Tag: Why did you apply to major in English?

Lara: Just to learn English then I would see...

Tag: Why English?

Lara: My mum said...it wasn't my decision...She said, “Start learning English, then we'll see.” When I started taking private lessons, it just happened naturally. (LI2)

Lara was dreaming about becoming a business woman – a popular image in the country suddenly exposed to Western values and ideals. Lara highlighted that that image continued to be dominant:

Everybody imagines herself sitting somewhere in a luxurious office...she is someone important, active...now the concept of a businesswoman is prevailing... (LI2)

5.2.1 Lara's motives to start a teaching career: 'I never thought I'd become a teacher.'

5.2.1.1 Unsuccessful work experience: 'I felt very deficient...'

After receiving a bachelor's degree, Lara completely rejected a teaching career which had already started losing prestige. Instead, she began to work in a tourist agency hoping to climb a career ladder and achieve her dream. Contrary to her expectations, Lara was not enjoying her job and was constantly nervous due to the lack of English communicative skills:

At that time, you felt horrible, I don't know, felt deficient...we even felt embarrassed to speak English, I remember...because we didn't have that *experience*¹⁷. *Listening* was especially poor...when a foreigner entered the *travel agency*, I would just hide because I'd never communicated with foreigners...I felt very deficient...we all have gone through that...(L11)

Even though Lara majored in English, her low level of communicative competence is not surprising. At that time the grammar-translation method was still considered the most effective one and the focus of language teaching/learning was on mastering grammar and enlarging vocabulary. In addition, Lara felt that she did not have any opportunity to develop and gradually transform into 'someone important'. Instead, she had a temperamental manager who frequently yelled at his employees:

I could never imagine that I would become a teacher. At first, when I was graduating from the university I was dreaming about working in the office...I was saying never [becoming] a teacher, never teaching, nothing like that...and I started working in the office. I don't

¹⁷ Comic Sans MS font indicates words/phrases said in English and Arial Italic style – in Russian.

know maybe I just had a bad experience, I don't know...I felt that there was no space for growth. You have some kind of a director who shouts at you, I don't know...he has issues with his business and he gets mad at you because of that.... (LI1)

Eventually, Lara resigned. Following her mother's advice to pick a 'female job' and hoping to improve her English communicative skills and gain self-confidence, she was determined to earn a master's degree in TEFL at university A:

My mom said...it wasn't my decision. My mom...at my home everyone is an engineer. I mean not all of them are engineers but ...my brother is a programmer, mom and dad are engineers...They all are mathematicians and physicists. My mom said, "All my life I've tried to be equal to men; I entered that sphere and realised that I always faced obstacles. I always...if there was a vacancy for a higher position... always men got a promotion. I don't want you ...I don't want you...in the future when you have your own family...I want you to be a teacher, to work half-day." (LI1)

5.2.1.2 Teacher training and first teaching experience: 'I just wanted to learn English and then I would decide...'

Although enrolling in the MA TEFL programme implied becoming a teacher which was her mother's desire, it appeared that Lara's aim was just to study at that highly-ranked Western type of university where the lecturers were mainly Americans and the language of instruction was English:

Tag: Were you studying at university A to become a teacher?

Lara: At the very beginning I didn't even understand why I was applying, why that department... I had to take *GMAT*, *GRE* for other departments. I mean at the beginning the goal was just to get accepted at university [A]...I just wouldn't get accepted to other departments... (LI3)

I interpret this and the following statements that her main desire was to become fluent in English, to tackle her lack of self-confidence and to find a prestigious job all of which seemed achievable when having native-speaker lecturers:

Tag: Why did you go to the university A - to improve the language or become a teacher?

Lara: To improve the language as well...those four years [her undergraduate years] were not enough to feel confident among experienced people...experience *nevertheless* gives you...*confidence*, confidence. But when you don't have that experience and there are people who worked in some places and consider themselves superior to you, you start devaluing yourself. Now, even if you don't know something, a word, you don't feel that. You can open a dictionary, you can say I need to look this word up, you'll eventually find a way out [of that situation]...but at that time, you felt horrible, I don't know, felt deficient... (L11)

I knew that university A graduates could easily find a job, a good job, I clearly remember people talking about that. They were saying if you sent your CV somewhere, they would take university A graduates. (L13)

At the beginning Lara was going through the motions and studying 'automatically'; then she gradually became engaged and committed enjoying the learning environment and teaching approaches which were very distinct from what she had experienced before. She started attending various teaching workshops organised by the British Council and making connections with graduates of the TEFL programme. During one of these workshops the head of the English department at university C invited Lara to send her curriculum vitae and, after a successful interview, she was offered a teaching position:

I went there the next day. They gave me the books and said, “You’ll start teaching on Monday.” I panicked and said, “But I had only *private*... I don’t have much experience of working with a class.” ...I panicked, “I haven’t graduated yet. How am I going to combine [teaching and studying]?” (L11)

When reflecting on her first classes, Lara emphasised that although her teacher training was very effective, she was not confident and spent much time on lesson preparation trying to address every detail:

I was preparing everything scrupulously, everything. Once I was even preparing [for the lesson] until 7 a.m., I couldn’t manage it [studying and teaching]...and at 9 I went to teach. I had such hard days too. (L11)

Lara also recalled her unsuccessful experiences which she labelled ‘failure’ lessons. In the following example she reflects on her ‘failure’ experience with one of her first groups which she was co-teaching with an experienced teacher:

In general, the students in IT groups are really good but these were very arrogant. They were thinking they knew English really well, “What are you going to teach us?” They were top students. Some of them came back from the US [after participating in the exchange programme]. When they [students] return from the US, they think you don’t have anything to teach them at all...I was playing games with them, at least games interested them...the rest...I understood that it was a failure, and I was crying every day... (L12)

Lara mentioned that she gradually gained self-confidence and started enjoying her lessons. After completing her master’s degree, she was offered a post to teach part-time on zero hour contract at university A, which she happily accepted regardless the amount of workload simultaneous teaching at two universities required. She was proud to teach at her alma mater and

hoped to eventually have permanent hours there; however, with a change in the department management, her contract was not renewed.

5.2.2 Lara's teacher selves: 'I don't know whether or not I'll ever achieve that image.'

All the local teachers' self development was highly influenced by the political, ideological, economic and societal changes occurring in the country. As articulated before, despite the attempts to move towards western educational approaches, the Soviet era image of an expert-teacher is still dominant in Armenian society. Lara's ought-to self representation derived from these societal expectations led to fears and concerns related to English language competence; she was trying to live up to the image of a teacher who knows 'everything':

Tag: Have there been any cases when they [students] ask you something and you didn't know?

Lara: Yeah, that was the first fear when teaching...I was afraid of students asking me something I couldn't answer. I was thinking, "What can I do [in that situation]?" (LI1)

When reflecting on such incidents, Lara revealed that she gradually gained confidence and learned to deal with these situations highlighting the importance of earning students' trust:

It depends on how you behave from the beginning. If I feel I've gained students' trust, in that class I can easily say, "I also wonder what that means". But in a class where you haven't positioned yourself the way you could or that connection hasn't been created in that group it's better not to say [that you don't know something]. (LI2)

However, Lara stressed that occasionally she still felt uncomfortable to admit her 'incompetence' in front of her students despite the fact that she realised

that she would never have native-speaker proficiency and master 'all the words':

Tag: Do you mean that it was difficult to accept that you didn't know something at that time [when she started teaching] and it is easier now?

Lara: Yeah...now I am more confident. It is still difficult to say I don't know [a word]...students like when the teacher knows all words. You have to know all words in the world and if you don't know that's a minus. But now I've started taking it easy... (LI2)

Interestingly, during one of the observations Lara was asked the meaning of an unfamiliar word and, when reflecting on it, she described how she was tackling the situation trying to figure out its meaning:

Sometimes they ask such words and I say, 'Guys, where do you get these words from?' They say, "Miss Lara, it's a common word" and I reply, "Really?" And that's when they start playing with your *status*, especially when there happen to be many of these [unfamiliar] words... "This will be a synonym of that word, right?" But you're still thinking trying to guess what the first one means, starting to recall something, recalling that you've seen it somewhere in *TOEFL*. You just start slowly recalling that...and then someone [a student] looks it up in the dictionary and says the meaning and you say, "Yeah-yeah, I was just trying to find the link between these two words" [laughs]. To tell the truth, I'm just playing a role, I'm just...trying to get out of that situation, at that moment trying to think about the difference between those words. (LPI2)

Although Lara admitted that such situations were unpleasant, she pointed out that they stimulated her development - 'students make you think and it's good. If you don't have such students, you won't move forward'. Lara not only gained self-confidence and learned to tackle similar situations and save her face

(Goffman, 2005) but also started perceiving them as an instigator of her development. Instead of focusing on language competence, Lara started to pay more attention to her teaching skills; in particular, she concentrated on explaining grammar clearly to make sure that students understood the topic, which seemed to be appreciated by her students:

They [students] say, “Miss Lara, you explained [present] perfect in such a way...I’ll never forget it. You always explain everything in such a simple way...” (L11)

Lara’s desire to provide clear explanation of tenses and grammatical rules was linked to her own undergraduate learning experience which lacked that and became a basis of her feared self – a ‘boring teacher who can’t explain grammar’:

They [English lessons] were very boring, that was the bad thing. I mean it was like...read-translate, read-translate... The most absurd thing was that they [teachers] were dictating grammar, there was no explanation. (L11)

Not surprisingly, Lara’s ideal self image was formed as one opposing her feared self. She also pointed out that she was also influenced by her learning experience at university A which was drastically different from her undergraduate study. The interactive and communicative approaches as well as American teachers’ ‘unusual’ behaviours influenced her initial ideal self representation, which Lara envisioned as ‘an actress who has gotten on a stage to play a performance’ and who, after the lesson, ‘falls down dead and completely drained out of energy because she has given a lot of it’. During her initial years of teaching, especially when teaching at university A, she attempted to achieve that image:

When the lesson started - you had to see me before the lesson - like an actress [before the performance] ...she is silent, focused and

then she enters the classroom and it's like somebody presses the *button* – smile, energy...

I could be on my feet for three hours - jump like a monkey, write-erase-write-erase something on the board, show something – it's different. You create a different atmosphere... (LI3)

However, Lara mentioned that attaining that image required more and more energy and gradually she realised that it was excessively 'ideal', difficult to achieve and entailed enormous effort:

I'm a perfectionist in nature...I can't say that I'm ideal. I still have to grow a lot, a lot until I achieve that ideal teacher I created myself. I don't know whether or not I'll ever achieve that image...but I try...I'm trying to concentrate on enjoying the lesson, the process...rather than trying to achieve the image I created in my mind...If I work hard to be that, the best...probably it will spoil...I won't enjoy my experience, there will be too much pressure... (LI1)

The situation was especially worsened by the necessity to give private lessons after her university teaching to earn sufficient money 'to survive' both for herself and her elderly mother who was living with her. The post-independence breakdown of the Armenian economy negatively affected people's income; teachers' salaries were not sufficient for living and they had to teach in several universities or give private lessons:

I definitely don't teach for money because, you know, at any university in Armenia you just get chicken feed. I don't mean that we receive less than in other universities...it's just impossible to live on that money. You can maximum live a week on that, or, in better cases, pay your bills and live...survive a few days, that's it. (LI1)

Lara highlighted that giving private lessons similarly required a lot of work and she had to ensure that she had sufficient energy to perform her tasks properly:

If I could work only here and make sufficient money for living, my life would be so much easier and I could give students so much more...one's energy is not unlimited, you can't give that much energy...and you start giving it in doses because you're thinking that you need it for the rest [of the day]... (L13)

Lara's workload eventually resulted in her starting to experience exhaustion; she decided to begin 'saving her energy' to prevent burnout and had to give up on her desire to be a teacher 'performing on the stage':

If I *gave it all* in the classroom, they [students] would get very enthusiastic but I *need to think about the rest of the day which sometimes continues till 10 p.m.* If I don't use my energy properly, I will be *completely*...I *already* feel exhausted. (L13)

Lara mentioned that the amount of work increased at the end of the year when the teachers were overloaded with administrative work, testing, marking and supervision. It intensified the stress level making it more challenging to achieve the image of an enthusiastic teacher:

The last weeks at the university are very difficult when you're trying to simultaneously do everything: develop and administer tests, then mark them, calculate the final marks considering the ongoing marks as well. On top of that, we are given 3 days for vivas and I have to cancel my private lessons... (LJ11)

Although Lara had to compromise on her initial ideal self image and develop a more realistic and achievable self representation attempting to be her best 'feasible' teacher self, it was very important for her to maintain or at least demonstrate a certain degree of enthusiasm:

Tag: When you teach... do you have any vision...for example, do you think English should be taught in this or that way?

Lara: I don't know...I've come to this...I maybe created an image...when the teacher enters the classroom she should *enkindle* them, the students. She should give them energy... I can't imagine an unenthusiastic teacher... (L11)

Yet, she admitted that occasionally she struggled even to display enthusiasm:

I try to be energetic not to have a dead atmosphere. As soon as my energy level is low, I'm losing them [students], but sometimes when it is the fourth lesson you just are not able to hide your tiredness. (LJ3)

Maintaining some degree of enthusiasm was of key importance for Lara primarily because she considered it the main instigator of students' engagement and motivation. Students had a special significance for Lara; she continuously highlighted the importance of building good relationships with students. She was genuinely disappointed when she felt students' indifference and energised when she was able to motivate them. The following extracts demonstrate that Lara keeps returning to this theme throughout the interviews and in her journal:

When a connection is established, you become a close person for them [students]. They really need to like the teacher. If they don't like her - she has some kind of a cold image ...Even the teacher with the best knowledge...if she enters the classroom with that cold image, teaches her lesson and leaves and doesn't create that connection, she loses her class. (L12)

I really feel stressed if the lesson doesn't interest the student, when he doesn't have any motivation to study, when he is sitting there with an indifferent face and you do everything trying to motivate him at least for a moment and the moment when you think you succeeded, he is again indifferent. In that case I feel I'm a loser. (LJ4)

When I see their excitement, that's the whole world for me ...and plus the sparkle in their eyes. Honestly, when you enter the classroom and...their eyes start sparkling, I don't know, maybe...when I see the sparkle in their eyes I feel very excited. And in that case, no matter whether you're sleepy or not, you just somehow wake up [laughs]. (LI1)

Lara was obviously proud of her students' achievements and progress; yet her concern was also linked to her perception of self-efficacy and self-worth. She desired to feel important and appreciated and I felt that she was experiencing that with her students:

I was angry at something the other day and said, "It's good that the students appreciate and like me, if I didn't have that I would leave [teaching]." (LI3)

When comparing her work at the travel agency with a teaching professions, she pointed out that being a teacher entailed having a special significance for someone whereas working 'in the office', as she put it, implied being unimportant and invisible:

Who are you in the office [she compares with her previous job]? You are an ordinary employee. Whether you're good or bad you're ordinary, you're like others. You are sitting there with your computer – you're an ordinary person. But here you're significant for someone or ...maybe you're someone's idol. She glorifies you... You know that for someone you are...you're having an impact on someone. (LI2)

Although students seemed to be the main factor affecting Lara's teacher self, the attainability of an 'enthusiastic and engaging teacher' image similarly depended on the demands of many key factors. For example, Lara stressed the importance of atmosphere in the department while discussing the hostile

ambience generated by a newly appointed manager in university A which also had an impact on the relationships among colleagues:

I was shaking, I was feeling so bad [in university A]...that wasn't *normal*. I couldn't stand that for long...if I had that atmosphere here [in university C], no, impossible...it would exhaust you, you shouldn't hate going to work, you should go with pleasure... (LI3)

And we had to learn from them [experienced teachers] because it appeared that we were nobody...it appeared we didn't have the right to teach there [with sarcasm]. (LI1)

Finally, Lara pointed out that teaching materials and the lack of proper facilities could affect the quality of teaching and become an obstacle in achieving her desired teacher self image:

You know it's very easy to work with an interesting material, your endeavour is not big and it's very difficult to present boring material in an interesting way – it's really difficult to make them [students] interested. For example, with group A, I was thinking, "Oh my God, what am I gonna do with this textbook? After two lessons they [students] would say screw you and your book". They would make such faces that I wouldn't even want to enter that classroom...(LI2)

You need to have proper conditions. I mean if you go and ask, "Can I use the classroom with a projector?" and you're being told, "You know, the projector is in such bad condition...try to use it not often because we need it for vivas" ...and you think "Why do I bother?" (LI3)

To conclude, although Lara did not intend to become a teacher and merely followed her mother's advice when entering a teacher training programme, she started enjoying teaching because she felt that, unlike her previous job, she was important and influential for her students. Realising that her initial ideal

self image required strenuous effort and was unattainable in her context, Lara adapted it to her situation trying to maintain to some extent its core feature - enthusiasm. Simultaneously she had to satisfy the institutional requirements, managers' demands and students' needs as well as avoid her feared 'boring teacher' self and attain her desired 'engaging and enthusiastic teacher' self. Lara had to balance all these co-existing facets and try to be her best feasible teacher self.

5.3 Shushan

Similar to Lara, Shushan was born in Armenia. By the time she had to start school the political changes in Armenia were already in progress and Shushan's parents decided to send her to a specialised English school instead of a Russian or Armenian one. As pointed out before, unlike Russian schools the language of instruction in English schools was Armenian but the number of English hours was higher in comparison to non-specialised schools. In addition, realising the growing importance of English, her mother hired a private English tutor for Shushan in year six to further develop her English proficiency.

Shushan was a very good student with high aspirations and at the age of 15 she participated in the Access exchange programme sponsored by the U.S. State Department and spent a year living with an American family and studying in the high school in the United States. This experience was very influential for Shushan; she encountered a new culture and educational approach as well as improved her English proficiency. Yet, it was also a challenging experience; she found her classmates prejudiced in relation to her background and experience and had to prove that she was equal to them:

They constantly were ready to say, "Who are you? Your nation is rubbish, you came here to learn from us." Psychologically it was very difficult. They didn't say that to my face...but you felt it everywhere. First you're met with "What? Armenia? Albania?"

Romania? Who are you? Have you got a TV? Have you got a toilet? Where do you live? In a house?" They think you're a representative of some kind of umbo-yumbo tribe and you came to learn some civilized manners from them. And I did a presentation about Armenia at school... (S13)

This experience later stimulated her perception of a teacher's role who has a mission to educate students and instil love and patriotism towards their homeland. After returning to Armenia and completing her school, Shushan studied at a prestigious university majoring in English and aiming to become an English teacher like one of the teachers she admired.

5.3.1 Shushan's motives to start a teaching career: 'I was sure what I wanted to become.'

5.3.1.1 The teacher's impact: 'She was... the person who played a crucial role in my choice of profession.'

When asked why she decided to start a teacher's career, Shushan pointed out her private tutor's impact who was an experienced university teacher. She developed a special rapport with Shushan and was very influential in her life. Shushan spoke very emotionally about her tutor and described her extraordinary teaching skills as well as personal qualities. During the interview she almost cried when recalling the last encounters with her terminally ill teacher:

Tag: Would you please tell me how you made a decision to become a teacher?

Shushan: Well, one of the teachers I've encountered had a great impact on me [...] Svetlana Petrosovna¹⁸ was one of the rare people who could give you a lot not only in terms of your field, your

¹⁸ This is a pseudonym.

profession but she could give you a lot also as a human being, as an individual. She was a person who surprisingly had an idea about everything. She not only knew a lot but could also...although she wasn't pushing her ideas but it was difficult not to accept them... unfortunately, her disease interrupted our friendship...we weren't just a teacher and a student but we had a special connection [is almost crying] (SI1)

Shushan mentioned that Svetlana Petrosovna's influence was so powerful that she was determined to become an English teacher when she started taking her private lessons at the age of twelve:

Tag: Did you think at that time about becoming a teacher?

Shushan: I was sure what I wanted to become from year six. Teaching, educational field always attracted me (SI2)

She was...the person who played a crucial role in my choice of profession because since that time I knew where I was heading to, why I was going there, what profession I would choose and what prospects I would have, what I wanted to do. (SI1)

5.3.1.2 Previous work experience: 'You might work for 10 years without learning anything...'

Despite the fact that Shushan intended to be a teacher from a young age, after completing her university study she experimented with other occupations to make sure whether she 'chose her future profession rightly'. Her decision to attempt other jobs was probably also linked to the low salary teachers received although she did not explicitly indicate that. She briefly worked as a tour agent, a museum guide as well as a clerk in the prestigious international bank which was considered a respected job in Armenia due to a relatively high salary. She pointed out how high the competition was there – 'in 2005 to get hired there, they had such tough exams' (SI1). When discussing her banking experience,

Shushan stressed its monotonous nature and no stimulus to develop; it was sufficient to acquire limited number of skills and work 'happily' for years:

Tag: Did you like working at the bank?

Shushan: No, I didn't like it...the work was very automatic...they didn't appreciate my work, it was mainly an automatic, robotic work: fill in this paper, sign it, do the transaction and say good-bye, it's more like a conveyor belt - I didn't like it. (SI1)

I was thinking that in all professions, if you're professional you need to learn something all the time more, more and more - you're learning something every day. In the bank – probably that wasn't my field – I felt that you might learn this much [shows with hands] and *that's it*...You might think I want to be a *clerk*, *that's it*, you need to know this much [shows with hands] and you might work for 10 years without learning anything else...(SI3)

In contrast, Shushan enjoyed working in the tourism industry but it required extensive travelling which she stated was clashing with her personal life:

I've tried tourism as well, it seemed fine but there was one problem if you have a family, if you have children...it would disrupt...my personal life would disrupt professional one... (SI1)

As a result, after attempting various occupations which initially seemed more attractive, Shushan did not feel satisfied and decided to devote herself to the teaching career which she desired to pursue as a child.

5.3.1.3 First teaching experience: '...I was getting nervous before every lesson. It was like entering an exam.'

Shushan's first teaching occurred while studying at the university. Having an experience of studying in the English speaking country, she felt confident in English and began to give private lessons when she was a second year

student. Shushan recalled her lack of experience in lesson planning which resulted in attempting to include an excessive amount of information in each lesson:

Tag: Do you remember your first teaching experience...?

Shushan: [...] My first student was a 26 year old girl who received an invitation from the US. I taught her English in six months. You know that was my first experience...I was starting the lesson and trying to squeeze whole English into one lesson. Then I started structuring it in order to manage it within the lesson time. (S13)

While still at the university, Shushan had her first classroom teaching experience. The US exchange programme she participated in as a teenager trained a number of its alumni, including Shushan, to teach English in remote villages in Armenia to encourage children from these areas to participate in the US funded programmes. In sharing this experience with me she recalled her nervousness and even demonstrated how she was shaking during her first classes. Nevertheless, gradually Shushan started to enjoy them because she could observe her students' progress and her own impact on them both in terms of language learning and growing self-confidence. She encouraged children to be confident and was trying to empower them, occasionally even arguing with those parents who prevented their children from applying for a study abroad programme:

My first classroom teaching experience was when I was in year 3 [at university], *Access* sent us to teach English in the villages. Look [shows how she was shaking] but I pulled myself together and told myself, "If they feel you're afraid, *that's* it - you'll lose, they won't pay any attention to you". Then it was brilliant. (S13)

We organised classes in the regions because children's English was not good there. First of all, the materials were outdated,

teachers' didn't have recent training, they didn't have access to the internet and so on. (SI1)

Although Shushan had a brief teaching experience while still being a student, she decided to return to teaching after experimenting with other careers. First, she was offered a part-time teaching position at the university she graduated from and was teaching elective courses related to English literature. Then she received an offer from university B to teach various EFL/ESP courses which she stated she enjoyed. Obviously, initially Shushan experienced concerns and worries which are specific to beginning teachers but gradually she started to develop self-confidence:

Ten years ago I was getting nervous before every lesson. It was like entering the exam. I was nervous what if I say something wrong, the structure of the lesson, I don't know...now I enter the classroom more relaxed, I've become more self-confident. I'd say it's just a matter of gaining experience. (SI1)

When comparing teaching to other positions she worked in, Shushan highlighted the importance of enjoying work she was carrying out and its impact on her life:

Tag: You said last time that teaching heals you. What exactly heals you?

Shushan: I don't know, I don't get tired...If you find a job which was meant for you, you don't get exhausted, I mean you don't get tired that fast...I've experienced that when I worked in other fields. I was returning home tired, exhausted, without good mood. And if something, even tiny thing happened at the work place, it was getting on my nerves a lot... Teaching is different. I might teach students for 5-6 hours and I don't feel that tired. (SI2)

Teaching...how to say it...it's like my medicine, when I enter the classroom...I might have high fever but in 10 minutes I would feel fine... (S11)

5.3.2 Shushan's teacher selves: 'You're superior to them...in terms of knowledge, experience, everything...they should accept it as a fact.'

Similar to other participants, Shushan's initial ideal and feared self images stemmed from her own learning experiences. She reflected on her Mathematics teacher who created an atmosphere of fear in the classroom and was an example of a teacher she desired to avoid becoming:

In year 10 the teacher told my mom, "I've never seen a child who gets better at Maths as he/she grows up, on the contrary he/she gets worse [at Maths]". I was standing next to her and said, "I wasn't getting better, I just understood that I shouldn't be afraid of you". She was a unique person, I don't know how she was asking what two add two makes that even the best pupil couldn't answer her questions...There was an atmosphere of fear. I don't know how she was doing that. There are such people when they ask you your name, you're unable to answer. I don't know, maybe she was asking with a special intonation, somehow she did that...She could ask me to solve a very simple quadratic equation which I could solve very quickly, but when she asked me to solve that at the board, I would just get stuck. (S13)

Likewise, Shushan's ideal teacher self-representation was based on her own private tutor's image, the one she admired as a child and who instilled in her a desire to pursue a teaching career. Attempting to resemble her idol, Shushan developed an ideal self image of an effective teacher which implied 'knowing everything' and having a mission of educating students:

She was a model for me. Imitating her I understood, how the lesson should be taught...at the beginning I was sure she knew everything, I mean completely everything... (S12)

Interestingly, a 'know everything' part of her ideal self coincided with her ought-to self image which was influenced by an expert teacher representation prevalent in Armenia. Although Shushan was the only local participant who had an experience of studying in the English speaking country and was rather confident in her English language skills, that did not seem to prevent her from experiencing the same fear the other local teachers went through – a fear of being unable to answer students' questions, especially the ones related to vocabulary. Shushan mentioned that she soon realised that she could not achieve a 'know everything' teacher image and attempted different strategies to deal with situations when she encountered unfamiliar expressions. First, she tried to explain to students that teachers were 'ordinary people' and being unable to answer the question was not 'a crime'. Unfortunately, this strategy did not work. Then she recognised that it was crucial to display self-confidence and hide fears rather than explain the reasons of not knowing certain words or phrases:

Tag: Have you had a situation when somebody [a student] asks you a question and you're not able to answer?

Shushan: A lot, a lot.

Tag: What do you do in such cases?

Shushan: There was a period when I was afraid of that - what if they ask something and I wouldn't know... because 90% have this false opinion that if you're a teacher, you must know everything in your field. Then I tried to explain that it wasn't like that, that I am also an ordinary person and, even if I'm an English teacher, there might be many questions I haven't encountered. Then I felt that the explanations were useless. It depends on your attitude; if a

student...feels that you're afraid of that, you won't be able to change his attitude. But if he feels that you're not afraid of the fact that you don't know something, you take it easy, you're able to find a solution, a confident solution, he won't even remember that episode. (SI1)

Shushan's newly developed teacher self image was a confident teacher and she was trying to constantly exhibit self-confidence. She emphasised that the teacher could admit her lack of certain knowledge only in case when she had earned students' trust, otherwise, students would 'torture' the teacher. Although she was pointing out the importance of gaining students' trust, the next quote demonstrates her oppositional, fearful and even defensive attitude towards students which was also noticeable during the observations:

Tag: Doesn't it [accepting not knowing the word] change the students' attitude?

Shushan: It depends on your attitude, how you perceive that. If the student feels you're not afraid of that...and you're ready to learn, discover that with him and you will guide him in that...when you create that *trust*, the relationships develop rightly. If the student feels you don't know something and are afraid of the fact that you don't know, he will always torture you, *torture* ...In all lessons, he will definitely find something to show you and ask if you know it...he will find such words from the dictionary...all my first lessons start like that. I was even thinking to write down all those words in a notebook. I would have a large glossary throughout the years. In every group there is someone who spitefully says, "Do you know what this word means?" [imitates the student's voice]... and there is a big assumption that you don't know it for 100%...if you get confused at that moment, the whole year will be lost...but if you say, "No, I don't know have you got a dictionary? [says with a confident voice] OK, I'll get one and we'll see what it means...would you like

me to tell you 10 words that you don't know?" And they stare at me surprised. (SI2)

Interestingly, after emphasising the importance of demonstrating self-confidence, Shushan tried to convince me that being honest with students and admitting her limitations helped her create better rapport with them, yet, specifying that she did not apply that strategy to all students but mainly to mature ones:

I tell my students, especially those who are older, "I'm neither a policewoman, nor an encyclopaedia. I help you to find your way in this field and I learn some stuff with you." My students even come and say, "Do you know this?" I say, "No, I don't, just tell me. OK, thank you for telling me. I've learnt something new." Many of them are surprised but it creates better relationships later, they start perceiving you closer. When you don't let them [ask questions and think] "Oh, please don't ask questions, I don't want to be embarrassed", your relationships become more distant but when you let them get closer, "It's OK. Let's learn together, let's find out together." (SI1)

This extract seems unconvincing considering her comments above which indicate how suspicious she was of her students' motives, yet, it seems she attempted (at least with some of her classes) to build good relationships with her students. When reflecting on the issue of English language competence, Shushan seemed especially concerned to convince me that it was specific to all teachers in Armenia and they needed to arrive at an understanding that it was impossible to master the language completely. She continuously highlighted how important it was for teachers to demonstrate self-confidence. To emphasise this, she provided an example of her colleague who suffered because of her lack of confidence. Although she reflects on her colleague's experience in the extracts below, they again demonstrate her attitude and fear that students might sense a lack of self-confidence:

At the beginning...all teachers go through that, the question *just* is that you need to understand that you can't keep all the knowledge in your head and if there is something that you don't know it's not a crime... (S13)

For example, we've got a teacher in our department, she is a great specialist, but her weakness is her lack of self-confidence. When she enters the classroom, students feel that, they're like dogs they feel that. And if they even slightly feel that you get confused, you won't be able to save the situation the whole year no matter what you do the following lessons... (S12)

Even though Sushan realised she could not achieve a 'know everything' part of her ideal self she felt that she had to display sufficient knowledge to keep the students from attacking her. She also tried to maintain the mission component of her teacher self which involved not just teaching English but also educating students:

My every lesson is not just an English lesson, I try to give my students whatever I have experienced, to teach them something else that they might consider useful in life and not just *present simple, present continuous, present perfect, vocabulary* etc. Something that will shape them as a person. In many cases I might even sacrifice my English lessons if I feel there is some psychological problem, related to their spiritual world. Because I think that being a teacher is one of the rare professions which shapes a person. I don't think the teacher gives only knowledge. A real teacher gives...she shapes that person. (S11)

Shushan's desire to have an impact on her students' development as individuals was evident during one of the observed lessons which turned into a discussion of the importance of staying in the country and contributing to its development (the discussion was in Armenian):

One of the students says he does not want to stay in Armenia because there are not enough job opportunities in the country and it is better to emigrate. The teacher starts talking about the disadvantages of living abroad and being an outsider. Another student disagrees with her and brings an example of people he knows who enjoyed living abroad and did not face any discrimination. The lesson turns into a discussion of pros and cons of living in Armenia and abroad followed by the teacher's monologue about preserving Armenian identity. During her speech the teacher becomes very emotional (is about to cry) and leaves the classroom. (SO4)

In the post-observation interview she justified her decision and insisted that teachers have a mission of bringing up good citizens for the country:

In teaching you need to always be ready to sacrifice because, as I understand teaching, it's not just giving information about the subject...It's 50-50 it's both developing a professional and developing an individual. It's both teaching him something and bringing him up. So, a lot of teachers regard teaching as simply giving information and developing a professional. That's why when you deviate from the subject they tell you, "Oh, you know there is high teacher talk, you went away from the topic, you lost your time" No. I found that this was right moment for this topic in order to develop correct citizens because my responsibility is not only developing professionals for the world but, first of all, developing good, loyal, respectful, helpful andconscious... conscious, citizens for my homeland. (SPI4)

As mentioned above, Shushan recognised that her 'know everything' teacher image was unachievable and it was crucial to demonstrate self-confidence

which she associated with a teacher who is an authority in the classroom. She gradually developed a new teacher self image – a ‘director’ who is able to achieve her lesson goals:

The role of a teacher in the classroom is mainly a director’s role, I mean she should be able to lead the lesson in such a way so she could achieve her goals because if you don’t do that the lesson can very easily move to other subjects...In any case the function of a director should be maintained even if there are some deviations which are inevitable to make the lesson interesting...it is still a must. But your goal is to achieve the things you aimed to get by the end of the lesson. For example, I consider my lesson successful if I’ve achieved all my goals, if I get *feedback* at the end of the lesson and understand that the students have understood at least 60% of the material. (SI2)

However, when I was observing the lessons it seemed that Shushan’s ‘director’ teacher self which implied superiority and unconditional respect did not correspond or probably even clashed with her students’ perceptions of a teacher. As a result, they did not behave the way Shushan expected them to behave; she mentioned that some of her students even did not address her with plural ‘you’ which displays respect and is the only acceptable way of addressing teachers in Armenia:

Nevertheless you’re superior to them...in terms of knowledge, experience, everything and they shouldn’t perceive that negatively. Instead they should accept it as a fact because you have more experience and you’re a professional – that is normal. They shouldn’t feel bad because of that and try to prove that they know something you don’t know. (SI2)

I have students who don’t even understand that they can’t talk to the teacher using singular ‘you’...I think it’s wrong to address the teacher with singular ‘you’ because that distance helps students to

behave properly and that contributes to successful learning because if he perceives you as his street friend I doubt he could learn much... (SI2)

In all these extracts, students emerge as her main concern and a source of fear. While Shushan recognised that the reason for failing to achieve her teacher self image stemmed from her relationships with students, she blamed only the students for this and did not question her own actions, attitudes and approaches, probably in an attempt to save face:

I mean they need to have intrinsic motivation. Because there are classes where whatever you do you don't enjoy it...there are such students there that you think, "What was the point of you coming to the lesson?" Of course, a lot of things depend on students' attitude...I enjoy it when I think that I've achieved my goal. If my lesson was unfinished for some reasons, I feel upset. If I don't achieve my *goal*, my *aim*...that's bad, I don't enjoy it. (SI2)

I don't know what should be done... It's all an issue of maturity. They don't realise...they are at year six-seven level...they are not interested in anything. They don't want to study, don't want to read, don't want to write, don't want to listen... (SPI2)

During the observations it was obvious that Shushan was struggling to control the students and I felt that there was mutual lack of respect in the classroom. The students did not seem to care about the lesson and even the teacher. They were bored, unprepared and, in some cases, were ignoring the teacher and using their mobile phones, as I reported in my observation notes:

One of the students has a question, other students talk about something; there is some noise and the teacher can't hear the student's question, she hits the table and says, "Stop talking". Then she says that something should be done here like in Russia, the students must pay for their absences, in this case students would

definitely care more about their study. One of the students suggests giving them money for being present. Another student at the back copies something from his phone; it seems that he is doing his homework for another lesson. (SO1)

Tag: You've mentioned that students are often...not educated...even, I don't know, that they need to address a teacher with plural 'you' and it makes the teaching process more difficult...

Shushan: That's right. When the student doesn't respect you...and doesn't treat appropriately, it's very difficult to deal with him. (SI3)

When asked if she could do anything to change the situation, instead of analysing her own actions, Shushan complained about students' workload and insufficient number of English hours trying to justify her helplessness:

Tag: In your opinion...can the teacher change anything or if they [students] are demotivated¹⁹ you can't do anything...

Shushan: You can...but the question is that it's only one hour and a half per week and students have such a big workload that it is difficult to do...You can change it if, for example, they have English classes more frequently, you could somehow interest them, find something to motivate, connect it to their profession, do something that they would enjoy English - you would succeed. But in case when students have 12 subjects in one semester and 10 are very difficult and they are very busy...you can't eliminate that demotivation. Then constant tiredness, not enough sleep and so on. All these factors have an impact, you can't... (SI3)

Although Shushan's relationships with students were not straightforward and she struggled to develop trust with students, she seemed satisfied with the

¹⁹ Shushan mentioned students' demotivation as one of the factors affecting her behaviour.

relationships in the department and highlighted its positive atmosphere and supportive colleagues:

I taught in several places but I left, I left my university a couple of years ago too and stayed permanently here, because this department is probably the closest to my ideal...here people know how to share...with each other. You're not afraid to enter [the common room] and say "I had this problem at this lesson and you're not afraid that it would be perceived, "Oh, she is a weak teacher, she can't overcome..." (S11)

Here you can say something happened in my classroom and it won't be perceived, "Oh, she is weak, wrong or it won't be passed to [managers]" (S13)

To conclude, Shushan's case was extraordinary; it is rare when a teacher allows a researcher to observe her unsuccessful experiences. In addition, occasionally the information provided in the interviews (which seemed genuine) did not correspond with the data collected during the classroom observations. However, I cannot speculate and claim that Shushan's struggle to build good relationships with her students and achieve the 'director' teacher self image was an issue throughout her teaching career (she recalled her positive experiences with previous year students) although it obviously was her main concern during the study. It seems that initially Shushan attempted to develop good relationships and be an authority for her students. She believed that students should unquestioningly follow teachers' instructions and respect them. However, she did not receive the reaction she expected from her students and, eventually, Shushan started going through the motions looking forward to the end of the year. The extract below is Shushan's reflection on one of the lessons I observed, yet it seems to characterise how she felt with her current students – 'broken inside' and with no 'mood to teach':

The whole week was influenced by this Monday when Taguhi came to observe my third year students. They behaved very badly and were impolite (especially X). Although I didn't have a brilliant opinion about them, I still was very disappointed. X's rudeness makes me blush every time I recall it. He was constantly interrupting me, it was difficult to speak English. I even didn't have the mood to teach. I could barely wait till the bell rang. It appears that the student's stupid actions can spoil your mood. I felt broken inside. (SJ7)

Despite her unsuccessful experience, she repeatedly mentioned that she was enjoying teaching in general and reflected on her good relationships with her students from the previous year hoping she would teach them again the next academic year:

Tag: What do you enjoy in teaching?

Shushan: First of all, you discover students for whom it is worth doing...Last year I had year 4. Although they weren't strong students. I'd say they even were a weak group, but their every achievement was such a holiday for me... (S11)

To sum up, although Shushan decided to pursue a teaching career from an early age, she tried a number of other jobs which appeared to be either boring or unsuitable for family life. As a result, she entered a teaching profession and inspired by her private tutor's image initially developed a 'know everything' teacher self with a mission to bring up good citizens. Realising that it was impossible to know absolutely everything in the language, Shushan formed a 'director' teacher self image who was effectively attaining her lesson goals. Even though she did not succeed in reaching that image, a 'director' teacher self was still a representation she was aiming to attain and probably because of her determination to be a 'director' she failed to build a rapport with her students.

5.4 Cross-case analysis

In the previous sections, I have discussed the findings of three distinct individual cases focusing on the teachers' motives to enter a teaching profession, the evolution of their teacher selves throughout their career and the factors affecting the development of their selves. While these cases help uncover the uniqueness and complexity of each teacher, to identify both common elements and contrasting features emerging from the cases a cross-case analysis needs be performed (Stake, 2013; Yin, 2014). Engaging in a cross-case analysis not only facilitates the researcher's capability to develop or reconsider concepts by recognising the relationships between cases but also helps 'make sense of puzzling or unique findings' (Khan & van Wynsberghe, 2008: 2). Consequently, in this section I will present a cross-case analysis of the data. As explained above, although I have presented only three individual cases, a cross case analysis was performed across all six cases and, therefore, the key themes emerging from the data reflect the main findings of all cases (see section 4.8). Since in the previous sections I introduced three cases in detail, to give other participants voice, in this chapter I will use the examples and quotes mainly from the other cases – Anna, Nelly and Marine Grigorevna. Similar to individual cases, this chapter is structured in relation to the main research questions. First, I will consider the participants' motives to become teachers followed by the section discussing how their teacher selves developed and what impacted on their teacher self formation.

5.4.1 Motives to become a teacher of English

Despite the fact that various motives guided the participants into teaching, in this chapter I will focus on the ones common to all the cases. One of the key motives emerging from all the cases was related to the increasing significance of English in Armenia which influenced the participants' selection of the field of study at the university and/or their engagement in teaching. The second motive appeared to be linked to the impact of significant others on their career choices. Finally, it emerged that most of the participants initially had not been

interested in a teaching career and became involved in teaching accidentally. Therefore, the following sections are devoted to the discussion of these three motives.

5.4.1.1 Changing role of English

In all the participants' data, the language emerged as a common theme having an impact on their choice of a profession. As stated in section 2.2, during the Soviet period Russian language had a status of a second language in Armenia; it enjoyed supremacy and, consequently, its mastery entailed prestige and career advancement (Pavlenko, 2013b):

Marine Grigorevna: It was a well known fact. The graduates of Russian schools were children with completely different horizon, different mind, different interests - unfortunately or fortunately, I don't know. During that time all more or less educated families were trying to send their children to Russian schools²⁰.

Tag: *Why?*

Marine Grigorevna: I can't explain...because they realised the quality of Russian education...also they understood...at that time it was impossible to even imagine that English would become such a widespread communicative tool worldwide. But they realised that, if they lived in the Soviet Union, without Russian one couldn't move [professionally] in any direction...it's like without water in the desert. That's why they sent their children to Russian school...(MI3)

Interestingly, Marine Grigorevna, Nelly and Lara who started their schools when Armenia was a part of the Soviet Union (approximately in 1958, 1985 and 1987 respectively) went to Russian schools while Anna and Shushan, who started school in 1991 and 1990 respectively, attended specialised English

²⁰ Marine Grigorevna's interview were conducted in Russian. To indicate this I use Arial Italic font.

schools. The parents' decision to send their children to Russian or English schools was a direct reflection of the political developments occurring in Armenia at the beginning of 1990s. As pointed out in section 2.4.1, after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Armenia, similar to other independent republics, started to shift the language focus in the country by eliminating the power of Russian and promoting English as a language of globalisation, transnational communication and trade (Pavlenko, 2008). Anna's and Shushan's parents noticing the shifting role of English sent their children to English schools which had an impact on their decisions to major in English:

At that time French and Spanish didn't have any future here. English was more or less...it was an international language. (SI2)

My school had an English specialization that's why it [selecting English as a major] was the most convenient option. Of course, I would have to learn a new language to enter, for example, a French department. So I applied to the English department. (AI1)

Although Nelly and Lara were sent to Russian schools, by the time they started their secondary education Armenia had already gained its independence and English was obtaining a special status. Noticing this change, their parents hired private tutors for them to improve their English competence in the final years of schooling. Similar to other Anna and Shushan, they chose to major in English acknowledging that 'English was more important than Russian' (LI2).

Unlike the local participants, Tom did not experience the hegemony of Russian but living in Armenia he realised how high a demand for English in the country was and that 'everybody wanted to learn English':

Tom: So, I think I have a job for life here, for my lifetime anyway [laughs] because there seems to be a never-ending queue of people wanting to learn English.

Tag: Why do you think they learn English?

Tom: Well, because I think it's realistically the modern language, isn't it? It opens...culturally it opens all the doors, everything you could want to do media wise is in English. So they feel...I think if you know English you become a part of this global world, this global experience...If you don't know English, I think, perhaps you feel you miss out on a lot of...a lot of things that happen. So I suppose, you know, they see it as...and it is the language, it's the international [emphasises] language, isn't it? I suppose. If you know English, you don't really need to know another language, this is one of the problems with English people, of course. They don't learn any other languages. Why should they? You know...If you ask a million people, forget about where they were born, just ask a million people what language...if you could only speak one language, what would it be? I suppose most of them would say English unless they were just being obstinate or patriotic. You know, objectively they would say English, wouldn't they? (T11)

As discussed above, Tom also recognised that being a native speaker of a language highly valued in the Armenian society 'gave him a foot in the door' and put him at an advantage in comparison to local English teachers. Consequently, understanding his value led to the decision to attempt a teaching career.

Marine Grigorevna was the only participant whose selection of English as a major obviously was not linked to its status. Although English was merely one of the foreign languages and did not imply any privileges at the end of 1960s, it was the language she was 'in love with'. She decided to couple it with

Russian which was understandable considering her Russian background²¹ and the supremacy of Russian in the Soviet Union with all the consequences it entailed:

Marine Grigorevna: *I applied to Y²².*

Tag: *Why?*

Marine Grigorevna: *I don't know ...I just applied there. I wasn't even thinking about it... because I didn't want to get far from Russian...I could apply to the Department of Foreign Languages but there was Armenian there, they didn't have Russian groups...at that time they closed the Russian section of [the Department of] Foreign Languages...the Department of Russian and English was opened. Without thinking much I went there. (M1)*

To conclude, the shift in the role of English in Armenia was one of the main reasons influencing the participants' selection of an English-related career (with an exception of Marine Grigorevna). Younger generation teachers completed their high schools after the collapse of the Soviet Union when the power of Russian was diminishing. They acknowledged the growing significance of English and opted to major in it hoping for a better career prospects. Tom similarly noticed the increasing interest of population in learning English which indicated that English experts, especially native speakers, would have more employment opportunities. This is not surprising considering the globalisation and growing domination of English worldwide (Graddol, 2006).

²¹ She received a Russian language education in school and it was the language her family spoke at home.

²² The top university specializing in foreign languages.

5.4.1.2 Impact of significant others

Another common theme that emerged in all the participants' data was the impact of significant others on their career choices. In most cases their families were very influential in their selection of English as a major when applying to the university. In Armenia, studying a foreign language implied pursuing mainly a teaching or translating/interpreting career. In the case of Marine Grigorevna, Nelly and Lara parents played a pivotal role in their choices of the field of study. Since Marine Grigorevna liked English (and was good at it) and her brothers were studying in Moscow, her mother decided she should major in English and study in the most prestigious university of the Soviet Union – Moscow State University:

You know...my brothers were already in Moscow. They already graduated, found a job and lived there...Naturally I didn't have a choice, I had to go to Moscow to get higher education. My mom sent me there to apply to Moscow State University, Department of Mathematical Linguistics²³, it was fashionable at that time. (M11)

Despite her family's desire, Marine Grigorevna was not offered a place and had to return to Armenia and apply to one of the prestigious universities majoring in Russian and English – two languages she admired:

My brothers advised me...because I didn't have any problems with the [English] language ...I thought I would come and everybody would get crazy from my English – but that didn't happen. I failed. Anyway, I applied to Y. (M11)

In Nelly's case parents were likewise influential. She loved languages and teaching stating that she initially desired to major in languages. Then she noted that, similar to her elder sister, she also enjoyed art which could have

²³ According to Marine Grigorevna, graduating from this department implied having a career of a simultaneous interpreter.

developed into a career. Yet, Nelly's parents encouraged only her sister's artistic aspirations and advised her to major in English:

Nelly: I knew that languages were mine, I knew that, I felt that but I didn't know it would be English. I thought it would be Russian, even Armenian, although my Armenian wasn't that good...I was more inclined towards Russian because my English was very poor at school. The teachers were very kind; they let us cheat during the tests...we weren't taking it seriously. I mean after leaving school I knew very few words and I couldn't even make a proper sentence in English. Then I took some private English lessons for about 2-3 months and I achieved something due to my hard work, I learned some stuff. Then the decision was made to continue English path...

Tag: Who made it?

Nelly: My family. We discussed, the decision was made but my desires were taken into consideration...My sister was an artist. Do you know what was interesting? I was good at drawing too although my sister had rich imagination. She really is a talented person but I also had that...my drawings were...I was good at drawing. We could have made a decision to have two artists in the family because I could have chosen that path too but it was decided that two artists in the family would be too much that's why...and because I liked...I was constantly writing, copying something, writing dictations – all that was a pleasant process for me. Also knowing my love towards...teaching, my family made a decision that it should be a language... (N12)

In the other three cases which have been discussed in the previous sections, significant others had a decisive impact on the participants' career options as well. Lara's decision to major in English and later to pursue a master's degree in TEFL was affected by her mother's advice to select a 'female job' which, according to her, was linked to teaching. Tom's choice of a teaching job was

linked to his family's desire to permanently reside in Armenia. Starting a teaching career was his attempt to find a 'proper' job to support his family. In Shushan's case, both her mother and English teacher were influential in her choice of English as a field of study and teaching as a career.

Interestingly, Anna is the only case whose selection of a university and major was affected not only by her parents but also by her neighbour:

It all started when our neighbour's daughter who was my idol, she was very beautiful, that girl was studying in Y and, starting from year 2, I knew, I decided that I would enter Y. It wasn't important what I would become but because I wanted very much to be beautiful like her, I decided I had to go to Y. (A11)

Thus, all the participants' selection of a field of study and/or career was influenced by significant others. Parents seem to be the key party impacting on their career decisions; although in case of Tom and Anna their family and neighbour respectively played a role as well.

5.4.1.3 Love for teaching vs. accidental start

Despite the fact that the participants pointed out that they enjoyed teaching, most of them became involved in it accidentally. Even the ones who realised that 'a teacher of English' would be a profession indicated in their certificates after graduation did not consider a teaching career when selecting an English major. Anna and Lara initially completely rejected the possibility to move into a teaching profession. Lara stressed that the job was not adequately paid which resulted in lower status and affected her and other people's desire to consider a teaching career. She emphasised that this situation was still widespread in Armenia:

Teachers have probably been losing their prestige. You start thinking, "Is this job worth doing?" Also teachers are just paid chicken feed. "I'll get a proper job, maybe a translator's one." You think, "It [teaching] is a worthless job."

Only those people become teachers who love that work very much but to study for several years...for what? Just to become a teacher? This motivation doesn't exist anymore because they don't get high...to become a doctor, a lawyer...people know what they're studying for. They know that they will be able to provide their living in the future, don't they? But a teacher...it is considered a low paid job. (LI2)

In addition, Anna mentioned the difficulties teaching entailed especially the ones linked to students' disruptive behaviour and indicated that she was considering a translator's occupation:

Tag: When entering [the university] did you know that you wanted to become a teacher, lecturer or...what did you think you would become?

Anna: No, a teacher and lecturer...a [school] teacher - it was completely out of question. I wasn't thinking about being a lecturer either... I wanted something related to translations but I don't know why I didn't choose translation department, I just went to foreign languages and I knew that after graduating it would be written [in the certificate] a specialist of foreign languages comma teacher. (A11)

When I remember what we did to our poor teachers, I didn't want to have the same experience...When you are in the university, students are more responsible at least. I think at school they [authorities] need to give everyone [teachers] milk, yogurt and a medal because it's not clear how they are able to withstand these kids. (A11)

Both Lara and Anna did not plan a teaching career but rather started it unintentionally; they received a job offer while still studying at the university. As mentioned previously, Lara attended a training session and was invited to

submit her curriculum vitae by a head of the English department in university C. Anna, being an outstanding student, was offered a coordinator's job at her university and later started teaching.

The section dedicated to Tom's case likewise demonstrated that he had never imagined being a teacher until he moved to Armenia; he majored in mechanical engineering and had a successful motorcycle business in the United Kingdom. He happened to start a teaching career merely attempting to obtain a secure job and settle in Armenia.

For Marine Grigorevna, teaching was not a first career choice. As mentioned above, she followed her family's advice and attempted to receive a degree in Moscow to become a simultaneous interpreter. After this unsuccessful attempt, she returned to Armenia and majored in both English and Russian. Although Marine Grigorevna hoped to teach at the university, she was unwilling to start a teaching career from school which was a common route during the Soviet period. The graduates who majored in languages usually had teaching as a profession specified in their certificates/diplomas. Often they had an obligatory work placement in the remote regions for a certain period (Zajda, 1980). Being married, Marine Grigorevna was not obliged to teach in the distant area but to have a teaching career at the tertiary level she was still required to initially teach at school. Despite her desire to teach at the university, after graduation, Marine Grigorevna preferred to stay at home and raise her child avoiding a career of a school teacher. A year after completing her study, she suddenly received a phone call from the head of the English Department who she admired and was offered a position of a teaching assistant:

Exactly in a year [after graduation], in August, a phone rang, I answered it and it was my V. P., "Marinotchka, how are you?" and I said, "I'm OK". "What are you doing?" "I'm bringing up my child."... "What about work?" and I say, "I don't work now and I don't know where I would work." "Nothing at all?" "No, I have a free diploma because I'm married"... She told me, "I don't want you to

become a housewife.” “I don’t want either. I’m going to work but I don’t know yet...” “Where would you like to work?” “I don’t know. Maybe a translator.” And then she suddenly said, “Would you like to work with me?” “What do you mean?” “Yes, in my department.” “Are you kidding? I could only dream about it - working with you, under your supervision!” “Just come [to the university]”...I didn’t want to go to school...I just graduated and in order to go to the university you had to work at school. That was the best scenario. That’s how I happened to be in the classroom. (M11)

Only Shushan and Nelly stated that they considered a teaching career at the onset of their university studies. As discussed in chapter 5.3, Shushan admired her private English tutor who instilled in her a desire to become an English teacher. Although Shushan highlighted that during the interviews, in an attempt to have a more prestigious profession, she undertook other jobs and only after unsatisfactory experiences Shushan applied for a teaching position.

Unlike other participants, Nelly was the only person who did not attempt any other careers. While she indicated that her final choice of a teaching career was influenced by her parents, she stressed both her love for languages and teaching since childhood and shared her experience of imitating her own teacher as a child and giving lessons to her dolls:

It was my childhood dream. I had about 15 dolls when I was little. I used to buy small books, there was a book store next to our home...I used to take money from my parents and buy small books, one book for each doll. And I cut my copy books to make small ones for my dolls. And I was writing instead of them, I was writing with errors. Then I was taking a red pen and correcting them [errors], then I was marking... Often I was saying bad stuff to my dolls...I remember my teacher was using these words and I was coming home and doing the same...that was my classroom, I mean I was the teacher... I had to do the same. My teacher was a model for me.

I mean I was the same as my teacher. I was really enjoying that, it was a wonderful moment for me when I was putting my dolls on the chairs - I had dolls without a leg, an eye, but the important thing was they were all present. I even had a register... (NI2)

To summarise, unlike the common belief that becoming a teacher is related to one's love for a subject, teaching and/or altruistic motives (Watt & Richardson, 2008), four of the teachers in this study seemed to engage in the teaching profession accidentally. All of the participants' decisions to major in English or to select a teaching path was influenced by significant others, mainly their families. Most of them opted for studies linked to English detecting the increasing importance of the language and the job prospects its proficiency might offer. Interestingly, despite the incidental start of their teaching careers, all of the teachers indicated that they gradually began to enjoy teaching. The next section will look into the evolution of the participants' teacher selves and factors affecting these developments.

5.4.2 Teacher self evolution: towards a feasible self

5.4.2.1 Compromising on the ideal self

As was demonstrated in the individual cases, at the onset of their teaching career all the participants retained distinct ideal, feared and ought-to selves. The construction of their initial ideal and feared teacher selves emerged from their positive and negative experiences as students both at school and university contexts. Lara's image of an 'actor' performing on the stage was affected by her learning experiences during her master's degree at university A. While Tom desired to be a 'showman' and be admired similar to his history teacher, Shushan and Marine Grigorevna's ideal teacher selves – an expert in the field with a mission of educating students - were linked to their own English teachers' representations:

I don't know she was my idol...During the lessons I frequently...not exactly imitated her but tried to implement her style in my classroom. (MI1).

Similarly, all the participants' feared teacher images were affected by their teachers, who were reported as incompetent, boring, unmotivated, or excessively strict:

I had a lecturer who was not competent...I was just a first year student but I could notice her mistakes in every third word...I felt very uncomfortable.... All my illusions about the higher education burst as a soap bubble [...] There was nothing we could learn from her. We were just stupidly doing exercises which we had to do. (MI1)

In Nelly's case her negative school experiences appeared to be especially influential; she reported that she had vivid memories linked to the teachers she feared at school. These incidents were so influential that she repeatedly referred to them when reflecting on some of her negative work experiences (this is discussed later):

I had very strict teachers at school, the kind of teachers I really feared. I had a Maths teacher...who I was afraid of, my heart was thumping...even when I learnt the topic, I still had that fear.

I remember one incident... I don't remember which lesson...but it was one of those teachers...She asked me to go to the board²⁴. I had learned the lesson. Because of my fear and nervousness, I said one sentence in Russian and I thought I said it wrong. And I got stuck and I just stopped [speaking] because of the fear. The teacher

²⁴ In Armenia, homework frequently consists of memorisation. Then in class students are called to the board to present their homework in front of the class (e.g. poem, retelling a story).

assumed I wasn't ready. She said, "Two [fail], sit down. You're not ready." But I was ready. (NI2)

These negative experiences and the fears they instilled later were reflected both in her feared and ideal teacher selves. She aimed to become a teacher who would be an opposite of her own teachers - 'fun' and able to create a relaxing atmosphere in the classroom:

Tag: When you started teaching, did you imagine or have an image of a teacher you wanted to be?

Nelly: To be honest, when I saw my teachers' weaknesses I wanted to do the exact opposite. If she was very strict, I thought the teacher should not be strict, she should be friendly. When the lessons were very boring - there was nothing interesting, I thought the teacher should be fun and have a creative approach. When the patience... I mean the teacher was impatient...when somebody asked a question, she either didn't answer the question at all... the teacher must be patient...When she was teaching without any emotions, I thought she should at least say something interesting or...create a positive atmosphere. I mean I looked at all that negative stuff from the opposite perspective. (NI1)

In addition to the ideal and feared teacher selves, the features of the ought-to teacher selves unavoidably transpired from all the participants' data; they all were hired by the universities and had to satisfy the conditions of their employers. Consequently, they had to follow the rules, fulfil their responsibilities and were obliged to meet the requirements which in certain cases contradicted with the teachers' own self images:

I had that book, which actually wasn't even a book. It was just a photocopy of different materials. I had to...cover certain units and if, let's say, they had decided to observe me and noticed that I deviated from that, I brought something else, it could have become

a problem because there was a clear curriculum, which we had to follow. (A11)

When you have a curriculum and you can't alter it. I mean in many cases you have your own approach...I mean the methods or techniques which you can use...you can achieve some results using them but you can't [aren't allowed to] employ them...I don't think they [the management] understand that they want me to have a different image...Every teacher has his own image. (N11)

In addition, all the local teachers initially were trying to live up to the societal expectations of an 'expert' teacher which was a reflection of the Soviet upbringing. For some of them, this impact was so powerful that it became a part of their ideal self. This will be discussed in more detail in section 5.4.2.3.

Although the participants clearly owned an ideal teacher self representation when they started teaching, during the data analysis their current ideal teacher selves were not apparent as distinct and evident images. The initial ideal self images were later altered or discarded because, in some cases, they were not internalised as their own while, in other instances, these images were perceived as unattainable or they conflicted with their other teacher self representations. As was shown above, Tom's initial 'showman' teacher self did not match with his ought-to self who had to ensure his students successfully complete the course. He had to adjust it and shape a competent teacher self capable of teaching grammar.

In Anna's case, the initial representation she created based on the images of her two teachers was later disowned because it did not become her own:

Anna: I had this beautiful teacher image...my Speaking skills teacher who we weren't listening to when she entered the classroom...we just were admirably looking at her. And I had an image of my primary school teacher - Mrs. K. – who was an example of a modest, no, not modest but calm...I don't remember her being

angry at anyone, raising her voice. And I remember the silence in the classroom. We respected her so much...although we were just first graders, we had so much veneration for her that there was a complete silence in her classes – she never raised her voice.

Tag: When you started [teaching], did you try to combine both [ideal images]?

Anna: I tried but none of them worked. (A11)

In cases of Shushan, Lara and Nelly, the reason for failing to achieve their initial teacher self representations was their excessively 'ideal', unrealistic and unachievable nature. Shushan's early ideal self image of a teacher who 'knows everything' and is capable to educate and bring up good citizens was later acknowledged as unfeasible. She transformed it into a 'director' teacher self representation which she aspired to obtain. Likewise, Lara's initial excessively ideal 'actor' image was compromised and replaced with an 'engaging teacher' self which she still had difficulties to maintain. Finally, Nelly originally developed a teacher image contrary to her own teachers – the one who is 'fun' which, after facing discipline issues, was transformed into a teacher who can control her students' behaviour and is able to engage them:

I'm trying to look at all that from a psychological perspective. Maybe they have a problem in their families, maybe these students are tired, maybe something happened in their lives...or they're in love. They are physically sitting there but they are not present. I'm trying. They say, "Miss Nelly, let's do this." We do it but again I can't see them engaged in the lesson. They sit there with a distracted look. I've really tried many times. I can't say that I can make every class mine and involve them in the learning process [imitates a confident voice]. There are cases when I can't, even if I work myself to the ground I won't be able to. Maybe I need more experience for that. Maybe in ten years I will be able to interpret...and even fix this in my classroom... (N13)

Similar to Shushan, Marine Grigorevna's initial teacher self derived from her own teacher and was an image of a typical Soviet teacher – someone who is an authority and expert in her field and has a mission of educating students. This image also implied unconditional respect and obedience from students:

The relationships between the teacher and students...they were not equal but they knew their mission. I mean the teacher knew her mission and students their mission, what they wanted from the teacher. (MI1)

Though she did not reflect much on her early teaching experiences, which was probably due to the temporal distance, Marine Grigorevna extensively discussed the clash between her Soviet and current experiences. Similar to the other participants, her initial teacher self image turned out to be unrealistic, even incompatible with the new reality after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It was difficult for her to adjust to the new teaching reality at multiple levels. She was struggling to accept the requirement of avoiding translations and use of mother tongue in the classroom:

I think it's wrong to ignore translation...in this type of classroom because everything is being absorbed via the mother tongue anyway. One needs to be so immersed in the environment of that language in order to stop being dependent on the translation. (MI3)

She also pointed out a lack of respect from students and mentioned that '*the student is completely different*' sharing a recent experience when the student presented previously completed homework as the current one. The fact that the student even attempted to lie to her, Marine Grigorevna perceived as a personal insult:

When I approached her, she showed me the translation and I read the translation in Armenian which we did in September. I said, "What? Who do you think is standing in front of you?... You probably don't understand who is standing here. Do you understand what you

did?...Who do you think I am? Blind, deaf, lame, without a leg, a hand, right? Do you think I am handicapped who doesn't understand anything and comes here just to waste her time?"...I was deeply offended...and I sat at the desk and said, "I don't even want to give you a mark...it is so insulting, so indecent, indecent on the human level let alone...it is an inappropriate student behaviour".
(MI1)

Although she was trying to maintain the authoritarian teacher image which was noticeable during the observations, her adjusted teacher representation was softer; noticing the decreasing level of students' general knowledge, she mainly concentrated on the mission aspect of her self aiming to 'enlighten' students and inspire their personal growth which she repeatedly stressed:

In the classroom, I didn't only teach the language but along with language I...I mean before I could rely on the horizon of my students. When we were talking about high matters, abstract notions, I was always sure that...there would be a topic to talk about with students which was not related to the language learning - I mean art, theatre, literature, relationships, social issues, politics. Why not? It's all our reality, isn't it? How can one be isolated from all that and teach a language? It's impossible, I can't imagine that. That's why now, when I have these classes...I became an enlightener, they don't have basic knowledge...It's painful, Taguhi, you can't imagine how painful that is...I don't even want it to be known there [in the UK] (MI1)

The problem is that I had to take a role of a general educator ...I mean I took the role of an educator and not just a language teacher but a person who also deals with the development of these children's²⁵ general knowledge which is very responsible... (MI2)

²⁵ Marine Grigorevna frequently refers to students as children.

To conclude, the participants faced numerous constraints which resulted in unattainability of their initial ideal selves. They all had to give up on their initial ideal self images (or some aspects of these images), matching their high aspirations with daily constraints. Consequently, they abandoned, adapted and/or transformed their initial ideal selves to construct teacher selves *realistic* and *feasible* in their contexts.

5.4.2.3 Feasibility of the self

The notion of feasibility emerges as a key feature in all the participants' later formed self images, which are reinforced by the dynamic and context-dependent nature of their teacher selves. They all were brought up in a particular socio-cultural environment with fixed norms, perceptions and societal expectations of a teacher which inevitably had an impact on the self formation. The socio-cultural impact is especially obvious when comparing Tom, who grew up in a Western environment and positioned himself as 'one of the people in the class', with the participants who grew up in Armenia, especially Marine Grigorevna who spent most of her life in Soviet Armenia. Although teachers' status in the Armenian society has decreased they are still being placed on a pedestal and are expected to be an authority who is an expert in his/her subject. This affected the local participants' self images especially their perception of self-efficacy. While all the participants aimed to be competent language teachers, Tom's concerns with regard to competence were linked to his teaching abilities (especially grammar), whereas the local participants' fears overwhelmingly concerned their English proficiency:

Why do we use the present perfect? What is the difference between...? I didn't...I mean really silly things. I didn't know continuous and simple, you know - I walk, I'm walking. I didn't know the terminology and the reasons why...so I avoided grammar... (T11)

I was worried about...what if they [students] asked me a word and I wouldn't know and I would make a mistake and I wouldn't know how to continue the topic because you never know, especially in speaking lessons, you don't know what will be discussed. (API1)

Gradually they developed strategies to handle situations when they were unable to answer the students' questions and started perceiving themselves as proficient language users; they acknowledged the fact that they were non-native speakers of English and that it was impossible to fully master the language. Consequently, an unreachable representation of teacher-perfection was replaced with a feasible image of a 'competent' language user as a part of their teacher selves:

If I don't know [a word], I'll definitely look it up [in the dictionary]. What's wrong with that? For sure, definitely, because I can't lie, I can't pretend to know everything, there are no Mr. and Mrs. Know-all, they just don't exist...I don't start inventing [a word]...I have the right not to know it because we are foreigners, we are not native speakers...I'm sorry but even in our own, in my case two native languages – Russian and Armenian, being a native speaker I can't know everything. (MI3)

If it is related to the lesson, I mean they ask a word I don't know...at the beginning, I remember myself several years ago, I felt so bad. I didn't know what to do. Not knowing a word was equal to death for me; I mean I blushed, I wanted to disappear. Now I've understood I can't know all the words in the world. When they ask me a question, "Miss Nelly, what does this word mean?"...I write it down and say, "Look, I don't want to give you the wrong meaning...I'll write it down and you write it down too, we'll look it up in the dictionary and compare." I mean, in this case, I say it without feeling embarrassed. I would feel embarrassed if I gave them wrong answer. (NI3)

In addition to the socio-cultural dimension, feasibility of the teachers' selves was strengthened by their contextual dependency at a micro-level. When reflecting on the self images they currently possessed, the participants in this sample were not portraying their abstract distant future representations, instead, they were elaborating on more specific images, linked to their particular courses and classes. For example, Anna, following the existing emphasis in the literature on communicative and learner-centred approaches, envisioned her teacher self as a 'facilitator orperhaps sometimes guide but facilitator mostly'. However, later she added that this image was not completely achievable in her current classroom:

There are some classes...when you employ a student-centred approach...I mean this student-centredness is always there, but there are some classes where you try to look at everything through their [students'] lenses, you put them in the centre...You want them to make decisions...They...they are simply not mature, not ready in their mentality. I mean they just get confused and don't know what to do...(A11)

Then Anna added:

Very many things depend on the learners. I mean when I enter the classroom when I see everybody is half sleeping, they don't have mood, of course I'm trying to do things but I mean that can last something like 20 minutes or 30 minutes or 40 minutes maximum. (A12)

It seems that Anna had to compromise on her 'idealistic' principles and develop a context specific self, attainable in her current classroom - a 'motivator' self:

I would like to have the ability...the ability, the tool, kind of a technique to be able not to give up, to keep on trying. Because right now I really give up after maximum 40 minutes, I cannot be dancing

all the time, I mean I need some feedback. When I don't get that feedback...it really becomes awful. (AI2)

The feasibility of the participants' teacher selves was evident within each case and reflected both their teacher self flexibility and development. Interestingly, Lara and Nelly, who at a certain point of their careers simultaneously taught both at university A and C, admitted that they positioned themselves and were teaching differently at these universities which implies they probably possessed different feasible self images for each university. They stressed that it depended on the quality of the university, environment and student motivation. Working in university A, which was highly prestigious with modern facilities and more motivated students, entailed high quality teaching.

The prestige of teaching there [university A], plus when you see who is coming to class...mostly they are not kids, they're adults, mature people...In 90% of cases it's not somebody else [parents] who applies but they apply for the courses themselves; they know why they're coming and what they pay money for. They are already motivated. It's not a child whose parents decided he should enter the university...He came, registered, he decided that he wants to learn English, he wants to learn English in the currently best university in Armenia...and he expects that you're the person who will give him that knowledge using proper methods, I mean using contemporary methods...because if a person comes to this university, he has high *expectations* and if you don't maintain that *level*/you're affecting the university prestige. (LI2)

They both mentioned that they were unable to teach in the same manner in university C mainly because it did not have the same resources (e.g. projectors, computers) and the students were not sufficiently mature:

Probably at university A the quality is always more... I mean I have high quality classes here [in university C]. I can't say that I don't

teach here effectively. I teach here quite effectively because we have specialised classes - I can't get relaxed. But there are days when it [teaching] doesn't go well...students...one day they say they haven't brought textbooks, the other day they aren't ready – the lesson becomes low quality. But there [in university A] every lesson...because they [students] are adults, mature people, they know why they come to class, they paid and they expect you to teach them well. (NI2)

The facilities are different there [in university A]. For example, there is a projector there, I use PowerPoint, it makes lessons interesting but we don't have these facilities here. I mean you need to try to make your lesson interesting without all that. I think it's important. (NI1)

While younger participants were attempting to achieve their desired teacher selves, Marine Grigorevna's case was distinct. It seemed that she was trying to maintain the image of a competent teacher she believed she already possessed. This was especially evident when she was describing her concerns, fears and struggle when she was offered to teach a new course on the culture of Great Britain and United States:

Tag: *Wasn't it difficult to teach it? It's not just language.*

Marine: *It was the end of the world...I had so many sleepless nights...it wasn't easy...at my age, some people of my age don't even know how to turn on the computer and I was doing PowerPoint presentations. Anyway, gradually I started feeling more confident...I'm engaged in it now. I'm afraid to miss news on TV or in the newspaper because I understand that I need that. I understand that any of them [students] may ask a question, maybe even to test me. It [preparing for the lesson] demands additional efforts because it's a different subject. I probably don't have issues*

in terms of the language but in terms of the content...I need to know the content. In this case, I don't care about the language. It's important what I say, not how I say it. (M13)

Marine Grigorevna explicitly pointed out how important it was for her to still have the capability of teaching effectively at her age:

Tag: *What keeps you in the profession?*

Marine: *You know, probably the awareness that I still can do something...at this age... Being at this age I am still able to maintain the ability not to be boring in the classroom. (M12)*

To conclude, all the participants' later developed teacher self images were not abstract and remote but they were rather specific and proximal reflecting their daily aspirations, concerns and worries. The specificity and closeness of their selves made them more attainable increasing the possibility of their achievement.

5.4.2.4 Holistic nature of the self

While the teachers' initial self representations were easily identifiable, their currently possessed possible selves were not detached self images but they were rather linked to each other. In some cases it was even difficult to identify the boundaries between the participants' ideal and ought-to selves. For example, a part of Anna's ideal self image seemed to be a teacher who always strived to develop and acquire new achievements: she was pursuing a doctoral degree, participating in numerous teacher training courses and aiming to be promoted to a managerial position. However, in one of her later interviews it appeared that all these goals were also affected by her desire to be acknowledged by her parents:

I've achieved so many things. I think I've accomplished a lot for my age...Not even once, just once...my mom or dad...they've never praised me. Yes, inside I know they are proud of me but they haven't

expressed that even once...They could have said, "Well done!"...but never... (AI2)

It is not clear whether that image was the ideal teacher self representing her own aspirations or the ought-to self influenced by her parents' desires. Probably it was a combination of both images.

In all the cases, it was evident that the participants' possible selves were not separate and fragmented. Quite the opposite, they were interconnected and formed a holistic self which was feasible in their context. For example, Nelly was juggling various facets of her teacher selves trying to concurrently reach an image of an engaging and friendly teacher, stay away from a strict and boring teacher as well as provide high results:

The teacher should be patient, creative, with a sense of humour, understanding and a professional...by professional I mean have a mastery in the subject she teaches, and, importantly, hardworking...also responsible – responsible for students, responsible for the results. (NI1)

In this extract, Nelly clearly provides a description of her feasible self which concurrently contains the qualities of her ideal and ought-to selves she strives to achieve. This image has also an inexplicitly embedded feared teacher self representation which she reflected on previously. She developed a balanced self characterised by ideal, ought-to and feared self representations which were not isolated elements but rather interacting facets of a coherent self that functioned simultaneously.

Similarly, other participants' possible selves were intertwined and complementary to each other. As discussed, Tom aimed to be a competent and engaging teacher who could simultaneously avoid being a dull teacher incapable of teaching grammar. Lara desired her students to successfully complete the course while at the same time maintain some degree of enthusiasm and keep away from her feared 'boring teacher' self. Shushan

intended to attain a 'director' teacher self who could achieve her lesson goals. She concurrently wanted to avoid being an incompetent teacher who could not achieve her lesson aims. Anna's readiness to become a motivating and high-achieving teacher was coupled with her feared self image of a 'boring' teacher. Finally, Marine Grigorevna's desire was to be able to maintain the image of an effective teacher which she believed she had achieved. Her fear was to fail to maintain the same 'quality'. All these representations were reinforced by the university requirements; all the participants stressed that they had to cover the curriculum and generate high results. As pointed out above, all these facets were interconnected and complementary to each other. The findings of this study demonstrate that rather than possessing distinct ideal, ought-to and feared self images, the participants developed a holistic balanced self – a feasible entity comprising features of various possible selves (e.g. ideal, ought-to, feared selves). The key feature of this self was its realistic nature and attainability in their particular contexts.

5.4.2.5 Interconnection of the self and significant others

As indicated above, their teacher selves did not develop in isolation but they transpired from their immediate contexts and experiences with others. The participants identified students, colleagues and supervisors as important parties having an impact on their teacher self development. The special significance of students was pointed out by all the participants. When analysing the data, the number of student-related codes was the highest (e.g. students' progress, relationships, initiative, creativity, laziness). The teachers had a genuine concern for their students and were proud of their achievements and progress:

This was the week that I greatly enjoyed. Both groups were supposed to have presentations. Never ever have I expected them to perform in such an excellent way. They were quite enthusiastic themselves and the presentations they had were

solemn witnesses of that. They have made a great job creating all those masterpieces, moreover, all the details were taken into a meticulous consideration. I was in my element. They have thought beforehand about all the details, like degustation, PP presentation, cartoon included in the latter and etc. (AJ6)

Similarly, the participants were disappointed with their students' misbehaviour, failures and lack of motivation:

I give them a lot but receive back only this much [shows very little with hands] and it's painful for me. I feel disappointed. Sometimes I come here [teachers' common room] furious and say, "Jesus, what's going on? They are so lazy, the laziness was born before them..." (M11)

Such an attitude [two students were constantly talking and interrupting the lesson]...especially when there is someone in the classroom [refers to me]...I was shocked. Because of my nervousness I couldn't teach the way I wanted to because...I don't know - either don't come to class or, if you come, respect others because in that class I have very hardworking students, I mean I can't...if I knew everybody was like that I would probably be like them – would just sit there, waste my time and leave. But there are students who take it [study] seriously. (NPI5)

Although research has repeatedly highlighted the importance of students and that teachers' most important rewards are obtained from students in the classroom (e.g. Dinham & Scott, 2000; Nias, 2002), the participants' concern for students was not completely altruistic. It was also vital for the teachers' self-esteem – they wanted to be appreciated and valued:

It's very interesting when students who already graduated, you don't teach them or...last time I met such a student...she stopped me and

said, "You had a big impact on me." I got excited, "You don't know that your influence..." It means when I taught that person she gained something from me. I don't know whether she will become a teacher or something else but I got so happy... (NI3)

I hope that the students will not consider meeting and cooperating with me as something negative...if it's not completely positive, I hope not negative either...it is very important for me...When I am on the streets, somebody always approaches me, hugs me, kisses me but I don't remember their faces. Suddenly somebody comes up to me and says, "Oh, Marine Grigorevna, don't you remember me, you taught me." This happens all the time...and you understand that you have done something... (MI2)

Lara: If I don't see appreciation, I'll probably stop teaching. I mean it. You can't imagine how it can break me down. For example, I have a private student now...It's so stressful - he is not interested at all. And I feel I'm the worst teacher...

Tag: Why?

Lara: Because I can't make him [student] interested. I think I'm the problem. It doesn't matter that people tell me, "He's like that, he doesn't care about that."...I can't, I don't know. I feel so bad...I even couldn't sleep the first couple of days. (LI3)

In this extract, Lara's lack of ability to motivate the student threatens her sense of self-efficacy because she blames herself for the students' indifference in learning English. Interestingly, when observing their students' progress and achievement, the participants not only felt an increase in their sense of self-efficacy but also expressed a desire to put more effort in teaching:

I've observed the positive outcome of my work. One of the trainees from the pedagogical university was teaching my class in her supervisor's and my presence. When I saw my students from that

perspective, heard their answers I became very excited....They started studying EAP in September 2014 - only one semester and such a good result. They've learnt a lot and used that knowledge and they were actively participating in the lesson. Even the supervisor praised my boys. I've decided to do even more for my students and make my lessons more interesting. (NJ2)

A similar impact is noticeable in the participants' relationships with other significant others - managers and colleagues. The teachers identified relationships with colleagues as very influential in terms of classroom practice. They mentioned the value of colleagues' support, sensitivity to their emotional needs, empathy and counselling. They appreciated their relationships, talks, opportunities to relax and share their fears and failures but only if they did not sense threat to their self. This is especially vivid in Lara's and Nelly's cases when they were comparing the atmosphere and relationships in universities A and C:

The environment is really good, very friendly [university C]. The teachers don't take digs at each other [compares with university A], there is no tension...I have always thought maybe if we had that competition here...if I was paid more than someone else, maybe people would change...When there is such a competition, a fear to lose [a job], when you know what you're losing, in this case people behave completely differently. (LI2)

Nelly: There [university A] I can't find...I'm stressed there...but here [university C]. What is the reason?...First of all, human factor, personality, maybe it's our luck that we have such people here. You're surrounded by right people, they're like you...There is no competition here... We help each other. One says, "Nelly, what have you done, which book have you used?" And I say, "This book". Then I ask another teacher, "How this should be done?" Especially when we teach the same courses we consult each other.

Tag: Doesn't it exist there [in university A]?

Nelly: It definitely doesn't exist there. (NI3)

In terms of managers, the participants stressed how crucial they were for creating a positive atmosphere and conditions for dialogue and trust in the department:

They [managers] need to have patience, professionalism, goodwill and ability to compromise, listen to you and react properly. It is very important and I'm lucky because she [her manager] has these qualities...you perceive her as someone very close to you. There are some issues... you need to solve them and you approach her and she will always help you. Even if she doesn't know how she will try to do something. (MI3)

We don't have hierarchical relationships - I mean when you always have to have an appointment in advance [to see a manager]...we don't have that. I mean our relationships are quite liberal and democratic... (AI1)

The participants indicated that effective managers should support and appreciate their teachers and encourage their professional growth as well as involve them in decision-making tasks. Furthermore, the teachers emphasised that managers should avoid restrictive and intimidating approaches which could negatively affect their self-esteem:

That's not a healthy atmosphere for me. When I feel it's not healthy I get worried. It's like those old days are back, I start...I become a small child again, I shrink and start getting nervous. (NI3)

That [observation] feedback had been already thrown somewhere else because it was needed to reduce your salary...How else it could have been done? They [managers] wanted to put a gag on you. At that time you received the salary equal to others and now

you must be thankful that you have a job...I don't know, that's *politics*... but it breaks you down ... (L11)

To conclude, the participants acknowledged that their managers' ability to create conditions for dialogue and trust could lead to greater motivation, confidence, sense of self-efficacy among teachers as well as contributing to a sense of community in the institution.

5.5 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have explored the participants' motives to become teachers as well as their teacher self evolution. Their desire to select English linked profession was influenced by their families and was rooted in the changing status of English which after the collapse of the Soviet Union started gaining special significance. Even though most of the participants majored in English, initially they did not intend to pursue a teaching career and started it accidentally.

Interestingly, at the beginning of their teaching careers, the participants of the study owned apparent ideal and feared teacher selves mainly resulting from their past experiences as learners as well as ought-to selves imposed by the institutions they were teaching in. However, their initial ideal self images were later disowned or considered too difficult to achieve. The findings suggest that instead of forming distinct ideal, ought-to and feared selves, the teachers constructed a feasible teacher self which was a fusion of various possible self components derived from the teachers' previous experiences, which was attainable in a particular context of work. The context-specific nature of the feasible self entailed more motivating power and required specific actions from the teachers to achieve it. Additionally, the participants' teacher self development was influenced by significant others – managers, colleagues and, most importantly, students.

Chapter Six: Discussion

From an adult development perspective, possible selves are blueprints for personal change and growth...

(Cross & Markus, 1991: 232)

In this chapter, I aim to discuss the main findings of the study identified in the cross-case section in the light of the existing literature. As introduced in chapters 1 and 3, the main aim of this study has been to explore the motivation of English language teachers in the university context in Armenia, exploiting possible selves theory, and to gain an in-depth understanding of how teachers' motivation to teach evolves throughout their career as well as how it is socially constructed in their environments. In chapter 4, I have explained that this qualitative enquiry was conducted through in-depth interviews, classroom observations followed by post-observation interviews and reflective journal entries collected over the period of six months. The thematic analysis of the data resulted in emergence of main findings which have been articulated in Chapter 5.

As stated, this chapter will situate the main findings in the literature and, to make it easier to follow the argument, it is structured around the main research questions. Therefore, first I will focus on the participants' main motives to enter a teaching profession examining why these particular reasons were salient for the participants when making their career decisions. Then I will scrutinise how the participants' teacher selves formed and transformed throughout their career connecting their teacher self evolution to the factors impacting on it. Finally, I will revisit the teacher motivational self framework emerging from the findings of the study.

6.1 Motives to start a teaching career: To be or not to be a teacher of English?

In the literature review chapter, I have discussed that many countries worldwide struggle with recruitment of teaching staff; they are faced with teacher shortages and high dropout rates which mainly are linked to low status of the profession, low remuneration packages and, in certain contexts, to the assumption that teaching as a job is more suited for women (Klassen et al., 2011; Richardson & Watt, 2005). To understand and tackle this challenge, researchers have extensively explored people's motives to start a teaching career (Bastick, 2000; Bruinsma & Jansen, 2010; Jungert et al., 2014; Richardson & Watt, 2005). They have arrived at the conclusion that the main motives for entering a teaching profession fall into three main categories: (a) intrinsic motives which are connected to enjoying the subject and/or teaching; (b) extrinsic motives which concern external benefits linked to the job; and (c) altruistic motives related to the desire to support students and contribute to the development of the society. While research conducted in developed countries suggests that altruistic and intrinsic factors are the most influential (Watt et al., 2012, Watt & Richardson, 2008), studies carried out in developing countries stress that extrinsic factors are considered more dominant when selecting a teaching profession (Bastick, 2000; Mwamwenda, 2010; Yong, 1995). Although it seems that this was the case with the participants of this study as well, identifying their motives as merely extrinsic does not reflect the complexity of factors affecting their decisions to become a teacher. Therefore, in the following sections, I will elaborate on the findings related to the teachers' reasons to select the teaching profession taking into account historical, political and societal developments in Armenia and the consequences they entailed. First, I will consider the roles of Russian and English languages in the country, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, and, consequently, the power shift associated with both languages. Then I will discuss the impact of significant others, mainly parents, on their career choices. Finally, I will examine the reasons underlying the participants' initial desire to avoid a teaching career.

6.1.1 Russian vs. English: power shift

As seen in the findings chapter almost all the participants' decision to select a career linked to English was influenced by the language status in the country. In the literature review, I have indicated how the linguistic shift taking place in Armenia after the break-up of the Soviet Union have influenced the status of Russian and English languages. Despite the fact that Armenia maintained the official status of its native language during the Soviet era, the imposition of the Russian language as the second official language influenced how it was perceived in the society positioning Russian as superior in comparison to the titular languages (Fierman, 2012; Pavlenko, 2008b; Pavlenko, 2013b). Consequently, having Russian education implied access to better employment opportunities and obtaining a higher position in the society. It is not surprising that in that reality, Marine Grigorevna and even Lara and Nelly who started their schooling during the Soviet period were sent to Russian schools.

However, the collapse of the Soviet system resulted in the collapse of the power of Russian language across many of newly independent states including Armenia (Pavlenko, 2008a). Because the language was associated with the political system, its eradication was a part of a larger process of desovietisation (Khachikyan, 2001). Not surprisingly, the public perception of Russian similarly shifted and once powerful language became associated with aggression. This led to a removal of Russian from official use, closing Russian schools and reducing the number of Russian hours at schools (Pavlenko, 2008a). These changes were reflected in Lara's and Nelly's cases both of whom were attending Russian schools during that period. Lara's Russian school was turned into an Armenian one implying that the medium of instruction had to be Armenian. She stressed how difficult it was both for teachers and pupils to switch to Armenian and cope with Armenian textbooks. Nelly's school was one of the rare ones which maintained its Russian specialisation but she pointed out that inspired by the independence movement and prevalent at that time emphasis on Armenianness (Abrahamian, 1998) her parents decided to transfer her to an Armenian

school. In spite of her excitement to study in Armenian school, Nelly faced numerous difficulties linked to having Armenian as a medium of instruction and had to return to her initial Russian school in a few months. The nationalistic discourse popular in the Armenian society in the 1990s and the language policy aiming to discard Russian and cultivate Armenian strongly affected Russian speaking Armenians like Marine Grigorevna who, despite being Armenian, received their formal education in Russian (see appendix H for an extract from Marine Grigorevna's observation protocol demonstrating how she still values Russian). Their previous advantageous position as Russian speakers collapsed and they started facing challenges because of their low Armenian language proficiency.

In the literature review, I have indicated that the collapse of the Soviet empire and globalisation processes taking place in the region resulted in the rapid spread of English in the former Soviet republics (Chachibaia & Colenso, 2005; Pavlenko, 2013b). As a result, in contrary to the diminishing role of Russian, English was gaining a momentum and occupying a wide range of spheres including education, business, technology and intercultural communication. (Kreindler, 1997). It has become a dominant foreign language taught in schools replacing other foreign languages such as French and German (Hovhannisyanyan, 2016). Consequently, recognising the growing importance of English, Anna and Shushan who started school after the collapse of the Soviet Union were sent to English schools. This linguistic shift and the growing importance of English similarly influenced all the local participants' decisions to select an English major at the university except for Marine Grigorevna. She entered the university in 1970s and obviously her decision to major in English did not have similar implications; it was just the language she loved. All the other local teachers realised that mastering English would imply a successful career (Pavlenko, 2013b).

Tom's decision to enter the teaching profession was similarly affected by the empowerment of English, though, in addition to that, he realised his 'value' as a native speaker of English. In spite of numerous attempts to challenge the

'idealized notions of native speakers' in various contexts (Breckenridge & Erling, 2011: 81), it has persisted in Armenia. Tom's experiences of being offered a job as soon as he spoke English and was labelled a native speaker of English suggest that native speakers are still considered 'ideal' English teachers in Armenia based on the assumption that their superior language skills are prerequisite for being an effective English teacher. This inevitably results in 'favouritism' of native speakers (Medgyes, 2001) over their non-native speaker counterparts and, frequently, leads to certain privileges and hiring discrimination (Clark & Paran, 2007).

As seen, the historical and political developments initiated a major linguistic shift in Armenia which, subsequently, affected the participants' decisions to select a career linked to English. Additionally, it emerged from the data that the dominance of Russian or English languages influenced the decisions of the local participants' parents who acknowledged the benefits linked to mastering the language in power and sent their children to specialised Russian or English schools. Consequently, Marine Grigorevna, Nelly and Lara, who started their schools during the Soviet period, attended Russian schools, whereas Shushan and Anna, who went to school after the collapse of the Soviet Union, were sent to English schools.

6.1.2 Career choices of children or parents?

The findings highlighted that parents played an important role in all the local participants' decisions to major in English and, consequently, become English teachers. Although parents have generally been considered influential in their children's career decision making (Kniventon, 2004), in Armenian culture they have a pivotal role. Klassen et al. (2011) advocate that reasons to start a teaching career are different depending on teachers' cultural background. This suggests that it is unlikely that beginning teachers' motives 'fit a universally desired pattern' (Klassen et al., 2011: 587) which implies that teachers from individualist and collectivist cultures might be driven by distinct factors. It is argued that individualistic cultures stress the individual's uniqueness and

promote his/her independence and autonomy, whereas collectivist societies highlight connectedness and interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; 2010) and display more socially oriented motivations which are highly affected by significant others (Oyserman et al., 2002).

In the case of Armenia which has been identified as a collectivist culture, family relations are especially important (Matosyan, 2014) and collectivism is enhanced by the concept of familism which prioritises family and stresses its cultural value; it emphasises the importance of family ties and maintaining family honour (Bakalian 1993; Dagirmanjian 1996). It is proposed that familism in Armenia was promoted as a result of not having an independent statehood for several centuries and was an attempt to preserve Armenian identity and, therefore, led to the emergence of the concept of “Nation-as-a-family” (Ishkanian, 2003: 267). In Armenia, familism implies the importance of accepting parents’ authority, having obligations towards them as well as meeting their expectations and wishes (Ghazarian, et al., 2008). Consequently, all the major decisions including the career choices of children in Armenia are highly affected by their parents who both guide their children and assist them in applying to the university (Ishkanian, 2003). In addition, parents cover both the tuition fees and provide the money for their student-children’s living (Roberts & Pollock, 2009) becoming even more influential in their children’s career decision making. Considering the above mentioned cultural peculiarities, it is not surprising that all the local participants’ career choices were largely affected by their parents.

6.1.3 ‘Never teaching’ – why teaching is not attractive

The findings chapter has indicated that all the participants, except for Nelly and Shushan, initially did not intend to become teachers. After graduation, some of them (Anna and Lara) completely rejected the idea of being involved in a teaching profession. Even Shushan, who reportedly had a passion for teaching since her school years, initially was involved in other more prestigious careers testing whether she really wanted to be a teacher. This is not

surprising, considering the socio-economic situation in Armenia which touched all domains of the society including education.

As introduced in chapter 2, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Armenia encountered a severe economic crisis emerging from the failure of the Soviet economy worsened by a military conflict with Azerbaijan. In the 1990s, the devastating economic situation led to rapid plummeting of education expenditure in Armenia which started to improve in the 2000s. The continuous decrease of state expenditure on education has led to decreasing remuneration packages as well as lower social status of the teaching profession and teachers' authority in general (Silova, 2009). Obviously, the local participants witnessed these negative changes leading to decline of the teacher's status in the society. They stressed deteriorating salaries and mentioned that all the previous benefits associated with a teaching profession diminished, such as secure job, continuous professional development courses, privileged status and honours.

Consequently, teaching was not considered a primary career choice by most of the participants; it was rather selected as a fallback career. Generally a fallback career implies that teaching is perceived as the last option when preferred careers are not available (Wong et al., 2014; Watt & Richardson, 2012) or is related to unsuccessful previous work experiences and easy entry into profession (Sinclair et al., 2006). All three reasons emerged in the participants' cases. For example, Tom selected teaching as a career option because he realised that as a native speaker he would be immediately hired while Lara and Shushan had unsatisfying previous career experiences. In addition, they all, apart from Nelly who initially intended to be a teacher, stated that at the time teaching seemed to be the best available option for them.

Although teaching as a fallback career often implies less engagement in the profession and is not typically ranked high in western countries (Klassen et al., 2011; Fokkens-Bruinsma & Canrinus, 2014; Watt & Richardson, 2007), in other socio-cultural settings it might have different implications (Klassen et al.,

2011; Wong et al., 2014; Yong, 1995). In some contexts, teaching is viewed as a secure job and people's decision to start a teaching career might be due to their desire to avoid career uncertainty (Klassen et al., 2011), while in others it might be considered the only available choice (Bastick, 2000; Yong, 1995). Based on research in a number of countries, Yong (1995) points out that the country's economic status and the perception of a teaching profession in the society frequently affect people's motives to become teachers. He proposes that intrinsic and altruistic motives are most influential in developed countries because a teaching career is not perceived prestigious and does not offer significant material benefits in comparison to other jobs, whereas in developing countries, Yong argues, it gives an opportunity to lower class people to climb the social ladder. This might reflect the reality in a number of developing countries, however, it was not the case for the participants in this study. They all belonged to the middle class and were from well-educated families which implies that teaching was not linked to higher social status for the participants. Nevertheless, they had to face challenges linked to high unemployment rates in the country which affected some of the participants' decisions to embrace the opportunity when they were offered a teaching position. Similar to the participants of other studies (Bastick, 2000, Watt & Richardson, 2012), though they realised that teaching could not provide any significant benefits and was not well paid, it was still an employment which offered certain security in an unstable job market. It is argued that in countries with fewer job opportunities, the employment provided by the government might trigger people's decisions to enter the teaching profession (Bastick, 2000). In addition, lower living standards in developing countries and people's concerns related to their everyday needs (e.g. food, shelter, education, healthcare) might guide their career decisions. This recalls Maslow's theory of hierarchy of needs (1943) suggesting that altruistic and intrinsic motives do not come into play until the basic needs are fulfilled.

6.1.4 Summary

In this section, I have discussed the participants' main motives to enter a teaching profession. To understand what these motives were guided by I have examined them in the historical, political and cultural context which undoubtedly influenced the participants' career decisions. One of the major findings linked to the local participants' career decisions emerges from the collectivist nature of Armenians. As a collectivist culture, family is regarded pivotal for Armenian people resulting in promoting parents' authority and striving to meet their expectations (Ghazarian, et al., 2008). This explains why the local participants' decisions to select a career linked to English was strongly influenced by their parents.

In addition, all the participants witnessed the breakdown of the Soviet Union which led to a rise of nationalistic discourse and an attempt to eradicate everything associated with the Soviet Empire including the language – Russian (Hovhannisyán, 2016). Opening its borders, Armenia became exposed to the Western values and started a process of gradual integration into the globalised world in which English had a powerful role. Consequently, English transformed from being merely one of the foreign languages into a language of special significance mastery of which could increase one's employability (Pavlenko, 2013b). This was acknowledged by both local participants and Tom who realised that his 'rare' native speaker status could enable him to teach English.

Importantly, the collapse of the Soviet Union had catastrophic consequences for Armenian infrastructure and economy and resulted in an unparalleled crisis in the country (Antonyán, 2013). The government's expenditure dropped radically and was especially disastrous for education sector. This had a significant impact on teachers' salaries and gradually damaged the perception of a teaching profession in the country turning it into a less prestigious job (Silova, 2009). All the participants of this study, except for Karine Grigorevna, selected their career in this reality. Being aware of the transformational

processes taking place in Armenia after the independence helps explain the participants' desire to major in English, the language associated with employment and success, as well as their initial unwillingness to be involved in teaching. However, despite the fact that most of the participants were not originally attracted to teaching and started this job as a fallback career, all of them later expressed dedication to it and perceived themselves successful teachers.

6.2 Teacher self evolution

Having considered the participants' main motives to become involved in teaching, in the following sections I will examine how their teacher selves developed over the course of their career and what factors impacted on their teacher self formation and evolution. First, I will scrutinise how the participants' teacher selves were constructed at the beginning of their teaching careers and why their ideal selves were perceived to be unattainable. Then I will explain the temporal and contextual nature of the participants' teacher selves and the impact of significant others on their self construction. In the concluding section I will link all my arguments and explain how the participants' initial ideal selves evolved into feasible selves.

6.2.1 Unattainability of the ideal self

As seen in the findings chapter, when the participants started teaching, they all possessed ideal, feared and ought-to selves. Similar to the beginning teachers in other studies (e.g. Cardelle-Elawar et al., 2007; Fletcher, 2000; Hamman et al., 2010), the shaping of their early ideal and feared teacher selves originated from their experiences as learners. Being students in the past and witnessing their teachers' actions had an impact on the participants' beliefs about how teaching should be conducted (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; Flores & Day, 2006; Korthagen, 2004; Palmer, 2007) which, inevitably, influenced the formation of their possible teacher selves (Hiver, 2013). Similar to the development of the ideal self images, the construction of the

participants' feared teacher selves was grounded in their past learning experiences (Hoyle & Sherrill, 2006). Frequently, the participants' images of ideal and feared teacher selves were linked to their own teachers who also acted as role models. This is not surprising considering that the impact of teachers' own experiences as learners on their teaching has been extensively discussed (Kubanyiova & Feryok, 2015; Murphy et al., 2004) and frequently linked to 'apprenticeship of observation' (Lortie, 1975; Pennington & Richards, 2016).

Yet, as demonstrated in the findings chapter, the participants came across different obstacles, which made their initial ideal selves unreachable. Possible selves researchers stress that desired selves will only motivate behaviour (see section 3.4.1) if they are:

- congruent and connected with one's actual self (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; Oyserman et al, 2006) implying that they do not clash with other self images and are temporarily connected to their actual selves (Kivetz & Tyler 2007; Oyserman & Destin, 2010; Peetz et al., 2009);
- concrete and contextually situated implying that they are not abstract but relevant to one's immediate context and will not require excessive effort to reach (Conway & Clark, 2003; Erikson, 2007; Fletcher, 2000; Hamman et al., 2013);
- balanced against feared selves implying that when one simultaneously tries to avoid his/her feared self and achieve desired self, the motivational impact might be stronger (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; Hoyle & Sherrill, 2006; Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006).

While all of the participants' ideal selves were balanced against their representations of feared teacher selves, the conditions in the other two points were not always met. In Anna's case the initially envisioned self based on her own teacher was not internalised and in Tom's case it clashed with his ought-to self. In other participants' cases their initial ideal selves were later perceived too difficult or even impossible to achieve. All these reasons made their ideal

teacher self representations unattainable which supports the most fundamental precondition for the motivating future self - in order to stimulate motivational behaviours the future self must be deemed *feasible* which entails availability and accessibility (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; Erikson, 2007; Hamman et al., 2013; Norman & Aron, 2003). It seems that the participants' early ideal selves were excessively idealistic making them unachievable. Interestingly, the idealistic character of the ideal self is even implied in Higgins' (1987:320) definition - 'the attributes that someone (yourself or another) would like you, ideally, to possess.' The self is identified as 'ideally' owned which, according to the Cambridge English Dictionary (2017), is linked to a perfect situation implying that it is not necessarily tangible or attainable.

As stated above, eventually the participants had to adapt their initial future self images to their reality considering various constraints. The clash between beginning teachers' initial teacher representations with the reality they face when entering teaching has been widely discussed in pre-service teacher literature (e.g. Freese, 2006; Hamman et al. 2010). Many researchers stress that newly qualified teachers have to cope with this discrepancy and eventually adapt to their contexts (e.g. Conway & Clark, 2003; Fletcher, 2000; Hamman et al, 2013). The unattainability of the participants' initial ideal selves seems to be linked to their remoteness from their immediate teaching contexts. As stated above, these selves were mainly based on their previous experiences implying a substantial contextual and temporal gap from their day to day reality (this is discussed in detail in the following sections). As a result, this gap amplified the perceived difficulty associated with the attempt to reach the ideal self which obviously impacted on the participants' behaviour and desire whether or not to exert an effort (Oyserman & James, 2011). If the desired self is perceived as overly difficult to achieve, it is less likely that the individual will take actions to attain it. This is supported by both self-efficacy (Bandura, 2006) and expectancy theories (Locke & Latham, 1990) arguing that the likelihood that individuals will work to achieve their goals depends on their perception of their ability to attain them. Eventually, the participants had to transform or

abandon their early ideal teacher selves to make them temporarily and contextually feasible which is discussed in the next two sections.

6.2.2 Temporal nature of the self

First of all, temporality is linked to the interconnection of one's past and present experiences and their impact on the future self formation. Although self researchers' focus has mainly been on the future dimension of the self, one's previous experiences are also influential (Ryan & Irie, 2014). As seen, the impact of prior events on the participants' teacher self formation was very prominent; their initial teacher selves were largely based on their interpretations of past experiences indicating that both the present and future selves do not develop in a vacuum and are based on people's understanding and reflection on their earlier experiences (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Mercer, 2017a).

However, temporality also emerged as one of the key factors determining the participants' teacher self feasibility. In this sense it was connected to the participants' perception of distance between their current and future teacher selves. Possible selves researchers highlight that the motivational power of possible selves is linked to their future orientation (Higgins, 1987; Markus & Nurius, 1986). However, the notion of future varies; it can be both remote (e.g. 15 years) or adjacent (e.g. next week, next month) suggesting that future selves can be distant or proximal (Oyserman & James, 2011) developing over time (Ryff, 1991). In addition, research indicates that the distance of one's future possible selves from his/her current self varies depending on the age (Frazier et al., 2002). For example, in comparison to adults, adolescents' ideal self images are more distant and abstract requiring more dramatic actions (Markus & Nurius, 1986) whereas the incongruity of older people's ideal and actual selves shrinks with age (Oyserman & James, 2011; Pronin & Ross, 2006). This implies that people gradually develop more proximal possible selves which appear to be more realistic and stimulating specific actions to attain these selves (Kivetz & Tyler 2007; Lee & Oyserman, 2007; 2008). In

terms of teachers, this entails that with experience teacher's future selves become closer to their current selves. This tendency was noticeable in the participants' self transformation; while their early career ideal self images were remote, excessively idealistic and, hence, unfeasible, with experience they attuned their self representations and formed more adjacent teacher selves making them more likely to be achieved (Oyserman & James, 2011). Marine Gigorevna's case even demonstrates that at an older age the priority might be not to achieve a desired self image but to maintain the representation that the individual has already attained. Similar to the participants of Pronin and Ross's study (2006), when reflecting on their later formed teacher selves the participants of this study were referring to particular situations (e.g. being unable to engage a particular group of students) based on which they developed proximal images. The proximity and specificity implies that these images were more realistic and feasible because they were shaped considering particular contextual constraints.

Importantly, the distance of the future self from the current one also affects how vividly it is envisioned and the likelihood of its achievement (Strahan & Wilson, 2006). The future can be perceived separate from the present (e.g. after retiring) and, in this case, it is considered distant and vague and does not imply current actions – one needs to wait for it to arrive. Conversely, future can be viewed as a fluid continuation of present implying that 'the future begins now' and 'the current action is immediately necessary' (Oyserman & James, 2011: 129). In this case, one thinks about ways to act in the present to achieve the future self. For example, Anna's initial teacher self transformed into a specific one - 'teacher who can engage her learners'. This implies that she needs to adopt particular strategies and develop specific activities to reach that image. Consequently, the proximity of the future self and its connection to the current self increases the likelihood of taking actions to achieve it (Lee & Oyserman, 2008; Peetz et al., 2009).

6.2.3 Contextual nature of the self

Another key factor having an impact on feasibility of the participants' teacher selves seem to be their immersion in context. Mercer (2017b: 58) stresses the importance of context in the self formation and argues that 'contexts are a fundamental part of the self simultaneously influencing the self'. As discussed in the literature review, despite the fact that possible selves have been frequently criticised for being extremely self-centred and detached from their social context (Harvey, 2015; Oyserman & James, 2011), the findings demonstrate that the participants' teacher selves were affected by both wider socio-cultural and their immediate contexts.

The socio-cultural influence is especially apparent when comparing Western-educated Tom with the local participants who still were experiencing a societal imposition of being an expert in the field. This most notably affected the participants' perception of self-efficacy. As a part of their teacher self images, all of them envisioned themselves becoming competent teachers, though competence had distinct connotations for Tom and local teachers; Tom associated it with teaching ability while local teachers linked it to language proficiency. These perceptions were rooted in both global and local views of English language teachers.

At a global level, Armenian teachers similar to EFL/ESL teachers worldwide are affected by the connotations attached to the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy which is related to the global expansion of English and, according to Phillipson (1992), constitutes a form of linguistic imperialism. Native speaker/non-native speaker distinction aims to highlight one's level of expertise in a particular language implying that native speakers' language competence is a gold standard which grants them a superior status and leads to the 'native speaker fallacy' (Phillipson 1992:195), an assumption that only native speaker teachers can successfully teach English (Braine, 2010; Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001; Moussu & Llurda, 2008). Even the researchers who

argue that being non-native speaker does not imply being an ineffective teacher stress non-native speaker teachers' 'language deficiencies':

Because of their relative English language deficiencies, non-NESTs are in a difficult situation: by definition they are not on par with NESTs in terms of language proficiency. Their deficit is greater if they work in less privileged teaching situations, cut off from NESTs or any native speakers. (Reves & Medgyes, 1994: 364)

As a result, the local participants' as well as other non-native speaker teachers' main worries are rooted in their language proficiency (Jenkins, 2005; Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Tang, 1997) which frequently leads to the feeling of linguistic inadequacy, lower self-esteem and inferior self representation (Rajagopalan, 2005; Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Mahboob, 2004). Obviously, native speaker teachers' experiences differ from their non-native speaker colleagues. Although they also have concerns which are mainly linked to their lack of pedagogical and professional preparation (Mahboob, 2004; Moussu & Llorca 2008), these, however, do not imply inadequacy or inferiority and do not negatively affect native speakers' employment prospects (Braine, 2010; Selvi, 2014). In contrast, non-native speaker teachers' perceptions of their 'deficient' language skills are frequently reinforced by the employment market where they have to compete with their native speaker counterparts (Clark & Paran, 2007; Mahboob & Golden, 2013). Despite ongoing attempts to eliminate nativeness as a discriminating factor when hiring English teachers (TESOL, 2006), this rivalry still positions native speaker teachers at an advantage in comparison to their non-native speaker colleagues (Holliday, 2005; Pavlenko, 2003; Phillipson, 1992) which similarly has an impact on the English language teaching industry in Armenia. Tom's case clearly demonstrates that native speaker teachers were considered highly valued by employers and had a privileged status. Tom was genuinely surprised how easily he was offered a teaching position even though he did not have an appropriate educational background and/or teaching experience. In Tom's university this discrimination existed not only when hiring teachers but also during the employment itself;

Tom admitted that he received higher salary in comparison to local teachers, was not observed frequently and, unlike his Armenian colleagues, always had sufficient teaching hours.

In addition, the participants' interpretations of their language competence were affected by the societal perceptions and expectations. As discussed in chapter 5, the Soviet past still has an impact on the Armenian society and public expectations of teachers are still rooted in the Soviet ideologies. According to the Soviet educational requirements, teachers had to 'completely master the knowledge' they were teaching (Zajda, 1980: 235), otherwise, the image of the Soviet teacher could be damaged.

Thus, the local participants of the study experienced double pressure; on one hand, they were comparing their language proficiency to that of native speakers and, on the other hand, they had to meet societal expectations of someone with a perfect mastery of English. This put an additional burden on the teachers' self-perceptions and explains why they so closely associated their pedagogic competence with language proficiency. However, dissimilar to teachers described in other studies (Hiver, 2013; Reves & Medgyes, 1994), the participants eventually recognised that being non-native speakers implied that they would not be able to become fully proficient and viewed themselves as competent language users. Therefore, an inaccessible image of teacher-perfection which could lead to feelings of inadequacy and self-doubts was substituted with a more attainable representation of a 'competent' language user as a part of their teacher selves and helped build the participants' self-confidence and self-efficacy (this is discussed in the next section in detail).

Along with the socio-cultural facet, the feasibility of the teachers' selves was reinforced by their contextual dependency at a micro-level. The participants' current self representations were not abstract and remote future images linked to their own teachers. On the contrary, these images were detailed and concrete connected to certain courses and classes and changing depending on factors such as students, curriculum, university resources, requirements

among many others. This shows how their teacher selves do not form in a vacuum but originate from their present social contexts and relationships with others (Andersen & Chen, 2002; Mead, 1934; Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006). The participants had to interpret the context they were immersed in and culture associated with it adapting their imagined teacher selves to their day to day reality. They were constantly evaluating the feasibility of their future selves in their immediate context which, in turn, determined their further actions – pursuing, adapting, maintaining or abandoning these selves (Erikson, 2007). In other words, the participants' were trying to 'fit' their future teacher selves with the context increasing their attainability (Oyserman et al., 2015: 174).

To conclude, the participants' teacher selves were affected by various layers of context which were linked to (a) global influences such as native speaker supremacy and multiple implications it entails; (b) societal expectations and perceptions of teachers imposed by still influential Soviet ideologies; (c) the teachers' immediate classroom experiences and courses. This context-sensitivity of the teachers' later developed selves made them more feasible and increased the possibility of their achievement.

6.2.4 Impact of significant others on the self

The fact that the participants' teacher selves were embedded in the context, as demonstrated above, also implies their dependency on the relationships with people who are a part of that context (Mercer, 2017a; Ushioda, 2009). People have a need to retain meaningful relationships with others; they are eager to be valued and appreciated by individuals who are important for them (Leary & Baumeister, 2000). For the participants, this importance was mainly connected to students, colleagues and supervisors as people having a major impact on their behaviours, beliefs, perceptions and, consequently, teacher self formation. The importance of one's relationships with others and their role in the formation of the self-concept has been repeatedly highlighted in the literature (Korthagen, 2004; Oyserman & James, 2011), though the degree of importance one assigns to others, who are often identified as significant

others, influences their impact on the self-concept (Friedman & Farber, 1992). Considering that the concept of significant others is defined as people who are or have been 'deeply influential in one's life and in whom one is or once was emotionally invested' (Andersen & Chen, 2002: 619), students, colleagues and supervisors can be classified as significant others for the participants of this study. As pointed out in the findings chapter, despite the importance of supervisors and colleagues, students emerged as most influential in terms of their teacher self formation. The special significance of students was pointed out by all the participants; they were identified as instigators of both positive and negative experiences as well as being the strongest motivational and demotivational force. This is not surprising bearing in mind that teachers' most important rewards are obtained from students in the classroom (e.g. Dinham & Scott, 2000; Nias, 2002) and students have the most impact on teachers' perceptions of themselves as teachers (Friedman & Farber, 1992).

The importance of teacher-student relationships for learner motivation has been repeatedly acknowledged, yet, their impact on teachers' behaviour has not been sufficiently explored (Newberry & Davis, 2008). It is frequently argued that teachers' concern for students is mainly altruistic because teaching entails a 'moral commitment to serving the interests of students and society' (Jungert et al., 2014: 181). Although altruism is undoubtedly linked to teaching, and this emerged from the data, building good relationships with students is also beneficial for teachers. It makes their work meaningful (Spilt et al., 2011), leads to motivation, job enjoyment (Hargreaves, 2000), satisfaction (Shann, 1998) and often keeps teachers in the profession (Hargreaves, 1998; O'Connor, 2008). Similar to the participants of this study, teachers in other studies frequently mention that they feel strongly attached to their students and highlight that they obtain internal rewards from relationships with their students (Hargreaves 2000, Spilt et al., 2011). Teachers spend an extensive amount of their work time in the classroom and their connectedness to students might be linked to the need for relatedness which is a fundamental need specific to all human beings (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). In addition, building positive relationships with students also has pedagogical implications

– it positively affects the quality of teaching, students' behaviour and motivation (Pianta, 2006) which in turn directly impacts on teachers' sense of effectiveness and competence (Pianta et al., 2003; Spilt et al., 2011). The participants' perception of their effectiveness and competence was also influenced by their supervisors and colleagues. This impact is especially prominent in Lara's and Nelly's cases who had an experience of working in two universities with diverse working environments; they stressed the destructive atmosphere created in university A by the supervisor which negatively affected teachers' relationships with each other and had damaging consequences for their perceptions of self-efficacy and self-worth.

The participants of the study stressed the importance of being appreciated by significant others which is supported by research highlighting that the self needs to be endorsed and reinforced by people creating a feeling of importance (Friedman & Farber, 1992; Oyserman et al., 2012). This feeling of being valued, important and appreciated is linked to self-worth positively affecting people's perception of self-efficacy (e.g. students receive high scores on the test because I am a good teacher) which is connected to their beliefs about their abilities to accomplish a task (Bandura, 2006). In the case of teachers, self-efficacy is frequently linked to students' achievements and progress (Muijs & Reynolds, 2002) and this emerged in the participants' data; they linked their students' achievements to their ability to teach English effectively. Self-efficacy beliefs are especially influential because they affect self-regulation as well as individuals' motivation to accomplish tasks/goals (Bandura, 1997; 2001; Pajares 1997; Ushioda, 2014) and, consequently, their desire to achieve, retain or reject their future selves.

It is important to note that self-efficacy and self-worth are considered crucial because they are connected to self-esteem (Mruk, 2006; Rubio, 2014) – one of the most fundamental representations of the individual's self evaluations and well-being (Judge & Bono, 2001). It is argued that self-esteem is 'a sociometer that monitors the quality of an individual's interpersonal relationships and motivates behaviours that help the person to maintain a

minimum level of acceptance by other people' (Leary & Baumeister, 2000: 9). People need validation of their self by other individuals and look for positive feedback in order to retain positive self-perceptions (Leary & Baumeister, 2000). This explains the participants' desire to be appreciated and valued by significant others, especially students, as well as why they linked their students' achievements to the quality of their teaching.

Research indicates that higher perceived self-worth and self-efficacy lead to higher self-esteem motivating individuals to face challenges and put more effort to achieve their desired self (Rubio, 2014). In cases when people do not succeed (e.g. failing to achieve ideal self) they have a sense of lower worth which results in doubting their competence and having lower self-esteem (e.g. I am a bad teacher). To prevent that, people might increase their effort to reassure their self-worth when they feel that it is at stake (Crocker & Park, 2003). However, if they are continuously unsuccessful, they consider the received feedback then reassess and adjust their desired selves accordingly in order to protect their worth and self-efficacy (Schwarzer & Hallum, 2008). This explains the participants' adjustment of their initial desired selves and why Shushan struggled with her students; she did not take into account her students' feedback and, instead of adapting her desired self of a 'director' to make it congruent with her students' expectations, she used her self-protection mechanism - immunity (Hiver & Dörnyei, 2015) - just to survive professionally, hoping that next year she would have 'better' students.

To sum up, the findings demonstrate that significant others, especially students, affect people's perception of self-efficacy and self-worth which determine their self-esteem and, consequently, affect the development of their self-concept (Rubio, 2014). The participants kept adjusting their desired teacher selves both to support students and to maintain high self-esteem. This seems to be a continuous process. While teaching, the participants were constantly receiving feedback from their students which either boosted or reduced their perception of self-efficacy and self-worth. In order to maintain positive images of themselves as teachers they had to instantly adapt their

teacher self representations to make them feasible and to increase the possibility of their attainment. Once again feasibility seems to be a crucial feature of the desired self not only because it stimulates one's motivation to attain the self but also its achievement leads to higher self-esteem (Oyserman & James, 2011).

6.2.5 Connecting all the dots: from the ideal to feasible self

In the sections above, I have examined the participants' teacher self evolution. At the start of their careers, they had clear ideal and feared teacher selves which largely stemmed from their earlier experiences as learners. In addition, they were obliged to follow institutional demands and requirements. Yet, after facing various constraints and realising that these selves were not reachable, the participants eventually had to compromise on their ideal self images and gradually started to adapt their teacher selves to make them realistic and feasible. The concept of feasibility has been repeatedly highlighted as crucial for the teachers' self development; otherwise, the self can be just a fantasy which does not require actions (Ryan & Irie, 2014). The feasibility of the participants' teacher selves was achieved at two levels contextual and temporal. Distant future selves initiate more abstract images which are difficult to attain whereas proximal ones trigger more concrete and context-specific images (Kivetz & Tyler 2007; Lee & Oyserman, 2008). The fact that the self develops across context and time stresses its developmental nature (Frazier & Hooker, 2006; Markus & Nurius, 1986) which implies that self is 'always a work in progress, rather than a finished product' (Mercer & Williams, 2014: 180). Having explicit, specific and proximal selves influences the individual's desire to engage in action to achieve them. In this case the selves can act as roadmaps to achieve the desired result (Oyserman et al., 2006).

It is important to note that the participants' teacher selves were socially constructed; they represented a mixture of 'both an individual aspect (how teachers view themselves) and a socially reflected aspect (their sense of how others view them)' (Friedman & Farber, 1992: 29). The interconnection of the

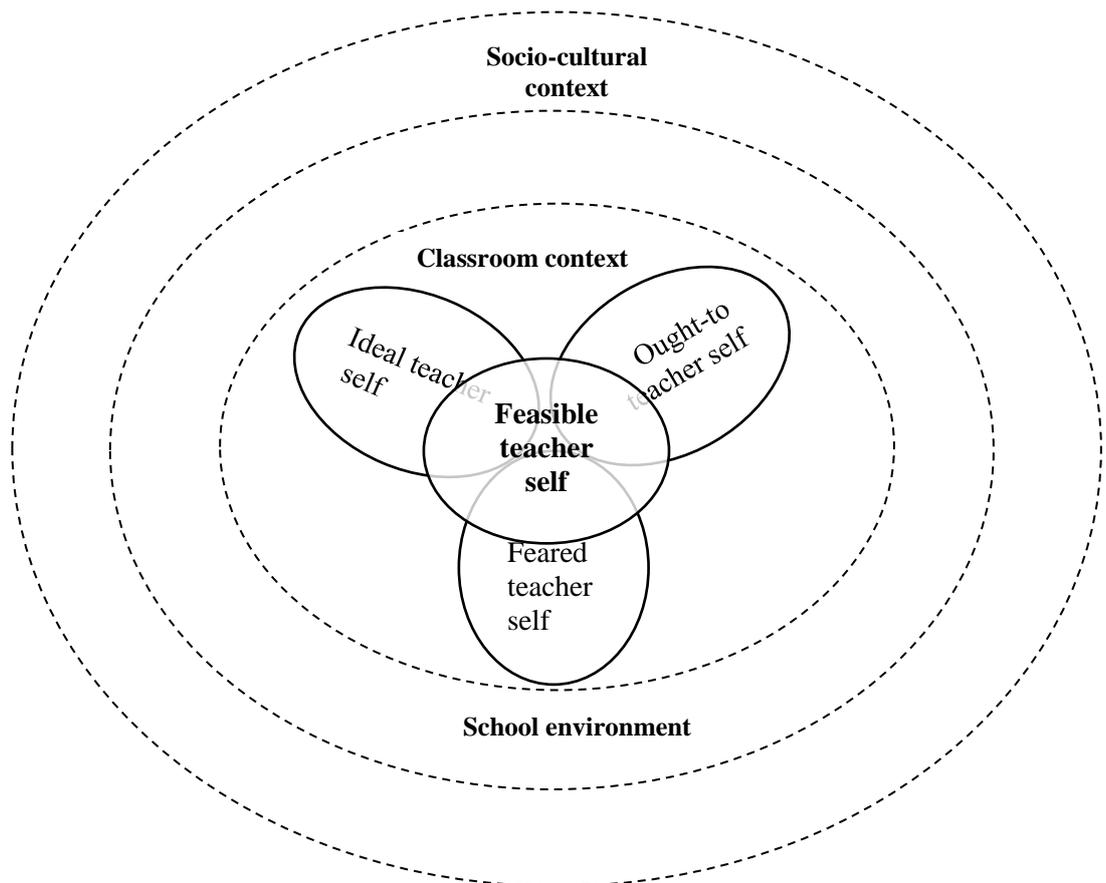
selves with others has been repeatedly stressed (Harvey, 2016; 2017; Mercer, 2017a; Ushioda, 2009). Marshall and her colleagues (2006) even suggest that possible selves are joint projects because they are developed and co-constructed with significant others. As discussed, for the participants of the study students emerged as the most influential factor affecting their self-esteem and the development of their desired selves.

Another important finding emerging from the data points out that the participants were simultaneously trying to avoid their feared selves and attain their desired selves. This is supported by the literature which indicates that people are usually motivated to concurrently achieve a positive future self and avoid the feared one which creates a balance within the selves (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; Hiver, 2013; Hoyle & Sherrill, 2006; Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006). As was evident in all the cases, this synchronised operation of possible selves was creating a balance and probably acting as a stronger motivating force because the participants were simultaneously attempting to achieve one image and avoid another. Balanced positive and negative selves usually belong to the same domain enhancing motivation and engagement to achieve goals (Oyserman & James, 2011; Oyserman et al.; 2012). In the literature, balanced self is frequently regarded in terms of simultaneous performance of only ideal and feared selves as an instigator of stronger motivation (Hamman et al. 2013; Hoyle & Sherrill 2006), yet, the ought-to self should not be ignored. The participants had to meet university requirements and, consequently, their ought-to self representations were acting together with the other selves enhancing their motivational power. The blending of the participants' different self representations was even more obvious when the boundaries between the participants' ideal and ought-to selves were not clear (e.g. Anna's desire to have big achievements was also influenced by her parents) implying that a strong impact of significant others could lead to the internalisation of ought-to self representation which could even be integrated in the individual's ideal self image (Boyatzis & Akrivou, 2006). This suggests that, instead of being motivated to achieve/avoid separately acting selves, the participants' presently

retained desired selves seemed to be interconnected facets of one unifying self which involved elements of their various selves.

Taking into account that feasibility and blending of possible selves emerged as crucial characteristics of the participants' teacher selves, I argue that rather than having separate ideal, ought-to and feared self representations, the participants formed a balanced self-concept - a *feasible teacher self*, containing characteristics of various possible selves (e.g. ideal, ought-to, feared selves) which are *realistic* and *achievable* in a particular context (see figure 5). To reflect the findings of the study I have re-visited the *Teacher Motivational Self Framework* and added the feasible teacher self which involves components of three other teacher selves (see figure 5).

Figure 4: *Revised Teacher Motivational Self Framework*



The concept of the self as 'holistic, dynamic, and situated in contexts' is highlighted by Kostoulas and Mercer (2016: 133) as one of the dominant

themes in the current self literature. The holistic nature of the self containing various possible constituents was also mentioned by Markus and Nurius (1986) in their seminal paper on possible selves. They stress that possible selves are coherent elements of a self-concept entailing that they are fragments of a holistic self which is similarly argued by other researchers (Oyserman, 2001; Oyserman & James, 2011, Rubio, 2014). In the literature review chapter, I have pointed out that Oyserman and James (2009) even propose that possible selves are possible identities rather than selves building their argument on a well-established assumption that self is a unifying entity comprising various identities which are 'situated, pragmatic, and attuned to the affordances and constraints of the immediate context' (Oyserman et al., 2012: 70). Baumeister (1998) likewise argues that 'unity is one of the defining features of selfhood' (p. 682) and that multiplicity of the self should be considered as a metaphor. He suggests that possible selves are different conceptions of the same self. This implies that the people's desired selves (e.g. desired wife self, desired teacher self, desired parent self) are all a part of the same desired self rather than completely distinct selves. Therefore, the feasible teacher self represents the individual's desired self concept which consists of various possible representations – ideal, ought-to and feared.

6.2.6 Summary

In this section, I have explained how the participants' teacher selves evolved throughout their career. I have argued that the participants' initial ideal selves were mainly based on their experiences as learners and, hence, were detached from their immediate context making them hard to attain. I suggest that their later formed teacher selves were feasible selves consisting of the components of ideal, ought-to and feared selves. Importantly, the feasible self is contextually situated and temporarily close. The concept of feasibility is central in teacher self formation because it influences the degree of perceived attainability and attainability is a key condition for self-related motivation. I would like to stress that the feasible self is a socially formed construct and is influenced not only by teachers' immediate context but also by how teachers

are positioned in the wider socio-cultural environment. Both the feasibility and the social dependency of the feasible self are of key importance because they affect teachers' self-esteem; when teachers perceive they can successfully achieve their desired teacher selves, their perceived self-efficacy and self-worth are enhanced.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

7.1 Thesis summary

In this study I aimed to explore the motivation of English language teachers in the university setting in Armenia and understand what factors have an impact on it. I have started the thesis by introducing the background and rationale demonstrating how my teaching experience ignited my research interest in teacher motivation. Then I have introduced the Armenian context by providing a concise historical overview and demonstrating how the challenges associated with the post-Soviet period have impacted on the higher education and resulted in the diminishing status of English teachers. To position the study in the literature, I have discussed the key theories linked to teacher motivation research followed by a detailed discussion of the possible selves theory which I connected to the person-in-context relational view to design the *Teacher motivational self framework* as a theoretical foundation for this study. This framework and my ontological and epistemological stance informed my methodological decisions. As a result, I employed a case study approach and recruited six teachers of English from three Armenian universities. The data was gathered over a period of six months through the means of interviews, classroom observations, post-observation interviews and reflective journals. After the thematic analysis, the key finding of the study demonstrated that initially possessed ideal teacher self images were transformed or discarded by the participants and gradually they developed feasible teacher selves which were perceived attainable in their context. The feasible teacher self consisted of the elements of their ideal, ought-to and feared selves and was developed based on the teachers' social environment and experiences and was influenced by significant others.

7.2 Limitations

This study has yielded important insights into the understanding of English teachers' motivation in Armenian context. Yet, it also has some limitations which need to be acknowledged. In the research design chapter, I have acknowledged lack of generalisability of this study which is usually associated with qualitative research. Obviously, the nature of this study and the limited number of participants imply that the findings cannot be generalised and, as I have emphasised before, I did not have such intentions when carrying out this study. In fact, my aim was to gain an in-depth understanding of the teacher motivation phenomenon which was possible to do due to the small sample size.

In addition, I have indicated that qualitative research implies subjectivity to reduce which I tried to be reflexive and transparent providing detailed information with regard to my decisions throughout the data collection and analysis (Mann, 2011; Morrow, 2005). As discussed in section 4.8, I also gave an opportunity to the participants to reflect on my interpretations of their experiences in order to make sure I had not misinterpreted their accounts. This suggests that the meaning was not built solely by the researcher but it was co-constructed with the research participants.

In addition, I would like to point out that although the data was collected over the period of six months, it would have been beneficial to spend another semester on the research site to observe whether the participants' images of their feasible selves alter when teaching a new cohort of students. This would have been especially insightful in case of Shushan who stated that the issues she was facing with her students were specific to her current cohort and she was able to build good relationships with her previous students. Nevertheless, considering the time constraints of the doctoral study it was not possible to extend the data collection period.

7.3 Contributions

This study provides a new perspective on teacher motivation and contributes to the research body at methodological, theoretical and practical levels. In this section, I will concentrate on the first two aspects of contribution, while the practical one will be discussed in the implications section.

7.3.1 Methodological contribution

At a methodological level, the main contribution of the study is the method of member-checking I employed which was inspired by Harvey (2014). My research procedure could be considered as a variation of member-checking proposed by Harvey (2015: 35) who emphasises that by involving participants in research analysis the research becomes 'more collaborative' and 'more ethical'. As explained in section 4.8, I designed a diagram based on the themes and sub-themes emerging from the participants' data gathered in the first two phases. In the last phase of the data collection, the participants were given an opportunity to explore their diagrams and reflect on them. Involving participants in this type of member-checking empowers and enables them to be actively involved in meaning making and co-construct the themes with the researcher. This kind of engagement in research also helps participants gain better understanding of their own practices and observe their development. As I have pointed out above, this method also allowed me to establish deeper rapport with the teachers and gain their trust leading to more in-depth interactions and engagement. The participants became more open and sincere about their experiences which allowed me to dig deeper and obtain more insights into their experiences and perceptions.

This interviewing method seems to be beneficial both for the researcher and participants and could be employed instead of conventional member-checking procedures. It significantly enriches the data offering 'a more collaborative, more ethical alternative to member-checking in particular, and as an approach to qualitative research interviews in general' (Harvey, 2015: 35).

7.3.2 Theoretical contribution

The theoretical contribution is linked both to the introduction of the ‘feasible self’ concept and the framework I constructed for this study. In the previous chapters I explained that, considering the exploratory aims of the study, I joined possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986) with a person-in-context relational view (Ushioda, 2009) and developed a *Teacher Motivational Self Framework* which was revisited taking into account the findings of the study. The usefulness of this framework might be in its holistic approach and consideration of both psychological and social aspects which are key determinants of human behaviour. Unlike many motivation theories the framework does not restrict the motivation concept by theoretically predetermined factors (e.g. achievements, goals, self-efficacy). In comparison to other approaches, it is more inclusive and allows to combine multiple facets of the self and motivation.

Although I developed this framework to explore experienced teachers’ motivation, it could similarly be used to investigate the development of teacher selves and motivation at different stages of their career including newly qualified teachers (see section 7.4). The framework might be exploited to consider both the process of their teacher becoming and a wide array of psychological and social factors influencing this process. Obviously, it might likewise provide interesting perspectives on motivation and development of other parties involved in education (e.g. learners, managers, supervisors).

Furthermore, considering that possible selves theory has been used in multiple fields to explore different developmental processes (Cross & Markus, 1991; Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006), I believe that the adjusted version of the *Teacher Motivational Self Framework* and the feasible self concept in general could be employed to explore a wide range of aspects related to human development (e.g. choice of profession, adult development, well-being, aging, ethnicity and gender). The attainability and adaptability of the feasible self suggests that it might be more likely to stimulate personal change and development.

Consequently, researching this concept might shed light on the peculiarities of these changes and factors influencing them in various developmental phases (e.g. adolescence, adulthood) and/or across lifespan. In addition, the feasible self concept could be used to explore the current self because its accessibility implies that it could act as a defensive mechanism for the current self - people use their possible selves to evaluate their current selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

Obviously, the discussed research areas are just examples of how the feasible self concept and the *Teacher motivational self framework* could contribute to the research body and provide greater insight and understanding of various developments in human behaviour. I believe that the application of both the feasible self concept and the framework could go well beyond applied linguistics and education opening new research areas.

7.4 Implications for teacher education

As pointed out, in addition to the theoretical and methodological contributions, this study also entails a number of practical implications for various parties involved in education. The concept of feasible self might be especially beneficial for teachers and teacher educators.

The findings have demonstrated the developmental nature of the participants' teacher selves which can have implications for both newly qualified and experienced teachers. The participants initially had more idealistic perceptions of themselves as teachers which frequently were decontextualized and difficult or impossible to achieve at the beginning of their career. This is in line with research on novice teachers which indicates that they frequently experience disillusionment and feelings of insecurity and failure in the first year of teaching (Cole & Knowles, 1993; Hargreaves & Jacka, 1995; Rust, 1994). To address this issue, the concept of feasible teacher self might be used in training programmes for pre-service teachers. They need to be taught to be more rational in their self-images in order to have more realistic expectations and be

prepared for challenges. Novice teachers should be aware that they will face various societal, institutional and classroom related constraints which might limit their high aspirations. Importantly, the training courses should focus on feasibility of teacher selves and involve context-specific and detailed challenges they might face and provide them with various tools and techniques which could help overcome these challenges. In addition, novice teachers could to be trained how to adjust their self images to maintain their feasibility and develop specific actions to achieve their best feasible teacher selves in their educational setting.

The concept of feasible self can equally be employed for in-service teachers' development. Experienced teachers might have incongruities between their various selves possibly leading to professional anxieties and challenges. I attempted to apply the feasible self concept in practice when I was invited by TESOL Toulouse to lead a workshop with EFL teachers. I designed activities (see Appendix M for the handout) guided by the findings of this study with the aim to encourage teacher (a) to identify salient features of their past, current and desired teacher selves in order to shape a feasible self; (b) to set specific and context-dependent goals leading to that self and (c) to identify possible steps to achieve these goals. The activities involved the discussion of the following points:

- the motives to become a teacher of English;
- the kind of teacher they wanted to become at the beginning of their teaching career;
- the kind of teacher they did not want to become when they started teaching;
- whether or not they managed to achieve the first image and avoid the second one;
- the kind of teacher they would like to be now;
- whether or not the current image is feasible;
- the obstacles to achieve that image;
- what they could or could not compromise on;

- what needs to be done to achieve that image.

When planning the workshop I was not sure how these activities would be accepted by the teachers. I did not want to be perceived as a person who lectures them and gives them abstract suggestions. To my surprise, the workshop was very successful and turned into a fruitful discussion where all of us were reflecting on our experiences and trying to find solutions.

Although the questions I developed might seem simplistic, they can be expanded into an effective workshop by adding other relevant activities. For example, Dörnyei and Kubanyiova (2014) suggest multiple useful activities enhancing teachers' vision and maintaining motivation (e.g. probing into past and present experiences, examining images of good and bad teaching, examining one's beliefs, analysing real life language classrooms). Importantly, when designing a training workshop or programme it is crucial to adapt these and any other activities to the particular circumstances of teaching contexts to be perceived relevant and feasible.

7.5 Directions for future research

Based on the results of this study, I put forward the *Teacher Motivational Self Framework* and the feasible self concept which soon will be accessible to the research community (Sahakyan et al., 2018). I hope this will initiate further research to explore the feasible self concept in more depth and to test the usefulness of the *Teacher Motivational Self Framework*. To do that the following questions might be worth pursuing. Do teachers from other contexts have to compromise on their ideal teacher selves? Would they have a similar pattern of teacher self evolution at different stages of their career? Would this evolution lead to the development of the feasible self? If yes, would their feasible selves have similar features and/or would they be influenced by similar factors? Do teachers at other levels of education (e.g. primary, secondary) experience similar teacher self evolution? In other words, it is important to establish whether teachers in different pedagogic contexts, or

different stages of their career, or different levels of education also undergo similar experiences and eventually compromise on their ideal selves to form a more harmonious and integrated feasible teacher self.

As discussed in section 7.3.2, both the feasible self and *Teacher Motivational Self Framework* could be used in other fields and it would be interesting to test the concept in relation to a number of developmental processes impacting on human behaviours.

7.6 Research reflections

Similar to the participants, this study had an impact on me both as a researcher and a teacher. In terms of research skills, it obviously helped me develop and progress by gaining knowledge, skills and experience about various theoretical constructs and research methodologies. The growth has been especially vivid after I recently looked through my transfer document written in my first year of the doctoral study and recognised numerous flaws in it.

As a teacher, I could relate to many of the challenges and concerns the participants voiced and I recalled the situations when I felt confused, embarrassed, stressed, burnt out but also happy and proud. Although I did not plan this, it appeared that I was reflecting on my own teaching attempting to understand how my teacher self developed – in other words, I was rediscovering myself as a teacher. Interestingly, when reading this section my supervisors revealed that this study made them reconsider their own motivation for teaching and reflect on their feasible teacher selves as well. I hope teachers in this and other contexts would find the concept valuable and illuminating.

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Appendix A: Classrooms in the participants' universities

University A



University B



University C



Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

The Motivation of EFL Teachers at an Armenian University: Teacher Selves in Context

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether you would like to participate in the study, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. If anything is not clear or you would like further information, please contact the researcher, **Taguhi Sahakyan** (edts@leeds.ac.uk).

Who is the researcher?

The researcher is Taguhi Sahakyan, a PhD student from the University of Leeds in England.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study aims to explore EFL teacher motivation and understand what affects their motivation to teach English. Teacher motivation is a complex phenomenon and when exploring this, it is important to consider teacher identity within various layers of context. Gaining in-depth understanding of what has an impact on teacher motivation both negatively and positively will have implications for sustaining and improving teacher motivation in your as well as other EFL contexts.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you are a teacher of EFL at the Extension department of the American University of Armenia and you fit the criteria for participating in this research: experience of teaching at the university and socio-cultural background (e.g. local teachers, teachers from particular countries, native speaker teachers).

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep, and be asked to sign a

consent form. If you decide to take part, you can withdraw from the study at any point until the data is written up. You do not have to give a reason.

What will it involve?

- **Interviews.** You will be asked to take part in eight interviews of approximately 30-60 minutes each which will focus on your experiences, beliefs and viewpoints. In each phase, one of the interviews (50-60 min) will be conducted prior to observations and the other interviews (30-40 min) after the observations giving you an opportunity to reflect on the lesson and discuss interesting developments occurring during it. The first two interviews will take place in November 2014 and the others – in February and April 2015. The interviews will be audio recorded. You may speak in English or Armenian. You do not have to mention any topics which are sensitive, upsetting or embarrassing.
- **Observations.** You will be asked if the researcher can observe a few of your English classes. There will be six-eight observations taking place in November-April 2014. The purpose of the observations will be to obtain a sense of real-life teaching/learning in your classroom and NOT to evaluate your teaching. These observations will not be video or audio recorded.
- **Journals.** Throughout the period of study (November 2014-April 2015), you will be asked to enter your reflections in a journal at the end of every week. There is no strict word limit for journal entries; however, I suggest that you write entries of approximately 200-300 words. The reflection will be on the following questions:
 - At what point was your motivation highest this week? Why?
 - At what point was your motivation lowest this week? Why?

What are the possible risks and benefits of taking part?

There are no immediate benefits to the study, although participating in the study will give you the opportunity you to reflect upon your practices which may have a positive effect on your professional development. There is also a small chance that such reflection may lead to discomfort. If you feel uncomfortable at any time during the study, you are free to withdraw or discuss your issues with the researcher.

Will the information I provide be kept confidential?

All the information that is collected during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications (your name will be replaced with a pseudonym). The data will be

stored on an encrypted hard drive. (N.B. The confidentiality will only be breached if you reveal information related to a violation of law; in this case the researcher will have to share this information with the police).

What will happen to the results of the study?

The findings of the study will form part of the researcher's PhD thesis at the University of Leeds. The research may also be used in presentations at local and international educational conferences, as well as publications in international journals.

Contacting the researcher

If you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to email the researcher, Taguhi Sahakyan (edts@leeds.ac.uk).

This doctoral study is supervised by Dr. Martin Lamb
M.V.Lamb@education.leeds.ac.uk

and Dr. Gary Chambers G.N.Chambers@education.leeds.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Appendix C: The Teacher Consent Form



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Title of research project:

“The motivation of EFL teachers at an Armenian university: teacher selves in context”.

Name of researcher: Taguhi Sahakyan (edts@leeds.ac.uk)

	Please write your initials next to the statements you agree with
1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research study and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it.	
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time until the data is written up without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.	
3. I give permission for the interviews to be audio recorded.	
4. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report of reports that result from the research.	
5. I understand that if I reveal information related to a violation of law, the confidentiality will be breached; the researcher will have to share this information with the police.	
6. I agree for the data collected to be used in the PhD thesis, future reports, publications and/or presentations.	
7. I agree to take part in the above research project.	

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Name of researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix D: Ethical Approval Letter (Copy)

Performance, Governance and Operations

Research & Innovation Service

Charles Thackrah Building

101 Clarendon Road

Leeds LS2 9LJ Tel: 0113 343 4873

Email: ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Taguhi Sahakyan
School of Education
University of Leeds
Leeds, LS2 9JT

ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee

University of Leeds

11 November 2014

Dear Taguhi

Title of study: **The Motivation of EFL Teachers at an Armenian
University: Teacher Selves in Context**

Ethics reference: **AREA 14-031**

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee and following receipt of your response to the Committee's initial comments, I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter. The following documentation was considered:

Document	Version	Date
AREA 14-031 Response to comments.docx	1	06/11/14
AREA 14-031 ETHICS COMMITTEE APPLICATION FORM amended.docx	1	06/11/14
AREA 14-031 Amended Participant Information Sheet.docx	1	06/11/14
AREA 14-031 Student Information Sheet.docx	1	06/11/14
AREA 14-031 ETHICS COMMITTEE APPLICATION FORM final.docx	1	07/10/14
AREA 14-031 Participant Information Sheet final.docx	1	07/10/14
AREA 14-031 Risk assessment final.docx	1	07/10/14

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the original research as submitted at date of this approval, including changes to recruitment methodology. All changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAmendment>.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as documents such as sample consent forms, and other documents relating to the study. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits>.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely

Jennifer Blaikie

Senior Research Ethics Administrator, Research & Innovation Service

On behalf of Dr Andrew Evans, Chair, [AREA Faculty Research Ethics Committee](#)

CC: Student's supervisor(s)

Appendix E: Student Information Sheet and Consent Form



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Student Information Sheet (English version)

Dear Student:

I am a PhD candidate at the University of Leeds and I am conducting a study entitled *The motivation of EFL teachers at an Armenian university: teacher selves in context*. Your teacher has agreed to participate in the study which means that I will be observing some of the lessons which you attend. Before you decide whether you would like to be observed, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve.

The study aims to explore the motivation of English teachers and understand what has an impact on their motivation to teach English. Teacher motivation is a complex phenomenon and in order to understand it, I need to observe teachers' classroom behaviour. The focus of observations will be on the teachers and not on the students which means that I will not refer to any individual students in my work. The observations will not involve audio or video recording; I will only take field notes to record the events and interesting developments occurring in the classroom.

If you agree to be observed, please complete and return the consent form. In case anything is not clear or you would like further information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely,

Taguhi Sahakyan

PhD Candidate
University of Leeds
United Kingdom
edts@leeds.ac.uk

Student Consent Form (English Version)



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Title of research project:

“The motivation of EFL teachers at an Armenian university: teacher selves in context”.

Name of researcher: Taguhi Sahakyan (edts@leeds.ac.uk)

	Please write your initials next to the statements you agree with
1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information explaining the above research study and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it.	
2. I agree to take part in the lesson which will be observed.	
3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences.	
4. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports that result from the research.	
5. I agree for the data collected to be used in the PhD thesis, future reports, publications and/or presentations.	

Name of student

Date

Signature

Name of researcher

Date

Signature

Student Information Sheet (Armenian Version)



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Հարգելի՛ ուսանող,

Ես սովորում եմ Միացյալ Թագավորության Լիդսի համալսարանում և կատարում եմ դոկտորական գիտական աստիճանի հետազոտություն, որը կոչվում է *Անգլերեն լեզվի ուսուցիչների մոտիվացիան հայկական համալսարանում՝ ուսուցիչների “ես”-ը կոնտեքստում*: Ձեր դասախոսը համաձայնել է մասնակցել այս հետազոտությանը: Այն իրականացնելու նպատակով ես պետք է ձեր դասերից մի քանիսը լսեմ: Նախքան որոշելը, թե արդյո՞ք դուք կուզենայիք, որ ձեզ մոտ դասալսում անցկացվի, շատ կարևոր է հասկանալ, թե ինչ է իրենից ներկայացնում այս հետազոտությունը:

Այս հետազոտության նպատակն է ուսումնասիրել անգլերեն լեզվի ուսուցիչների մոտիվացիան և հասկանալ, թե ինչն է ազդում իրենց դասավանդելու մոտիվացիայի վրա: Ուսուցիչների մոտիվացիան շատ բարդ երևույթ է, և այն հասկանալու համար ես պետք է դիտարկեմ ուսուցիչների վարվելակերպը լսարանում: Դասալսման նպատակն է ուսուցիչը և ոչ թե ուսանողները, այսինքն՝ իմ աշխատանքի մեջ ես ոչինչ չեմ հիշատակելու կոնկրետ ուսանողների մասին: Դասերը չեն տեսագրվելու և չեն ձայնագրվելու, ես պարզապես գրի եմ առնելու, թե ինչ է տեղի ունենում լսարանում:

Եթե դուք համաձայն եք, որ ես լսեմ ձեր դասերը, խնդրում եմ լրացնել և վերադարձնել համաձայնության ձևը: Եթե ինչ-որ բան ձեզ համար հասկանալի չէ, կամ դուք լրացուցիչ տեղեկություններ եք ուզում իմանալ, կարող եք կապվել ինձ հետ:

Հարգանքներով՝
Սահակյան Թագուհի

Փիլիսոփայական գիտությունների
դոկտորի թեկնածու
Լիդսի Համալսարան, Միացյալ Թագավորություն

edts@leeds.ac.uk



Student Consent Form (Armenian Version)

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Ուսանողի համաձայնության ձև

Հետազոտության վերնագիրը՝

“Անգլերեն լեզվի ուսուցիչների մոտիվացիան հայկական համալսարանում՝ ուսուցիչների “ԵՄ”-ը կոնտեքստում”

Հետազոտողի անունը՝

Թագուհի Սահակյան (edts@leeds.ac.uk)

	Նշեք ձեր անվան և ազգանվան սկզբնատառերը այն արտահատությունների դիմաց, որոնց հետ համաձայն եք
1. Ես հաստատում եմ, որ կարդացել և հասկացել եմ այն ինֆորմացիան, որը բացատրում է հետազոտության նպատակը: Ես նաև ունեցել եմ հարցեր տալու հնարավորություն:	
2. Ես համաձայն եմ մասնակցել այն դասին, որը դասալսվելու է:	
3. Ես հասկանում եմ, որ իմ մասնակցությունը կամավոր է, և ես կարող եմ դադարեցնել իմ մասնակցությունը ցանկացած պահին՝ առանց որևէ պատճառաբանության և առանց որևէ բացասական հետևանքների:	
4. Ես հասկանում եմ, որ իմ անունը կապված չի լինելու հետազոտության նյութերի հետ, և ես ճանաչելի չեմ լինելու զեկույցներում, որոնք գրվելու են հետազոտության արդյունքում:	
5. Ես համաձայն եմ, որ հետազոտության տվյալները օգտագործվեն դոկտորական թեզի մեջ, հետագա զեկույցներում, տպագրություններում և պրեզենտացիաներում:	

Ուսանողի անունը՝

_____ ամսաթիվ

_____ ստորագրություն

Հետազոտողի անունը՝

_____ ամսաթիվ

_____ ստորագրություն

Appendix F: The Teacher Interview Guide

1. *How did you become a teacher?*
2. *Do you remember any examples of exceptional teaching from your learning experience?*
3. *How do you think English should be taught? How it shouldn't be taught?*
4. *What do you really enjoy in teaching?*
5. *Do you consider teaching a challenging job? What aspect of teaching is challenging?*
6. *What do you find motivating/demotivating in teaching?*
7. *What should an ideal English teacher be like? Is that image feasible in Armenian context? Did you have the same ideas about the ideal teacher when you started teaching?*
8. *What kind of uncertainties do you have in the classroom?*
9. *What is important for you in teaching English?*
10. *Do you have to follow the curriculum or you can select the material to teach?*
11. *How are you treated by the manager(s), colleagues? Do you collaborate?*
12. *How are teachers perceived in Armenia in general?*
13. *Have you ever had any regrets about choosing a teaching career?*

Appendix G: Observation Protocols

Observation Protocol 1 (semi-structured)

	<i>Teacher:</i> <i>Number of learners:</i> <i>Length of lesson:</i>	<i>Course:</i> <i>Student level:</i> <i>Date:</i>
	Descriptive notes	Reflective notes
Teacher enthusiasm <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • body language • facial expression • gestures • intonation 		
Teacher self-efficacy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • confidence in language • confidence in teaching 		
Students <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • behaviour • engagement • rapport 		

Observation Protocol 2 (unstructured)

Teacher:		Course:
Number of learners:		Student level:
Length of lesson:		Date:
Time	Activity	Reflective notes

Appendix H: Extracts from the observation protocols

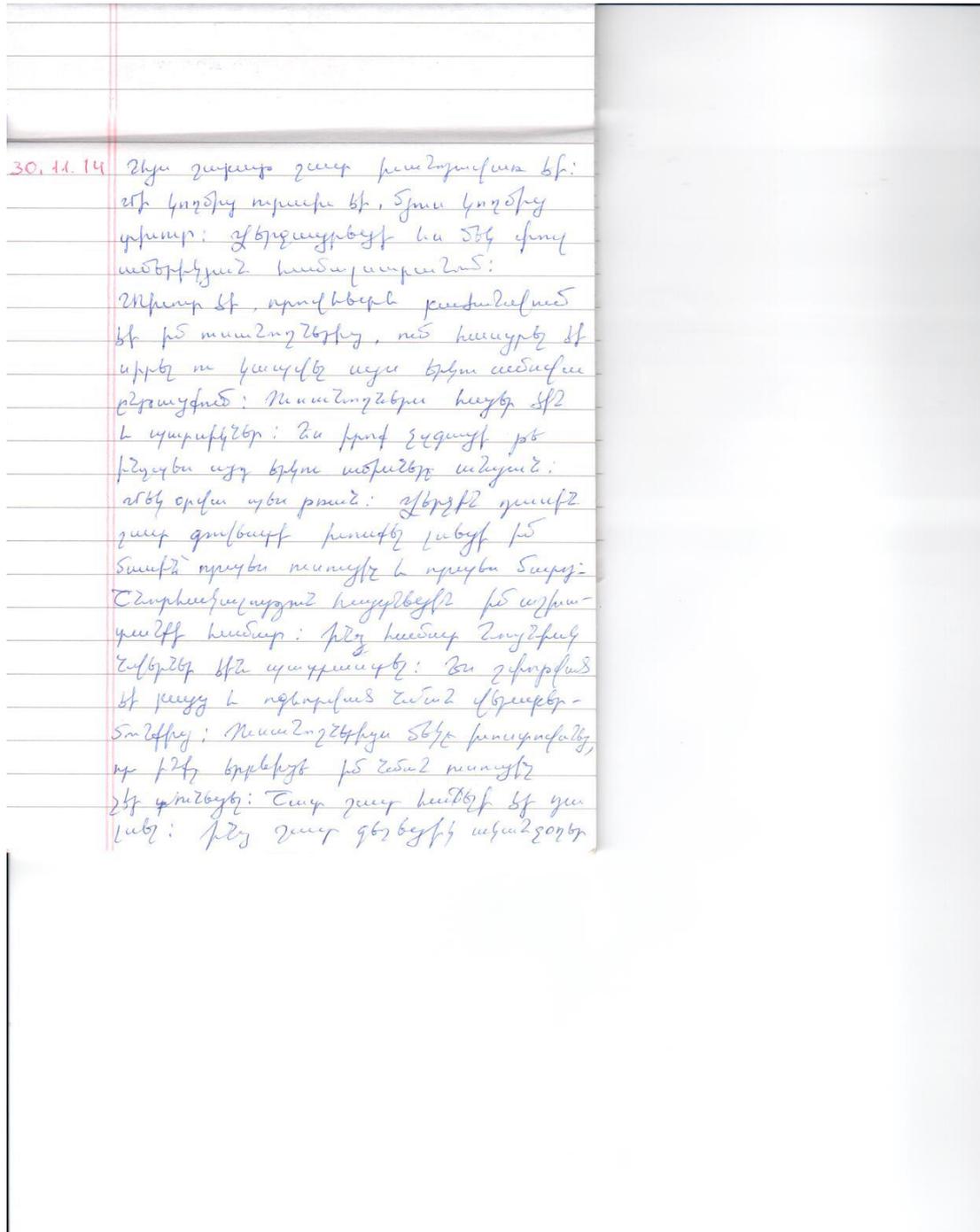
Teacher: Nelly (phase 1; observation 1) Number of learners: 10 (5 Iranian and 5 Armenian students) Length of lesson: 90 min (3:00-4:30 p.m.) Classroom arrangement: U-shape		Course: General English Student level: low intermediate (level 3) Date: 13.11.2014
Time	Activity	Reflective notes
3:20	<p>.....</p> <p>Students start doing mini-presentations about a holiday of their choice. An Armenian student presents Vardavar.</p> <p>A late Iranian student enters the classroom and joins a group of other Iranian students.</p> <p>Iranian students ask questions about Vardavar. Armenian students collectively try to answer; some of them switch to Armenian in their explanations. The teacher encourages them to speak English.</p> <p>Two students at the back speak Persian. The teacher does not react. An Iranian student asks if Vardavar is a religious holiday. Armenian students explain the origins of Vardavar.</p> <p>Iranian students continue asking questions, "<i>What branch of Christianity does Armenian church belong to?</i>"</p> <p>The students do not know 'Arakelakan' in English. The teacher tries to ignore but students still discuss the word.</p> <p>The teacher eventually accepts that she does not know it and then asks me. I reply.</p> <p>The atmosphere is very relaxing; the anxiety existing at the beginning of lesson has disappeared. Students actively speak and ask questions.</p>	<p>This is a third student who is late.</p> <p>It seems that the class is divided into two parts – Iranian and Armenian (they sit separately).</p> <p>I did not expect she would ask me.</p> <p>Probably students were a little nervous because of me.</p>
3:35	<p>An Iranian student presents his holiday – Navruz. Armenian students are very interested and eagerly ask questions about the holiday. All Iranian students</p>	

<p>3:50</p>	<p>collectively answer helping each other and clarifying some things in Persian.</p> <p>One of them tries to explain the history of Navruz. The teacher helps with vocabulary, sometimes corrects grammar mistakes (e.g. <i>2000 years ago Iran is [was] big.</i>).</p> <p>When presenting the student says something in Iranian which sounds funny. The teacher tries to repeat it and makes a dance movement. Everybody laughs.</p> <p>Another late Iranian student enters the classroom.</p> <p>The Iranian female student constantly makes comments in Persian. The teacher finally says, "Mariam, speak English!"</p> <p>One of Armenian students asks about food people eat during Navruz. It initiates a short discussion among Iranians in Persian then they say it in English.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Teacher asks students to create 2 imaginary holidays in pairs.</p> <p>She groups students but still does not mix up Iranian and Armenian students.</p>	<p>The teacher often makes students laugh. Probably this is her way of creating a relaxed atmosphere.</p> <p>Is it common to be late?</p> <p>Basically the class is divided into two parts – Iranian and Armenian; the students are grouped according to their nationality (only one Iranian female student sits next to an Armenian student) and the teacher does not try to mix them up. Also the teacher first asks only Armenian students to present and then Iranians (again a division). Why?</p>
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Teacher: Marine Grigorevna (phase 2; observation 3) Number of learners: 9 Length of lesson: 80 min (11:00-12:20) Classroom arrangement: regular rows		Year: 3 Major: Linguistics and translations Course: Reading skills Student level: intermediate Date: 11.05.15
Time	Activity	Reflective notes
11:32	<p>-----</p> <p>After finishing the revision of vocabulary and prepositions, they move to checking the exercise. They have to translate from Russian into English. The teacher reads the Russian version and the students give an English equivalent. There is a Russian idiom in the sentence <i>быть в ударе</i>, some of the students do not know the meaning and use <i>to be in shock</i>. The teacher starts explaining the meaning of the idiom and asks the students to give equivalents in Armenian. When the students understand the meaning of the expression, they translate the idiom into English correctly.</p> <p>When the students give their translations, the teacher asks for synonyms and other possible versions. One of the students suggests <i>amused</i> as a synonym for <i>surprised</i>, the teacher looks at me and says, "I guess it's OK" and I have to react.</p> <p>The students start reading the Russian sentences themselves, the teacher corrects the Russian pronunciation and then focuses on English. She pays attention both to Russian and English. The teacher rarely uses Armenian for explanations but first she always says it in English. A student uses the wrong type of numeral in the sentence (e.g. "page first" like it is used in Armenian). The teacher gives a Russian example <i>страница 5</i> to explain that a cardinal number should be used. Then she gives an Armenian version and emphasizes that there is a mismatch between Armenian and English.</p> <p>When the teacher corrects students' mistakes she looks at me. One of the students uses <i>will</i> in the time clause (e.g. when the family will gather together...), the teacher quietly says, "Why will? Shame on you". But she says it with a smile and without raising her voice. One of the students says <i>alarm</i> instead of <i>alarm clock</i>; the teacher emphasizes the use of a <i>clock</i>. The student notes that she has seen the use of it without a clock, the teacher accepts that, "OK, I haven't seen". One of the students cannot pronounce the word <i>милля</i> in Russian, the teacher repeats it several times to help her to pronounce.</p>	<p>I wonder why they are using a Russian textbook.</p> <p>She frequently looks at me trying to get confirmation.</p> <p>Why does she focus on Russian so much?</p> <p>Too much focus on Russian.</p>

Appendix I: Sample reflections

Nelly's sample reflection (in Armenian)



Marine Grigorevna's sample reflection (in Russian)

13.02.2015. Первая неделя II семестра.

Студенты выглядят довольно утомленными, я сама не менее утомлена. Но, вопреки ожиданиям, уроки проходят довольно оживленно, что, в целом, обнадеживает.

Вчера обнаружена попытка студентки "проскочить" через куртку гебрайт. Ненавидю, когда мне лгут: это очень напрягает.

"Brainwashing" – неприятная процедура, но, кажется, подействовало. Все еще впереди...

20.02.2015. Вполне приемлемо прошли

уроки лекции на III курсе: факт, которому внутренне радуешься, т.к. готовятся к уроку и стремятся показать это в аудитории примерно 85% от общего числа студентов в группе (15% – отсутствуют в разные дни в течение недели). На следующей неделе планирую сходить в Гос. картинную галерею, т.к. тема по лекции связана с искусством.

Возможно, поход как-то "поднимает" абсолютно "сухую тему", в особенности тех студентов, которые живут не в столице. Совершенно очевидно, что в семьях этому уделяют очень мало внимания, если вообще уделяют – не до того людям... Фуе!!!

Tom's sample reflection

Week ending April 25th

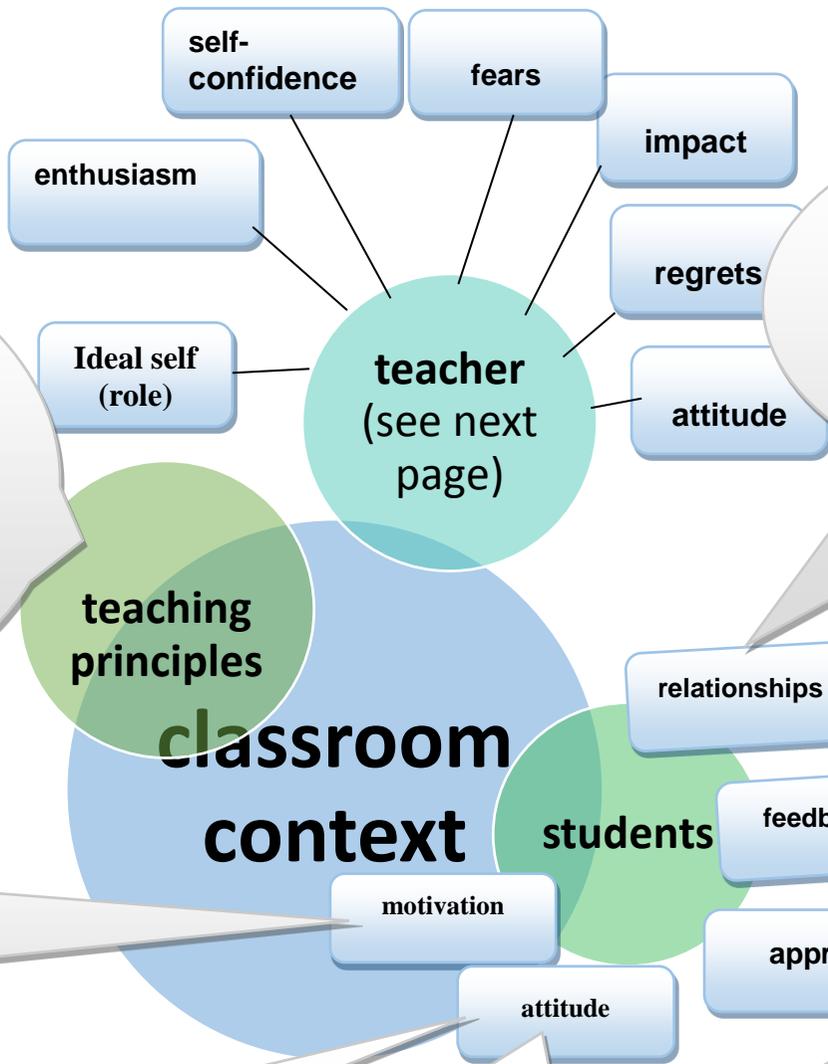
Another lesson learned by yours truly.

I am guilty of being too lenient. One student's mother was not happy with her sons grades at the end of the course and asked to see me. This student missed quite a few classes and a couple of quizzes and was none too active in class. He was a borderline fail but I had massaged the figures to just pass him. Once I knew his mother wanted

to see me I asked him to see me beforehand and asked him if his mother knew of his missed classes etc.

This seemed to make him understand that he had to solve the problem himself, I could not cover for him in front of his mother.

I never saw the mother but it was a difficult situation and I shouldn't leave myself exposed like that. I need to draw the line somewhat higher and be a little more demanding of the students.



Մտերմիկ կապը որ ստեղծվում ա, դու իրանց համար հարազատ մարդ ես դառնում: Իրանք իսկապես պետք ա սիրեն դասատուին: Եթե չսիրեցին, իրենց համար ինչ-որ սառը կերպար ա. . . լավագույն գիտելիքներով դասատուն, եթե սառը կերպառով մտնում ա լսարան, իրա դասը անում, գնում ա, էդ կապը չի ստեղծում մտերմիկ, ինքը կորցնում ա էդ լսարանը: Երբեք էո հոս տմած հնձոմաճահան Տի ռհասում

Եթե դասատուն մտնում ա դասասենյակ, . . . ինքը պետք ա *зажигать* անի իրանց, . . . պիտի սենց էներգիա տա: Մի պահ փուքսս իջավ, չէ՞, ես կորցնում եմ իրանց . . . ես զգում եմ, *все, провал* էր էդ օրը. . .

Եթե մարդը պարզ բացատրություն ա լսում ու հասկանում ա, ինքը դրանից ոգևորվում ա. . . Երևի իրանց հետ իրանց լեզվով խոսելը... Այ, իմ slogan-ը սենց ա՝ *I teach the way I would like to be taught ...*

Երբ որ իրանք ասում են, էդ բանը. “*Все, ես լրիվ հասկացա*”, ու տեսնում եմ, որ ինքն արդեն սկսում ա գործածել ճիշտ էդ բաները:

Բայց ես իրանցից էլ էի ստանում էներգիա: Էն օտոպչան, էն որ մենք իրար հետ ասես ընկերներ լինենք. . . խումբ կա, որ մենք մինչև ասես ոնտանիծ ետ ոտածե:

Իսկ երբ որ ես տեսնում եմ իրանց էդ ոգևորությունը. . . եթե քո աշխատանքը քիչ ա վարձատրվում, չէ՞, դու գոնե ինչ որ մի տեսակ *reward* պետք ա ստանա. . .

երբ որ դու մտնում ես լսարան ու . . . իրանց աչքերը սկսում են փայլել... Կարող ա, ինձ աստված տվել ա էդ հաճույքը. . . որ ես տեսնում եմ շատ էն փայլը էդ աչքերի, շատ եմ ոգևորվում: Այ էդտեղ քնած ես, չքնած ես, մեկ էլ մի տեսակ զարթոնում ես. . .

Միրում եմ, երբ որ Էրեխեքը ինձ սիրում են, պաշտում են: Որ էլ չեմ տեսնում. . . նաև որ ես իրենց համար սովորական մեկն եմ, չէ՞, թու-թու-թու, հազվագյուտ ա դա եղել, բայց եղել ա իհարկե. . . այդ դեպքում նեղվում եմ:

Բայց էնքան եմ ուրախանում, որ մարդիկ վերադարձնում են, երկու երեխա ունենում են, նորից վերադարձնում են քեզ մոտ: Ամենաշատը դրա համար են գովաբանում: Ասում են. “Միսս Լիանա, էտենց, ոնց որ դուք եք մեզ *perfect*-ը բացատրեցիք. . . կյանքում չեմ մոռանում”։ «Միշտ էնքան պարզ եք բացատրում, որ դուք կարող նաև մոտա՞նք հետախոսություններին ուսս տաս!»:

teacher

enthusiasm

impact

regrets

attitude

ideal self

fears

self-confidence

Ինքնավաստահությունն էլ և էդտեղ դեր խաղում, համ պետք է ինքնավաստահ լինել, մեղմ... ոչ թե դու ցույց տաս ես առավել եմ ձեզանից: Էդ ինքնավաստահությունը լավ առումով պետք և, էն օրը մի հատ interview էի լսում, լավ ասեց: Ասում և՛ հոտ և գալիս վստահության էդ մարդու վրայից...

Առաջինը՝ երևի էնտուզիազմն և: Ես չեմ պատկերացնում ոչ էնտուզիաստիկ դասատու, իսկապես չեմ պատկերացնում, ինձ թվում և ամենամեծ գրավականն է:

Ես եղբան շփվող մարդ չեմ եղել: Ես ինքնամփոփ եմ ավելի եղել, ավելի հանգիստ բնավորության: Ասենք, որ գնայինք էն ժամանակ մի տեղ նստեյինք, քչադուս, ձայնս կարող էր ժամերով դուրս չգար, ամաչկոտ էի... Էդ շփումը քեզ բացում և, հիմա արդեն զգացի, որ ցանկացած մարդու հետ կարամ յուրա գնամ, այսինքն՝ կարամ հանգիստ խոսեմ: identity-իս վրա [ազդել և] . . . փոխել և ինքը ինձ . . . ես քչախոս, լուռ մարդուց դարձել եմ շատախոս:

Հիմա արդեն անկախատեսելի հարցերը քիչ են արդեն լինում, որովհետև քեզ էդ բոլոր հարցերը արդեն տվել են հիմնականում, էն common question-ները, որ ուսանողները կարան տան ու դու դրանց շուրջը արդեն մտածել ես, լավագույն պատասխանները ունես տալու և դա քեզ уверенность և տալիս:

Տարբեր մարդիք ենք: Չնայած էս վերջերս զգում եմ, որ փոխվում եմ, համ տարբեր եմ. . . արդեն նկատել եմ, որ նաև իմ բնավորությունը փոխվել և դասավանդման արդյունքում:

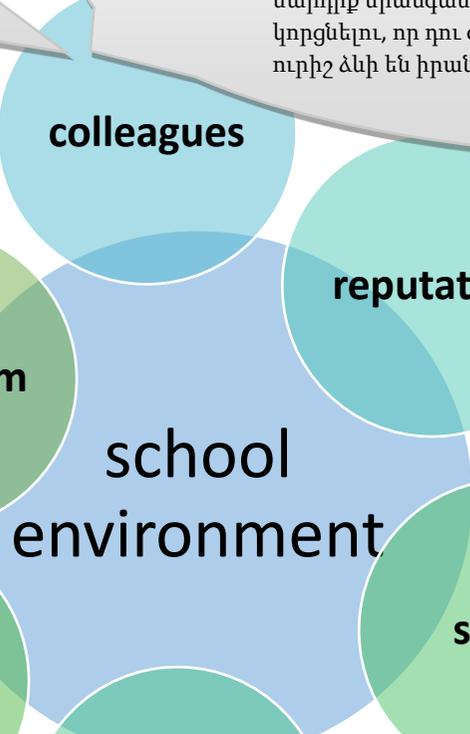
Լսարանում ինքը ավելի եներգիայով լի և, կատակասեր և, փորձում և շատ positive

Առաջին վախը դասավանդելիս... վախենում էի մի բան հարցնեն, ես ասում էի. «Ի՞նչ պետք և անեմ». . . էդ էլ կախված և, թե դու քեզ ոնց ես դրսևորել հենց սկզբից: Եթե խմբում զգում եմ վստահություն եմ արդեն ձեռք բերել, էդ խմբում շատ հանգիստ եմ ասում, ասում եմ. »Այ, ինձ էլ և հետաքրքիր«. . . Բայց էն խմբում, որտեղ դու քեզ մի քիչ расслабленный ես պահել, չես դրսևորել, ոնց որ կարայիր դրսևորել կամ . . . Էն կոնտակտը չի ստացվել, այ էդ խմբում ավելի լավ և չասես. . .

Ես լրիվ դերասան էի ինձ զգում, որը բարձրացել և երեք ժամ ներկայացում խաղալու, ներկայացումից հետո, բանը, գալիս և տուն, ընկնում և մեռած ու սպառվում և րիմ, որովհետև շատ

Երևի հիմա. . . չեմ տեսնում ինձ ուրիշ տեղ: Ասենք՝ թարգմանություն, ասում են՝ կարաս թարգմանությունով հանգիստ քեզ համար նստես զբաղվես, չէ՞: Հետաքրքիր չի, ինձ . . . Ես հասկացա, ինձ շփումն և հետաքրքիր, դաժե ինձ և

Ինչի՞ են, օրինակ, արտիստներին ասում, դու, մինչև չզգաս դա, դու ինքդ հաճույք չստանաս դրանից, դա քո հանդիսատեսին չի փոխանցվում. . . Եթե դու ինքդ դրանից հաճույք ես ստանում, դա անկախ քեզանից փոխանցում ես. . . Դու ընենց պիտի անես, որ էդ էրեխեն հավեսի ընկնի, ինքն էլ ուրախանա, էդ պրոցեսից ինքն էլ հաճույք ստանա . . .



Ու մենք պետք ա գնայինք իրանցից սովորեինք, որովհետև մենք ոչնչություն էինք պարզվեց, մենք իրավունք չունեինք, պարզվեց էդտեղ դաս տալու:

Միջավայրը լավն ա, ընկերական ա շատ, դասախոսների միջև ասենք իրար տակ փորել, էն լարվածությունը. . .

Ես միշտ մտածել եմ, կարող ա մենք էտեղ էլ պայքարը. . . երբ որ մեկս մյուսի. . . էթե ես լավ վարձատրվեմ քան մյուսն ա ստանում. . . մի գուցե մարդիք միանգամից փոխվեին. . . էդ կոնկուրենցիան երբ որ կա, այդ վախը կորցնելու, որ դու գիտես ինչ ես կորցնում, այ էդ դեպքում մարդիք լրիվ ուրիշ ձևի են իրանց ցուցաբերում:

Շատ flexible կարանք գտնվենք... ինչ ես ուզում անել. . . պրոստո տեղյակ պահես իրանց, կողկից հավելյալ ինչ ուզում ես արա, կարևորը էլ ինչ որ բաներ պետք ա սովորացնել, սովորացրու, մնացածը սովորացրու ինչով ուզում ես՝ ուզում ես երգով, պարով սովորացրու: Էդ անմիջական միջավայրը. . . դեկանս ոնց որ իմ երկրորդ մամանն իհնհ: Եոբ ոո կա էո տհահ շիտում. . .

. . . ամեն դասատուից հետո, որ փոխվում ա, չէ՞, էլ քո անունը, որ հանկարծ կարող ա քեզ վատաբանեն կամ գնան քո վրա բողոքեն, չէ՞, շատ մեծ դեր է խաղում:

Եթե լավ անուն ես ձեռք բերում. . . համ գումարն ա ստացվում ա, համ ստացվում ա քո պատիվն ա. . . Ամեն ինչ անում ես, որ հանկարծ քո պատիվի վրա, որովհետև ըտենց ա, չէ՞: Ասում են՝ առաջին քեսը քո հուանոսի ոո ա շփոթում ես թո անման մոա. հա՛տոոո

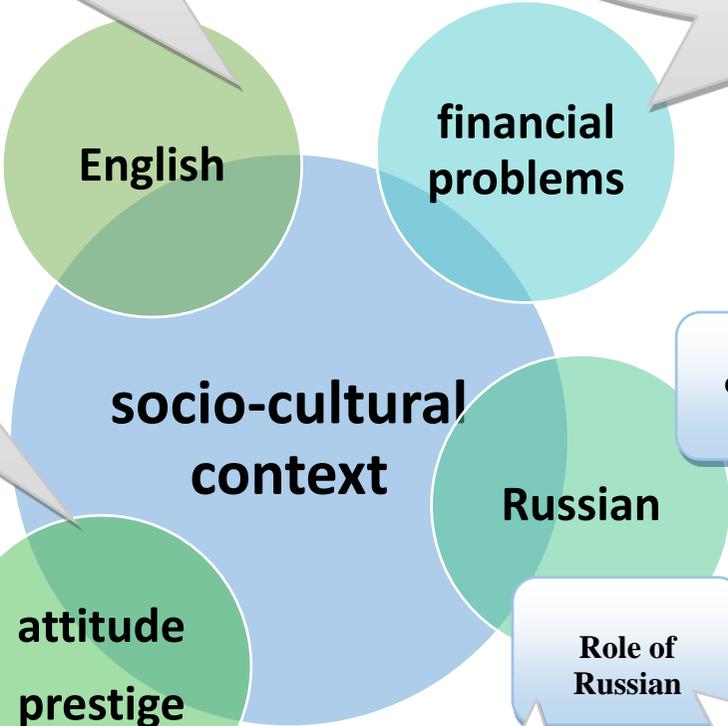
Դու ուզում ես պրեստիժի տեղ աշխատես, որովհետև. . . մինչև հիմա էլ գալիս են, հարցնում են. «Դուք ամերիկյանում դա՞ ս էք տալիս», ասում են contract based on and off դաս են տալիս. . .

Գումարային ֆակտորն ա պլյուս, չէ՞: Ցանկացած մարդու մոտ էդպես ա: Էն որ մտնում ես լսարան. . . գիտես Եվրոպականում ես հաստատ գումարի համար չեմ գնում, որովհետև դե գիտես, ցանկացած բուհում Հայաստանում ըտենց ա, կոպեկներ ես դու ստանում: . . . Դու էլ գումարով անհնարին ա ապրես, դրանով կարաս մի շաբաթ շատ-շատ ապրես, ձգես, էլի, լավագույն դեպքում, տան վարձը փակես, մի քանի օր էլ կարաս ապրես, սե:

Ինքը на все сто не выкладывается. . . ինքը, երբ որ վախենում ա. . . ինքը գիտի, որ իրա աշխատանքից ա կախված իրա հետագա աշխատանք ունենալը. . . Լավ ա էն առումով, որ քեզ ձիգ ա պահում ավելի: Վատ ա, որ լարվածությունն ա մտցնում, իսկ լարվածությունը, դա արդեն stressful ա դառնում քեզ համար. . .

Իսկ էլ feedback-ը արդեն շարտվել ա ուրիշ եսիմ ուր, որովհետև պետք էր, որ քո աշխատավարձը իջներ ինչի՞ հաշվին. . . Քո լեզուն պետք է կտրեին: Դու էն ժամանակ ստանում էիր իրենց հավասար, իսկ հիմա դու գոհ էլի, որ քեզ գործ են տվել, չգիտեմ, политика ա, հնչ ա, բա՛ռ համենանոտես մի ծիս

Եկել են տասնհինգ բոպե դաս են լսել ու տասնհինգ բոպեյվա դասով փորձում են ամբողջ դասավանդման մասին ինչ որ թյուր բաներ կարծիքներ տարածել. . . Քո դեմքին կարող ա, մի ինչ որը ակնառու ա քեզ ասվի դա, բայց հիմնականում քո հետևից ա դա ասվելու բամբասանքի



Հիմա իրանց մոտ էլ եղ դեգրադացիան
 ա դրվել, որովհետև անգլերենը ավելի
 ա կարևորվել էսօրվա օրով քան թե
 անգլերենը:

Դու էնտեղ ի՞նչ ես օֆիսներում, рядовой
 աշխատող ես, լավն ես կամ վատն ես
 դու рядовой ես, դու մյուսների նման ես,
 դու, քո կոմպյուտերը նստած,
 հասարակ ինչ-որ մարդ ես: Իսկ ստեղ
 գոնե դու ինչ-որ մեկի համար
 հիացմունքի առարկա ես, կամ...դու
 իրա համար идола ես, ինքը քեզ
 մեծարում ա, դու գիտես, ինչ որ մի բան
 ինչ-որ մեկի կյանքում դու հետք ես

... բայց եթե դու դրանից հետո վազում ես, որ գումար
 վաստակես, մինչև տասներկուսն ա դա տևում, ճիշտն
 ասած даже...շաբաթ-կիրակի պարապմունքների մեջ եմ,
 ասենք ժամադրության կարողա կանչեն, ես ասեմ
 ժամանակի տուժեմ...

Գրքերը դեռ ռուսական էին, մեր
 դասատուներն էլ էին ռուսական
 կրթությամբ, խեղճերը պետք ա
 переквалифицироваться լինեին,
 սովորում էին, ոնց հայերենով
 դասավանդեն նույն նյութը...

education

Մինչև 5-րդ դասարան սովորել եմ
 ռուսական դպրոցում, հետո 5-րդ
 դասարանից հետո էն շրջանն էր, որ
 փակում էին ռուսական...
 հակառուսական ինչ-որ բան էր... ու
 փոխեցին դարձրեցին մեզ
 հայկական...Ռուսերենը, հարազատ ա,
 все-таки հարազատ ա և ամենա

Բոլորը իրենց պատկերացնում են ինչ-
 որ շատ շքեղ մի օֆիսում նստած, ինչ-որ
 կարևոր, գործունյա...արդեն գալիս ա
 իդոլը ինչ որ business woman
 հասկացությունը...Այսինքն՝ ուսուցիչը
 երևի գնալով իրա ավտարիտետը
 կորցնում էր: Դու արդեն մտածում ես,
 ես ինչ գործ ա, որ դրանով էլ զբաղվեմ,
 նոաեննեո են հետո տաիս

**attitude
 prestige**

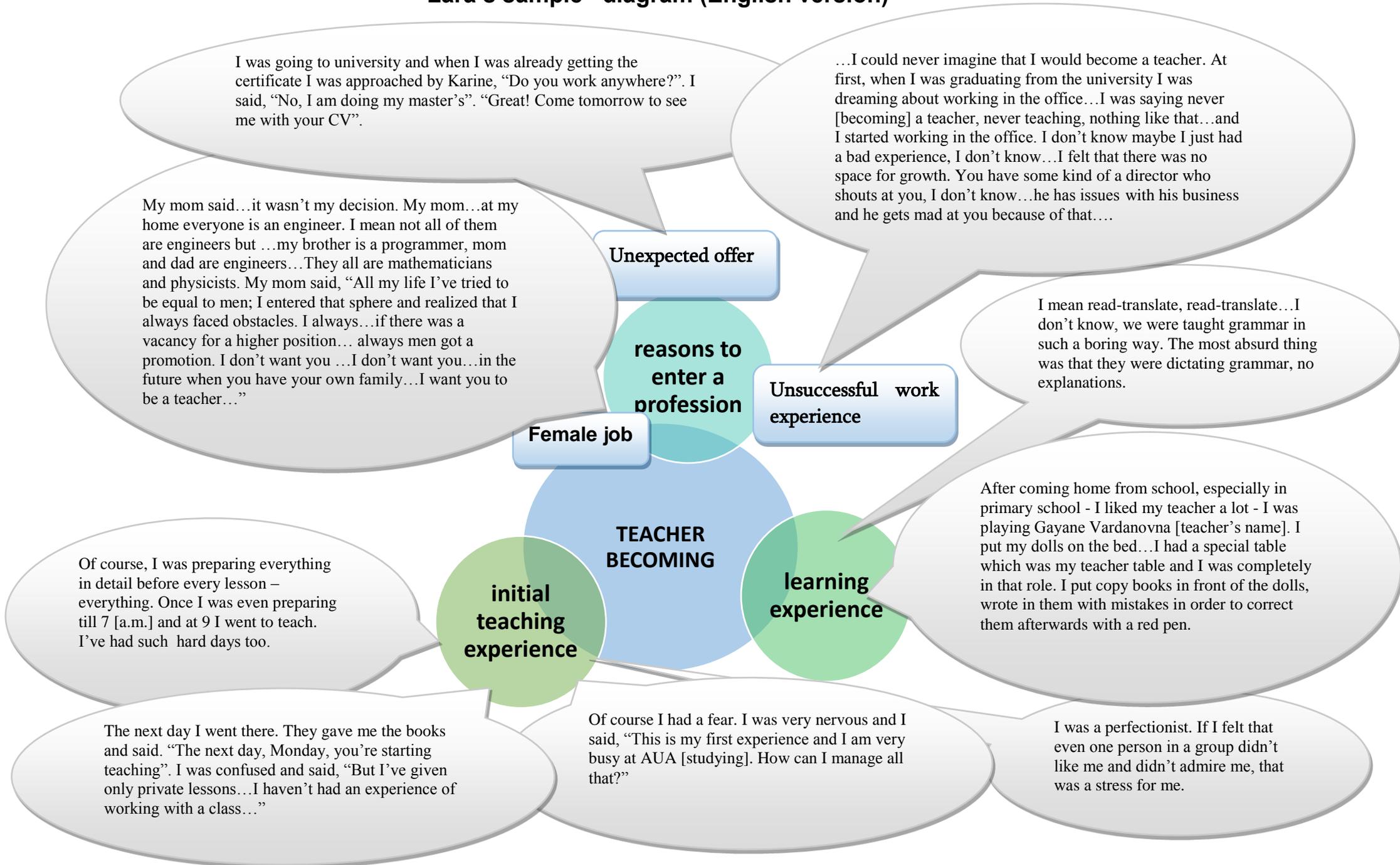
Դասատու դառնում են միայն էն մարդիկ, ովքեր երևի
 շատ սիրում են էլ գործը, բայց որ մարդիք երկար
 տարիներ սովորեն ինչի՞ համար, որպեսզի դառնան
 դասատու՞... արդեն էլ մոտիվացիան չկա, որովհետև
 իրանք էդքան բարձր...բժիշկ սովորում են, lawyer
 սովորում են, գիտեն ինչի համար են սովորում, գիտեն,
 որ իրանց կյանքը կարող են ապահովել...

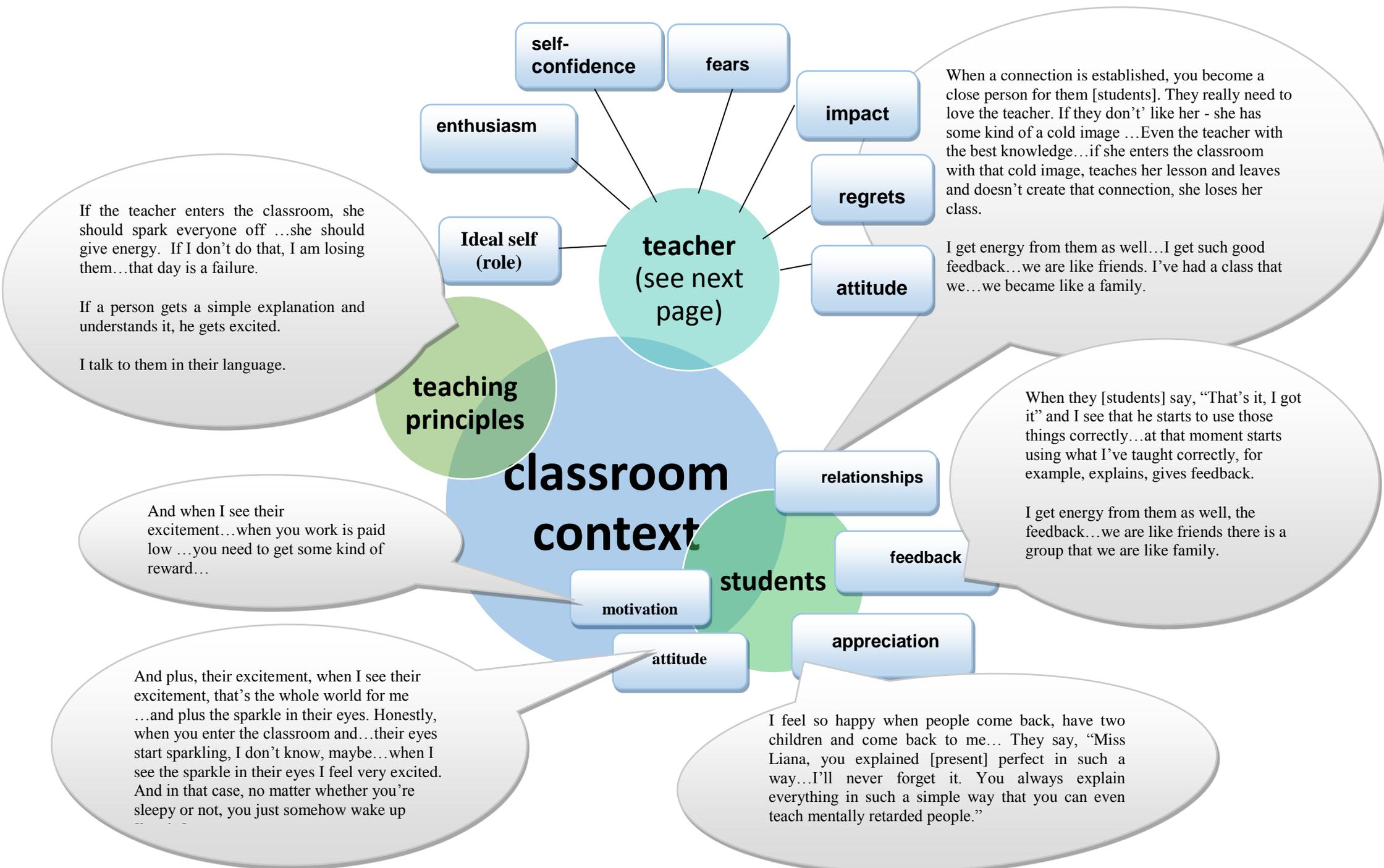
**Role of
 Russian**

Բայց էն, որ մենք հիմա
 մտնում ենք արդեն, մտել ենք
 արդեն ռուսական էլ...սոյուզ,
 պետք է որ ռուսերենը ավելի
 բարձր մակարդակի վրա
 որվի...

Էն տարիներին ըտենց բան կար, որ
 ռուսական դպրոցները ավելի էլիտար էին
 համարվում և ավելի լավ կրթություն էին
 տալիս, իրականությունը իսկապես ըտենց
 էր, հիմնականում եղպես էլ կար:
 Պերեդաչաները դե շատ էինք նայում
 ռուսական, թերթերը մեր մոտ միշտ
 ռուսական են էղել, մեր տանը հայկական
 թերթ չի էղել: Այսինքն՝ իմ ոնց-որ հիմնական

Lara's sample diagram (English version)





If the teacher enters the classroom, she should spark everyone off ...she should give energy. If I don't do that, I am losing them...that day is a failure.

If a person gets a simple explanation and understands it, he gets excited.

I talk to them in their language.

And when I see their excitement...when you work is paid low ...you need to get some kind of reward...

And plus, their excitement, when I see their excitement, that's the whole world for me ...and plus the sparkle in their eyes. Honestly, when you enter the classroom and...their eyes start sparkling, I don't know, maybe...when I see the sparkle in their eyes I feel very excited. And in that case, no matter whether you're sleepy or not, you just somehow wake up

When a connection is established, you become a close person for them [students]. They really need to love the teacher. If they don't like her - she has some kind of a cold image ...Even the teacher with the best knowledge...if she enters the classroom with that cold image, teaches her lesson and leaves and doesn't create that connection, she loses her class.

I get energy from them as well...I get such good feedback...we are like friends. I've had a class that we...we became like a family.

When they [students] say, "That's it, I got it" and I see that he starts to use those things correctly...at that moment starts using what I've taught correctly, for example, explains, gives feedback.

I get energy from them as well, the feedback...we are like friends there is a group that we are like family.

I feel so happy when people come back, have two children and come back to me... They say, "Miss Liana, you explained [present] perfect in such a way...I'll never forget it. You always explain everything in such a simple way that you can even teach mentally retarded people."

teacher

enthusiasm

I wasn't a communicative person. I was more reserved, quiet. If, for example, we went out with friends at that time I wouldn't talk for hours. I was shy. Now that communication opened me up now I feel that I can communicate with any kind of person, get along with anyone.

impact

I am a different person. Although I feel that I have recently been changing. I am different...I have noticed that my character has changed as well...as a result of teaching.

In the classroom she [refers to herself] is more energetic, humorous, tries to create a positive atmosphere...

regrets

You know now I don't see myself in any other place. For example, translations. You can peacefully sit somewhere and do your translations but it's not interesting for me. Now I know - communication with people is what interests me...It even has changed me.

attitude

Why actors are told - unless you feel it, you enjoy it you won't be able to pass it to your audience...If you enjoy it [teaching] you'll pass it [enthusiasm] without realizing... you need to make that child engaged, happy and so that he could enjoy it too...

I am an actor who has gotten on a stage to play in a performance for 3 hours. And after the performance she comes home, falls down dead and completely drained out of energy because she has given a lot of energy.

ideal self (initial)

The first fear when teaching...I was afraid of students asking me something I couldn't answer. I was thinking, "What can I do [in that situation]?"

It depends on how you behave from the beginning. If I feel I've gained students' trust, in that class I can easily say, "I wonder what that means too". But in a class where you haven't positioned yourself the way you could or that connection hasn't been created in that group it's better not to say [that you don't know something].

fears

Now unexpected questions are rare because I have been already asked most of all those questions, those common questions that students can ask and I already thought about them found the best answers to them ...and that gives you confidence.

self-confidence

Self-confidence plays an important role...you have to be self-confident but without showing that you're superior to them [students].

The first thing is enthusiasm. I can't imagine an unenthusiastic teacher, I really can't. I think that is a priority.

school environment

colleagues

The environment is really good, very friendly. The teachers don't take digs at each other, there is no tension...(university C)

I have always thought maybe if we had that competition here...if I got more paid than someone else, maybe people would change...When there is such a competition, a fear to lose [a job], when you know what you're losing, in this case people behave completely differently.

curriculum

reputation

After each teacher... when they change [when another teacher teaches the same class]...your name...the fact that someone can blacken you or complain about you...those things play a big role.

...If you make a name for yourself...it appears that it's both the money and respect. You do everything to make sure nothing negatively affects...it's your name, isn't it? People say the first part of your life you work to make a name for yourself and the next half - it's the same in medicine - your name works for you. After that...the professionals become relaxed, they don't work

salary

Yes, it's like that for any person. You know, when you enter the classroom...you know...for example, at X university, I definitely don't teach for money because, you know, at any university in Armenia you just get chicken feed. I don't mean that we receive less than in other universities...it's just impossible to live on that money. You can maximum live a week on that, or, in better cases, pay your bills and live...survive a few days, that's it.

prestige

managers

evaluation

fear to lose a job

And we had to learn from them [older teachers] because it appeared that we were nobody...it appeared we didn't have the right to teach there. (University A)

It's flexible... You need to inform what additional materials you'd like to use. The important thing is that you must teach whatever you are supposed to teach. The rest you can teach using whatever you wish: songs, dance...

You want to work in a prestigious place...even now people ask me, "Do you work at A?" and I say, "I am contract based, I teach on and off".

She [the teacher] is doing her best... when she is afraid of...she knows that having a job later depends on her current work...It's good in terms of keeping you toned but it is also bad because it creates stress; it becomes stressful for you.

That [observation] feedback had been already thrown somewhere else because it was needed to reduce your salary...How else it could have been done? They wanted to put a gag on you. At that time you received the salary equal to others and now you must be thankful that you have a job...I don't know, that's politics... but it breaks you down ...

They came and observed 15 minutes and based on that 15 minutes they tried to spread some false information about my teaching...They might tell you to your face some obvious things...but everything will mainly be said behind your back... like a gossip.

They [students] are degrading now [their Russian] because English is more important now than Russian.

After that[teaching at the university] you're running [somewhere] to make money and it lasts till 12 a.m...I even have lessons on the weekend...

Everybody imagines herself sitting somewhere in a luxurious office...she is someone important, active...now the concept of a businesswoman is prevailing...I mean the teacher is losing her weight...One starts thinking. "This is not a proper job. Why should I do it?" Also teachers are given just chicken feed.

The books were still Russian. Our teachers also had Russian education. Poor teachers, they had to re-train, they were learning how to teach the same material in Armenian.

English

financial problems

education

socio-cultural context

Russian

Till year 5 I was studying in Russian school. After year 5, it was the time when Russian schools were being closed...there was some anti-Russian stuff going on...and our school was changed into Armenian...Russian is close to me, it is nevertheless close...and the most accessible language for me.

Who are you in the office? You are an ordinary employee. Whether you're good or bad you're ordinary, you're like others. You are sitting there with your computer – you're an ordinary person. But here you're significant for someone or ...maybe you're someone's idol. She glorifies you... You know that for someone you are...you're having an impact on someone.

Role of Russian

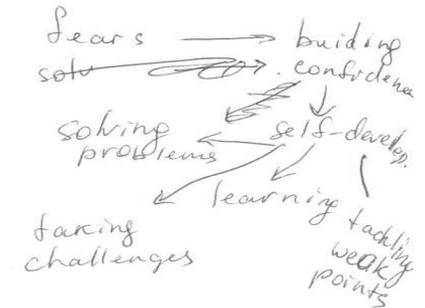
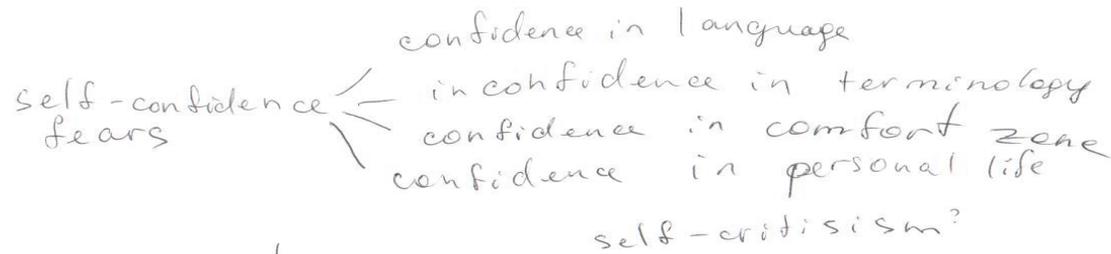
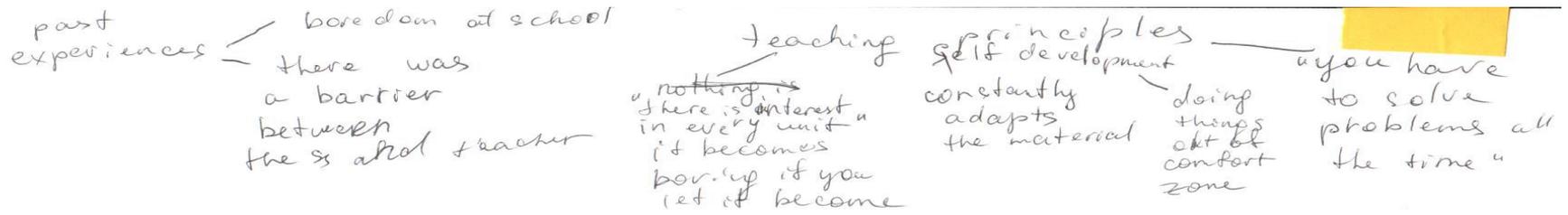
attitude prestige

During that time Russian schools were considered more elite and provided better education. It was true, it was exactly like that. We watched Russian programmes a lot. Newspapers were Russian – we never had any Armenian newspapers at home. So, it seems that my main language was Russian.

Probably only those people who like this job become teachers...but studying for many years in order to become a teacher...there is no such motivation anymore because they don't get that high...They study to become doctors, lawyers. In this case they know why they're studying; they know they can make money for living . . .

But the fact that we entered that Russian...Union {Eurasian Union}, Russian should gain a higher position [that it has now].

Appendix L: Making sense of Tom's codes and themes



students' love
equality to ss
ss' significance
learning from ss
accepting ss' opinion

first you want to be loved by ss, and you start entertaining the ss. When you become more confident you start ~~at~~ teaching.

Appendix M: The Feasible Teacher Self Handout

1. Please discuss with the person sitting next to you what were your motives to become a teacher of English.
2. In the space below, describe the kind of teacher you wanted to become at the beginning of your teaching career (e.g. draw, write down qualities etc.)
3. Please discuss what kind of teacher you did not want to become at the beginning of your teaching career. Why?
4. Did you manage to achieve the first image and avoid the second one? Why? Why not?

5. In the space below, describe the kind of teacher you would like to be now (e.g. draw, write down qualities etc.).

6. Is that image feasible? Why? Why not? Do you face any obstacles to achieve that?

7. What do you feel you need to compromise on? What do you think is essential and you cannot compromise on?

8. What do you think you need to do to achieve that image?